



DISCOURSE

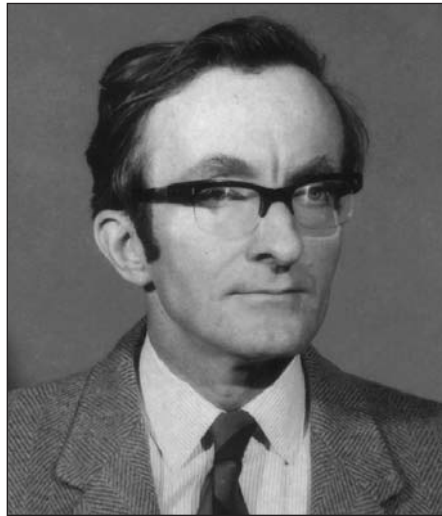
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Cranford Pratt's Legacy and the Future of African Studies

Professor Emeritus **Cranford Pratt** became an Officer of the Order of Canada this fall. A long-time member in the Department of Political Science and former Director of the International Studies Program at University of Toronto, Pratt has been a powerful scholar, teacher and advocate for social justice. The overarching theme of his career has been toward alleviating global poverty and the promotion of development throughout Africa and the Third World.

Pratt was one of the very first Canadians to study, teach and write about African politics. Early in his career, he worked on how stability can best be maintained and development promoted. His book, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*, was instrumental in overcoming much of the ignorance surrounding African politics and establishing the politics of the developing world as a subject worthy of serious investigation. It has been described as the best book ever written on Tanzanian politics. Julius Nyerere, the beloved founding father of Tanzania, praised Pratt's work saying:

"you have understood what we are trying to do, and sympathized, without becoming lyrical or uncritical... you have



Cranford Pratt – Establishing a legacy.

perceived our underlying purposes, and how we came by them, and where they come up against some pretty hard facts of life. Indeed, you have understood the process and the problems better than many Tanzanians."

Pratt is a legend among students, propelling a generation of scholars and activists in the study and practice of international development. In addition to teaching for decades at Toronto, he also headed up (1961-5) Tanzania's first university, University College in Dar es Salaam, where he played a crucial role in the country's development and the education of many of the country's future leaders.

In the latter portion of his career, Pratt directed his scholarship toward enlightening Canadian foreign policy towards Africa and other parts

of the Third World. Perhaps most notably, he effectively pinpointed the ambiguities surrounding Canada's foreign assistance policies toward South Africa, thus spearheading Canada's stand against apartheid. More generally, his work incisively critiqued the dilution of the humanitarian component of Canada's North-South policies, and the erosion of Canada's progressive internationalist values.

Pratt worked tirelessly to make the study of Africa a central focus for the Department. In doing so, he played a pivotal role in creating the methodological tolerance and substantive intellectual diversity which infuses the Department to this day. In his openness to various forms of political discourse, Pratt's pedagogy embodied a generosity of spirit and openness to contending currents, borne of his intensive focus on addressing real conditions of living in the poorest countries of the world. In doing so, he not only gave African studies a genuinely collaborative core, he also helped steer Toronto around some rather more narrowly academic issues; for example, over area studies vis a vis broadly comparative politics, that too often pre-occupied departments elsewhere.

As Director of the International Studies Program, Pratt ensured not only an interesting mix of courses and flow of important visitors, he also played a pivotal role in recruiting a brace of outstanding scholars to the Department and across the University

From the Chair

Discourse was created fifteen years ago to keep graduates and friends of the Department of Political Science *au courant* with the Department's activities. Initially, the graduates we had in mind were mostly former students in our MA and PhD programs; the term "friends" usually referred to other political scientists across the country. With the enormously helpful assistance of the Office of Advancement in the Faculty of Arts and Science, we are now in a position to expand the circulation of *Discourse* to reach many of our undergraduate alumni far more systematically than before. To those of you who are receiving *Discourse* for the first time, welcome back!

This expansion in circulation coincides with a major push within the Department, and indeed within the larger U of T, to enhance the undergraduate student experience. At the core of that experience, of course, is the quality of the 100 or so undergraduate courses we mount every year. Judging by the long list of political scientists who have won teaching awards in recent years, we have lots to be proud of. Not coincidentally, our undergraduate enrolment is

soaring. There are now twice as many students taking political science courses as there were six years ago, and over two thousand students are now enrolled in one of the Department's programs, whether as specialist, major or minor.

Of course this surge in enrolment poses its own challenges, which is one of the reasons we have begun to concentrate attention and resources on enhancing the student experience beyond the classroom. In several courses, professors have developed student-centred, spin-off research projects that give especially keen students an opportunity to pursue individual projects that build on their coursework. Thanks to the generosity of the Malim Harding Fund, we now sponsor an annual "public conversation" in which prominent public figures come to campus to speak about an important theme in public life. This year's event, featuring Kim Campbell and Glen Murray (see page 7), was a resounding success. Equally successful are our career seminars. We run focused sessions for students who want to go to grad school or law school, of course, but we also invite alumni who have used their political science degree as a springboard to other pursuits to talk about

the many career options that exist beyond law and academe. We provide financial assistance to students who want to attend a model UN, or publish a primer on the US election, or follow in Hunter S. Thompson's footsteps on the campaign trail, or publish their own "peer reviewed" academic journal. We provide financial assistance for students to present their research at academic conferences. And we encourage students to take advantage of the growing number of opportunities to study abroad; in some cases, with the help of generous donations from friends and alumni, we underwrite these initiatives.

In short, we understand the need to broaden and deepen the student experience in political science, and we have no shortage of ideas about how we might accomplish this. With the help of alumni and friends, the Department has created a trust fund that we use to fund student-centred projects, including some of those mentioned above. Much of what we do simply would be impossible without that support. By the same token, with your help, we could do so much more.

Rob Vipond

Charles Taylor, Jackman Lecturer

Eminent political philosopher Charles Taylor was this year's Chancellor Jackman Distinguished Visitor in the Arts. For two weeks in November, he was on campus offering an intensive course (26 hours over eight days) on "Secularism" to students from Philosophy, Religion and Political Science. In addition

to the class time, Taylor held office hours, met with students, gave lectures, and had lunch with faculty and students. In short, he participated fully in the life of the campus. The feedback from the seminar has been very positive. In years to come students will no doubt be heard to say "were you at the U of T the year Charles Taylor gave his intensive course?" The ninth and final session of the course was offered at a public lecture entitled "Religion and Vio-

lence" attended by over three hundred people pressed into a room with a designated capacity of substantially less. Taylor's visit was sponsored by the Departments of Political Science, Philosophy and Religion, with the generous support of the Chancellor Jackman Program in the Arts.

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including **Jonathan Barker**, **Richard Stren** and **Richard Sandbrook**.

Among these, Barker was the first to arrive. Trained at Berkeley, his earliest work focused on rural development in Senegal. He was attracted to Toronto, as were those who followed, by Pratt's ambition to build here a first-rate program of African studies. On the research front, Barker also later worked in Tanzania, connecting his study of rural politics to Nyerere's project of creating a viable socialist third path to development. He further extended his rural focus to the study of ground-level political participation in Africa. Currently his work has broadened to include the study of terrorism.

Stren's research focus on urban politics in Africa nicely complemented Barker's rural work. Stren had been an undergraduate at Toronto and under Pratt's tutelage, decided to become an Africanist and then went to Berkeley to continue his education. His work has primarily addressed the policy and administrative responses of African cities to the demands of rapid growth. He has also contributed a great deal of practical nature to strengthening urban management and scholarly publishing and research in Africa. Throughout the 1990s, Stren also coordinated the Global Urban Research Initiative and worked also on the social sustainability of cities. Moreover, he served for several terms as as Director of the Centre for Urban and Community Studies.

Sandbrook first encountered Cran Pratt in taking the Department's core course in comparative development as an MA student. Advised by Pratt to study at Sussex with Colin Leys, Sandbrook conducted his early research on the development of the working class and trade unions in Kenya. There, he met Richard Stren with whom he later teamed up to teach the core course he had taken earlier as a student. Broadly speaking, Sandbrook

worked toward integrating the study on national development strategies with the literature in international political economy on the nature and impact of dependency and globalization, mainly with reference to sub-Saharan Africa. More recently, Sandbrook has examined the viability of efforts of poor countries to reconcile equity and democracy with economic growth as well as how market forces and organizations like the IMF, the WTO and the World Bank constrain countries following this path.

Together with Pratt, the trio of Barker, Stren and Sandbrook began to cement Toronto's reputation in Africa and beyond as a leading centre for scholarship on Africa. Their strengths were further reinforced by the active engagement with Africa by several members of the Department with other areas of specialization. These included **Robert Matthews**, a specialist in international relations, David Nowlan, a political economist and **Peter Russell**, an expert on courts. Historians such as Martin Klein and sociologists such as Jack Wayne and economists such as Gerry Heileiner added further strength in the study of Africa.

Of the scores of students trained here, many have gone on to take up academic and governmental positions in Canada and across the continent of Africa. In the very first comparative core seminar offered by Stren and Sandbrook, was a young MA student from Cameroon, **Dickson Eyoh**. Following doctoral work at York University, and extended fieldwork and teaching stints in Nigeria, Eyoh returned to Canada to teach briefly at York. He was then recruited to become the Director of African Studies at U of T with a cross-appointment in Political Science where he now teaches the core course in comparative development. Eyoh's work aims to understand African politics through a focus on how identities such as ethnicity and citizenship are created. His research is on the interface of cultural identity and politics and the dynamics of state formation

in Africa. He is particularly interested in developing film as a pedagogical tool showing the ways in which politics is culturally embedded.

The research collaborations have also brought talented activists and researchers into the Department including **Patricia McCarney**, now Associate Vice President for International Research and Development at U of T. In the 1990s, she was associate coordinator (with Stren) of the Global Urban Research Initiative. She came to Toronto after working with IDRC in Ottawa and with UNCAS/Habitat based in Nairobi. She also assisted President Mandela's office in South Africa in developing its national urban strategy, and worked with the World Bank-Africa Technical Division in Washington. Her current research, funded by the Donner Canadian Foundation, is aimed at gaining a broader sense of how global cities function.

Other members of the Department broadly engaged in African research in recent years include political theorists **Joseph Carens**, **Simone Chambers** and **Melissa Williams** and comparative constitutionalist **Ran Hirschl** as well as **Richard Simeon** in the area of public policy. Most recently, however, the Department has been fortunate to recruit in the last year two new faculty members from the current generation of young scholars focusing their attention on Africa. They are **Antoinette Handley** and **Wambui Mwangi**.

Handley is a South African, trained at Oxford and Princeton. Her research focuses upon the politics of economic reform in Ghana, Mauritius, South Africa and Zambia, with particular attention to the capacity of the private sector to shape economic policy and, in the long-term, contribute to economic development. She finds in many instances that the private sector is fused with the public sector in a neo-patrimonial fashion. Her work explores plausible alternative approaches to promote private sector

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Election Season

Come election season, the air virtually crackles in a political science department. This year the political scene served up a double dip, with both Canadian and American elections this year. Four seminars, two devoted to each election, were held around the Department.

First out of the blocks with a pre-election visit to the Department was William Kristol, a leading conservative political analyst and commentator and editor of *The Weekly Standard*. Kristol offered a principled defense of the Bush administration's policies and forecast a Bush re-election on the basis of foreign policy issues. "The single most important thing about it," according to Kristol, was the election's timing as the first following the events of 9/11.

Just after the election, Theodore Lowi of Cornell University came to town and was joined by Megan Boler of OISE and Alan Freeman, the *Globe and Mail's* Washington correspondent, in a post-mortem discussion of the US election. Lowi provocatively argued that fear drove the electorate, and the moral imperialism of the Republican Party won the election

for Bush. Boler focused her attention on the media effects on the campaign. She criticized the mainstream media for its uncritical representation of the Bush record and for failing to report the many glitches, anomalies and intimidations of the voting process. She praised the re-appropriation of popular culture on the Internet as well as its growing satirical content. Freeman argued the Bush won the election on the strength of the greater emphasis on religion and family values and American political life compared with that of Canada.

The first of two panels on the Canadian election featured strategists for the Conservative, New Democratic and Liberal parties. Tom Flanagan, speaking for the Conservatives was disarmingly candid about the weaknesses of their campaign. He particularly highlighted the fact that the advertising campaign was never rejigged after the merger of the Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives. As such it was not aimed at winning and was both static and regionally undifferentiated. Jamie Heath, speaking for the New Democrats, argued that the campaign was about emotions, not issues. Moreover, in describing the respective strategies

of Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats, he flamboyantly argued that fear beat anger and anger beat hope. Liberal strategist Steven MacKinnon asserted that the critical event of the election was that the traditional mold of Canadian politics did not break.

Elisabeth Gidengil of McGill University and a member of the Canadian National Election Study team dropped by a week later to offer an advance peak at some of her survey results. Among her findings were that the gender gap in voting has closed and an age gradient has now developed in that younger voters were now more supportive of the NDP. She further found that the real underlying ideological structure in voting was based upon the use of the free enterprise system. Market skeptics were substantially more likely to vote New Democrat, while market supporters are disproportionately drawn to the Conservatives. Those who hold ambivalent views of the free enterprise system gravitate toward the Liberals. Moreover, the gay marriage issue had barely any impact on the choice. More important were prospective views on the economy and one's own economic circumstances.



Over one-hundred undergraduate students gathered to follow the US election results at a pub night sponsored by the Association of Political Science Students.

Newly-minted Ph.D.s

Congratulations to our newly-minted Ph.D.s and their supervisors:

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (Melissa Williams) **Jacqueline Krikorian** (David Cameron and Robert Vipond: co-supervisors) and **Neil Thomlinson** (Grace Skogstad)

MOVING ?

Don't forget about us.
Send us your new address!

Can over 59 Million People all be Wrong, Intolerant or Dumb?

by Renan Levine

President George W. Bush's victory over John Kerry was a remarkable achievement. Despite the tragedy of 9/11 and an economic downturn, President Bush mobilized a record number of supporters. In 1996, Republican Bob Dole won about 39 million votes. Eight years later, Bush inspired twenty more million Americans to vote for a Republican candidate for President. This is 12 million more votes than were cast for Bill Clinton, 11 million more votes than his father ever won, and five million more than Ronald Reagan's greatest electoral victory.

For many commentators, the magnitude of such a victory under so many adverse circumstances for the incumbent was inexplicable. Most wondered whether antipathy towards same-sex marriage, or intolerance towards gays and lesbians more generally, could motivate so many Americans to vote for President Bush. Searching for an explanation, many have sought to emphasize a great divide between red and blue states or declare a great victory in the cultural war between a growing number of evangelical Christians and the liberal intelligentsia. Some simply blamed Senator Kerry or missteps in his campaign. Unable to comprehend Bush's appeal to intelligent beings, at least one British tabloid asked how so many voters could be so dumb.

Fortunately, the exit polls were accurate within less than a percentage point, giving insight into who supported whom and why. A close analysis of the exit polls and the election results suggests that this election was not that unusual compared to other

presidential elections pitting a one-term incumbent and a challenger. For most voters, this was a referendum on President Bush's leadership, not a referendum over forms and consequences of American libido. Millions voted for President Bush because they approve of the job he has done, admire his conviction and share his worldview.

At the outset of the campaign, many Americans told pollsters they were concerned about the direction the country was going in, but a narrow majority did not blame the President. Of those who approved of the President's performance, 90% voted to re-elect him. According to the exit polls, 54% believed the U.S. was safer from terrorism than it was four years ago, and most of these voters voted to re-elect. More than 85% of those who agreed with the decision to go to war in Iraq voted for the President. Bush also benefited from those who felt their lives had improved since 2000. About 30% said their family's personal economic situation had improved over the past four years, 80% of whom voted for Bush.

Central to Kerry's attack against Bush was the charge that there were two wars: one against terrorism and one in Iraq. According to Kerry, the first was not fought with resolve, as the U.S. chose to "outsource" the task of hunting Osama Bin Laden at Tora Bora, and the second war against Saddam was a distraction. This was a powerful attack against the President. 90% of those who shared this view voted for Kerry, but only a minority agreed with Kerry. The exit polls estimate that 54% shared President Bush's outlook that Iraq was part of one war waged against terrorism and 80% of these citizens supported President Bush.

In light of these strong patterns of support for Bush's record, issues of social morality like abortion and gay

marriage merely aided the President's quest for re-election but were not responsible for the victory. President Bush could not have won the election if he relied solely on Christian evangelicals. Bush successfully crossed the so-called cultural divide to win the support of one in three voters who think abortion should be "always" or "mostly" legal. About 20% of those who support gay marriage and half of those who would permit civil unions voted for Bush. More than 20% of gays, lesbians and bisexuals even voted for Bush. If there really was a cultural war played out during this campaign, Bush should not have made these inroads.

Combining an emphatic, uncompromising stance against terrorism with a clear, principled stand on moral issues fit together in a coherent theme for the President. From his very first mass advertisements, Bush stressed his leadership in the face of continuing challenges and resolutely intoned that he knew exactly what America needed to do. He succeeded in getting out his message. Exit poll respondents cited President Bush for his religious faith, his honesty, his strong leadership and clear stance on issues. In contrast, Kerry was applauded for intelligence, caring about people and for the promise of change – in short, for not being George W. Bush.

In the end, Bush made important inroads among soccer moms and elderly voters on the basis of security and foreign policy to add to his small-town and rural bases of support that supported their President on more than just his stance on stem cell research.

A final word on Kerry: Kerry and many of his key campaign advisors have been roundly attacked for failing to articulate a clear message and for being unable to connect with "regular Americans". From my van-

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Staff Shot



Sari Sherman joined the Department last March as assistant to the chair. She came to us after 12 years at Ryerson University's Department of Political Science where she also served as the department secretary. Her work consists of coordinating virtually everything that goes through the Chair's Office. Moreover, she manages the chair's daily calendar and handles the scheduling and set up of all meetings and committee work as well as forward planning.

As we spoke, she was deeply immersed in the details of the hiring and promotion process. This year includes eight professorial searches and several tenure and promotion decisions. For each application, she receives the candidates' materials, she builds an application summary, coordinates their organization, duplication, filing and maintenance. Short-listed candidates must be contacted, travel itineraries set, dinner tables and hotel rooms reserved. Candidate itineraries and guides as well as the taping of the presentations need to be arranged. She is also responsible for correspondence with Human Resources as well as the Dean's Office regarding successful candidates. The most challenging aspect of Sari's job is making sure that nothing is missed. This requires intensive focus and a keen eye for detail all on strict, often simultaneous, timelines. She particularly enjoys the openness of our department officers to her creative input

and innovations such as her detailed "bring forward" charts.

As the mother of two young boys, Sari is deeply involved in her local school council as well as numerous sports and family activities. The weekend ahead thus involved the new *SpongeBob SquarePants* movie as well as reruns of *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* as her younger son is very keen on the "Baloo" one, which, if memory serves, is Leonardo.

As if this weren't enough, charity fundraising is also a very big part of her life. In addition to being very active in her local Hadassah chapter, Sari also coordinates school fundraisers and a toy drive for the Hospital for Sick Children.

Sari's upbeat nature and knack for multitasking in the midst of complex time-driven processes, as well as her "candy basket", have already been observed to calm even the most harried of faculty and staff.

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tage point, Kerry was not the strongest candidate and did not run a perfect campaign. But, that does not mean any Democrat would have done any better. Not only did Kerry win eight million more votes than Bill Clinton, he actually did better than political scientists expected. Most scientific election forecasts rely on various economic indicators, the President's approval rating months before election day and/or the number of terms the incumbent party has held the White House. As a result, scholars can make predictions months in advance. Almost all of the political scientists who offered predictions expected Bush to win by a greater margin than he actually did. Bush won 51.2% of the vote,

compared to the median forecast of 53.8%. In other words, the Kerry campaign probably won a larger share of the vote than he should have and, for that, deserves credit. America's economic situation and Bush's popularity indicate that this election could have been a much larger victory for Bush, and not because Americans are intolerant, misguided idiots.

Sources:

A full report of the scholarly predictions can be found at:
<http://www.apsanet.org/ps/oct04/toc.cfm>.

The exit poll data are at:
<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html>

Premier Ted?

Former University of Toronto Ph.D. student and University of Calgary professor **Ted Morton** is reported to be among the active candidates to succeed Alberta Premier Ralph Klein. Morton is thought to have substantial support in rural Alberta as well as a number of well-placed admirers. Recent polls indicate that, despite being one of Alberta's elected MLAs, Morton has yet to achieve widespread name recognition among the general public. The competition is expected to heat up following the provincial election.

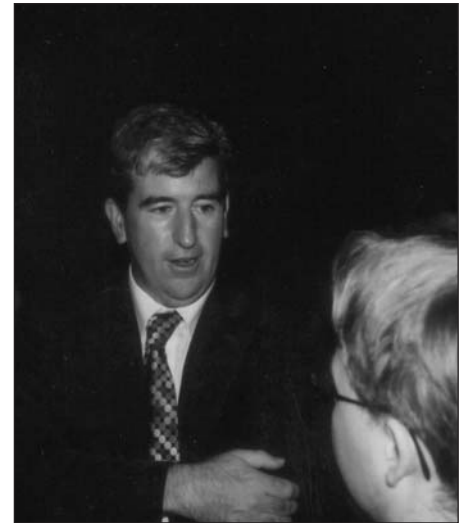
Kim Campbell and Glen Murray

Now in its second year, the annual undergraduate lecture offers political science students a unique opportunity to get up close and personal with some of Canada's foremost political practitioners. Organized and sponsored by our Undergraduate Office, the Association of Political Science Students (APSS), and the Malim Harding Fund, this October's event featured an "evening of conversation" between former Prime Minister Kim Campbell and Glen Murray, former Winnipeg mayor. Their topic was "What is Political Leadership?"

Campbell's presentation highlighted some of the hard realities of political life, such as that good leaders "must persuade people to accept loss" and perspectives other than their own. Murray, who is spending the year as a fellow at Massey College, urged students to focus on what they can do and how they can lead, to improve Canada.

A real highlight of the evening was the question and answer session in which one student asked about the differences between leading a social movement and leading a government. Campbell spoke revealingly about the ability to lead from the heart in a social movement in contrast to the requirement to lead a government on the basis of pragmatics. For his part, Murray spoke movingly in telling of his youth and how he never anticipated being able to lead because of sexual orientation. Nevertheless, he became the first openly gay, major city mayor in Canada.

Afterwards, students had ample opportunity for one-on-one conversation with Campbell and Murray. For well over an hour students huddled around their guests and engaged in lively interaction.



Kim Campbell and Glen Murray conversing with students



Undergraduate Awards

Shown here (along with the Director of Undergraduate Studies, **Ran Hirschl**, Undergraduate Administrator, **Elizabeth Jagdeo** and Chair of the Department, **Robert Vipond**) at a reception held in November are some of the winners of this year's Undergraduate Student Awards. Here is the complete list of winners: **Michelle Levesque** (The Citizen Lab Award); **Aldous Cheung, Alexei Volsky** (Canadian Institute of International Affairs Book Prize); **Marie-Adele Cassola, Zahra Ziaie Moayyed** (Ruth Robinson Leberg Book Prize); **Peter Jermyn** (J. Stefan Dupré Book Prize); **Tara Bissett** (Brian Mulroney Award); **Abril Novoa** (Pollara Book Prize – Pol 242Y); **Arthur Shuster** (J. Michael Kyne Award); **Jeffrey Major, Robert Whillans, Jason Kim** (Mary Keenan Award in Political Science); **Nazanin Rassouli** (Monte Kwinter Political Science Award); **Joanna Langille** (Andrew Nigrini Sr. Memorial Scholarship); **Tony Navaneelan** (Alexander Mackenzie Scholarship in Political Science); **Emilian Papadopoulos** (Political Science GRADitude Bursary); **Tony Navaneelan** (Paul L. Nathanson Scholarship in Political Science); **Kiley Thompson** (Jules and Elaine James Scholarship); **Jennifer Donville** (Suzanne and Edwin Goodman Prize). Congratulations!

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Grad Tidings

Ross Corbett (Ph.D. candidate) is a post-doctoral fellow at Brown University, working on the Philosophy of the American Founding.

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (Ph.D. 2004) is now a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre de recherche en éthique de l'université de Montréal.

Kristin Good (Ph.D. candidate) has received the Byran O. Jackson dissertation research award from the Urban Politics section of the American Political Science Association for her work in the area of race and urban politics.

Jonathan Malloy (Ph.D. 2000) has won the Charles H. Levine Memorial Book Prize awarded by the International Political Science Association and the journal *Governance* for his *Between Colliding Worlds* which is based on his dissertation.

Annis May Timpson (Ph.D. 1997) has recently become Director of the Centre of Canadian Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

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autonomy. More generally, in a way reminiscent of Cranford Pratt, she seeks to locate Africa at the centre of political studies, using Africa as a basis for theory building.

Wambui Mwangi's research and teaching focus on the colonial experience in Africa and its reverberations into the present. Adopting a post-colonialist approach to understanding history and society from the point of view of those it has least benefited, her work investigates the operations and assumptions of colonial administrations. Examining, for example, the opera-

tion and impact of the East African Currency Board, she details the role of money in the production of colonized subjects, as well how currency circulation aided the colonial project of pacification and boundary formation. Born and raised in Kenya, she received her academic training at McGill and the University of Pennsylvania. She particularly enjoys the opportunity her position offers to develop more inclusive and progressive ways of thinking and analyzing social, economic, political and historical forces in Africa.

Earlier this year, Handley and Mwangi met with Cranford Pratt

for lunch. It is not difficult to understand his delight in meeting these dynamic, young women who represent the future study of African politics at Toronto.

Discourse is published twice a year by the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Correspondence should be directed to: The Editors, *Discourse*, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Toronto, Canada M5S 3G3. This issue was edited by **J. Fletcher**.