

**The University of Toronto, Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Political Science**

POL 301Y1Y

Government and Politics in Africa, S2014

Professor: Abbas Gnamo, Ph.D.

Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:00 – 2:00PM

Place: L0101

Office: Rm. 3062 SSH

Office hours: Thursdays, 3:30 PM-5:00 PM (or by appointment)

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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 offering 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 African politics and multi-dimensional crises.

Readings

You need to purchase the book of reading from IMAGE-XPRESS and it includes all the required texts except e-articles. The address is:

IMAGE X-PRESS, 193 College Street
Toronto ON M5T 1P9,
Tel. (416) 596-1708.
Email: imagexpress@gmail.com

A copy of the reader will be available on short-term reserve in Robarts Library. You are expected to read two required texts for every lecture and I hope you read at least one of them before you come to class. The instructor may suggest further readings in the course of the term. However, the exam will be based on the lectures and the reader that incorporates all the required readings as well as e-articles which will be made available on BB, Course Documents section.

Format and requirements

Course evaluation will include a quiz, two examinations, and a research essay.

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|--|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Map quiz | 10% | (in the first three weeks) |
| 2. Term Test (first semester) | 25% | (June 19) |
| 3. Research Paper (12pp. double spaced) | 30% | (Tuesday, July 22) |
| 4. Final Exam (second semester) | 35% | (August 13-19) TBA |

Map quiz:

All students will be required to acquire a basic knowledge of African geography by the third week of the course. The map quiz will take place in the first few weeks. The date of the quiz will not be announced ahead of time and no make-up without compelling reasons. Therefore, make sure that you review the material regularly and be ready to take the quiz at any time during that period.

Research Essay

In this course, you will write a substantive essay on one of the major issues and problems of contemporary African politics. These include Africa's endeavor to institutionalize democracy, the attempts to address some important challenges such as epidemics, conflicts and food security, the woman question or gender equality. The essay should be grounded in strong conceptual framework, a clear working hypothesis and supporting empirical data on the topic chosen. Your ability to weave the perspective adopted with empirical research and relating to the course material is important.

Essay Topics

You will choose one of the following topics, which are designed to enhance your understanding of African political economy, societies and government as well as some important challenges facing the continent.

1. Is there a successful democratic transition in Africa? Compare and contrast two African countries where democracy has progressed and might be irreversible. You can compare one francophone country with an Anglophone country.
2. "African Problems, African Solutions". Explore African major initiatives and hindrances to address one of the following problems: a) intra-state/civil conflicts; or b) climate change and food security
3. Is the African continent changing its Foreign Relations? Analyze critically the growing economic and political ties between African countries and emerging economies with a focus on Afro-Indian relations or Sino-African relations.

4. From Afro-pessimism to Afro-optimism? Analyze the performance of two fast growing economies in Africa: Rwanda, Ghana, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Mozambique. Is this growth is a myth or a reality?
5. Women and African democratization: Have democratic reforms contributed to empowering women in Africa? Be sure to support your thesis with case studies from two African nations.

Sign up: You will need to sign up for the topic you have chosen. You will sign up online by going to the blackboard, under Users and Groups before **Tuesday, June 17**

Due date: The paper should be submitted prior to or during class on **Tuesday, July 22**. You are urged to make a copy of your paper before submitting it. It is also strongly recommended that you keep copies of all your research notes and drafts in case you are asked.

Late penalty: There will be a penalty of 3% per day for late papers (including weekends i.e. penalties will continue to accrue at 5% per day over the weekend). Papers handed in after class on the due date but before 5pm will be subject to a 1% penalty. Late papers must be submitted to the Political Science Department on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith during business hours. You must ensure that the paper is dated and stamped. You should never attempt to submit your paper by leaving it under an office door or sending it by e-mail or fax.

NB. No paper will be accepted a week after the due date except under exceptional circumstances

Plagiarism

Students should be aware that plagiarism is considered to be a major academic offence, and that it will be penalized accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>.

The essay assignment sheet will also provide more detail on these points. If a student is caught plagiarizing on an essay he or she may 1) receive a grade of F for the assignment and a formal warning; 2) may receive a grade of F for the course, and a formal warning; 3) may undergo a formal hearing and be expelled from the university.

Please see the attached sheets entitled *How Not to Plagiarize* and *Standard Documentation Formats*. 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. I am 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.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing their paper in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. Students must keep their returned and graded assignments until final marks have been posted on ROSI at the end of the year in case there is any discrepancy or problem in the recording of final grades.

Turnitin

In addition to handing a hard copy of essays to the TA, 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 a source of documents in the turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the turnitin.com service are described on the turnitin.com website.

Students who object to using turnitin may use the following alternative procedure:

- 1) Advise your TA that you will not be using turnitin at your first meeting with him/her.
- 2) Save every version/draft of your paper electronically, and submit a disc with all saved drafts of your paper at the time you submit the hardcopy of the paper.
- 3) Hand in all notes, outlines, bibliographic research at the time you hand in the paper.

Remarking request must be received within 15 days of a grade assignment. "Students must submit remarking requests no later than 2 weeks after the work has been returned, and that remark requests beyond the instructor level may only be made for assignments/tests worth at least 20% of the course mark".

Test and exam:

The term test will take place during class time in the fourth week of June (**June 19**). The end of year exam will occur during the final exam period (August 13-16). In each case, this test/exam will include both short paragraphs and longer essay answers. Options will be provided for both short answers and essay questions.

Please note: Missing the map quiz, the end-of-term test or the exam, or handing a paper in late will require an acceptable doctor's note or other reliable documentation. This must be submitted within one week of the test or assignment date and it should be submitted on the official UofT Medical Note form. Note also, "Only 5 groups are permitted to sign this form - physicians, surgeons, nurse practitioners, dentists, clinical psychologists - and only regarding matters within the scope of their practice".

Office hours

Please feel free to stop by my office during my office hours as indicated above. Make an effort to come only during office hours, as it is difficult to set up an alternative appointment. I will do my best to respond to e-mails 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.

Part I

Tracing the historical origins of contemporary Africa

13th May: Introduction and general orientation (no reading assigned)

15th May: Africa before colonialism

- Jared Diamond: *Guns, Germs and Steel*, New York: WW Norton and Co. (1999), Chapter 19, pp.376-401
- “Introduction: The Historicity of African Societies” in Jean Francois Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* London: Longman (1993)

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

20st May: 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, pp.50-79.
- Mahmood Mamdani, “Decentralized despotism” in *Citizen and Subject*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996), Chapter 2, pp. 37-61

22rd May: 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, 2nded.* 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

27th May: The new generation of independent African states

- 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.
- “The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa” by James S Coleman in Almond, Gabriel A and James S Coleman (eds.) *Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1960), Chapter 3
- Timothy Murthi, *The African Union: Pan-Africanism, Peace-building and Development*, Ashgate, 2000, pp. 7-38.?

29stMay: 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

3th June: 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 21st Century?*, Washington DC (2000) <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/canafricaclaim.pdf>

5th June: Structural Adjustment Programmes and the pressure to reform

- Benno Ndulu, Nicholas van de Walle, and contributors. “Africa’s Economic Renewal: From Consensus to Strategy” in *Agenda for Africa’s Renewal*, New Brunswick: transaction Publishers (1996), Overview, pp.3 – 31
- 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

10th June: African militaries

- Edward Luttwak, *Coup d’ Etat: A Practical Handbook*, New York: Alfred A Knopf (1989), Chapter 1, pp3-12
- Thomson, *Introduction to African politics and government*, pp. 121-141.

******* Sign-up for essay topic, by Tuesday, June 17*******

12th& 17th June: 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

19th June: Midterm test

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Part II

Themes in African Politics

3rd July: Theorizing African politics I, The Rise and decline of African State

- 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)
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Personal Rule in Africa’ in Africa: Dilemmas of Development” edited by Peter Lewis, Westview (1998), Chapter 1, pp.17– 43.

Recommended

- [E] Crawford Young, “The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamic” *African Affairs* (2004), 103, 23–49

8th July: Theorising African politics II (Modernisation theory, liberal and neo-liberal approaches)

- “How Politics Underdevelops Africa” by Claude Ake in Julius Ihonvbere *The Political Economy of Crisis and Underdevelopment in Africa*, Lagos: JAD Publishers Ltd. Chapter 4 (1989)
- [E] 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
- [E] Paul D. Williams, "State Failure in Africa: causes, consequences and responses" www.europaworld.com

10th July: 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.

Recommended

- [E] Bruce Berman, “Ethnicity, patronage and the African State: the Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,” *African Affairs* (1998), 97: 305-341[E]
- [E] Crawford Young, *Revisiting nationalism and ethnicity in Africa*, James S. Coleman African Studies Center (University of California, Los Angeles), 2004

15th July: African 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.

- [E] Helen M. Hintjens, “Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37, 2 (1999), pp. 241-286

****** Do not forget to submit your papers on July 22, in class ******

22th July: African agriculture and the African peasantry

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

24th July: 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)
- [E] Jon Kraus “Capital, power and business associations in the African political economy” in *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 40, no 3 (2002)

29rd July: The wars of liberation

- Chapter 10 “Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence” by Bruce Berman in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale *Unhappy Valley* London: James Currey (1992)
- Jomo Kenyatta: *Suffering without Bitterness*, East African Publishing House (1968), Appendix: “Constitutional Conference” and “Independence Day”, pp.209-217
- Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (chapter 6) Cambridge University press, pp. 133-156.

31th July: 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>>

5th August: 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)

7st August: 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)

12th August: The Evolving patterns of Africa’s international relations

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

13th - 19th August: Final exams (date and venue TBA)

Appendix

Electronic sources and scholarly journals on Africa as compiled by Peter J Schraeder ,
African Politics and Society, Thomson Wadsworth, California. , 2004, pp, 100-13

News:

AllAfrica News Wire

<http://allafrica.com>

The New York Times

<http://www.nyt.com>

The BBC

<http://news.bbc.co.uk>

African Studies:

Northwestern University

<http://www.nwu.edu/african-studies>

Michigan State University

<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~africa/>

Africa Studies Centre (Leiden, the Netherlands)

<http://asc.leidenuniv.nl>