

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

Course Director: Prof. Linda Freeman
Office: C671 LA
Phone: 520 2600 x 2781
Course hours: Thursday: 11:30 am - 2:30 pm
Office hours: Thursday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm

Course Objectives:

This course will explore competing analyses of sub-Saharan African development and democracy. A central theme will be the nature of global pressures in 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 and the theoretical underpinnings of neo-liberalism. These theoretical perspectives will be assessed in relation to China's role in Africa, the dynamics of international trade and the nature of development and democracy in Kenya

The second unit will explore IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programmes in Africa. It will assess debates about their significance in Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia.

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 Ghana and Nigeria.

Course Assessment will be based on:

Due dates at a glance:

One short critical paper	30%	16 October 2008 and before (see below)
Take home examination		4 December 2008
or one longer paper	40%	1 December 2008
Class Participation	30%	
Total	100%	

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 first five seminars. 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.

Note that this exercise is not intended as a synthesis or a descriptive review of the weekly articles. 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.

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 27 November 2008 and will be due on 4 December 2008.

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 1 December 2008.

The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf
Lateness in submission of assignments will be considered in arriving at a final mark in the course.

Class Participation will be assessed 50% on general participation - attendance, preparation and quality of contributions to discussion - and 50% on performance in preparing and leading one of the seminars. As this is an honours/graduate seminar there will not be lectures from the instructor. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings critically.

Each student will also be responsible for introducing at least one session. Note carefully the following 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.

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.

Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. 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 Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean.

At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses.

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: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. 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.

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 4

ORGANIZING SESSION

Week 1 DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT & GLOBALIZATION - AN OVERVIEW
September 11

Shivji, Issa G. "The Changing Development Discourse in Africa." *Pambazuka*, 224 (7 October 2005), 9 pp, <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/issue/224>, and Institute for African Development, Cornell University, 15 September 2005. (on reserve - under article title)

Taylor, Ian and Nel, Philip. "'New Africa', Globalisation and the Confines of Elite Reformism: 'Getting the Rhetoric Right' Getting the Strategy Wrong." *Third World Quarterly*, XXIII, 1 (February 2002), 163-180. (Carleton library online)

Kempe, Ronald Hope. "From Crisis to Renewal: Towards a Successful Implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development." *African Affairs*, CI, 404 (July 2002), 387-402. (Carleton library online)

Taylor, Ian. "The Millennium Development Goals and Africa: Challenges Facing the Commonwealth." *The Round Table*, XCV, 385 (July 2006), 365-382 and Wickstead, Miles. "The Millennium Development Goals and Africa: A Response to Ian Taylor." *The Round Table*, XCV, 385 (July 2006), 383-386. (Carleton library online)

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

Optional:

Bello, Walden. "The Capitalist Conjuncture: Over-Accumulation, Financial Crises, and the Retreat from Globalisation." *Third World Quarterly*, XXVII, 9 (December 2006), 1345-1367. (Carleton library online)

the-price/Paying_the_Price_Summary.pdf)

Heinisch, Elinor Lynn. "West Africa Versus the United States on Cotton Subsidies: How, Why and What Next?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XXXIV, 2 (June 2006), 251-274. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Godfrey, Claire. "Unequal Partners: How EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) Could Harm the Development Prospects of many of the world's poorest countries." *Oxfam Briefing Note*, September 2006, 12 pp. If you have difficulties with the URL, Google Oxfam and then Resources, Trade and Papers.
http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/trade/downloads/bn_epa.pdf

Melamed, Claire. "The Economics of Failure - The Real Costs of 'Free Trade' for Poor Countries." *Christian Aid briefing paper*, June 2005, 9pp. URL:
<http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/506liberalisation/index.htm>

Week 4 THE 'NEW' POLITICAL ECONOMY

October 2

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)

Oya, Carlos. "Agricultural Maladjustment in Africa: What have we Learned after Two Decades of Liberalisation?" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXV, 2 (May 2007), 275-297. (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)

Week 5 INTERPRETING KENYAN DEVELOPMENT & DEMOCRACY

October 9

Fahnbulleh, Miatta. "In Search of Economic Development in Kenya: Colonial Legacies and Post-Independence Realities." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIII, 107 (March 2006), 33-47. (Carleton library online)

Leys, Colin. "Learning from the Kenya Debate." *Political Development and the New Realism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, eds. David E. Apter and Carl G. Rosberg, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994, chapter 7, 220-243. (copy)

Murunga, Godwin R and Nasong'o, Shadrack W. "Bent on self-destruction: The Kibaki regime in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXIV, 1 (January 2006), 1-28. (Carleton library online)

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

Optional:

International Crisis Group. "Kenya in Crisis." *Africa Report*, 137 (21 February 2008), 30pp. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5314&l=1>

Klopp, Jacqueline M. "Pilfering the Public: The Problem of Land Grabbing in Contemporary Kenya." *Africa Today*, XXXVII, 1 (Winter 2000), 7-26. (Carleton library online)

UNIT TWO: POLITICS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN AFRICA

Week 6 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, DEBT, HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA **October 16**

Mkandawire, Thandika. "Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation." *Africa Development*, XXX, 1 & 2 (2005), 1-33. (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>

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

Cheru, Fantu. "Debt, Adjustment and the Politics of Effective Response to HIV/AIDS in Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, XXIII, 2 (April 2002), 299-312. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Nolen, Stephanie. "The African state: an AIDS survivor," *Globe and Mail* 10 August 2006, 4 pp. (copy)

Whiteside, Alan. "Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, XXIII, 2 (April 2002), 313-332. (Carleton library online)

Week 7
October 23

POLITICS AND ADJUSTMENT IN UGANDA

Mamdani, Mahmood. "Uganda: Contradictions in the IMF Programme and Perspective." *The IMF and the South*, ed. Dharam Ghai, London: Zed Books, 1991, 181-214. (copy)

Kannyo, Edward. "Change in Uganda - A New Opening?" *Journal of Democracy*, XV, 2 (April 2004), 125-139. (Carleton library online)

Mwenda, Andrew M and Tangri, Roger. "Patronage Politics, Donor Reforms and Regime Consolidation in Uganda." *African Affairs*, CIV, 416 (July 2005), 449-467 (Carleton library online)

Mwenda, Andrew M and Tangri, Roger. "Elite Corruption and Politics in Uganda." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, XLVI, 2 (April 2008), 177-194. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Hickey, Sam. "The Politics of Staying Poor: Exploring the Political Space for Poverty Reduction in Uganda." *World Development*, XXXIII, 6 (June 2005), 995-1009. (Carleton library online)

Week 8
October 30

POLITICS AND ADJUSTMENT IN TANZANIA

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)

Helleiner, Gerry. "The Legacies of Julius Nyerere: An Economist's Reflections." paper for a conference at Queen's University, 2000. (copy)

Skarstein, Rune. "Economic Liberalization and Smallholder Productivity in Tanzania. From Promised Success to Real Failure 1985-1998." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, V, 3 (July 2005), 334-362. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Ponte, Stefano. "The Politics of Ownership: Tanzanian Coffee Policy in the Age of Neo-Liberal Reformism." *African Affairs*, CIII, 413 (October 2004), 615-633. (Carleton library online)

Week 9
November 6

POLITICS AND ADJUSTMENT IN ZAMBIA

Szeftel, Morris. "Eat with Us" - Managing Corruption and Patronage under Zambia's Three Republics 1964-99." *Journal of Contemporary African Politics*, XVIII, 2 (July 2000), 207-224. (Carleton library online)

Bartlett, Dave. "Human Rights, Democracy and the Donors: The First MMD Government in Zambia." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXVIII, 87 (March 2001), 83-91. (Carleton library online)

Larmer, Miles and Fraser, Alastair. "Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election." *African Affairs*, CVI, 425 (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)

Simutanyi, Neo. "Copper mining in Zambia: The developmental legacy of privatization." *Institute of Strategic Studies* paper, 165 (July 2008), 1-12.

http://www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/PAPER165.PDF?link_id=&mlink_id=6286&link_type=&mlink_type=13&tmpl_id=3

UNIT THREE: RETHINKING AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

Week 10
November 13

THE STATE AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

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)

Week 11 **ADJUSTMENT, DEMOCRACY AND GHANA**
November 20

Haynes, Jeffrey. "Democratic Consolidation in Africa: The Problematic Case of Ghana." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, XLI, 1 (March 2003), 48-76. (Carleton library online)

Hutchful, Eboe. "Why Regimes Adjust: The World Bank Ponders its "Star Pupil." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. XXIX, 2 (1995), 303-317. (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)

Week 12 **DEMOCRACY, OIL AND CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA**
November 27

Osoba, S.O. "Corruption in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXIII, 69 (September 1996), 371-386. (Carleton library online)

Gillies, Alexandra. "Obasanjo, the Donor Community and Reform Implementation in Nigeria." *The Round Table*, XCVI, 392 (October 2007), 569-586. (Carleton library online)

Eberlein, Ruben. "On the road to the state's perdition? Authority and sovereignty in the Niger Delta, Nigeria." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLIV, 4 (December 2006), 573-596. (Carleton library online)

Watts, Michael. "Petro-Insurgency or Criminal Syndicate? Conflict and Violence in the Niger Delta." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIV, 114 (December 2007), 637-660. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

International Crisis Group. "Nigeria: Want in the Midst of Plenty." *Africa Report*, #113, 19 July 2006. 33pp. - a useful introduction to Nigerian history and political economy
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4274&l=1>
