

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science  
**POL301: Colonial Legacies and Post-Independence African Politics**  
**Fall 2021**

**Instructor:** Prof. Wilson Prichard

**Office Hours:** Tuesday 2.30 – 3.30pm

**Office Hours Location:**

Online/Room 212, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, 315 Bloor St.W

**Office Hour Signup:** <https://calendly.com/wrsprichard>

**E-mail:** wilson.prichard@utoronto.ca

**Time:** Wednesday 14:00 – 16:00

**Place:** Online/Claude Bissell Building 313

**Grading TA:** Graeme Stewart-Wilson <g.stewart.wilson@mail.utoronto.ca>



Source: [http://www.africanoz.com/af\\_arts/af\\_arts.html](http://www.africanoz.com/af_arts/af_arts.html)

Karibu Mgeni means “welcome visitor” or “welcome stranger” in Swahili.

### **THEMES**

This course highlights the critical roles of pre-colonial and colonial histories in shaping contemporary political and economic developments in Africa. In doing so it seeks to understand the long shadow of history in shaping post-colonial states and to provide historical context for understanding contemporary economic and political issues. It covers the emergence of colonial states, the central legacies of colonial rule, and then traces the impact of colonialism in shaping processes of state and nation building from independence to the present.

## FORMAT

The plan is for the course to be held entirely online during the first two weeks of class, after which we will move to in-person classes. This is designed to help accommodate international students arriving in Canada, or those who may for other reasons have faced delays in getting vaccinated. That said, the class has also been designed to allow for flexibility in case, for any reason, we are required to – or choose to – return to online learning at any point (for example, in response to changes in provincial rules or positive covid-19 cases). This will allow for a seamless continuation of learning in the class despite the uncertainty of the current situation. I will also make audio or video recording of all in-class components of the class, to be shared with any students in need of special accommodation in light of covid-19 related challenges and restrictions (e.g. those unable to travel, or unable to join in class learning for certified health reasons).

Whether in person or online, classes will take place using two different formats, depending on the week: *lecture based* and '*flipped classroom*' models. The use of flipped classroom options reflects that (a) this format was very popular with students last year, as an innovative response to learning online, and (b) given that some students will still be learning on-line this year – and there are risks of some disruptions - this format will provide the most flexibility, and the best possible experience to those learning online, without hurting the experience of those learning in person.

*Lecture-based classes* will occur at the normal class time, and the instructor will lead the class, combining primarily lectures with some space for discussion. No special preparation is needed other than doing the normal class reading.

The *flipped classroom* format will combine both synchronous and asynchronous elements in order to maximize opportunities for in-class discussion. In these weeks students will be expected to watch pre-recorded lectures, posted on Quercus, *in advance*. In these weeks we will then have a 70 minute synchronous class meeting in the usual course slot - from 2:10 to 3:20pm on Wednesday's - in which we will discuss a key topic or question from that week's material. You will be invited to submit brief questions or responses in advance through discussion boards as an alternative mode of participation and in order to facilitate discussion.

During flipped classroom weeks the lecture will generally be broken into 3 or 4 short videos, with a short quiz after each video to support your learning. You will be required to watch each video before completing the quiz, and to complete each quiz before watching the next video. I will walk you through accessing the materials in the Week 1 class – and will also post a video demonstrating how to do it to Quercus before our class in Week 1.

The course schedule indicates which classes I plan to hold using each format, though we may make changes to that schedule in response to either evolving health conditions or feedback from the class.

## COURSE TOOLS

We will use Quercus as the central course portal. Online components of the course will take place over Zoom, with details to be shared via Quercus.

Over the course of the term we will make use of *Poll Everywhere*, a software platform that will allow me to include polls, quizzes and other interactive activities into our classes. Because this tool will also be used to track participation, and responses to quizzes, everyone is required to create a user account before classes begin. To register please go to this link and follow the instructions: <https://PollEv.com/wilsonpricha596/register>.

### READINGS

The required reading for the course will be available through online resources provided by the library, and available via Quercus. They can be found under the “Library Course Reserves” tab on Quercus. In case, given the additional challenges this year, reading is not available through the Library at the beginning of term I will posted relevant articles and chapters directly on Quercus.

### REQUIREMENTS

Course evaluation will include a short video assignment, class participation, a paper, a quiz and a final test. Reliance on a wider range of assignments and assessments in the fall term if designed to reduce the importance of any one assignment given the potential for disruption in the context of the pandemic

1. Short video presentation	15%
2. Participation and quizzes	20%
3. Review essay	40%
4. Final test	25%

#### Short Video Presentation

Understanding the geography of the African continent is critical to understanding both history, and contemporary political and economic dynamics. National borders were drawn by colonial powers in ways that complicated subsequent development, and often deepened the economic and political connections between states in complex ways.

For this assignment you will be asked to identify two neighboring countries (or a larger number where there is a broader regional dynamic) whose economic and political experiences post-independence have been interconnected in important ways, and to record and upload a short, 3-minute, video describing those connections. The video should focus on explaining – in as much detail as possible within the 3-minute time limit – the nature of the connection between the two countries.

The videos will be due before our Week 4 class and will be uploaded to Quercus. They are worth 5% of your final grade. Students will then be expected to watch *all* of the videos – about 3 hours in total. This is a chance to learn from one another, and to get to know your colleagues in the class. The following week in class – Week 5 – there will be a quiz, using *Poll Everywhere*, which will contain brief questions about five examples drawn from those videos. That quiz will be worth 2.5% of your final grade.

#### Participation and Quizzes

The grade for participation and quizzes will be based on several interconnected elements designed to recognize active participation and learning in the class.

- Attendance at all synchronous class meetings, and completing any related quizzes successfully. Note: if you are unable to attend for specific reasons you should email the

instructor and TA.

- Watching all asynchronous course videos, and completing related quizzes correctly.
- Contributing to online Discussion Boards. Each week the instructor will post one or two discussion questions, and each student is expected to post at least 5 meaningful and thoughtful replies – normally about the length of a short paragraph – over the course of the term.

### **Essays**

All students will be expected to complete a short essay (2,500 words) drawing on a combination of course readings and some additional external research. Broad topic areas and guidelines will be distributed in class early in term, and essays will be due *before the beginning of class on November 3, 2021*

Unless you specifically make alternative arrangements in advance, essays should be submitted via *Ouriginal*, through Quercus. Before submitting your essay, you must also review the Academic Integrity Checklist, included at the end of this document, and make sure that you are able to check every category on this checklist. By submitting your essay, you are pledging that you have read the checklist and can check every item.

If you have a principled objection to the use of *Ouriginal* and wish to make an alternative arrangement for the submission of your essay, this must be discussed **at least three weeks** in advance of the submission deadline with the course instructor.

Please ensure that you follow every step of this submission process, as follows:

1. Read the academic integrity checklist and ensure that you are able to check every item. By submitting your essay, you are directly signaling that you have done so.
2. Navigate to the Assignments section of the course Quercus site and submit your essay via *Ouriginal*. The date and time of submission here will serve as the official record of when you handed your essay in;

Because the term papers will be graded by the TA he will organize two sets of office hours prior to the submission of the papers, for those seeking additional support, with details posted via Quercus. You can arrange to meet with the TA by contacting him directly.

### **Tests**

The final test will last an hour and 50 minutes and will take place during regular class time in the final week of term, as indicated on the class schedule. The test will call for both short paragraph and longer essay answers, and will cover all material covered over the course of the class.

### **General Guidelines for Written Assignments:**

*Rough Work and Drafts:* Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work as well as hard copies of their assignment before handing them in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. All graded assignments are to be kept by students until the grades have been posted officially at the end of the year.

*Late penalty:* There will be a penalty of 3% per day for late papers (including weekends i.e. penalties will continue to accrue at 3% per day over the weekend). Papers submitted after the start of class but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a 2% penalty.

*Academic integrity:* Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules.

In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. *It is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to only use footnotes.* You must ensure that you identify and attribute all of your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them.

Please note in particular that any time you are using someone else's exact words, even if you cite the original source, you **MUST** acknowledge this borrowing by use also of quotation marks.

Potential academic offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- ☐ Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- ☐ Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- ☐ Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- ☐ Making up sources or facts.
- ☐ Including references to sources that you did not use.
- ☐ Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
- ☐ working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
- ☐ having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- ☐ Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests:

- ☐ Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- ☐ Looking at someone else's answers
- ☐ Letting someone else look at your answers.
- ☐ Misrepresenting your identity.
- ☐ Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- ☐ Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- ☐ Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact the course instructors or the course TA. If you have

questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the [U of T Writing Website](#). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

*Ouriginal*: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays via *Ouriginal* (integrated into Quercus) for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the *Ouriginal* reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. If you object to using *Ouriginal* you must contract the relevant course instructor well ahead of time (i.e. at least three weeks before your essay is due) to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments. This will involve devising alternative methods for verifying the originality of your work, likely including submitting rough work along with your essay and having a brief interview about the work with the relevant instructor.

## EXTENSIONS AND ABSENCES

Missing any assignment or test will require an acceptable doctor's note or other documentation. In the absence of appropriate documentation absence from a quiz or test will result in a grade of 0, while late submission of papers will be subject to the penalties described above. In the case of absence from tests a make-up test will be scheduled.

There are only in general four types of such acceptable documentation, and no extensions will be granted without appropriate documentation, without exceptions, as per the policy of the Faculty of Arts and Science. Any documentation related to illness or injury **must** be provided within one week of the absence or due date. In the case of covid-19 related restrictions we will be guided by University policy around acceptable documentation for absences.

- i) ***UofT Verification of Illness or Injury Form***: This form, available to students online ([www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca](http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca)), is restricted to a select group of medical practitioners, and provides responses to the relevant questions about the absence.
- ii) ***Student Health or Disability Related Certificate***: A streamlined variant of the U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form provided by our own internal doctors who can vouch for health problems without as many details.
- iii) ***A College Registrar's Letter***: This is a letter that only senior College Registrarial staff are authorized to write. It should identify itself as a "College Registrar's Letter." Such a letter is likely when the student has extensive personal difficulties or when a situation or condition affects a number of courses. No additional details are required.
- iv) ***Accessibility Services Letter***: This sort of letter may address needed accommodations or document on-going disability issues that have made absence or lateness unavoidable, and requires registration with accessibility services.

## HOW TO CONTACT ME

You can sign up for office hours at <https://calendly.com/wrsprichard>. The current plan is for office hours to be held entirely online over Zoom.



I will do my best to respond to e-mails within 48hrs. Please note that we will not, however, be checking our e-mails on weekends or after hours so do not leave your requests or queries to the last minute. Complex and substantive questions should be raised in office hours, not over email.

All UofT students are required to have a valid UofT email address and to check it as well as the course page on Quercus regularly to access relevant information about the course, and any updates. You are responsible for ensuring that your UofT email address is set up AND properly entered in the ROSI system.

## **PORTAL**

### **Logging in to Quercus**

Like many other courses, POL301 uses Quercus for its course website. To access the website, go to <http://q.utoronto.ca> and log in using your UTORid and password. Once you have logged in look for the POL301 course website, where you can, in turn, find all of the course materials.

## **ACCESSIBILITY NEEDS**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible:

[disability.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca) or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

In the context of online learning, if you face challenges with online access to course materials please get in touch immediately at the beginning of term. Similarly, if you are studying overseas and this might affect your engagement in class in any way this should be communicated at the beginning of term.

## **Part I: Tracing the historical origins of contemporary Africa**

### **Week 1: The Long Shadow of Colonial History in African Development (Sept. 15)**

\*Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon, “The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa” *American Economic Review* 100 (2011), pp 3221-3252

\*Obikili, Nonso, “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Local Political Fragmentation in Africa” *The Economic History Review* 69, 4 (2016) pp 1157-1177

\*Archibong, Belinda, “Explaining Divergence in the Long-Term Effects of Precolonial Centralization on Access to Public Infrastructure Services in Nigeria” *World Development* 121 (2019), pp 123-140

### **Week 2: The Advent of Colonialism (Sept. 22)**

\*Jeff Herbst, “Power and space in precolonial Africa” and “The Europeans and the African Problem” in *States and Power in Africa*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2000), pp 35-97

\*Bill Freund, “The Material Basis of Colonial Society”, extract from *The Making of Contemporary Africa* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: MacMillan Press, 1998, chapter 6, pp 97-124

### **Week 3: The Political Logic of Colonial Rule (Sept. 29)**

\*Mahmood Mamdani, “Decentralized despotism” in *Citizen and Subject*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996), Chapter 2, pp 37-61

\*Crawford Young, Miscellaneous and “Constructing Bula Matari” extracts from *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1994), Excerpt from Chapter 1, and Chapter 4, pp 1-2, 77-140 (pp 77-95 recommended)

### **Week 4: Independence and the new generation of African states (Oct. 6)**

**\*\*\*Short Video Presentation due before class\*\*\***

\*Bill Freund, “The Decolonization of Africa: 1940-60” extract from *The Making of Contemporary Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Macmillan Press, 1998, chapter 8, pp 167-203

\*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

\*Getachew, Adom, “Kwame Nkrumah and the Quest for Independence” *CODESRIA Bulletin* 2-3 (2021) pp 33-37



\*Irving Markovitz, “Autonomy, nationalism and independence” extract from *Leopold Sedar Senghor and the Politics of Negritude*, London: Heinemann (1969), Chapter 4, pp 102 - 118

### **Week 5: Political Organization and Nation Building (Oct. 13)**

#### **\*\*\*Quiz based on short video presentation\*\*\***

\*Getachew, Adom, “Introduction” in *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* Princeton: Princeton University Press (2021) pp 1-13

\*Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Personal rule: Theory and practice in Africa’ *Comparative Politics*, 16, 4 (1984) pp 421-442

\*Opalo, Ken, “Legislative Development in Africa” in *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2019) pp 31-71

- For a summary of the broader argument of the book, and add richness to the story, first read “Introduction” pp 1-13

R Zolberg, “Introduction” and “The emergence of dominant parties” in *Creating Political Order*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co. (1980), Introduction and Chapter 1, pp 1 – 36

### **Week 6: Ideologies and Development Strategies after Independence (Oct. 20)**

\*Kanbur, Ravi, “W. Arthur Lewis and the Roots of Ghanaian Economic Policy” *Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management Working Paper* (2016)

\*Claude Ake, “The Development Paradigm and Its Politics” in *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution (1996), Chapter 1, pp 1-17

Walt Rostow, “The Stages of Economic Growth” *The Economic History Review* 12, 1 (1959) pp 1-16

### **Week 7: African Militaries and Political Instability (Oct. 27)**

\*Paul Nugent, “Khaki Fatigue: Military Rule in Africa, 1960-1985” extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London: Palgrave, 2004 pp 204-59

### **Week 8: The Onset of Economic Crisis (Nov. 3)**

#### **\*\*\*Review Essay Due Prior to Class\*\*\***

\*Benno Ndulu and Stephen O’Connell, “Governance and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13, 3 (1996) pp 41-66

\*Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Soludo, “The Crisis: Diagnosis and Solution” extract from *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999 pp 21-48

Richard Sandbrook, “Disappointments of independence” and “Why capitalism fails” extract from *The Politics of Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1985), Chapters 1 and 2, pp 1 – 41

Thandika Mkandawire, “Neo-Patrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections,” *World Politics* 67,3 (2015) pp 563-612

**Nov. 10, 2021 (Reading week, no class)**

### **Week 9: Structural Adjustment and the Politics of Economic Reform (Nov. 17)**

\*Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Soludo, “The Adjustment Experience” extract from *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999, pp 49 - 85

\*Archibong, Belinda, Brahim Coulibaly and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, “Washington Consensus Reforms and Economic Performance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from the Past Four Decades” *Africa Growth Initiative Working Paper 27* Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution

Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Soludo, “Introduction: Towards the Broadening of Development Policy Dialogue for Africa” extract from *African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment: A Companion to Our Continent, Our Future:* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999, pp 1-15

John Ravenhill “A Second Decade of Adjustment: Greater Complexity, Greater Uncertainty” extract from *Hemmed In: Responses to Africa’s Economic Decline*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, 18-53

### **Week 10: Crisis and Political Reconfiguration: The Wave of Democratization (Nov. 24)**

\*Paul Nugent, “Democracy Rediscovered: Popular Protest, Elite Mobilisation and the Return of Multipartyism”, extract from *Africa Since Independence*, London: Palgrave, 2004, pp.368-385

\*Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle: “Neopatrimonial regimes and political transitions in Africa” *World Politics* 46, 4 (1994) pp 453-489

\*Opalo, Ken, “Introduction” in *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2019) pp 1-13

Jeffrey Herbst, "The Structural Adjustment of Politics" *World Development* 18, 7 (1990) pp 949-958

Posner, Daniel and Daniel Young "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa" *Journal of Democracy* 18,3 (2007) pp 126-140

**Week 11: Review/History and the Present in Ghana (Dec. 1)**

**Week 12: In class final test (Dec. 8)**

## Academic Integrity Checklist

Pol 301 – Government and Politics in Africa

I, \_\_\_\_\_, affirm that this assignment represents entirely my own efforts.

I confirm that:

- ☐ I have acknowledged the use of another's ideas with accurate citations.
- ☐ If I used the words of another (e.g., author, instructor, information source), I have acknowledged this with quotation marks (or appropriate indentation) and proper citation.
- ☐ When paraphrasing the work of others, I put the idea into my own words and did not just change a few words or rearrange the sentence structure
- ☐ I have checked my work against my notes to be sure I have correctly referenced all direct quotes or borrowed ideas.
- ☐ My bibliography includes only the sources used to complete this assignment.
- ☐ This is the first time I have submitted this assignment (in whole or in part) for credit.
- ☐ Any proofreading by another was limited to indicating areas of concern which I then corrected myself.
- ☐ This is the final version of my assignment and not a draft.
- ☐ I have kept my work to myself and did not share answers/content with others, unless otherwise directed by my instructor.
- ☐ I understand the consequences of violating the University's academic integrity policies as outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*.

By submitting my essay, I agree that the statements above are true.