

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science  
**POL 301Y1Y**  
**Government and Politics in Africa**  
**2016-17**

**Instructors: Fall semester**

Prof. Wilson Prichard

**Office Hours:** Tuesday 16.15 – 18.00

**Office:** Room 220, Munk School of Global Affairs,  
315 Bloor St.

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**Winter semester**

Prof. Abbas Gnamo

**Office Hours:** Tues: 16:30- 18:00PM

**Office:** Room 3062 SSH

**E-mail:** [abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca](mailto:abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca)

**Telephone:** (416) 946-3345 ext 8334

**Time:** Tue 14:00 – 16:00

**Place:** UC161

**Grading TA:** Luke Melchiorre: [jonathanluke.melchiorre@utoronto.ca](mailto:jonathanluke.melchiorre@utoronto.ca)



Source: [http://www.africanoz.com/af\\_arts/af\\_arts.html](http://www.africanoz.com/af_arts/af_arts.html)

Karibu Mgeni means “welcome visitor” or “welcome stranger” in Swahili.

### **Themes**

This year-long class is designed to introduce students to the political dynamics of contemporary Africa. The course will explore two related sets of issues: first, state formation and nation building and second, the origins and nature of the continent’s economic crisis. The course will trace the historical development of the modern state system on the continent and the rise of contemporary African economies before moving on, in the second half of the year, to consider particular themes that characterize the nature of politics in Africa.

## Readings

The required reading for the course will be available through online resources provided by the library. This is a pilot program by which the library provides all resources online, and accessible through Blackboard. To access the reading look for the link to “Library Course Reserves” on your Blackboard “My Page”, which will lead to all of the materials. Instructions for accessing the reading can also be found in the “Course Materials” section of the course page on Blackboard.

If you prefer to have hard copies of all of the reading, second-hand copies of the course pack from previous years may also be available from former students but please note that the readings for the second term this year may not be exactly the same as those in previous years.

## Format and requirements

Course evaluation will include two papers, a short quiz, a mid-term test and a final test.

- |                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Map quiz (Fall semester):          | 5%  |
| 2. Review essay (Fall semester)       | 20% |
| 3. Research essay (Spring semester)   | 25% |
| 4. Mid-term test (Fall semester)      | 25% |
| 5. End of year test (Spring semester) | 25% |

### Map quiz:

All students will be required to acquire a basic knowledge of African geography by the fourth week of the course, failing which their final grade will attract an automatic penalty. The map quiz will take place on October 6.

### Essays:

All students will be expected to complete two short essays (2,500 and 3,000 words respectively) drawing on a combination of course readings and some additional external research. Broad topic areas and guidelines will be distributed in class early in both terms.

*Review essay:* Topics to be posted by September 20, 2016.

Essay to be due in class, at the beginning of class on November 1, 2016.

*Research essay:* Topics to be posted by January 24, 2016.

Essay to be due in class, at the beginning of class on March 7, 2016.

Unless you specifically make alternative arrangements in advance, essays should be submitted via Turnitin.com and by e-mail directly to the TA. Before submitting your essay, you must also review the Academic Integrity Checklist, included at the end of this document, and make sure that you are able to check every category on this checklist. By submitting your essay, you are pledging that you have read the checklist and can check every item.

If you have a principled objection to the use of Turnitin and wish to make an alternative arrangement for the submission of your essay, this must be discussed well in advance of the submission deadline with the course instructor, and certainly no later than two weeks before that deadline.

Please ensure that you follow every step of this submission process, as follows:

1. Read the academic integrity checklist and ensure that you are able to check every item.

- By submitting your essay, you are directly signaling that you have done so.
2. Navigate to the Assignments section of the course Blackboard site and submit your essay via Turnitin Direct Assignment. The date and time of submission here will serve as the official record of when you handed your essay in;
  3. Mail an identical copy of your assignment to the course TA, Luke Melchiorre, at the following e-mail address: [luke.melchiorre10@gmail.com](mailto:luke.melchiorre10@gmail.com). You do NOT need to submit the essay in hard copy unless provided specific instructions to do so.

NOTE: Your essay submission will not be regarded as complete until you have completed all of these steps.

Because the term papers will be graded by the TA he will organize two sets of office hours prior to the submission of the papers, for those seeking additional support. You can arrange to meet with the TA by contacting him directly.

### **Tests:**

The mid-term and the final class tests will each last an hour and 50 minutes and will take place during regular class time in the final week of the first and second semesters respectively, as indicated on the class schedule. Both tests will be formatted in a similar fashion and will call for both short paragraph and longer essay answers. The mid-term will cover material from the Fall semester. The final will assume that you know and understand the material covered in the Fall but will focus on the material covered in the Winter semester.

Missing the map quiz, the end-of-term test or the final test, or handing a paper in late will require an acceptable doctor's note or other documentation. This must be submitted within one week of the test or assignment date and it should be submitted on the official UofT Medical Note form.

### **General Guidelines for Written Assignments:**

*Rough Work and Drafts:* Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work as well as hard copies of their assignment before handing them in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. All graded assignments are to be kept by students until the grades have been posted on ROSI. Please print your essays double-sided i.e. using both sides of the page to save paper.

*Late penalty:* There will be a penalty of 3% per day for late papers (including weekends i.e. penalties will continue to accrue at 3% per day over the weekend). Papers handed in after the start of class but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a 2% penalty. Late papers must be submitted to the Politics Department on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith during business hours. You must ensure that the paper is dated and stamped. You should never attempt to submit your paper by leaving it under an office door or sending it by e-mail or fax.

*Extensions:* Extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances that could not be anticipated ahead of time and with appropriate supporting documentation. You are urged to contact the instructor as soon as you become aware that you may require an extension. Extensions after the fact are likely to be treated much less sympathetically by your instructor. You should never assume that you will be granted an extension.

*Academic integrity:* Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules.

In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. *It is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to only use footnotes.* You must ensure that you identify and attribute all of your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them.

Please note in particular that any time you are using someone else's exact words, even if you cite the original source, you **MUST** acknowledge this borrowing by use also of quotation marks.

Potential academic offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
- working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
- having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, the course instructors will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with every paper you submit. If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this

course, please do not hesitate to contact the course instructors or the course TA. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the [U of T Writing Website](#). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

*Turnitin.com:* Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

Please note the three-step submission process for essays outlined above.

If you object to using Turnitin.com you must contract the relevant course instructor well ahead of time (i.e. at least two weeks before your essay is due) to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments. This will involve devising alternative methods for verifying the originality of your work, likely including submitting rough work along with your essay and having a brief interview about the work with the relevant instructor.

### **How to contact us**

Please feel free to stop by the office of the appropriate instructor during their office hours. If you can't make those, you should set up an alternative appointment with the instructor, by e-mail.

We will do our best to respond to e-mails within 48hrs. Please note that we will not, however, be checking our e-mails on weekends or after hours so do not leave your requests or queries to the last minute.

At times, we may decide to send out important course information by email. To that end, all UofT students are required to have a valid UofT email address and to check it regularly. You are responsible for ensuring that your UofT email address is set up AND properly entered in the ROSI system.

### **Portal**

#### **Logging in to Blackboard**

Like many other courses, POL301 uses Blackboard for its course website. To access the website, go to the UofT portal login page at <http://portal.utoronto.ca> and log in using your UTORid and password. Once you have logged in to the portal using your UTORid and password, look for the **My Courses** module, where you'll find the link to the POL301 course website along with the link to all your other Blackboard-based courses.

### **Accessibility Needs**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible:

[disability.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca) or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

## **Part I: Tracing the historical origins of contemporary Africa**

### **Week 1: Introduction: From Pre-Colonial Structures to the Present in Ghana (Sept. 13)**

### **Week 2: The Advent of Colonialism (Sept. 20)**

Jeff Herbst, “Power and space in precolonial Africa” and “The Europeans and the African Problem” in *States and Power in Africa*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2000), pp 35-97

Bill Freund, “The Material Basis of Colonial Society”, extract from *The Making of Contemporary Africa* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: MacMillan Press, 1998, chapter 6, pp 97-124

### **Week 3: The Political Logic of Colonial Rule (Sept. 27)**

Mahmood Mamdani, “Decentralized despotism” in *Citizen and Subject*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996), Chapter 2, pp 37-61

Crawford Young, Miscellaneous and “Constructing Bula Matari” extracts from *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1994), Excerpt from Chapter 1, and Chapter 4, pp 1-2, 77-140 (pp 77-95 recommended)

### **Week 4: Independence and the new generation of African states (Oct. 4)**

#### **\*\*\*Map Quiz\*\*\***

Irving Markovitz, “Autonomy, nationalism and independence” extract from *Leopold Sedar Senghor and the Politics of Negritude*, London: Heinemann (1969), Chapter 4, pp 102 - 118

Bill Freund, “The Decolonization of Africa: 1940-60” extract from *The Making of Contemporary Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Macmillan Press, 1998, chapter 8, pp 167-203

Jeffrey Herbst, “*The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa*” extract from *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, first half of chapter 4, pp 97-113

### **Week 5: Political Organization and Nation Building (Oct. 11)**

Aristide R Zolberg, “Introduction” and “The emergence of dominant parties” in *Creating Political Order*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co. (1980), Introduction and Chapter 1, pp 1 – 36

Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Personal rule: Theory and practice in Africa" *Comparative Politics*, 16, 4 (1984) pp 421-442

### **Week 6: Ideologies and Development Strategies (Oct. 18)**

Walt Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth" *The Economic History Review* 12, 1 (1959) pp 1-16

Claude Ake, "The Development Paradigm and Its Politics" in *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution (1996), Chapter 1, pp 1-17

### **Week 7: African Militaries and Political Instability (Oct. 25)**

Paul Nugent, "Khaki Fatigue: Military Rule in Africa, 1960-1985" extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London: Palgrave, 2004 pp 204-59

### **Week 8: The Onset of Economic Crisis (Nov. 1)**

Benno Ndulu and Stephen O'Connell, "Governance and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13, 3 (1996) pp 41-66

Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Soludo, "The Crisis: Diagnosis and Solution" extract from *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999 pp 21-48

Richard Sandbrook, "Disappointments of independence" and "Why capitalism fails" extract from *The Politics of Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1985), Chapters 1 and 2, pp 1 – 41

### **Week 9: Structural Adjustment and the Politics of Economic Reform (Nov. 15)**

John Ravenhill "A Second Decade of Adjustment: Greater Complexity, Greater Uncertainty" extract from *Hemmed In: Responses to Africa's Economic Decline*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, 18-53

Paul Nugent, "The Invasion of Acronyms: SAPs, AIDS and the NGO Takeover" extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London, Palgrave, 2004, pp.326-357

Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Soludo, "The Adjustment Experience" extract from *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999, pp 49 - 85

### **Week 10: Crisis and Political Reconfiguration: The Wave of Democratization (Nov. 22)**

Paul Nugent, "Democracy Rediscovered: Popular Protest, Elite Mobilisation and the Return of Multipartyism", extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London:Palgrave, 2004, pp.368-385

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle: "Neopatrimonial regimes and political transitions in Africa" *World Politics* 46, 4 (1994) pp 453-489

Jeffrey Herbst, "The Structural Adjustment of Politics" *World Development* 18, 7 (1990) pp 949-958

**Week 11: Review (Nov. 29)**

**Week 12: In class mid-term test (Dec. 6)**

## **Part II: Key Topics in African Politics and Government**

**Week 1: Theorising African politics II The Rise and decline of African State (January 10)**

- Chap 7 "The Black Man's Burden" in Basil Davidson *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State*, USA: Times Books (1992)
- Pierre Englebert, "Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa" *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (March 2000): pp. 7-36
- Paul D. Williams, "State Failure in Africa: causes, consequences and responses" [www.europaworld.com](http://www.europaworld.com)
- Crawford Young, "The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamic" *African Affairs* (2004), 103, 23–49

**Week 2: Ethnic identification and so-called ethnic conflict (January 17)**

- "Introduction" by Leroy Vail in Leroy Vail (ed) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, London: James Currey (1989)
- Marina Ottaway, "Ethnic Politics in Africa: Change and continuity," in *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* edited by Richard Joseph, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 1999, pp. 299-318.
- Crawford Young, Revisiting nationalism and ethnicity in Africa, James S. Coleman African Studies Center (University of California, Los Angeles), 2004

**Week 3: African Civil wars (January 24)**

- "Redefining 'Security' after the Cold War" by James Busumtwi-Sam and chapter 10 "Conclusion" by Taisier M Ali and Robert O Matthews in Taisier M Ali and Robert O Matthews (eds.), *Civil Wars in Africa*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press (1999), Chapter 9.
- Helen M. Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37, 2 (1999), pp. 241-286

**Week 4: African agriculture and the African peasantry (January 31)**

- Chapter 6 “Spurring Agricultural and Rural Development” in *World Bank, Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, World Bank: Washington DC (2000)
- Chapter 8 “Peasant farmers as citizens” in Jonathan Barker, *Rural Communities Under Stress*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1993)

**Week 5: Disease and Development (TB, Malaria and HIV/Aids) (February 7)**

- Chap 5 “Why Africa?” in Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside *AIDS in the Twenty First Century: Disease and Globalisation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2002)
- Chapter 3 “Perceptions and misperceptions of AIDS in Africa” by Joseph R Oppong and Ezekiel Kalipeni in Ezekiel Kalipeni, Susan Craddock, Joseph Oppong and Jayati Ghosh (eds.) *HIV and AIDS in Africa: Beyond Epidemiology*, USA: Blackwell Publishing (2004)

**Week 6: Business and industry in Africa (February 14)**

- Richard L Sklar “The Nature of Class Domination in Africa” in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 17, no 4 (Dec 1979)
- Jon Kraus “Capital, power and business associations in the African political economy” in *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 40, no 3 (2002)

**Week 7: (Reading Week no class)**

**Week 8: The wars of liberation in Settlers states (February 28)**

- Chapter 10 “Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence” by Bruce Berman in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale *Unhappy Valley* London: James Currey (1992)
- Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (chapter 6) Cambridge University press, pp. 133-156.

**Week 9: South Africa (March 7)**

- Chapter 3 “Indirect Rule”, in Mahmoud Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996)
- Patti Waldmeier *Anatomy of a Miracle* Chapters 6 and 7, New York: W Norton (1997)

Recommended

- *The Freedom Charter*, <<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html>>
- Bill of Rights, *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, <<http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/constitution>>

**Week 10: African Women and Development (March 14)**

- Selection from Chapter 1 “Stepping into the Market” and Chapter 10 “The Market Under Attack” in Gracia Clark, *Onions are my Husband*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1994)
- Chapter 1 “Women’s mobilization and societal autonomy” in Aili Mari Tripp, *Women and Politics in Uganda*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press (2000)

**Week 11: The Evolving patterns of Africa's international relations (March 21)**

- Jean-Francois Bayart "Africa in the World" in *African Affairs* Vol. 99 (2000)
- William G Martin, "Africa's Futures: from North – South to East – South?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2008, pp. 339 – 356
- Marcus Power and Giles Mohan, "Towards a Critical Geopolitics of China's Engagement with African Development," *Geopolitics*, 15:462–495, 2010

**Week 12: Review session (March 28)**

**April 4: In-class final term test**

## Academic Integrity Checklist

Pol 301 – Government and Politics in Africa

Prof. Antoinette Handley

I, \_\_\_\_\_, affirm that this assignment represents entirely my own efforts.

I confirm that:

- I have acknowledged the use of another's ideas with accurate citations.
- If I used the words of another (e.g., author, instructor, information source), I have acknowledged this with quotation marks (or appropriate indentation) and proper citation.
- When paraphrasing the work of others, I put the idea into my own words and did not just change a few words or rearrange the sentence structure
- I have checked my work against my notes to be sure I have correctly referenced all direct quotes or borrowed ideas.
- My bibliography includes only the sources used to complete this assignment.
- This is the first time I have submitted this assignment (in whole or in part) for credit.
- Any proofreading by another was limited to indicating areas of concern which I then corrected myself.
- This is the final version of my assignment and not a draft.
- I have kept my work to myself and did not share answers/content with others, unless otherwise directed by my instructor.
- I understand the consequences of violating the University's academic integrity policies as outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*.

I am submitting my paper both

- via Turnitin Direct Assignment (which counts as the official submission date and time) - or have worked out an alternative arrangement with Prof Handley;
- and
- to course TA, Luke Melchiorre, via [luke.melchiorre10@gmail.com](mailto:luke.melchiorre10@gmail.com)

By submitting my essay, I agree that the statements above are true.