

University of Toronto, Department of Political Science  
**POL 301Y Government and Politics in Africa**  
**Summer 2016**

Time: Tues, Thur 2-4pm Place: SS 1072

**First Semester**

Instructor: Professor Antoinette Handley

Office Hours: Tues 12-2 pm  
UC F210

E-mail: a.handley@utoronto.ca

Tel: (416) 946 5293

**Second Semester**

Instructor: Professor Abbas Gnamo

Office Hours: Tues, Thurs 12 :30-2:00 PM

Office: SS 3062

Email: abbas.gnamo@utorornto.ca

Tel : (416) 978-3345

**Course TA:** Luke Melchiorre

Email : jnathanluke.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 first semester 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 semester, to consider particular themes that characterize the nature of contemporary African politics.

### **Readings**

Those readings are available electronically through Robarts and can be accessed through Portal/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.

### **Format and requirements**

Course evaluation will include two in-class examinations, and written work.

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Map quiz                                  | 5%  |
| 2. Review essay (1 <sup>st</sup> semester)   | 20% |
| 3. Research essay (2 <sup>nd</sup> semester) | 25% |
| 4. Mid-Term Test (1st semester)              | 25% |
| 5. Final exam (2 <sup>nd</sup> semester)     | 25% |

#### **Map quiz:**

All students will be required to acquire a basic knowledge of African geography by the fifth meeting of the course (i.e. by May 24<sup>th</sup>), failing which their final grade will attract a minimum penalty.

#### **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 May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

Essay to be submitted electronically, by noon, on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

*Research essay:* Topics to be posted by June 28, 2016

Essay to be submitted electronically, by noon, on July 26, 2016

Please note the following for essay submission:

1. Unless you specifically make alternative arrangements in advance (see below), essays should first be submitted via Turnitin online.
2. 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.

3. You should then submit your essay via email to the course TA at the email address provided.

Your essay submission will not be regarded as complete until you have completed all of these steps. **The time and date stamp of step 3 will be taken as the official record of when your essay was submitted.**

**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 web site”.

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.

**Late penalty and extension policy:**

Extensions will only be granted in extraordinary circumstances that could not be anticipated ahead of time. Any request for an extension or the waiver of a late penalty must be accompanied by appropriate documentation, using the official/approved university forms. You are strongly urged to approach the instructor as soon as you are aware that you will be needing an extension. Extensions requested after the fact will be treated much less sympathetically. You should never assume that an extension will necessarily be granted.

Similarly, missing the map quiz, term test or exam 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 form.

There will be a penalty of 4% per day for late papers (including weekends i.e. penalties will continue to accrue at 4% per day over the weekend). Papers handed in late but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a graduated penalty. Late papers must also be submitted electronically in the same way as is outlined above.

Plagiarism is a most serious academic offense and the offender will be punished. 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 see

<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

and

<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/document.html>

for two important documents entitled *How Not to Plagiarize* and *Standard Documentation Formats* respectively.

Should you require any further assistance with how to properly reference and footnote your work, please consult one of the many guides available in the library or the Writing Center. Your course instructors are also happy to provide guidance at any point prior to the submission of your work as to what constitutes plagiarism and how to avoid it.

### **Test and exam:**

For the first semester, the mid-term will likely be scheduled for Friday 17<sup>th</sup> June. The final test for the course will likely be scheduled for Monday 8<sup>th</sup> August. You must be sure to check when the class test is before you schedule any travel plans or finalise your work schedule. In both cases, the test will be a take home. The questions will be released via blackboard/portal, and you will have a limited time to complete the assignment before emailing your answers back. You need to ensure therefore that you will have access to a computer and the internet for this assignment period.

### **How to contact us**

Please feel free to stop by the office of the relevant course instructor office during our office hours. If you can't make those, you should set up an alternative appointment, either by phone or e-mail.

We will do my best to respond to e-mails and phone calls 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. You are responsible for ensuring that your UofT email address is set up AND properly entered in the ROSI system.

### **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> .

### **Resources on Africa**

Columbia University has a great web-page which will provide you with links to all kinds of web-based resources on Africa.

<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/>

The University of Delaware has a similarly encyclopedic resource page:

<http://www2.lib.udel.edu/subj/african/internet.htm>

A list of African newspapers can be accessed here:

<http://www.world-newspapers.com/africa.html>

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

Tuesday 10 May

### **Lecture 1: Africa in the long duree**

- Steven Feierman, “ African histories and the dissolution of world history” Chap 6, in Bates, Robert, VY Mudimbe and Jean Barr (eds) *Africa and the Disciplines*, University of Chicago Press (1993)
- B Jewsiewicki and VY Mudimbe, “Africans’ memories and contemporary history of Africa,” in *History and Theory*, vol32, no. 4, Beiheft 32: History Making in Africa (December 1993), pp1-11

Thursday 12 May

**\*\*Essay topics posted from today\*\***

### **Lecture 2: The advent of the colonial era**

- Crawford Young: *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1994), Chapter 4, pp77-140

Tuesday 17 May

### **Lecture 3: The movement towards independence**

- Julius Nyerere: *Freedom and Socialism*, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press (1968), Chapter 26 “The Arusha Declaration”, pp230 -250
- Jomo Kenyatta: *Suffering without Bitterness*, East African Publishing House (1968), Appendix: “Constitutional Conference” and “Independence Day,” pp209 - 217
- Irving Markowitz, *Leopold Sedar Senghor and the Politics of Negritude*, London: Heinemann (1969), Chapter 4, pp102 - 118

Thursday 19 May

**Lecture 4: The new generation of independent African states**

- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Sovereignty and Underdevelopment” in *Journal of Modern African Studies* 24, 1, (1986) pp1-31
- Aristide R Zolberg, *Creating Political Order*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co. (1980), Introduction and Chapter 1, pp1 – 36

Tuesday 24 May

**\*\*Must have achieved a passing grade on map quiz by this date\*\***

**Lecture 5: The onset of economic crisis**

- Richard Sandbrook: *The Politics of Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1985), Chapters 1 and 2, pp 1 – 41

Recommended:

- World Bank, *Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?*, Washington DC (2000)  
<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/canafricaclaim.pdf>

Thursday 26 May

**Lecture 6: Political decline**

- Richard Sandbrook *The Politics of Economic Stagnation*, chapter 5
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Personal Rule in Africa’ in *Africa: Dilemmas of Development*” edited by Peter Lewis, Westview (1988), Chapter 1, pp17 - 43

Tuesday 31 May

**Lecture 7: African militaries**

- Edward Luttwak, *Coup d’ Etat: A Practical Handbook*, New York: Alfred A Knopf (1989), Chapter 1, pp3-12
- Samuel Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1990), Chapter 1, pp1 - 32
- William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States*, London: Lynne Rienner (1998) Introduction and Chapter 1, pp 1- 44

Thursday 2 June

**Lecture 8: Structural Adjustment Programmes and the pressure to reform**

- Benno Ndulu, Nicholas van de Walle, and contributors. *Agenda for Africa’s Renewal*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers (1996), Overview, pp3 - 31

Tuesday 7 June

**\*\*\* Essay due in class, at the beginning of class, today! \*\*\***

**Lecture 9: The wave of democratization**

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

- Thomas Callaghy “Political Passions and Economic Interests” in Thomas Callaghy and John Ravenhill (eds) *Hemmed In: Responses to Africa’s economic Decline*, New York: Columbia University Press (1993), Chapter 12, pp 463 - 519

Thursday 9 June

**Lecture 10: Pan-Africanism and Regionalism on the continent**

- Amy Jacques-Garvey (ed.) *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, New York: Arno Press (1968), “Africa for the Africans” pp68 - 72
- Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1996), Chapter 5, pp106 - 133.

Tuesday 14 June

**Lecture 11: The middle class, growth and democracy**

- Chapter 1 "Falling behind and falling apart" in Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion*, New York: Oxford University Press (2007)
- Chapter 1 "Emerging Africa" in Steve Radelet, *Emerging Africa*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press (2010)

Thursday 16 June

**Final class: Test review session**

**The mid-term test will be scheduled during the Y session course break,  
June 20<sup>th</sup> – June 24<sup>th</sup>.**

Do not make any travel or work plans until you know when the mid-term is going to be.

**Part II: Themes in African Politics**

**June 28: Theorizing African politics I, Modernization theory, liberal and neo-liberal approaches)**

- 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)
- Introduction “The Historicity of African Societies” in Jean Francois Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* London: Longman (1993)

**June 30: Theorising African politics II The Rise and decline of African State**

- Pierre Englebert, “Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. I (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

#### **July 5: Ethnic identification and so-called ethnic conflict**

- “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

#### **July7: African Civil wars**

- “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

#### **July12: African agriculture and the African peasantry**

- 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)

#### **July 14: Disease and Development (TB, Malaria and HIV/Aids)**

- 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)

#### **July 19: Business and industry in Africa**

- 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)

#### **July21: The wars of liberation in Settlers states**

- 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.



**July 26: South Africa**

- 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>>

**July 28: African Women and Development**

- 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)

**August 2 -The Evolving patterns of Africa’s international relations**

- 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

**August 4: Lecture 8: The Politics of Aid and (Under)Development**

- Collier, “Better Dead than Fed?” chapter 9 in *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*, London and New Yorker, HarperCollins, 2009
- Moyo, Dambisa, “Aid is not Working” and “The Silent Killer of Growth”, chapters 2 and 3 in *Dead Aid: why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*, New York: FSG, 2009

**August 9-15: Exam Period**

**Academic Integrity Checklist**  
**POL 301 Government and Politics in Africa**

For Prof. Antoinette Handley or Prof Abbas Gnamo

*Please read the following statement, tick the appropriate boxes and sign the declaration when you are ready to do so. You must submit a copy of this form along with your essay. If you do not feel able or ready to tick all of the boxes, you are strongly urged to contact the relevant instructors to discuss the matter with them.*

*It is far better to take action to resolve the matter ahead of time rather than submit an essay that falls short of the university's academic integrity standards.*

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*.

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

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_