

PSCI 4809A
Honours Seminar on a Selected Topic in Political Science
Topic: Botswana – Explaining Success in Africa
Seminars: Monday, 08:35-11:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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What country has sustained the highest rate of growth of income per capita in the world over the last 40 years? What is the only African country to have retained its liberal democratic system of government since Independence in the 1960s? The answer to both questions is Botswana. In an era when “Afro-pessimism” is ascendant and our images of the continent are dominated by pictures of conflict, disease, corruption and decay, this course focuses upon one case of relative economic and political success in Africa. It seeks to explain the extent of, and the undoubted limitations to, the “Botswana miracle”. Through close examination of one country case, the course will therefore address many of the perennial questions in African politics: How can democracy be defined and promoted in an African context? What are the social, economic and cultural conditions for democratic consolidation? What economic policy framework is most conducive to sustainable development? What is the relationship between democracy and development?

Students are expected to prepare the assigned readings beforehand, to attend class, and to participate in classroom discussions. The course grade will be assigned on the basis of class participation, a seminar presentation, a major essay, and a take-home exam. Each of these components of the grade is described in detail below.

Class participation will be graded and will count for 20% of the final course grade. Participation grades will be based on the quality, not quantity, of oral contributions. A good contribution is one that advances the classroom discussion in some way. Possible ways of advancing the discussion include: providing (where appropriate) a brief précis of a reading, advancing a cogent critique of all or part of a reading, making a connection between the readings, advancing an argument pertaining to the week’s readings, critiquing arguments advanced by other seminar participants, bringing forward relevant data, asking a pertinent question. The following are examples of interventions that do not advance the classroom discussion: long-winded comments of all types, inaccurate précis, arguments and/or data irrelevant to the readings, *ad hominem* attacks on other seminar participants. Students are

strongly encouraged to prepare beforehand for class participation. That is, it is not enough to simply read the assigned readings. You should also think beforehand about the main arguments raised in the readings and how you would critique them. You may find it useful to jot down on a piece of paper before class the critical comments and questions you intend to raise during the class discussion. You cannot participate if you are not present, so your attendance record will factor into the calculation of your participation grade. Participation grades for the first unit of the course (10%) will be posted on WebCt after the class on February 2nd; participation grades for the second unit of the course (10%) will be posted on WebCt after the last class on March 30th.

Each student will make one seminar presentation, worth 20% of the final grade. Seminar sign-ups will take place the second week of class (January 12). Seminar presentations will start the third week of class (January 19); normally there will be two presentations per week, though this may have to be adjusted according to the final course enrolment. Seminar presenters must prepare a one-page handout and email it to me no later than 24 hours before class; I will then post the handout to the course website on WebCt. Handouts longer than one page will not be accepted. The handout should provide a brief summary and critique of the reading(s) and a set of three or four major questions for discussion. The total time for each seminar presentation is approximately one hour. Students should spend no more than 15 or 20 minutes summarizing the reading(s) and presenting their critique. The bulk of the time will then be devoted to detailed class discussion of the discussion questions. Evaluation of the seminar presentation will be based on the quality of the handout, the quality of the oral presentation, and the quality of the discussion that is prompted by the discussion questions.

Students are expected to write a major research essay exploring in greater depth any of the topics in the course outline. This essay is worth 30% of the final grade. The essay must be explicitly comparative in focus. That is, it must place the Botswana experience in the wider context of Africa. The essay must demonstrate significant reading beyond the course outline. The essay should be approximately 15-20 pages in length, though length is not a criterion of evaluation. Topics must be cleared with me no later than February 9th. Essays are due March 16th; essays handed in on time will be returned at the last class on March 30th. Any essay received after class on the due date will be considered late. A late penalty of one third of one grade (e.g. from A+ to A) will be assigned for each 24 hour period or a part thereof that the essay is late. The maximum late penalty is two whole grades (e.g. from A+ to C+). The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday.

The take home examination will cover the entire course. It is worth 30% of the final course grade. It will be handed out and returned during the final examination period, April 8th-27th excluding April 11th. Students will have one week to complete the examination. We will decide collectively as a class upon the exact dates for the take-home examination.

The grade for the course will be calculated as follows:

Component of grade	Weight
Class participation (2 x 10% =)	20%
Seminar presentation	20%
Essay	30%
Final exam	30%

Students are encouraged to attend the scheduled office hours if they have any questions related to the course. As well, email is a good way to get specific answers to specific questions. Any course-related email queries should have "PSCI 4809 (your name)" in the subject line. I will make my best efforts to respond to all email queries within 24 hours.

There is no assigned textbook for this course. The required readings for each week are listed below. All assigned readings are on 2 hour reserve in MacOdrum Library. In addition, most of the journal articles are available on-line via the Carleton University library system.

Week 1 – Introduction: African Politics (5/1)

This class will introduce the course by looking at two contemporary examples of "Afro-pessimist" scholarship. What is Africa's record with respect to development and democracy? Why is this record so poor?

Caplan, Gerard, *The Betrayal of Africa*, 2008, Ch. 3 & 4, pp. 37-82.

Agbese, Pita Agaba, "The Political Economy of the African State," in George Klay Kieh Jr. (ed.), *Beyond State Failure and Collapse: Making the State Relevant in Africa*, 2007, Ch. 3, pp. 33-48.

Week 2 – Botswana Overview (12/1)

This class will introduce the scholarly debate about democracy and development in Botswana. How exceptional is it? Is it truly the "African miracle"?

Brown, Stephen and Paul Kaiser, "Democratisations in Africa: Attempts, hindrances and prospects," *Third World Quarterly*, 28(6), 2007, pp. 1131-1149.

Molutsi, Patrick, "Botswana: The Path to Democracy and Development," in E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), *Democratic Reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*, 2004, Ch. 7, pp. 159-180.

Good, Kenneth and Ian Taylor, "Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy," *Democratization*, 15(4), August 2008, pp. 750-765.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean, "Postcolonial Politics and Discourses of Democracy in Southern Africa: An Anthropological Reflection on African Political Modernities," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 53(2), Summer 1997, pp. 123-146.

UNIT 1: SOCIETY

Week 3 – Nation-building (19/1)

We begin our detailed examination of Botswana by considering its efforts at nation-building. Why has it enjoyed relative social peace? Is this the result of good fortune or of good policy? Does the catch-phrase "we are all Batswana" suggest a successful civic nationalism or Tswana ethnic chauvinism?

Samatar, Abdi Ismail, "Leadership and ethnicity in the making of African state models: Botswana versus Somalia," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1997, pp. 687-707.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B., "Chieftaincy and the Negotiation of Might and Right in Botswana Democracy," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 21(2), May 2003, pp. 233-250.

Solway, Jackie, "Reaching the Limits of Universal Citizenship: 'Minority' Struggles in Botswana," in Bruce Berman (ed.), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, 2004, Ch. 8, pp. 129-146.

Nyati-Ramahobo, Lydia, "From a Phone Call to the High Court: Wayeyi Visibility and the Kamanakao Association's Campaign for Linguistic and Cultural Rights in Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (4), December 2002, pp. 685-709.

Werbner, Richard, "Cosmopolitan Ethnicity, Entrepreneurship and the Nation: Minority Elites in Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (4), December 2002, pp. 731-753.

Week 4 – The San (26/1)

The indigenous hunter-gatherer racial minority, commonly known as the San, are Botswana's most marginalized socio-economic group. The recent effort by the government to expel some of them from their ancestral homeland in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) has garnered international attention. What does government policy toward the San, especially events in the CKGR, tell us about democracy in Botswana?

Miers, S. and Michael Crowder, "The Politics of Slavery in Bechuanaland: Power Struggles and the Plight of the Basarwa in the Bangmawato Reserve, 1926-1940," in S. Miers and R. Roberts, *The End of Slavery in Africa*, 1988, Ch. 5, pp. 172-200.

Nthomang, Keitseope, "Relentless colonialism: the case of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) and the Basarwa in Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(3), September 2004, pp. 415-435.

Hitchcock, Robert K., "'We are the First People': Land, Natural Resources and Identity in the Central Kalahari, Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (4), December 2002, pp. 797-824.

Taylor, Ian and Gladys Mokhawa, "Not Forever: Botswana, Conflict Diamonds and the Bushmen," *African Affairs*, 102(407), 2003, pp. 261-283.

Week 5 – Gender (2/2)

In the landmark 1992 Unity Dow case, the Botswana High Court struck down legislation that discriminated on the basis of gender. Since then all gender-discriminatory provisions have been removed from statutory law, though gender-discriminatory provisions remain in customary law. What impact have these legal changes had on the position of women in Botswana? Have deep-seated patriarchal cultural attitudes changed? What does the current status of women in Botswana tell us about the nature of its democracy? The readings start with some considerations of the status of women (and men) in Botswana, before turning to the struggles for women's rights.

Kossoudji, Sherrie and Eva Mueller, "The Economic and Demographic Status of Female-Headed Households in Rural Botswana," *Economic Development and Change*, 31(4), 1982/83, pp. 831-859.

Peters, Pauline, "Gender, Developmental Cycles and Historical Process: a Critique of Recent Research on Women in Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10(1), October 1983, pp. 100-122.

Datta, Kavita, "'In the eyes of a child, a father is everything': Changing constructions of fatherhood in urban Botswana?" *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 30, 2007, pp. 97-113.

Van Allen, Judith, "Women's Rights Movements as a Measure of African Democracy," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 36(1), 2001, pp. 39-63.

Kalabamu, Faustin, "Patriarchy and women's land rights in Botswana," *Land Use Policy*, 23(3), July 2006, pp. 237-246.

Week 6 – Civil Society (9/2)

Botswana academic Patrick Molutsi has written about the difficulty of "developing democracy where civil society is weak." To what extent is there a vibrant associational life and a critical free press in Botswana? How do we explain the apparent contradiction of democratic practice without a strong civil society, at least in the early years? More recently, to what extent is the government truly prepared to tolerate and indeed encourage dissent?

Molutsi, Patrick and J. Holm, "Developing Democracy When Civil Society is Weak: The Case of Botswana," *African Affairs*, 89(356), July 1990, pp. 323-340.

Carroll, T & B.W., "The Rapid Emergence of Civil Society in Botswana," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 42 (3), pp. 333-355.

Zaffiro, James, "Broadcasting Reform and Democratization in Botswana," *Africa Today*, 47(1), Winter 2000, pp. 86-102.

Maudeni, Zibani, "Mutual criticism and state/society interactions in Botswana," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42 (4), 2004, pp 619-636.

Taylor, Ian, "The Limits of the 'African Miracle': Academic Freedom in Botswana and the Deportation of Kenneth Good," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 24(1), January 2006, pp. 101-122.

UNIT 2: STATE

Week 7 – The Economy (23/2)

Since Independence in 1966, Botswana has had the highest rate of growth of GDP per capita of any country in the world. How do we explain this remarkable record of growth? Is it simply the good fortune to have discovered extensive diamond deposits immediately after Independence, or is there more to it than that? At the same time, Botswana also has very high rates of inequality and continuing high poverty rates, especially in rural areas. Is the economic miracle really so miraculous?

Beaulier, Scott A. and J. Robert Subrick, "The political foundations of development: the case of Botswana," *Constitutional Political Economy*, 17(2), June 2006, pp. 103-115.

Auty, Richard M., "The political state and the management of mineral rents in capital-surplus economies: Botswana and Saudi Arabia," *Resources Policy*, 27(2), June 2001, pp. 77-86.

Jefferis, Keith R. and T.F. Kelly, "Botswana: Poverty Amid Plenty," *Oxford Development Studies*, 27(2), June 1999, pp. 211-231

Conteh, Charles, "Rethinking Botswana's Economic Diversification Policy: Dysfunctional State-Market Partnership," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 46(4), Nov. 2008, pp. 540-554.

Hillbom, Elen, "Diamonds or development? A structural assessment of Botswana's forty years of success," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(2), 2008, pp. 191-214.

Week 8 – The Public Service (2/3)

Explanations for Botswana's rapid economic growth often start with the national development planning system and the role of the public service, especially the all-powerful Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP). How has Botswana managed to develop a non-corrupt and efficient public service where so many other African states have failed? Is the public service actually as clean and competent as is usually claimed?

Ayeni, Victor, "Botswana," in Ladipo Adamolekun (ed.), *Public Administration in Africa: Main Issues and Selected Country Studies*, 2002, Ch. 12, pp. 193-212.

Goldsmith, Arthur A., "Africa's Overgrown State Reconsidered: Bureaucracy and Economic Growth," *World Politics*, 51(4), 1999, pp. 520-546.

Samatar, Abdi Ismail, "National Institutions for Development: The Case of Botswana," in Ben Wisner, Camilla Toulmin and Rutendo Chitiga, *Towards a New Map of Africa*, 2005, Ch. 9, pp. 229-264.

Tsie, Balefi, "The State and Development Policy in Botswana," in K. Hope and G. Somolekae, *Public Administration and Policy in Botswana*, 1998, Ch. 1, pp. 1-20.

Week 9 – HIV/AIDS (9/3)

Botswana is currently the second most affected country in the world, with an estimated adult HIV prevalence rate of 23.9%. Approximately 300,000 people in a population of less than 2 million are living with HIV; life expectancy at birth fell from 65 years in 1995 to less than 40 years in 2005 as a direct result of the disease. What has been the impact of HIV/AIDS on Botswana? What does the government's response tell us about democracy and development in Botswana?

AVERT, "HIV/AIDS in Botswana," available at www.avert.org, 13 pp.

Heald, Suzette, "Abstain or Die: The Development of HIV/AIDS Policy in Botswana," *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 38(1), January 2006, pp. 29-41.

Renwick, Neil, "Global Society's Response to HIV/AIDS: Botswana's Experience," *Global Society*, 21(2), April 2007, pp. 133-153.

Swidler, Ann, "Syncretism and subversion in AIDS governance: how locals cope with global demands," *International Affairs*, 82(2), 2006, pp. 269-284.

Week 10 – Parties and Electoral Politics (16/3)

Botswana has now had nine elections, which are universally acknowledged to have been free and fair. This record of sustained electoral democracy makes it unique among the African states that came to Independence in the 1950s and 1960s. On the other hand, the same party – the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) – has been in power throughout the Independence period and the opposition remains weak and disunited. Furthermore, some observers claim that the BDP is becoming increasingly authoritarian. All this leads some to label Botswana a "minimalist democracy," or even an autocracy. How should we characterize the quality of electoral democracy in Botswana?

Abucar, Mohammed H., "Mass Politics, Elections and African Social Structure: Botswana and Other African Countries," *International Sociology*, 10(1), March 1995, pp. 5-22.

Bratton, Michael and Robert Mattes, "Africans' Surprising Universalism," *Journal of Democracy*, 12(1), January 2001, pp. 107-121.

Danevad, Andreas, "Responsiveness in Botswana Politics: Do Elections Matter?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 33(3), Sept. 1995, pp. 381-402.

Molomo, Mpho G., "Understanding Government and Opposition Parties in Botswana," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 38(1), March 2000, pp. 65-92.

Good, Kenneth, "Enduring elite democracy in Botswana," *Democratization*, 6(1), Spring 1999, pp. 50-66.

Week 11 – The Military (23/3)

The Botswana Defence Force (BDF) remains firmly under civilian control. Why is Botswana one of the few countries in Africa that has never experienced a military coup?

George Klay Kieh, Jr., "Military Engagement in Politics in Africa," in George Klay Kieh Jr. and Pita Ogaba Agbese (eds.), *The Military and Politics in Africa: From Engagement to Democratic and Constitutional Control*, 2004, Ch. 3, pp. 37-55.

N'Diaye, Boubacar, "Botswana," in Boubacar N'Diaye, *The Challenge of Institutionalizing Civilian Control: Botswana, Ivory Coast and Kenya in Comparative Perspective*, 2001, Ch. 4, pp. 69-97.

Ditirwa, Bonolo Simon, "The Role of the Military in State Formation and Nation-Building in Botswana," in P. Batchelor, K. Kingman and G. Lamb (eds.), *Demilitarisation and Peace-Building in Southern Africa*, Vol. 3, 2004, Ch. 2.

Henk, Dan, "Biodiversity and the Military in Botswana," *Armed Forces and Society*, 32(2), January 2006, pp. 273-291.

Week 12 – Local Government (30/3)

American academic John Holm has argued that the "centerpiece of Botswana democracy is the local council system." What are the roles and structures of local government in Botswana? What contribution does local government make to democracy and development?

Olowu, Dele and James S. Wunsch, "Introduction: Local Governance and Democratic Decentralization in Africa" in Dele Olowu and James S. Wunsch, *Local Governance in Africa: The Challenge of Democratic Decentralization*, 2004, Ch. 1, pp. 1-27.

Hope, Kempe Ronald Snr., "Decentralisation and local governance theory and the practice in Botswana," *Development Southern Africa*, 17(4), October 2000, pp. 519-534.

Olowu, Dele and James S. Wunsch, "South Africa and Botswana: the Impact of National Context," in Dele Olowu and James S. Wunsch, *Local Governance in Africa: The Challenge of Democratic Decentralization*, 2004, Ch. 4, pp. 81-105.

Meyer-Emerick, Nancy, Bashi Mothuse and Daniel K. Molaodi, "Decentralisation of Service Delivery as Adopted by the Central District Council in Botswana," *Public Administration and Development*, 24(3), August 2004, pp. 225-233.

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 letter of 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 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April 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.

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:

- 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;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- 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. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

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.

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.

Course Requirements: 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.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. 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.

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