

Carleton University
Fall Term - 2012
Department of Political Science

Political Science 4207A-5107F
GLOBALIZATION, ADJUSTMENT AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Course Director: Prof. Linda Freeman
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Course hours: Tuesday: 11:35 am - 2:25 pm
Office hours: Tuesday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm
Thursday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm

Course Objectives:

This course will explore competing analyses of African development and democracy. A central theme will be the nature of global pressures in Sub-Saharan Africa as states go through the most recent wave of political and economic changes.

The first unit will examine the contemporary relevance of different schools of thought. It will begin by assessing central propositions in dependency theory in relation to China's role in Africa, the dynamics of international trade and issues on land and agrarian policies. It will then turn to the impact of neoliberalism and structural adjustment on African economies. This unit will explore IMF/World Bank involvement in Tanzania, Zambia and Ghana. The final section will look at democratization in the context of globalization and adjustment in Africa. It will begin by examining general theories of democracy in an African context and will conclude the course by exploring these themes in Kenya and Nigeria.

Course Assessment will be based on:

One short critical paper	30%
Take home examination or one longer paper	40%
Class Participation	30%
Total	100%

Due dates at a glance:

2 October to 23 October 2012
4 December 2012

Short paper: Each student will be required to write one short paper of 7-10 typed double spaced pages (using just one side of the page) **CRITICALLY ASSESSING** the issues raised in one of the seminars from Week 2 to 5. This paper is due the week after the seminar chosen as your subject and will not necessarily be the same topic as the seminar you facilitate. Essays

should be handed in either in class or during office hours and will be returned within two weeks of receiving them.

Note that ***this exercise is not intended as a review of the weekly articles or as a descriptive synthesis of them.*** Instead, you are asked to develop an argument about the theme of the seminar which demonstrates mastery of the assigned material. The articles will constitute your bibliography. Criteria for assessment will include richness and imaginative treatment of substance, ***clear development of an argument***, precision of expression and style. **Lateness** in submission of assignments will be considered in arriving at a final grade but no fixed penalty will be assigned.

The Take-Home Examination: The take-home examination is an essay-type examination consisting of one question with choice between topics. The answer will be 10-15 pages in length typed and double spaced using footnotes and bibliography. **The take-home will be handed out in class on 27 November 2012 and is due in on 4 December 2012.** It will be the product of individual not group work.

A Longer Paper (as an alternative to the take home). This option consists of a 10 to 15 page research paper on a related topic ***chosen in consultation with the professor well in advance of the due date.*** It is due on 27 November 2012.

Class Participation will be assessed 50% on general participation - attendance, preparation and quality of contributions to discussion - and 50% on performance in facilitating one of the seminars. As this is an honours seminar, there will be no regular lectures from the instructor. The point of a seminar is to provide a forum for students to exchange their views. In order to make the class a success, students are expected to have done the assigned readings prior to class and to be prepared to discuss them at length.

Each student will also be responsible for facilitating at least one session. Note carefully the instructions regarding this part of the course.

Responsibilities in Leading a Seminar: Instead of opening a seminar with a prepared statement, select about three or four important questions coming out of the central themes of the readings for each half of the group discussion. That's a total of eight questions. ***You must check these first with the instructor through a teleconference on Friday afternoon at 4:00 pm. A draft set of questions should be sent to the professor no later than 3:00 pm.*** If there are two students leading the seminar, it is advised (on grounds of cost) that you arrange to have a teleconferencing facility well in advance of the consultation with the professor.

Revised questions are then distributed by email to the class well before the seminar and then as hard copy on the day of the seminar. The questions are meant to guide both reading and discussion. Try to balance a very brief outline of your responses to these questions with your responsibilities as a group leader stimulating discussion. ***Your role is as a facilitator and not a presenter.***

Course requirements in terms of written work and class participation are the same for undergraduate and graduate students, though a higher standard will be used for assessing graduate students. Graduate students will be required to do the optional readings.

The university requires that the following regulations are inserted in all course outlines:

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and *will not* be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. *Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.*

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

1. reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
2. submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
3. using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
4. using another’s data or research findings;
5. failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
6. handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are

not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Academic Accommodations:

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 9, 2012 for fall term examinations**

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

September 11

ORGANIZING SESSION

Week 1

GLOBALIZATION, DEVELOPMENT & DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA - AN OVERVIEW

September 18

Martin, William G. "Africa's Futures: from North-South to East-South?" *Third World Quarterly*, XXIX, 2 (2008), 339-356. (Carleton library online)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo. "Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonisation in Africa: A Moment of Celebration or Critical Reflection?" *Third World Quarterly*, XXX, 1 (December 2011), 71-89. (Carleton library online)

Rowden, Rick. "Poverty Reduction is Not Development." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXVII, 126 (December 2010), 503-516. (Carleton library online)

Bond, Patrick. "Africa's Recovery: Economic Growth, Governance and Social Protest." *Africa Insight*, XLI, 3 (December 2011), 30-45. (Carleton library online)

Tandon, Yash. "Kleptocratic Capitalism, Climate Finance, and the Green Economy in Africa." *Pambazuka News*, Issue #555, 2 November 2011, 8 pp.
<http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/77603>

Optional:

Abrahamsen, Rita. "The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance." *Third World Quarterly*, XXV, 8 (December 2004), 1453-1467. (Carleton library online)

UNIT ONE: AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT DEBATES

Week 2

DEPENDENCY THEORY UPDATED? CHINA IN AFRICA

September 25

Davies, Joanne E. "Washington's Growth and Opportunity Act or Beijing's 'Overarching Brilliance': Will African Governments Choose Neither?" *Third World Quarterly*, XXXII (June 2011), 1147-1163. (Carleton library online)

Kaplinsky, Raphael; McCormick, Dorothy; and Morris, Mike. "Impacts and Challenges of a Growing Relationship Between China and Sub-Saharan Africa." in V. Padayachee (ed.), *The Political Economy of Africa*, London: Routledge, 2010, 389-409, available online at:
<http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/sites/cssr.uct.ac.za/files/pubs/PEA%20Kaplinsky%20etal.pdf>

Bond, Patrick. "Neoliberal Threats to North Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXVIII, 139 (August 2011), 481-495. (Carleton library online)

UNIT TWO: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NEOLIBERAL REFORMS IN AFRICA

Week 6 GLOBAL FORCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA October 23

Shivji, Issa G. "Nationalism and Pan-Africanism: Decisive Moments in Nyerere's Intellectual and Political Thought." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXIX, 133 (March 2012), 103-116. (Carleton library online)

Holtom, Duncan. "Reconsidering the Power of the IFIs: Tanzania and the World Bank 1978-1985." *Review of African Political Economy*, 106 (December 2005), 549-567. (Carleton library online)

Curtis, Mark and Lissu, Tundu. *A Golden Opportunity - How Tanzania is Failing to Benefit from Gold Mining*. Dar es Salaam: Christian Council of Tanzania et al, 2008, 15-43.
<http://www.pambazuka.org/images/articles/407/goldenopp.pdf>

Lange, Siri. "Gold and Governance: Legal Injustices and Lost Opportunities in Tanzania." *African Affairs*, CX, 439 (April 2011), 233-252. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Helleiner, Gerry. "The Legacies of Julius Nyerere: An Economist's Reflections." paper for a conference at Queen's University, 2000, 5 pp. . <http://www.queensu.ca/snid/helleiner.htm>

Kelsall, Tim. "Governance, Democracy and Recent Political Struggles in Mainland Tanzania." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, XLI, 2 (July 2003), 55-82. (Carleton library online)

Week 7 THE POLITICS OF NEOLIBERALISM IN ZAMBIA October 30

Larmer, Miles and Fraser, Alastair. "Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election." *African Affairs*, CVI, 425 (October 2007), 611- 637. (Carleton library online)

Larmer, Miles. "Reaction & Resistance to Neo-Liberalism in Zambia." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXII, 103 (March 2005), 29-45. (Carleton library online)

Moorsom, Toby Leon. "The Zombies of Development Economics: Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* and the Fictional African Entrepreneurs." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXVII, 125 (October 2010), 361-371. (Carleton library online)

Lungu, John. "Copper Mining Agreements in Zambia: Renegotiation or Law Reform?" *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXV, 117 (October 2008), 403-415. (Carleton library online)

Kopinski Dominic and Polus, Andrzej. "Sino-Zambian Relations: 'An All-Weather Friendship' Weathering the Storm." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXIX, 2 (April 2011), 181-192. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Van Donge, Jan Kees. "The Plundering of Zambian Resources by Frederick Chiluba and his Friends: A Case Study of the Interaction Between National Politics and the International Drive Towards Good Governance." *African Affairs*, CVIII, 430 (January 2009), 69-90. (Carleton library online)

Week 8

GHANA AND THE POLITICS OF NEOLIBERAL REFORMS

November 6

Opoku, Darko Kwabena. "From a 'Success' Story to a Highly Indebted Poor Country: Ghana and Neoliberal Reforms." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXVIII, 2 (May 2010), 155-175. (Carleton library online)

Whitfield, Lindsay. "The State Elite and PRSPs and Policy Implementation in Aid-Dependent Ghana." *Third World Quarterly*, XXXI, 5 (July 2010), 721-737. (Carleton library online)

Whitfield, Lindsay . "The politics of urban water reform in Ghana." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIII, 109 (September 2006), 425 - 448 . (Carleton library online)

Hilson, Gavin M. "Structural Adjustment in Ghana: Assessing the Impacts of Mining-Sector Reform." *Africa Today*, L1, 4 (Winter 2004), 53-77. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Owusu-Koranteng, Daniel. "Mining Investments and Community Struggles." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXV, 117 (October 2008), 467-473. (Carleton library online)

UNIT THREE: RETHINKING AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

Week 9

THE STATE AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

November 13

Simiyu, V.G. "The Democratic Myth in the African Traditional Societies." *Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa*, ed. W.O. Oyugi, Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1988, 49-70. (Carleton library on reserve under book title)

Chabal, Patrick. "The Quest for Good Government and Development in Africa: Is NEPAD the Answer?" *International Affairs*, LXXVIII, 3 (July 2002), 447-462. (Carleton library online)

Ayers, Alison. "Demystifying Democratisation: the Global Constitution of (Neo)liberal Politics in Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, XXVII, 2 (February 2006), 321-338. (Carleton library online)

Cheru, Fantu. "Democracy and People Power in Africa: Still Searching for the 'Political Kingdom'." *Third World Quarterly*, XXX, 2 (April 2012), 265-291. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Southall, Roger. "Democracy in Southern Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXX, 96 (June 2003), 255-272. (Carleton library online)

Week 10**KENYAN DEMOCRACY UNDER SIEGE****November 20**

Githongo, John. "Kenya - Riding the Tiger." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, II, 2 (May 2008), 359-367. (Carleton library online)

Mueller, Susanne D. "Dying to win: elections, political violence and institutional decay in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXIX, 1 (January 2011), 99-117. (Carleton library online)

Klopp, Jacqueline. "Deforestation and Democratization: Patronage, Politics and Forests in Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, VI, 2 (May 2012), 351-370. (Carleton library online)

Bachelard, Jérôme. "The Anglo-Leasing Corruption Scandal in Kenya: The Politics of International and Domestic Pressures and Counter-Pressures." *Review of African Political Economy*, XVII, 124 (June 2010), 187-200. (Carleton library online)

Cheeseman, Nic and Tendi, Blessing-Miles. "Power Sharing in Comparative Perspective: The Dynamics of 'Unity Government' in Kenya and Zimbabwe." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLVIII, 2 (June 2010), 203-229. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Mwangi, Oscar Gakuo. "Political Corruption, Party Financing and Democracy in Kenya." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLVI, 2 (June 2008), 267-285. (Carleton library online)

Week 11**GLOBAL FORCES AND DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA****November 27**

Watch the short silent film *Stained with Blood and Oil* by Ed Koch at <http://oldweb.geog.berkeley.edu/ProjectsResources/ND%20Website/NigerDelta/VIDEO/KashiNigerDelta.mov>

Amuwo, Adekunle. "The Political Economy of Nigeria's Post-Military Elections, 1999-2007." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXVI, 119 (May 2009), 37-61. (Carleton library online)

Watts, Michael. "Crude Politics: Life and Death in the Nigerian Oil Fields." *Working Paper 25*, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2009, 27 pp. http://oldweb.geog.berkeley.edu/ProjectsResources/ND%20Website/NigerDelta/WP/Watts_25.pdf, 23 pp.

Nwajiaku-Dahu, Kathryn. "The Political Economy of Oil and 'Rebellion' in Nigeria's Niger Delta." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIX, 132 (July 2012), 295-313. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Adebanwi, Wole and Obadare, Ebenezer. "When Corruption Fights Back: Democracy and Elite Interest in Nigeria's Anti-Corruption War." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLIX, 2 (June 2011), 185-213. (Carleton library online)