

University of Toronto, Department of Political Science  
POL 301Y: Government and Politics in Africa  
Summer 2018

<p>Instructor: Professor Abbas Gnamo Time: Tues, Thur 2-4pm    Place: SS1070 Office Hours: Tuesday, Thursday 4:00 PM-6:00PM Office: Rm. 3062 SSH Email: abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca Tel : (416) 416-978-3345 ext., 83345</p>	<p>Instructor: Michael Braun Time: Tues, Thur 2-4pm    Place: SS1070 Office Hours: Tuesday, Thursday 4:00 PM-6:00PM Office: Rm. 3062 SSH Email: michael.braun@mail.utoronto.ca</p>
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**Course TA: TBA**

Email :



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

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|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Map quiz                      | 5%               |
| 2. Review essay (1st semester)   | 20% (June, 14)   |
| 3. Research essay (2nd semester) | 25 % ( July, 26) |
| 4. Mid-Term Test (1st semester)  | 25% (June ,19)   |
| 5. Term test (2nd semester)      | 25% (August, 9)  |

## Map quiz:

All students will be required to acquire a basic knowledge of African geography by the first few meetings of the course (i.e. by the end of May), and the quiz can be administered anytime. It would be wise not to miss classes, as there is no makeup for the quiz.

## Essays:

All students will be expected to complete two short essays (2000-2500 words for Review Essay and 2500-3000 words for Research Essay) drawing on a combination of course readings, at least five, 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 15, 2018.

Essay to be due in class, *at the beginning of class* on June 14, 2018.

*Research essay:* Topics to be posted by July 5, 2018

Essay to be due in class, *at the beginning of class*, July 26, 2018

Please note the following for essay submission:

1. Unless you specifically make alternative arrangements in advance (see below), essays should be submitted via Turnitin online, and the receipt attached to the hard copy of your essay.
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.

*Both the Turnitin receipt and the Academic Integrity Checklist should be appended to the hardcopy version of your essay that you submit for grading.* Your essay submission will not be regarded as complete until you have completed all of these steps.

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 be submitted to the Politics department on the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

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.

### **Tests:**

Class tests will take place during class time on the last day of the term and will each run for 2 hours. However, in case of home take tests, more time, 3 hours will be provided and further information, both on the modality and the amount of time, will be provided. The tests are uploaded to turnitin and sent to the TA email at the same time.

### **How to contact me**

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.

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

At times, I 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 and development of contemporary Africa**

**May 8 (Tuesday): Introduction and general orientation** (no readings assigned)

**May 10 (Thursday): Africa before colonialism**

- Jared Diamond: *Guns, Germs and Steel*, New York: WW Norton and Co. (1999), Chapter 19, pp.376-401
- 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

**May 15 (Tuesday): The advent of the colonial era and the logic colonial rule**

- Crawford Young: "Constructing Bula Matari" in *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1994), Chapter 4, pp.77-140
- Peter J. Schraeder, *African Politics and Society: a Mosaic in Transformation*, Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004, Chapter III (Political and Economic Impact of Colonialism (1884-1951), pp.49-79.

**\*\*\*\*\* Be ready to take the map quiz at any point from here on \*\*\*\*\***

**May 17 (Thursday): The movement towards independence**

- Irving Markowitz, *Leopold Sedar Senghor and the Politics of Negritude*, London: Heinemann (1969), Chapter 4, pp102 – 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
- Amy Jacques-Garvey (ed.) *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, New York: Arno Press (1968), "Africa for the Africans" pp.68 - 72

**May 22 (Tuesday): 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

**May 24 (Thursday): Ideologies and Development Strategies**

- [E] Walt Rostow, “The Stages of Economic Growth” *The Economic History Review* 12, 1 (1959) pp. 1-16
- [E] Colin Leys, “African Economic Development in Theory and Practice” *Daedalus* 111, 2 (1982), pp. 99-124
- [E] Elizabeth Schmidt, James H. Mittelman, Fantu Cheru & Aili Mari Tripp, “Development in Africa: What is the Cutting Edge in Thinking and Policy?” *Review of African Political Economy*, 36: 120, 273-282

#### **May 29 (Tuesday): The onset of economic crisis**

- Richard Sandbrook, *The Politics of Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1985), Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1– 41 and chapter 5.
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Sovereignty and Underdevelopment” in *Journal of Modern African Studies* 24, 1, (1986) pp1-31.

#### **Recommended:**

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

#### **May 31 (Tuesday): Structural Adjustment Programmes and the pressure to reform**

- John Ravenhill, “Adjustment with Growth: A Fragile Consensus”, in Peter Lewis (Ed), *Africa: The Challenges of Change and Development*, 1998, pp. 500-530.
- “The Crisis – Diagnosis and Prescriptions” in Mkandawire, Thandika and Charles C Soulo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press (1999), Chapter 2
- Paul Nugent, “The Invasion of Acronyms: SAPs, AIDS and the NGO Takeover” extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London, Palgrave, 2004, pp.326-357

#### **June 5 (Tuesday): African militaries**

- Edward Luttwak, *Coup d’Etat: A Practical Handbook*, New York: Alfred A Knopf (1989), Chapter 1, pp.3-12
- Thomson, *Introduction to African politics and government*, pp. 121-141.

#### **June 7 (Thursday): The wave of democratization and African democratic Transition.**

- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle: “Neopatrimonial regimes and political transitions in Africa” *World Politics* 46, 4 (1994) pp. 453-489
- Crawford Young *Africa: An Interim Balance Sheet* in Peter Lewis, (Ed), *Africa: The Challenges of Change and Development*, 1998, pp.341-358.
- [E] Gabrielle Lynch and Gordon Crawford, “Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment,” *Democratization*, Vol. 18, No. 2, April 2011, 275–310



- [E] Stephen Brown & Paul Kaiser, "Democratisations in Africa: attempts, hindrances and prospects," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 1131 – 1149

**June 11 (Tuesday): Theorizing 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. 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

**June 14 (Thursday): 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

**June 19<sup>th</sup>: Midterm test**

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**Part II: Themes in African Politics**

**July 3 (Tuesday): 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

**July 5 (Thursday): 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

**July 10 (Tuesday): Democratic Politics in Africa**

- Nic Cheeseman (2010) “African Elections as Vehicles for Change”, *Journal of Democracy* 21(4): 139-153.
- Danielle Resnick (2014) “Chapter 2 – Drivers of Voting Behavior Among Africa’s Urban Poor”, *Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 25-59.
- Nic Cheeseman and Miles Larmer (2015) ‘Ethnopolitism in Africa: Opposition mobilization in diverse and unequal societies’, *Democratization* 22(1): 22-50.
- *The Economist* (22 June 2017) “First We Take Nairobi: In Africa, City Elections are Where the Action is”, Volume 423, Issue 9046, p.44.

#### **July 12 (Thursday): 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)

#### **July 17 (Tuesday): 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 19 (Thursday): 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.
- Gisela Geisler, Chapter 2 “Women’s Participation in Nationalist Movements and Liberation Struggles” *Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (2004)

#### **July 24 (Tuesday): 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 26 (Tuesday): Decolonization and Postcolonial Politics**

- Marcel Paret (2017) “Postcolonial Politics: Theorizing Protest From Spaces of Exclusion”, in M. Paret, C. Runciman, and L. Sinwell (eds) *Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective*, New York: Routledge, pp. 55-71.



- Steve Biko (1978) “Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity” and “What is Black Consciousness?”, *I Write What I Like*, London : Bowerdean Press.
- Ngugi wa Thiong’o *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, “Introduction: Towards the Universal Language of Struggle” and “The Language of African Literature”, London : J. Currey.

### **July 31 (Tuesday): Youth Politics**

- Alcinda Honwana (2012) Chapters 1-3 in *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa*, London: Kumarian Press, pp. 1-60
- Mamadou Diouf (2003) “Engaging Postcolonial Cultures: African Youth and Public Space.” *African Studies Review*, vol 46. No. 2, pp. 1-12.
- Heike Becker “Namibia’s Moment: Youth and Urban Land Activism, Review of African Political Economy, blog, <http://roape.net/2016/01/18/namibias-moment-youth-and-urban-land-activism/>

### **August 2 (Thursday): Social Movements and Protest**

- Patrick Bond and Shauna Mottiar (2013) “Movements, Protests and a Massacre in South Africa”, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31(2): 283-302.
- Camalita Naicker (2016) “From Marikana to #feesmustfall: The Praxis of Popular Politics in South Africa”, *Urbanisation* 1(1): 53-61.
- Leila Demarest (2016) “Staging a ‘Revolution’: The 2011-12 Electoral Protests in Senegal”, *African Studies Review* 59(3): 61-82.
- Ernest Harsch (2016) “Blowing the Same Trumpet? Pluralist Protest in Burkina Faso”, *Social Movement Studies* 15(2): 231-238.

### **August 7 (Thursday): African Women in Politics 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)
- Allison Goebel (2011) ““Our Struggle is for the Full Loaf”: Protests, Social Welfare and Gendered Citizenship in South Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37(2), pp. 369-388.

### **August 9 (Tuesday): Final Test**

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

For Prof Abbas Gnamo and Mr. Michael Braun

*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: \_\_\_\_\_