



2019-2020 Academic Year  
Fall 2019



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
FACULTY OF ARTS

POLI 471 L01  
AFRICA: CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PROBLEMS

**INSTRUCTOR:** Chris W. J. Roberts

**TELEPHONE:** Cell (403) 870-9241

**OFFICE:** SS 702

**OFFICE HOURS:** Tuesday 1000-1100 & Wednesday 1530-1630 or by appointment

**EMAIL:** [christopher.roberts@ucalgary.ca](mailto:christopher.roberts@ucalgary.ca)

**COURSE D2L:** <https://d2l.ucalgary.ca>

**COURSE DAY/TIME:** Monday, Wednesday, Friday 1200-1250

**COURSE LOCATION:** EDC 284

**COURSE PRE-REQUISITES:** Political Science 371 or African Studies 301; or consent of the Department.

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course allows students who have taken Poli 371 or African Studies to delve more deeply into selected political challenges facing contemporary African states and societies. There will be one cross-cutting, driving question this term: how and to what extent do formal political institutions matter in African politics? On the surface that seems like an odd question for a political science class, but much of the study of politics on this vast continent is dominated by either attention to informal politics (for example, ethnic group rivalry and/or coalition-building, or neopatrimonialism) or to the constraints offered by geopolitical competition and/or global economic structuralism.

And yet, from constitutions, elections, political parties, and presidential term-limits to legislatures, the judiciary, security apparatus, sub-national levels of government, and land tenure regimes, formal institutions are shaping and influencing political and economic behaviour – to varying degrees – across African political systems. And even when formal institutions are overturned through constitutional amendment, as presidential term-limits often are, the fact that incumbents go through the motions of formal institutional change is in itself significant and can have non-intended effects on political actors and rules of the game. Presidents or military leaders governing through one party states and executive decrees are the exception today, not the norm.

The course will be divided into two thematic halves. The first half of the course will focus on the study of African elections, which have become much more important across most countries since 1990. This is not to say that the mere holding of multi-party elections is a guarantee of entrenched democracy or always helps voters keep the executive and legislative branches accountable and representative. The degree to which elections can be considered *democratic* varies. But there are countries today with institutionalized elections and political parties that as late as the 1980s or 1990s were ruled by military or other types of autocratic leaders, and even recent cases of long-term autocratic leaders losing power through elections. Elections, electoral systems, and political parties deserve more intensive study in contemporary African politics. Students will be assigned a recent or upcoming (2016-2019) African election to analyze in an in-depth manner, and this will be the basis of the first written assignment.

The second half of the course will look at the wide range of other formal institutions, from constitutions to legislative and judicial branches, the bureaucracy, police/security services, land tenure regimes, and federalism or decentralization. When and to what degree do the formal institutions of African political systems constrain or influence executive power, cultivate economic development, deliver public goods, and empower citizens between elections? For the take home exam, students will select and develop a research topic within guidelines provided, do a short presentation on their research question and findings at the end of the term, and submit this research paper as their take home final exam (i.e., applying major concepts and themes to a particular case study or a comparative analysis). Thus, please be aware that Poli 471 is a heavy reading, research, participation, and writing course.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES & LEARNING OUTCOMES:**

By the end of the course, students will ...

- be able to employ core vocabulary, concepts, and theories in the study of African politics, particularly in relation to the study of elections, constitutions, and other formal institutions.
- differentiate, compare, and critique a wide variety of approaches that attempt to explain the role (or non-role) of formal political institutions in contemporary African politics, and how they interact with informal institutions.
- understand the historical evolution of formal political institutions across Africa since the late colonial and independence eras through “third wave democratization” of the early 1990s to today.
- develop comprehensive competencies to find and evaluate relevant primary data and secondary research related to African elections and other topics, including both Western and non-Western sources.
- improve their verbal, reading-analytical, and writing skills relevant to (comparative) political science and the social sciences generally.

**REQUIRED TEXTBOOK:**

Nic Cheeseman, ed., *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the Rules of the Game Shape Political Developments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Additional required readings are listed below and will be available via D2L or other online sources including UCalgary Library.

**Optional textbook:** If you require a general refresher on African politics, the recently used Poli 371 textbook is widely available: Pierre Englebert & Kevin C. Dunn, *Inside African Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013).

**COURSE COMPONENT WEIGHTS AND DUE DATES:**

COMPONENT	WEIGHTING	DUE DATES
Participation (including in-class discussions/exercises)	20%	Throughout – this requires students to keep up with readings and come to class prepared to discuss them.
Two Mid-Terms (50 minutes each)	2 X 10% each = 20%	Friday, Oct. 18th Friday, Nov. 22nd
Election Analysis Assignment	25%	Friday, Nov 1st (hard copy in class)
Take Home Final (30%) plus presentation (5%)	35%	Short scheduled presentation during last 2 weeks; paper due (D2L Dropbox) 23:59 Tuesday, December 10th
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Note:** Students must take the mid-term exams and submit both written assignments in order to be eligible to pass the course.

**CLASS PARTICIPATION (20%)**

This will be a relatively small class and active student participation will be expected on most days. In-class participation, discussions, and exercises will create opportunities for students to accumulate participation points during the term. Thus, it is expected you will arrive in class having already read the day's assigned required readings or otherwise prepared appropriately.

**TWO SHORT MID-TERM EXAMINATIONS (10% each, total 20%)**

There will be a short (50 minute) mid-term exam after each half of the course (first elections, then other formal institutions). They will comprise multiple-choice and short answers/exercises. Held Friday, Oct. 18th and Friday, Nov. 22nd.

**Note:** These will be closed book exams. No notes, laptops, cell phones, etc., will be allowed.

**ELECTION ANALYSIS ASSIGNMENT (25%)**

Each student will be assigned a recent or upcoming (2016-2019) African election to study in depth, leading up to a class exercise where different elections will be compared. Subsequently, each student will submit a formal analysis of their election based on

guidelines provided. This will be a short paper of approx. 5-6 pages due (in paper/hard copy) at the beginning of class on Friday, Nov. 1st. Detailed instructions will be discussed in class with the assignment details, rubric, and parameters posted on D2L.

Late penalties of five percent (5%) will be applied for each 24 hours past the deadline, including weekends.

***TAKE HOME EXAM INCLUDING PRESENTATION (35%)***

Within guidelines provided in class and with a final topic approved by the instructor, students will select a relevant research question for their take home exam (approx. 11-15 pages, double-spaced). Prior to final submission on Tuesday, (23:59), December 10th (via D2L Dropbox), students will participate in a roundtable on a related theme with other students, present some of their findings, and receive feedback from the instructor and classmates. That presentation will be worth 5%, with the final paper worth 30%.

A ten percent (10%) per day penalty will apply to the take home exam for each 24 hours late.

**Writing Statement:**

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3rd floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.

**GRADE SCALE:**

The following grading scale will be used:

<b>A+ (95+)</b>	<b>B+ (80-84)</b>	<b>C+ (66-69)</b>	<b>D+ (54-57)</b>
<b>A (90-94)</b>	<b>B (75-79)</b>	<b>C (62-65)</b>	<b>D (50-53)</b>
<b>A- (85-89)</b>	<b>B- (70-74)</b>	<b>C- (58-61)</b>	<b>F (0-49)</b>

**LATE PENALTIES:**

Late penalties of five percent (5%) will be applied to election analysis essays for each 24 hours past the deadline, including weekends. A ten percent (10%) per day penalty will apply to the take home final.

**COURSE SCHEDULE & TOPICS:** The schedule is tentative and may change as the need arises.

<b>COURSE SCHEDULE</b> (Subject to change)		
DATE	TOPICS & THEMES	REQUIRED READINGS BEFORE CLASS Cheeseman (ed.) 2018 textbook = “Chapter”
<p><b>Weeks 1-2</b> <b>Sept 6</b></p>	<p><b>Course Introduction</b> Course expectations Syllabus, D2L Usage, &amp; Assignments Class background survey</p>	<p><b>Besides readings listed below, supplemental readings will be posted in D2L modules or otherwise available online or via UCalgary Library</b></p>
<p><b>9, 11, 13</b></p>	<p><b>Countering the “institutionless” approach to African politics</b></p> <p><i>Good resource for this course:</i> <a href="http://democracyinafrica.org/">http://democracyinafrica.org/</a></p>	<p>Chapter 1 – Cheeseman, “Introduction: Understanding African Politics: Bringing the State Back In” Lynch &amp; Crawford (2011), “Democratization in Africa 1990-2010: an assessment,” <i>Democratization</i> [D2L]</p>
<p><b>Week 3</b> <b>Sept 16, 18, 20</b></p>	<p><b>Elections in historical perspective</b></p> <p><i>On Friday, Sept 20th, a recent or upcoming (2016-2019) African election will be assigned to each student.</i></p>	<p>Willis, Lynch, and Cheeseman (2018), “Voting, Nationhood, and Citizenship in Late-Colonial Africa,” <i>The Historical Journal</i>. [D2L] Chapter 2 – Riedl, “Institutional Legacies: Understanding Multiparty Politics in Historical Perspective.” Christensen &amp; Latin (2019), “Democratization and the ‘Third Wave’,” Chapter 13 in <i>African States Since Independence</i> [D2L]</p>
<p><b>Week 4</b> <b>Sept 23, 25, 27</b></p>	<p><b>Deep institutional effects on elections, incumbency, and political parties</b></p>	<p>Chapter 4 – Arriola, “Financial Institutions: Economic Liberalisation, Credit and Opposition Party Successes” Chapter 3 – Boone, “Property and Land Institutions: Origins, Variations and Political Effects” Koter (2013), “Urban and rural voting patterns in Senegal: the spatial aspects of incumbency, c. 1978-2012,” <i>Journal of Modern African Studies</i> (51, 4). [D2L]</p>
<p><b>Week 5</b> <b>Sept 30</b> <b>Oct 2, 4</b></p>	<p><b>Democratization by elections?</b></p>	<p>Chapter 9 – Van Ham and Lindberg, “Elections: The Power of Elections in Multiparty Africa” Chapter 10 – Klass, “Electoral Rules: The Relationship between Political Exclusion &amp; Conflict”</p>
<p><b>Week 6</b> <b>Oct 7, 9, 11</b></p>	<p><b>Parties, leadership, &amp; presidents</b></p> <p><i>See also: Felter (2019), “Africa’s ‘Leader’s for Life,”</i> <a href="https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/africas-leaders-life">https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/africas-leaders-life</a></p>	<p>Lebas (2016), “Term Limits and Beyond: Africa’s Democratic Hurdles,” <i>Current History</i> (May). [D2L] Chapter 11 – Posner and Young, “Term Limits: Leadership, Political Competition and the Transfer of Power” Chapter 8 – Cooper, “Political Parties: Presidential Succession Crises and Internal Party Democracy” Morse (2018), “Presidential power and democratization by elections in Africa,” <i>Democratization</i> (25, 4). [D2L]</p>

<p><b>Week 7</b> [No class on Oct 14] Oct 16, 18</p>	<p><b>Wednesday, Oct 16th: Review – Frameworks for analyzing linkages among African elections, parties, leadership, democratization</b></p> <p><b>Friday, Oct. 18th: Mid-Term 1 (50 Minutes)</b></p>	<p><i>Class exercise related to students' election case studies and recent/upcoming elections</i></p>
<p><b>Week 8</b> Oct 21, 23, 25</p>	<p><b>Constitutional foundations &amp; the division of powers</b></p> <p><i>Add'l sources: <a href="http://www.constituteproject.org">www.constituteproject.org</a> &amp; <a href="http://www.constitutionnet.org">www.constitutionnet.org</a></i></p>	<p>Chapter 5 – Ndulo, “Constitutions: The Politics of Constitutional Reform” Friedman (2018), “States, Countries, and Peoples: A Comparative Look at Bicameralism in African Federal States,” <i>Fletcher Forum on World Affairs</i> (42, 2). [D2L]</p>
<p><b>Week 9</b> Oct 28, 30, Nov 1</p>	<p><b>Separation of powers: legislative &amp; judicial branches</b></p> <p><b>Friday, Nov. 1st: Election Assignment due in class / paper copy</b></p>	<p>Chapter 12 – Collard, “The Legislature: Institutional Strengthening in Dominant-Party States” Chapter 13 – Vondoepp, “The Judiciary: Courts, Judges and the Rule of Law”</p>
<p><b>Week 10</b> Nov 4, 6, 8</p>	<p><b>Bureaucracy, decentralization, &amp; governance</b></p> <p><b>Take home exam guidelines handed out this week; research questions/cases to be approved before Reading Break</b></p>	<p>Chapter 7 – Pitcher &amp; Teodoro, “The Bureaucracy: Policy Implementation and Reform” Chapter 14 – Dyzenhaus, “Decentralization: Accountability in Local Government” Chapter 15 – Cheeseman, “Conclusion: Political Institutions &amp; Democracy: A Research Agenda”</p>
<b>Week 11</b>	<b>Reading Break</b>	<b>No classes – Work on your research project</b>
<p><b>Week 12</b> Nov 18, 20, 22</p>	<p><b>Security institutions, governance, and democracy</b></p> <p><b>Friday, Nov. 22nd: Mid-Term 2 (50 Minutes)</b></p>	<p>Chapter 6 – Medie, “The Police: Laws, Prosecution and Women’s Rights in Liberia” Ouédraogo (2014), “Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa,” Research Paper from the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. [D2L] Powell, Chacha, and Smith (2018), “Failed coups, democratization, and authoritarian entrenchment: opening up or digging in?,” <i>African Affairs</i> [D2L]</p>
<p><b>Week 13</b> Nov 25, 27, 29</p>	<b>Take home exam - presentations</b>	Students will make a short (8-10 minute) presentation to the class about their project and receive feedback from instructor and classmates.
<p><b>Week 14</b> Dec 2, 4, 6</p>	<b>Take home exam - presentations</b>	Students will make a short (8-10 minute) presentation to the class about their project and receive feedback from instructor and classmates.
<p><b>Tuesday, Dec 10</b></p>	<b>Take home exam - paper Due on D2L Dropbox</b>	<b>Upload PDF and WORD (or original format) papers by 23:59</b>

## **INSTRUCTOR GUIDELINES**

Students requiring assistance are encouraged to speak to the instructor during class or office hours. Should you wish to meet outside of office hours, please email to make an appointment. It is to the student's advantage to keep such appointments.

Email is a common form of communication but it is not always the most effective way of answering student questions. Always include the course name (Poli 471) in the subject header of your email. If you cannot make it to office hours, please request a one-on-one meeting outside of these hours. It is imperative that students regularly check their UofC email accounts and D2L for course related information and announcements. If you have sent the instructor an email but have not received a reply within 24 hours, please resend.

Students may use laptops and other electronic note-taking devices in this course, though there will be times when you'll be asked to turn the technology off. No recording of lectures (audio and/or video) is permitted without prior approval of the instructor, with exceptions of course made in the case of approved accommodations. Please be considerate of others and switch off all phones when you enter the classroom. Sending/receiving texts and browsing social media is extremely disruptive to others, and your own performance will also suffer.

## **IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION**

### Supporting Documentation and the Use of a Statutory Declaration

As stated in the University Calendar:

Students may be asked to provide supporting documentation for an exemption/special request. This may include, but is not limited to, a prolonged absence from a course where participation is required, a missed course assessment, a deferred examination, or an appeal. Students are encouraged to submit documentation that will support their situation. Supporting documentation may be dependent on the reason noted in their personal statement/explanation provided to explain their situation. This could be medical certificate/documentation, references, police reports, invitation letter, third party letter of support or a statutory declaration etc. The decision to provide supporting documentation that best suits the situation is at the discretion of the student. Students cannot be required to provide specific supporting documentation, such as a medical note.

Students can make a Statutory Declaration as their supporting documentation (available at [ucalgary.ca/registrar](http://ucalgary.ca/registrar)). This requires students to make a declaration in the presence of a Commissioner for Oaths. It demonstrates the importance of honest and accurate information provided and is a legally binding declaration. Several registered Commissioners for Oaths are available to students at no charge, on campus. For a list of locations to access a Commissioners for Oaths, visit [ucalgary.ca/registrar](http://ucalgary.ca/registrar)).

Falsification of any supporting documentation will be taken very seriously and may result in disciplinary action through the Academic Discipline regulations or the Student Non-Academic Misconduct policy.

This statement is accessible at: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/m-1.html>

*Please note that while the form of supporting documentation provided is at the discretion of the student, the instructor has the discretion not to accept the supporting documentation if it does not corroborate the reason(s) given for the exemption/special request.*

Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

Deferral of a Final Examination:

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams>.

Appeals:

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student then proceed with an academic appeal. The first step in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head. Appeals must be requested within 15 days of receipt of the graded assignment.

University Regulations:

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at [www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html).

Student Accommodations:

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit [www.ucalgary.ca/access/](http://www.ucalgary.ca/access/).

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.



The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>.

Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

Copyright Legislation:

As stated in the University of Calgary Calendar, Academic Regulations, “students are required to read the University of Calgary policy on Acceptable Use of Material Protected by Copyright and requirements of the copyright act to ensure they are aware of the consequences of unauthorised sharing of course materials (including instructor notes, electronic versions of textbooks etc.). Students who use material protected by copyright in violation of this policy may be disciplined under the Non-Academic Misconduct Policy.”

<https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/acceptable-use-of-material-protected-by-copyright.pdf> and <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-42/index.html>

Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests meant to be returned will be destroyed after six months from the end of term; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

Evacuation Assembly Points:

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at [www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints](http://www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints) and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students’ Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email [artsads@ucalgary.ca](mailto:artsads@ucalgary.ca). You can also visit [arts.ucalgary.ca/advising](http://arts.ucalgary.ca/advising) for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

**Important Contact Information:**

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)

Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551

Email: [arts1@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts1@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts2@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts2@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts3@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts3@su.ucalgary.ca),  
[arts4@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts4@su.ucalgary.ca)

Students' Union URL: [www.su.ucalgary.ca](http://www.su.ucalgary.ca)

Graduate Students' Association

Phone: 403-220-5997

Email: [askgsa@ucalgary.ca](mailto:askgsa@ucalgary.ca)

URL: [www.ucalgary.ca/gsa](http://www.ucalgary.ca/gsa)

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420

Email: [ombuds@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ombuds@ucalgary.ca)

**Campus Mental Health Resources:**

SU Wellness Centre: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/>

Campus Mental Health Strategy: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/>