

- 2012: Macky Sall (new Alliance for the Republic; former PDS PM, but '08 falling out over Karim Wade, Mr. \$1.4bn "businessman...") defeats Wade:
 - Wade had sought 3rd term (allowed by hand-picked constitutional court; but: elections commission, military as counter-checks) => horizontal accountability!
 - 1st -> 2nd round: Wade 34.8->34.2; Sall: 26.6->65.8! (Note: 25% enough for 1st round win....) => united opposition!
 - civil society mobilization (M23: constitutionalism) => vertical accountability!
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Analysis: Consolidation <-?-> Compromised "Democracy"

⇒ **Incumbent strategies** (often weaken consolidation):

- Bend electoral rules: term limits; party + candidate registration; postpone elections; gerrymandering + mal-apportionment; manipulate electoral system
- Use economic resources: vote buying; opposition cooptation (clientelism; patronage politics)
- Mess with the opposition: divide and rule; suppress; coopt

All (still!) within context of geopolitical settings: e.g., war on terrorism (Kabila: "terrorists" ... ; parallel: CW/its end)

⇒ **Countervailing forces:** effective checks on executive + its strategies?

Hinges on strength + discipline of opposition: two arenas

- "Civil society": vertical accountability
- Independent (?) and strong branches (legislature, judiciary): horizontal accountability
(N.B.: such "checks and balances" most effective when "divided government": legislative elections + opposition!)
 - E.g. "hyper-presidential" electoral manipulation:
 - Senegal 2011/2! (Burkina Faso term limits; DRC census + election delay)
 - Nigerian Nat. Assembly '06 denies 3rd term + better judiciary oversight '07
 - Cameroon vs. Zambia
 - E.g. econ. resources: horizontal (Karim Wade!) but also vertical accountability:
 - Effectiveness depends on broader conditions:
 - transparency (press; anti-corruption agencies; business practices esp. foreign players, e.g. China)
 - type of economy ("rentier state" problem -> Nigeria!)

Divided society (in SA: effect of racialized rule; i.e. not fixed “condition” but effect of a “process”) = special challenges

1. When this a problem for democracy’s quality + sustainability
(elections -> downward spiral)?

2. How best to manage?

Ake (accept: accommodation)

Nyerere (prevent/overcome: repression/integration)

SA HISTORY

- 1910 Union of SA (Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State) self-governing
- 1948 NP wins elections: introduction and development of “apartheid” (“separateness”) - key elements: racialism institutionalized
 - disenfranchisement of Cape “Coloured” through separate representation
 - Pass Laws
 - “Townships,” Homelands/Bantustans