Programme for Alumni of CODESRIA Institutes
Programme des anciens lauréats des instituts du CODESRIA

Inaugural Conference of Alumni
Conférence inaugurale des anciens lauréats

19-21 September/Septembre 2007, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

Re-thinking State and Democracy in Africa
Repenser l’Etat et la démocratie en Afrique

Bibliography / Bibliographie

CODICE, September/Septembre 2007
Introduction

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) will be organising the inaugural conference of the Programme for Alumni of CODESRIA Institutes, from 19 to 21 September 2007, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The conference focuses on the theme of “Re-thinking State and Democracy in Africa” for which the CODESRIA Documentation and information Centre (CODICE) has compiled this bibliography. It contains bibliographical references extracted from the CODICE database and other ones accessible on the Internet. References are alphabetically presented by the author’s name and those available in CODICE are highlighted with an asterisk.

CODICE hopes you find the bibliography useful.

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Réflexions sur les tendances récentes de la démocratie constitutionnelle en Afrique noire.
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2. **ABBINK, J**
The organization of elections in federal Ethiopia : Retrospect and prospect
In: Election observation and democratization in Africa
London: Macmillan, 2000, p.150-179
https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle/1887/9680

Abstract: This book brings together studies on the broad theme of elections and democratization in Africa since roughly 1989. It is based on a seminar held in The Netherlands in February 1997, and includes chapters on both electoral processes, especially the role of foreign observers therein, and the historical and sociocultural backgrounds or contexts of democratization, elections and political legitimacy. Part 1 deals with elections and election observation in Africa in general (contributions by O. van Cranenburgh, S. Ellis, I. van Kessel, B. de Gaay Fortman). Part 2 consists of country studies (M. Doornbos on Uganda, D. Focken en T. Dietz on Kenya, J. Abbink on Ethiopia, R. van Dijk on Malawi, R. Buitenhuijs on Chad, and M.-F. Lange on Mali). Part 3 includes a chapter that reflects the discussions held at the seminar between observers, academics and policymakers in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (W. van Binsbergen en J. Abbink); a review of Dutch policies on election observation in Africa during the period 1992-1997 (O. van Cranenburgh); and a discussion of the 1997 general elections in Kenya, where a new approach of election observation was introduced (M. Rutten)

3. **ABBINK, J.**
Introduction: Rethinking democratization and election observation in Africa
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http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle/1887/9679

Abstract: This book brings together studies on the broad theme of elections and democratization in Africa since roughly 1989. It is based on a seminar held in The Netherlands in February 1997, and includes chapters on both electoral processes, especially the role of foreign observers therein, and the historical and sociocultural backgrounds or contexts of democratization, elections and political legitimacy. Part 1 deals with elections and election observation in Africa in general (contributions by O. van Cranenburgh, S. Ellis, I. van Kessel, B. de Gaay Fortman). Part 2 consists of country studies (M. Doornbos on Uganda, D. Focken en T. Dietz on Kenya, J. Abbink on Ethiopia, R. van Dijk on Malawi, R. Buitenhuijs on Chad, and M.-F. Lange on Mali). Part 3 includes a chapter that reflects the discussions held at the seminar between observers, academics and policymakers in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (W. van Binsbergen en J. Abbink); a review of Dutch policies on election observation in Africa during the period 1992-1997 (O. van Cranenburgh); and a discussion of the 1997 general elections in Kenya, where a new approach of election observation was introduced (M. Rutten)

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In: Election observation and democratization in Africa
http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle/1887/9598

Abstract: This book brings together studies on the broad theme of elections and democratization in Africa since roughly 1989. It is based on a seminar held in The Netherlands in February 1997, and includes chapters on both electoral processes, especially the role of foreign observers therein, and the historical and sociocultural backgrounds or contexts of democratization, elections and political legitimacy. Part 1 deals with elections and election observation in Africa in general (contributions by O. van Cranenburgh, S. Ellis, I. van Kessel, B. de Gaay Fortman). Part 2 consists of

(*) Documents available in CODICE / Documents disponibles au CODICE
country studies (M. Doornbos on Uganda, D. Focken en T. Dietz on Kenya, J. Abbink on Ethiopia, R. van Dijk on Malawi, R. Buijtenhuijs on Chad, and M.-F. Lange on Mali). Part 3 includes a chapter that reflects the discussions held at the seminar between observers, academics and policymakers in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (W. van Binsbergen en J. Abbink); a review of Dutch policies on election observation in Africa during the period 1992-1997 (O. van Cranenburgh); and a discussion of the 1997 general elections in Kenya, where a new approach of election observation was introduced (M. Rutten).

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http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle.net/1887/9551

6. **ADEJUMOBI, Said**
Elections in Africa: A Fading Shadow of Democracy?

**Abstract:** Elections constitute an important element in liberal democracy. They are a viable means of ensuring the orderly process of leadership succession and change and an instrument of political authority and legitimation. The failure of elections or their absence largely defines the predominance of political dictatorships and personalized rule in Africa. The current wave of democratic enthusiasm has evoked a process of competitive and multiparty elections. This has provided a platform for the civil society to make political claims on the state. However, both the structure and process of elections, the former being the organizational infrastructure for managing elections and the latter, the precepts and procedures of elections, remain largely perverted. Election rigging and brigandage, violence and election annulment are common practices. The trend is towards a reversal to the old order of despotic political rulership under the guise of civil governance. Elections in their current form in most African states appear to be a fading shadow of democracy, endangering the fragile democratic project itself.

**Résumé :** La récente effervescence démocratique en Afrique a eu pour effet d'établir des systèmes à partis multiples et à élections compétitives. La société civile cherche ainsi à se donner des bases qui lui permettent d'agir sur l'Etat. Cependant, l'infrastructure organisationnelle des élections et le déroulement de ces dernières continuent d'être perverties par la fraude, le brigandage, la violence et l'annulation pure et simple des résultats. Dans la plupart des pays africains, l'élection n'est que l'ombre d'une démocratie toujours en danger de s'effacer ou d'être effacée.

Between Democracy and Terror: the Sierra Leone Civil War
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Abstract: Claude Ake considers the unique features of African democracy. He explains why its development must stem from the ordinary people of Africa and from their concept of participation.

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12. AKO-NAI, Ronke Iyabowale *
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In: Revue canadienne d'études du Développement, N° Spécial, 1996, p.57-73

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Conditions for Democratic Consolidation

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Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or Instrumental?
Abstract: Comparative analysis of original survey data from Ghana, Zambia and South Africa is used here to assess the attitudes of African citizens towards democracy. Is democracy valued intrinsically (as an end in itself) or instrumentally (for example, as a means to improving material living standards)? We find as much popular support for democracy in Africa as in other Third Wave regions but less satisfaction with the performance of elected governments. The fact that Africans support democracy while being discontented with its achievements implies a measure of intrinsic support that supersedes instrumental considerations. At the same time, approval of democracy remains performance-driven; but approval hinges less on the government’s capacity at delivering economic goods than its ability to guarantee basic political rights. Our findings extend recent arguments about the importance of political goods in regime consolidation and call into question the conventional wisdom that governments in new democracies legitimate themselves mainly through economic performance.

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In: International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944- ), Vol. 74, No. 2, Apr.1998, p.289-303
vitiated much recent analysis of the ‘democratic transition’ in Africa. By examining in turn the roots, meaning and limits of democratization in Africa, the author shows that a focus on accountability rather than on democracy per se would be more appropriate.

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Development, Conflict and the Politics of Ethnicity in South Africa's Transition
In: Third World Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 4, December 1994, p.613-631

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44. COHEN, Ronald; HYDEN, Goran; NAGAN, Winston, ed. *
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48. DALOZ, Jean-Pascal, éd. *
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The Process, Prospects and Constraints of Democratization in Africa

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Political Liberalisation or Democratic Transition: African Perspectives
Dakar: CODESRIA, 1998

64. DIOUF, Mamadou *
Libéralisations Politiques ou Transitions Démocratiques: Perspectives Africaines
Abstract: Since the late 1980s, political scientists, donors, and development workers in East and Southern Africa have devoted much time and resources to the question of ‘democratization’. Yet, it is not clear how this concept of ‘democratization’ has helped us to understand African politics or if donor support for ‘democratization’ has been successful. There are both methodological and conceptual problems with the way democratization is used to explain processes as varied as the de-racialization of South Africa, the post-civil war effort to rebuild Mozambique, and the different patterns of change to multi-party politics in Kenya, Zambia and Malawi. Many accounts of these processes of democratizations are ahistorical, or decontextualised from the historical and cultural situations. Secondly, institutions which are thought to enable democratizations – like churches and NGOs – are poorly understood and little studied. Assumptions, rather than empirical evidence, dominate. Such partial understanding of the societies and institutions under observation leads to inappropriate policy responses by bilateral and multi-lateral donors eager to support ‘democratization’. In this paper, I explore the ways in which the development industry has adopted and used political science concepts of ‘democratization’ and ‘civil society’ and the problems inherent with this process. I focus on the role of local or ‘indigenous’ NGOs as recipients of donor aid and potential agents of democratization. In order to understand why NGOs are assumed to contribute to a process of ‘democratization’ we need to examine both what donors think NGOs are, and their relationship with the state, as well as how this plays out in practice. In particular, we need to examine the changes that have resulted from the increased resources made available to the NGO sector. A case study of a prominent Zimbabwean Human Rights NGO, ZimRights, will be used to illustrate the problems caused by growth and expansion. First however, I want to examine the methodology and conceptualization of ‘democracy’ as used by donors.

67. DZORGBO, Dan-Bright S. *
Ghana in Search of Development: the Challenge of Governance, Economic Management and Institution Building
(The Making of Modern Africa / Zegeye, Abebe; Higginson, John)

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NIGERIA: Beyond Structural Adjustment: Towards a Popular Democratic Development Alternative.

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Défense Collective de la Démocratie dans un Monde d'Etats Souverains: Perspectives pour l'Hémisphère Occidental
Québec: Centre International des Droits de la Personne et du Développement Démocratique, 1993.-39p. (Essais sur les Droits Humains et le Développement Démocratique, No. 1)

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Predatory Rule: State and Civil Society in Africa

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The Crisis of the state and Regionalism in West Africa: Identity, Citizenship and Conflict
(CODESRIA Book Series / CODESRIA)
75. FERREE, Myra Marx; GAMSON, William A.; GERHARDS, Jürgen; RUCHT, Dieter
Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies

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South Africa. State, Labour and Politics of Reconstruction
In: *Capital and Class*, 1996, p.19-31

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77. FLETCHER, Christine
Equity and institutional reform in Aboriginal Australia and Zimbabwe: a framework for analysis.
1997
http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle.net/1885/40370 (ASC)

Abstract: This paper has attempted to identify some of the problems of inequity associated with the globalisation of public sector reform principles which societies in developing countries (Zimbabwe) share with indigenous societies in developed countries (Australian Aborigines). The decision to take an institutional approach to comparative research in Zimbabwe and Australia arose from pressures to reform and perceptions of democratisation, including recognition of the need to develop stronger and more substantial processes for ensuring equity in development. <p> The role of democracy in public sector reform remains unresolved in the Zimbabwe one-party state where the costs of compromising the mechanics of democracy remain to be seen. Assistance with economic and democratic development needs to be carried out in a strong framework of self-determination. Without self-determination, it is difficult to affect a coordinated approach to public sector reform in any substantial way; without institutions that can respond to self-determination, there is little chance of reform. The Zimbabwean public sector is on a steep upward learning curve. Strikes and confrontations have been unsettling but, in this case, they should be seen as a sign of healthy unrest—people taking issue against corruption, demanding to have the right to free association, demanding democracy and, to be governed through a more equitable process. In Australia, the democratic institutions are entrenched—constitutionalism is a fundamental principle. But institutional equity and the ability of the system to respond to the needs of the Aboriginal people is unresolved. Democracy and liberalisation do not guarantee equity.

78. FOUNOU TCHIGOUA, Bernard *
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In: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, January 1992, p.455-487

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(Hommes et Sociétés / Copans, Jean)


81. GERSHMAN, Carl *
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In: Journal of Democracy, Vol. 4, No. 3, July 1993, p.5-16

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82. GOLUB, Stephen *
Assessing and Enhancing the Impact of Democratic Development Projects: a Practitioner's Perspective

/DEMOCRACY/ /DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS/ /FOREIGN AID/ /DEVELOPMENT THEORY/

83. GOODHART, Michael
Democracy, Globalization, and the Problem of the State
In: Polity, Vol. 33, No.4, Summer 2001, p. 527-546

Abstract: Globalization's effects on democracy have received much attention recently, though there is little consensus about what precisely those effects are or how they should be addressed. Critics are almost evenly divided among those who propose cosmopolitan solutions and those who favor reinvigorating democracy at the state level. This article argues that we are not prepared to decide such issues because current analyses of the problem confuse globalization's effects on states with its effects on democracy and rest on problematic assumptions about the relationship between states and democracy. An alternative approach that uses globalization as a lens through which to focus on this relationship reveals that the problem is deeper and more complex than either of the existing accounts recognizes. A sound analysis of the problem must begin with a better understanding of the origins, nature, and implications of democracy's spatial and normative ties to the state and its entanglement with the modern discourse of sovereignty.

84. GORDENKER, Leon; WEISS, Thomas G. *
Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions

/NON-GOUVERNEMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS/ /UN/ /TECHNOLOGY/ /ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/ /GOVERNMENT/ /FINANCING/ /INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION/ - /INTERORGANISATIONAL RELATIONS/ /GOVERNANCE/

85. GOSH, Arun *
Governance, Institution Building and Economic Development

/GOVERNMENT/ /ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/ /INSTITUTION BUILDING/ /DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY/ /FOREIGN RELATIONS/ /POLITICAL POWER/ /ECONOMIC CONDITIONS/ /ECONOMIC POLICY/
86. GREGOIRE, Emmanuel *
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87. GYIMAH-BOADI, E., ed. *
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La Démocratie en Afrique: les Réformes en Cours Vont-elles Libérer les Energies qui Permettront aux Africains de Résoudre leurs Crises Systématiques ?

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Invisible Governance: The Art of African Micropolitics

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92. HELD, David *
Democracy, the Nation-State and the Global System

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93. HENDRICKS, Cherryl; LUSHABA, Lwazi, Ed. *
From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa


94. HERMET, Guy; KAZANCIGIL, Ali; PRUD'HOMME, Jean-François, ED *
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The Development of Civil Society in a Democratic State: The Botswana Model

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109. JOSEPH, Richard
Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives
Abstract: Africa experienced a wave of transitions to more pluralist democratic systems after 1989. Most countries of sub-Saharan Africa held competitive party elections that removed some authoritarian rulers. Within a few years power shifted back to authoritarian rulers; only a handful of new democracies progressed toward fully participatory systems. Conjunctural factors explain these developments and situate Africa within the broader dynamics of global economic and political liberalization. The comparative study of these transitions can be furthered by contrasting Africa with theories of democracy and democratization. Special attention is devoted to the emergence of liberal democracy as virtual democracy acceptable to external forces, African leaders' feigned conversion, and factors that bolstered or hindered substantive transformations.

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113. KAMTO, Maurice *
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114. KANYINGA, Karuti; KIONDO, Andrew S.Z.; TIDEMAND, Per; GIBBON, Peter, ed. *
The New Local Level Politics in East Africa: Studies on Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya
(Research Report / Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, No. 95)
115. KASONGO, Tukumbi-Lumumba *
Mouvements Sociaux et Quête de la Démocratie au Libéria : le cas du Mouvement pour la Justice en Afrique (MOJA) et sa Transformation en un Parti Politique [Social Movements and the Quest for Democracy in Liberia : the case of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and its Transformation into a Political Party]

116. KASONGO, Tukumbi-Lumumba *
Social Movements and the Quest for Democracy in Liberia : the case of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and its Transformation into a Political Party [Mouvements sociaux et quête de la démocratie au Libéria : le cas du mouvement pour la justice en Afrique (MOJA) et sa Transformation en un Parti Politique]

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An Overview of the Debate on the African State
Kyoto: Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies, Ryukoku University, 2006, 69p.
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120. KELLER, Edmond J
Political Change and Political Research in Africa; Agenda for the 1990s (in Focus: Challenges to and Transitions from Authoritarianism in Africa)
121. KESSEL, W.M.J. van
The impact of democratic transitions on the representation of women in the national parliaments of southern Africa: A United States of Africa?
http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle.net/1887/4731

Abstract: This chapter examines what democratic transition in the 1990s has meant for women in southern Africa. It focuses in particular on the impact of democratization processes on political participation by women, notably women's representation in parliament in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This is compared with developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, where the introduction of multiparty elections has generally resulted in women's marginalization in parliament. Comparison of the representation of women in parliament in the SADC region under the one-party State and after the democratic transition reveals that the tendency is towards better representation of women. Factors impacting on the representation of women in politics include a country's state of development, the quota system, women's pressure groups, and electoral systems. Linking the UNDP's gender-related development index (1998) to the representation in parliament-index, the author concludes that there is no visible relationship between women's representation in parliament and the quality of life for women in southern Africa.

122. KIRONGOZI, Bob-Lymbaya *
De l’Etat <Patriarchique> à l'Etat <Droit>: Essai de Clarification de la Problématique de l'Etat en Afrique Noire

123. KRIEGER, Milton
Cameroon's Democratic Crossroads, 1990-4

KUPERUS, Tracy
Building Democracy: An Examination of Religious Associations in South Africa and Zimbabwe

Abstract: This paper explores the dynamics of regime change in South Africa and Zimbabwe through an examination of civil society's role, but more particularly mainline Christian religious associations, in democratizing and consolidating democracy. After surveying state-civil society debates, an analysis of the nature and purpose of civil society in these two countries is undertaken. In both countries, a vibrant, diverse civil society exists that builds or strengthens democratic possibilities; however, Zimbabwean civil society is weaker for reasons that include regime type, the particularities of the liberation struggle, and constitutional limitations. The paper concludes with prescriptions for strengthening civil society in South Africa based on lessons learned from Zimbabwe.

124. KWAME, Baofo-Arthur *
Democracy and Prospects for Integration in West Africa
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Bringing Institutions Back-in the Role of Institutions in Civil Society, State and Economy
126. LEBEAU, Yann; NIANE, Boubacar; PIRIOU, Anne; SAINT MARTIN, Monique de, éd. *
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(Hommes et sociétés / COPANS, Jean)

127. LEFTWHICH, Adrian *
Governance, the State and the Politics of Development
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128. LINDBERG, Staffan I.
Forms of States, Governance, and Regimes: Reconceptualizing the Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Africa

Abstract: Building on the growing body of literature bridging international relations and historical sociology, this article argues that "consolidologists" have something to learn from this field. The discussion's point of departure is contemporary writings on sovereignty, security, and state formation in the African context. In an effort to synthesize insights from international relations and historical sociology with neo-institutional theory, a heuristic mode that suggests an alternative conceptualization of different forms of states, governance, and regimes is developed. The author argues that this model can be used to better understand the relationship between forms of states, variations in the institutions of governance, and transitions between regimes. Taking the model to be fruitful, the article finally suggests some hypotheses regarding the prospects for consolidation of democracy that can be tested in future empirical research.

Résumé : S'appuyant sur un corpus de travaux historiques et sociologiques de plus en plus nombreux, l'auteur soutient que les "consolidationnistes" tireraient bénéfice de ces travaux. Il fait d'une part l'analyse de travaux portant sur la souveraineté, la sécurité, et la construction étatique dans un contexte africain, et offre d'autre part un modèle heuristique qui suggère une autre façon de concevoir différentes formes d'Etat, de gouvernance, et de régime. Ce modèle fait la synthèse d'approches propres aux relations internationales, à la sociologie historique, et au néo-institutionnalisme; synthèse qui permet de mieux saisir les rapports entre différentes formes d'Etat, d'institutions de gouvernance, et de transition d'un régime à un autre. En conclusion, l'auteur offre quelques hypothèses, vérifiables de façon empirique, concernant la consolidation de la démocratie.

129. LINIGER-GOUUMAZ, Max *
La Démocrature : Dictature Camouflée, Démocratie Truquée

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Human Rights, Development and Democracy: The Linkage between Theory and Practice

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Les Médias et l'Etat au Sénégal : l'impossible autonomie

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133. MACDONALD, Michael *
Power Politics in the New South Africa

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135. MALWAL, Bora *
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137. **MAMDANI, Mahmood *\)**
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138. **MAMDANI, Mahmood *\)**
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139. **MAMDANI, Mahmood; WAMBA-DIA-WAMBA, Ernest, ed. *\)**
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153. MELOSSI, Dario *
The State of Social Control: a Sociological Study of Concepts of State and Social Control in the
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155. MILUTINOVIC, Zarko *
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Civil Society and Democratisation in Francophone Africa

158. MOORE, Will H.; JAGGERS, Keith; GURR, Robert T. ed. *
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159. MOUYOULA Prosper ; PRUDHOMME CLAUDE ; DUBOIS COLETTE ; ABWA Daniel ; PELLETIER DENIS
Crises et mutations politiques au Congo-Brazzaville - Radioscopie et interprétation d’une histoire complexe (1946-1996). 2004

**Abstract:**
Congo-Brazzaville is a Central African country with ethnic groups which had kingdoms before the colonisation. In 1960, Congo’s first president was Fulbert Youlou a catholic priest. Because of the ethnic tensions and political rivalities, Youlou was overthrown in a 3-days popular uprising in 1963. The military installed a civilian government headed by Alphonse Massamba Debout. In 1968, Captain Marien Ngouabi toppled the government of Massamba Debout in a coup. In 1969, Ngouabi proclaimed Congo to be Africa’s first “people’s republic” and announced the creation of the Congolese Labor Party. In 1977, he was assassinated. From 1977 to 1991, with Colonel Joachim Yhombi-Opango and the Major Denis Sassou Nguesso, the country was under the military rules. Ending a long history of one-party Marxist rule, a specific agenda for the transition was laid out during the Congo’s national conference of 1991 lead by the bishop Kombo Ernest, and culminated in 1992 with presidential elections. Pascal Lissouba became Congo’s new president, on august 31, 1992. Our object was to demonstrate four points. The Christians Churches are always involved in the different step of Congolese history. The history of Congo shows that fundamental rights were not being respected, and from 1992 to 1996 Congo was a police state. Congolese history is characterized by permanent crisis and political mutations. From 1960 to 1996 the “coup d’État” has emerged in political history as the only means to obtain power and to annihilate the hopes of a true democracy life. Matsouanism ideas, Socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology, militarism, politically- inspired violence and ethnicentrism were the mains obstacle of true democracy. These impediments to democracy have put the brakes on the country’s development, maintained and fuelled the hate and divisions between the different communities that make up the Congolese nation.
164. NGOMO, Paul-Aarons F. *
Thèse, Doctorat de IIIème Cycle, Philosophie, Université de Cocody, UFR de Sciences de l'Homme et de la société, Département de Philosophie

POLITIQUE/DROIT/DEMOCRATIE/ETHIQUE/TOTALLARISME/RATIONALITE DEMOCRATIQUE

165. NGONO, Louis Martin ; BACOT, Paul

Résumé : Au tournant des années 80-90, l'Afrique Noire semblait s'être engagée dans une vague de démocratisation portée par un temps mondial favorable, et des mobilisations sociales d'ampleur variable selon les pays. À l'heure où ce processus semble n'avoir pas conduit aux résultats escomptés, il reste au Cameroun la profonde recomposition de l'espace public et la mutation en profondeur des modalités de l'action politique. Désormais, le pouvoir politique est soumis aux réactions de l'opinion, et les élections, ne garantissant plus la constitution d'une majorité politique homogène, produisent dorénavant un effet de suspense alors que les débats ont l'allure agonistique des défis et de guerres de mots qui amplifient la compétition et font de l'incertitude un ressort dramatique. L'État apparaît plus segmenté entre des institutions dotées d'une autonomie relative là où régnait auparavant le monisme. Certes, les règles du jeu ne sont pas définitivement fixées, mais elles traduisent le mouvement d'un système qui paraissait récemment encore figé dans l'ordre autoritaire. Puisque ces changements placent dorénavant le Cameroun sous un régime d'alternance, pour en rendre compte la présente thèse remonte à la période qui précède l'avènement du vote dans ce pays et qui correspond à l'amorce d'un processus longtemps masqué par les effets quasiment mécaniques d'une dévalorisation politique du continent africain. L'analyse consiste alors à mettre au jour le dispositif idéologique d'exclusion des masses indigènes, ainsi que le processus de leur intégration par étapes successives dans l'électorat. L'objectivation de la pratique électorale est ensuite envisagée au terme d'un examen des pratiques et des représentations qui fondent les comportements adaptés en matière électorale. Il en ressort un processus qui se distingue clairement, qui signifie l'apprentissage de la démocratie et traduit parallèlement l'originalité de la démocratisation africaine dans la mesure où elle se réalise plus sur le mode de la réforme que de la révolution.

Abstract: At the turn of the eighties and nineties, black Africa seemed to be engaged in a wave of democratization led by a favorable world time, and social mobilizations of varying scope according to the country. At a time when this process of democratization seemed not to have led to the expected results, it remains in the case of Cameroon, the profound recomposition of public space and the transformation in depth of modalities of political action. Therefore, political power seems subject to the assault of critics and to the reactions of public opinion. Elections produce from here on out an effect of suspense and debates have the agonistic allure of challenges of wars of words which amplify the competition. The diversity of electoral consultations no longer guarantees the constitution of one homogenous political majority. The state appears more segmented between endowed institutions of a relative autonomy, there where a single party previously ruled. Certainly the rules of the game are not definitively fixed, but they lead to the movement of a political system that appears recently to still be stuck in the authoritarian order. If all of these changes place, from here on out, Cameroon under a regime of alternation, the research returns to a period that precedes the beginning of the process of these changes that will for a long time remain masked by the nearly mechanical effects of a political devalorization on the African continent and that coincides with the advent of the vote in this country. This work aims to put to light the ideological device of the exclusion of the indigenous masses from the political scene and the process of their integration by successive states into the electorate. Before the operations that express the objectification of the election process in Cameroon are treated, this study envisions first putting into evidence practices and representations that are at the root of behaviors in election matters. In this analytical crossing of a half of a century of election practice in Cameroon, a process clearly distinguishes itself which signifies the comprehension of democracy and translates at the same time the originality of African democratization which realizes itself more within the realm of reform than within that of revolution

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169. NYANG'ORO, Julius E. *  
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170. NYANG'ORO, Julius E.; SHAW, Timothy M., ed. *  
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171. NYANG'ORO, Julius E.  
Reform Politics and the Democratization Process in Africa  

172. NZOUANKEU, Jacques Mariel *  
L’Afrique Devant l'idée de Démocratie  
In: Alternative Démocratique dans le Tiers Monde, No.2, Juillet-Décembre 1990, p.31-46

173. NZOUANKEU, Jacques Mariel *  
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174. NZOUANKEU, Jacques-Mariel *
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175. OBASANJO, Olusegun *
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176. OBI, Cyril I. *
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178. O'BRIEN, Donal Cruise; DIOP, Momar-Coumba; DIOUF, Mamadou *
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180. OKAMBA, Emmanuel M. *
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Governance and Democratisation in Nigeria

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182. OLOWU, Dele; WILLIAMS, Adebayo; SOREMEKUN, Kayode ed *
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183. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo O. *

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184. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo O. *
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185. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo O.; LAAKSO, Liisa, ed *
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187. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo O., ed *
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In: Election observation and democratization in Africa /Abbink, J. ; Hesseling, G.S.C.M.
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210. SALAZAR, P.-J. ; OSHA, S.; BINSBERGEN, W.M.J. van
Truth in politics: rhetorical approaches to democratic deliberation in Africa and beyond
Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2004
http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/dspace/handle.net/1887/9463

Abstract: Democracy is about competing "truths". This is why "rhetoric"- the study of public deliberation and the training in public debate and argumentation - is part of democracy in development. This volume acclimatizes "rhetoric" to the philosophical scene in South Africa, and more in general in Africa as a whole, and reflects on the emergence of public deliberation in the South African democracy through a reading of the 1995-1998 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in terms of Aristotelian rhetoric. Four papers (part 1) tackle, from four different angles, the re-telling of private truths about a public regimen of affairs in front of the TRC. In Part 2, public deliberation and the fashioning of truth are approached from a variety of perspectives, examples and situations of "rhetorical democracy" from elsewhere in Africa (Nigeria) and beyond. Part 3 offers examples of how rhetoric may be brought to bear upon politics in order to understand how dialogue between different levels of agency creates democratic negotiation and, in the process, shapes policy, as for example in the case of the African Renaissance, the land redistribution programme in postapartheid South Africa and the 1991 National Conference of Congo-Brazzaville. The volume closes on a philosophical analysis of the "ethical" dimension inherent to public deliberation as well as to the contest of beliefs, and on an examination of the volume's contents in the light of long-standing concerns of African philosophy and of the journal 'Quest'. Contributors: Charles Calder, Barbara Cassin, Mary Jane Collier, Erik Doxtader, Eugene Garver, Yehoshua Gitay, Lisa Hajjar, Darrin Hicks, Johnson Segun Ige, Abel Kouvoouma, Andrea Lollini, Reingard Nethersole, Sanya Osha, Philippe-Joseph Salazar, Lydia Samarbakhsh-Liberge, Wim van Binsbergen, Charles Villa-Vicencio. [ASC Leiden abstract]

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Abstract: The tendency for abstract theorists of democratization to overlook gender dynamics is perhaps exacerbated in the South African case, where racial inequality is obviously key. Yet, attention to the processes through which South African activists inserted gender issues into discussions about how to construct new institutions provides an unusual prism through which to explore the gendered character of citizenship. After providing an explanation for the unusual prominence of gender concerns in South Africa's democratization, the article argues that during the drawn-out democratic transition, South African activists, often influenced by international feminist discussions, developed a collective definition of gender interests and began to build those interests into the structure of democratic institutions, in ways that will affect politics and the definition of "women's interests" in the future.

216. SEIDMAN Gay W.
Gendered Citizenship: South Africa's Democratic Transition and the Construction of a Gendered State

Abstract: The tendency for abstract theorists of democratization to overlook gender dynamics is perhaps exacerbated in the South African case, where racial inequality is obviously key. Yet, attention to the processes through which South African activists inserted gender issues into discussions about how to construct new institutions provides an unusual prism through which to explore the gendered character of citizenship. After providing an explanation for the unusual prominence of gender concerns in South Africa's democratization, the article argues that during the drawn-out democratic transition, South African activists, often influenced by international feminist discussions, developed a collective definition of gender interests and began to build those interests into the structure of democratic institutions, in ways that will affect politics and the definition of "women's interests" in the future.

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Dakar: CODESRIA, July 1990. - 95p

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The Failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa

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248. WUNSCH, James S.
Refounding the African State and Local Self-Governance: The Neglected Foundation

Abstract: The political revolution of contemporary Africa has so far largely been limited to the centre and to re-establishing the same institutional forms and processes which failed Africa in the 1960s. These regimes are already showing signs of erosion. This problem can be understood through the theory of public goods. Key collective or 'public' goods problems impede the collective action necessary for institutional development. Top-down strategies cannot surmount these problems because they cannot integrate and unify the population or structure consensual and sustained collective action. As currently constituted, national levels of government in Africa will be poor partners with local communities in development, be it of democracy or of the economy. In many cases, national regimes only exist at all because minimal contributing sets or political monopolists controlled, were given, or mobilised the resources to establish constituting rule systems which they used to sustain their existing relative advantages during the break-up of imperial systems. As this advantage is usually at the expense of the majority which lives outside the capitals, resources and policies to improve these areas are slow in coming. The slow, bottom-up process by which a true public constitution is built, one which reflects and elaborates generally held values, is built on existing political relationships, and protects social diversity, has never been allowed to develop. Refounding the African state must resolve these problems if it is to succeed. Ethnically and religiously diverse peoples will rule themselves better under federal and consociational systems which give local leaders space to lead local institutional development, authority to play a role in national governance, a process to develop consensus on central policy and to check the centre when there is no consensus. This requires a foundation of viable, real, developed structures of local governance if it is to succeed.

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Civil Society and Democracy in South Africa

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250. YEEBO, Zaya *
State of Fear in Paradise: the Military Coup in the Gambia and its Implications for Democracy

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Thesis, Master of Science, Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Faculty of Arts and Social
Sciences, Department of Political Science

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Reflections on the Traditions of Authoritarianism and Democracy in African History

258. ZELEZA, Paul Tiyambe
The Democratic Transition in Africa and the Anglophone Writer

Abstract: Ces dernières années les thèmes de liberté et démocratie ont remplacé ceux de développement et de construction de la nation et ils dominent les discours de politiques et d'études africaines. La majorité des analyses, celles qui diagnostiquent la nature de la crise africaine de gouvernement ainsi que celles qui prescrivent des solutions, ont tendance à être d'orientation politique et économique. L'article déclare que les discussions morales et culturelles de la crise et les rectifications apportées n'ont pas reçu l'attention qu'elles méritent. Plus particulièrement, il établit que les écrivains ont sondé les tourments des sociétés africaines modernes plus profondément que n'ont pu le faire les intellectuels. En fait, les écrivains ont été les premiers à noter que le potentiel émancipatoire d'indépendance avait été exagéré, et cela bien avant que les politologues n'aient découvert "la crise" africaine. Cet article explore les raisons derrière ce phénomène et suggère de permettre aux écrivains de s'exprimer en toute liberté dans les discussions actuelles sur la démocratie et l'avenir de l'Afrique, car l'enjeu n'est pas seulement de concevoir de nouvelles structures politiques. Il est aussi de créer un nouvel ordre culturel et moral.

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