

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science  
**POL 301Y1Y**  
**Government and Politics in Africa**  
**2019-20**

**Instructors:** **Fall semester**  
Prof. Wilson Prichard  
**Office Hours:** Thursday 16.15 – 17.30  
**Office:** Room 220, Munk School of Global Affairs,  
315 Bloor St.  
**E-mail:** wilson.prichard@utoronto.ca

**Winter semester**  
Prof. Abbas Gnamo  
**Office Hours:**  
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**E-mail:** [abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca](mailto:abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca)  
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**Time:** Thursday 14:00 – 16:00

**Place:** UC161

**Grading TA:** Moses Karanja <moses.karanja@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, and available via Quercus. 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 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 12, 2019.

Essay to be due before the beginning of class on October 24, 2019.

*Research essay:* Topics to be posted by January 10, 2020.

Essay to be due in class, at the beginning of class on March 12, 2020.

Unless you specifically make alternative arrangements in advance, essays should be submitted via the Turnitin, through Quercus. 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 **at least three weeks** in advance of the submission deadline with the course instructor.

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 Quercus site and submit your essay via Turnitin. The date and time of submission here will serve as the official record of when you handed your essay in;

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, with details posted via Quercus. 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.

**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 officially at the end of the year.

*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 submitted after the start of class but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a 2% penalty.

*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.

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 via Turnitin 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 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.

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.

### **Extensions and Absences**

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. In the absence of appropriate documentation absence from a quiz or test will result in a grade of 0, while late submission of papers will be subject to the penalties described above. In the case of absence from tests a make-up test will be scheduled.

There are only four types of such acceptable documentation, and no extensions will be granted without appropriate documentation, without exceptions, as per the policy of the Faculty of Arts and Science. Any documentation related to illness or injury **must** be provided within one week of the absence or due date.

- i) ***UofT Verification of Illness or Injury Form***: This form, available to students online ([www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca](http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca)), is restricted to a select group of medical practitioners, and provides responses to the relevant questions about the absence.
- ii) ***Student Health or Disability Related Certificate***: A streamlined variant of the U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form provided by our own internal doctors who can vouch for health problems without as many details.
- iii) ***A College Registrar's Letter***: This is a letter that only senior College Registrarial staff are authorized to write. It should identify itself as a "College Registrar's Letter." Such a letter is likely when the student has extensive personal difficulties or when a situation or condition affects a number of courses. No additional details are required.
- iv) ***Accessibility Services Letter***: This sort of letter may address needed accommodations or document on-going disability issues that have made absence or lateness unavoidable, and requires registration with accessibility services.

### **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. 5)**

### **Week 2: The Advent of Colonialism (Sept. 12)**

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. 19)**

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 (Sept. 26)**

#### **\*\*\*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. 3)**

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. 10)**

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. 17)**

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 (Oct. 24)**

**\*\*\*Review Essay Due Prior to Class\*\*\***

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 (Oct. 31)**

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

**Nov. 7, 2019 (Reading week, no class)**

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

14)

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. 21)**

**Week 12: In class mid-term test (Nov. 28)**

## **Part II: Themes in African Politics**

**Week 13: Pan-Africanism and Regionalism on the continent (Jan. 9)**

- Timothy Murthi, *The African Union: Pan-Africanism, Peace-building and Development*, Ashgate, 2000, pp. 7-38.
- By George B. N. Ayittey, "The United States of Africa: A Revisit," *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 632, November 2010.

**Week 14: The wave of democratization and African democratic Transition (Jan. 16)**

- Crawford Young "Africa: An Interim Balance Sheet" in Peter Lewis, (Ed), *Africa: The Challenges of Change and Development*, 1998, pp.341-358.
- Gabrielle Lynch and Gordon Crawford, "Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: an assessment," *Democratization*, Vol. 18, No. 2, April 2011, 275–310
- Stephen Brown & Paul Kaiser, "Democratisations in Africa: attempts, hindrances and prospects," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 1131 – 1149

**\*\*\*The Topics of Research Essay II will be posted on January 10\*\*\***

**Week 15: Ethnic identification and ethnic conflicts in Africa (Jan. 23)**

- "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 16: African Civil Conflicts and Genocidal massacre, Rwanda (Jan. 30)**

- Peter Uvin, “Reading the Rwandan Genocide,” International Studies Association, 200,1
- Helen M. Hintjens, “Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37, 2 (1999), pp. 241-286

#### **Week 17: Agriculture and food security in Africa (Feb. 6)**

- 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)
- Richard Schiffman, “Hunger, Food Security, and the African Land Grab,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, 27, no. 3, 2013 pp. 239-249

#### **Week 18: Contagious diseases (TB, Malaria and HIV/Aids) (Feb. 13)**

- 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)

#### **Feb. 20 (Reading week, no class)**

#### **Week 19: Business and Industry in Africa (Feb. 27)**

- 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 20: South Africa (Mar. 5)**

- Chapter 3 “Indirect Rule”, in Mahmoud Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996)
- Heather Deegan, *New South Africa: Apartheid After*, Pearson, 2001, Chapter II, pp. 23-42.
- 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 21: Politics (Mar. 12)**

**\*\*\*Research Essay Due Prior to Class\*\*\***

- Chapter 1 “Women’s mobilization and societal autonomy” in Aili Mari Tripp, *Women and Politics in Uganda*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press (2000)
- Goran Hyden, *African Politics*, Chap. 8. pp.162-181

**Week 22: The Evolving Patterns of Africa’s International Relations (Mar. 19)**

- Alex Thomson, *Introduction to African politics*. London and Routledge, 2000, pp.141-164
- 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

**Week 23: Africa in a globalizing world: Perspectives on Sino-African relations (Mar. 26)**

- Marcus Power and Giles Mohan, “Towards a Critical Geopolitics of China’s Engagement with African Development,” *Geopolitics*, 15:462–495, 2010
- Felix M. Edoho , “Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China—Africa Relations”, *Africa Today* , Vol. 58, No. 1 (Fall 2011), pp. 103-124
- Ian Taylor, “Governance in Africa and Sino-African Relations: Contradictions or Confluence?” *Politics: 2007 VOL 27(3)*, 139–146

**April 2, 2020: Final Test**

## Academic Integrity Checklist

Pol 301 – Government and Politics in Africa

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.