

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

**Course Director:** Prof. Linda Freeman  
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**Course hours:** Tuesday: 11:30 am - 2:30 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 SubSaharan Africa as states go through the most recent wave of political and economic changes.

The first unit will examine the way different theories of development account for Africa's position in the world economy - from the old political economy to the rational choice- based "new" political economy to the paradigm of neo-liberalism. These theoretical perspectives will be assessed in relation to China's role in Africa, the dynamics of international trade, and the effects of structural adjustment programmes on African economies, debt levels and agrarian policies.

The second 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:

**Due dates** at a glance:

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

5 October to 26 October 2010
7 December 2010

**One short critical paper:** Each student will be required to write one short paper of seven to ten typed double spaced pages **CRITICALLY ASSESSING** the issues raised in one of the seminars from weeks 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 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**, and 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 two questions and there will be some choice. The answers require 7-10 pages EACH for a total of 14-20 pages. The take-home will be handed out in class on 30 November 2010 and will be due on 7 December 2010.

**A Longer Paper** (as an alternative to the take home). This option consists of a 15 to 20 page research paper on a related topic **chosen in consultation with the professor well in advance of the due date**. It is due 30 November 2010.

**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 come prepared to discuss them critically. 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**. 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:**

**Course Requirements:** Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. 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.

**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.*

**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](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

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

#### **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 15 2010 for December 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](http://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.

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## COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

September 14

### ORGANIZING SESSION

Week 1

September 21

### GLOBALIZATION, DEVELOPMENT & DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA - AN OVERVIEW

Schmidt, Elizabeth and Mittelman, James H. et al. "Development in Africa: What is the Cutting Edge in Thinking and Policy." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXVI, 120 (2009), 273-282 (Carleton library online)

Mittelman, James H. "Beyond Impoverished Anti-Poverty Paradigms." *Third World Quarterly*, XXIX, 8 (2008), 1639-1652. (Carleton library online)

Mbeki, Moeletsi. "Security and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Looking to the Future." US Africa Command Speakers Series, 20 January 2010, <http://www.africom.mil/getArticle.asp?art=3914&lang=0>

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

Taylor, Ian. "Governance and Relations Between the European Union and Africa: The Case of Nepal." *Third World Quarterly*, XXXI, 1 (February 2010), 51-67. (Carleton library online)

#### Optional:

Cramer, Christopher, Johnston, Deborah and Oya, Carlos. "Africa and the Credit Crunch: From Crisis to Opportunity?" *African Affairs*, CCIII, 433 (October 2009), 643-654. (Carleton library online)

## UNIT ONE: DEBATES IN THE THEORY OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Week 2

September 28

### THE 'OLD' POLITICAL ECONOMY - DEPENDENCY THEORY, AFRICA AND CHINA'S NEW ROLE

Griffin, Keith. "Underdevelopment in History." *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, ed. Charles K. Wilber, New York: Random House, 1979, 2nd edition, 77-90. (on reserve under article title)

Dossa, Shiraz. "Slicing up 'Development': Colonialism, Political Theory, Ethics." *Third World Quarterly*, XXVIII, 5 (2007), 887-899. (Carleton library online)



## October 12

Lofchie, Michael F. "The New Political Economy of Africa." *Political Development and the New Realism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, eds. David E. Apter and Carl G. Rosberg, Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1994, 145-183. (copy)

Colclough, Christopher. "Structuralism versus Neo-Liberalism: An Introduction." *States or Markets? Neo-Liberalism and the Development Policy Debate*, eds. Christopher Colclough and James Manor, Oxford: Clarendon, 1991, 1-25. (copy)

Mkandawire, Thandika. "How the New Poverty Agenda Neglected Social and Employment Policies in Africa." *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, XI, 1 (February 2010), 37-55. (Carleton library online)

### Optional:

Brohman, John. "Economism and Critical Silences in Development Studies: A Theoretical Critique of Neoliberalism." *Third World Quarterly*, XVI, 2 (1995), 298-318. (Carleton library online)

## UNIT TWO: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DONOR INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

### Week 5 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, DEBT, AND AGRARIAN POLICIES IN AFRICA October 19

Mkandawire, Thandika. "Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation." *Africa Development*, XXX, 1 & 2 (2005), 1-33. [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/CA8763580CBBB2CEC125704A004BA535/\\$file/tm-africadev.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/CA8763580CBBB2CEC125704A004BA535/$file/tm-africadev.pdf)

Capps, Gavin. "Redesigning the debt trap." *International Socialism*, 107 (2005), 25 pp. (copy)

Bello, Walden. "How to Manufacture a Global Food Crisis: Lessons from the World Bank, IMF, and WTO," *Focus on Trade*, 140 (May 2008), 8pp. <http://focusweb.org/how-to-manufacture-a-global-food-crisis-lessons-from-the-world-bank-imf-an.html?Itemid=159>

Fleshman, Michael. "Malawi: Subsidies Stimulate a Bumper Crop." *Africa Renewal*, XXII, 3 (October 2008), 3. <http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol22no3/223-harvest-of-hope.html>

F. Español. "Unravelling the "Miracle" of Malawi's Green Revolution." *Grain*, January 2010, 1-11. [http://www.grain.org/seedling\\_files/seed-10-01-1.pdf](http://www.grain.org/seedling_files/seed-10-01-1.pdf)

### Week 6 GLOBAL FORCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA October 26

Kelsall, Tim. "Governance, Democracy and Recent Political Struggles in Mainland Tanzania." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, XLI, 2 (July 2003), 55-82. (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.leat.or.tz/publications/golden.opportunity/a.golden.opportunity.pdf>

Kinsella, Jim and Brehony, Eamonn. "Are Current Aid Strategies Marginalising the Already Marginalised? Cases from Tanzania." *Development in Practice*, IX, 1 (2009), 51-60. (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. (copy)

Pratt, Cranford. "Julius Nyerere: Reflections on the Legacy of his Socialism." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, XXXI, 1 (1999), 137-152. (Carleton library online)

## **Week 7 THE POLITICS OF MINING AND NEOLIBERALISM IN ZAMBIA**

### **November 2**

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)

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

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)

## **Week 8 GHANA AND THE POLITICS OF NEOLIBERAL REFORMS**

### **November 9**

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 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)

Whitfield, Lindsay. "'Change for a Better Ghana': Party Competition, Institutionalization and Alternation in Ghana's 2008 Elections." *African Affairs*, XVIII, 433 (2009), 621-641. (Carleton library online)

**Optional:**

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

**UNIT THREE: RETHINKING AFRICAN DEMOCRACY**

**Week 9**

**THE STATE AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**

**November 16**

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. (copy)

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)

Abrahamsen, Rita. "The Victory of Popular Forces or Passive Revolution? A Neo-Gramscian Perspective on Democratisation." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XXXV, 1 (1997), 129-152. (Carleton library online)

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)

**Optional:**

Saul, John S. "'For Fear of Being Condemned as Old Fashioned': Liberal Democracy vs Popular Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXIV, 73 (1997), 339-353. (Carleton library online)

LiPuma, Edward and Koelble, Thomas. "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Traditional Leadership in South Africa: A Case of Despotic Domination or Democratic Deliberation?" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XVII, 2 (April 2009), 201-223. (Carleton library online)

**Week 10**

**KENYAN DEMOCRACY UNDER SIEGE**

**November 23**

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

