



2018–2019 Academic Year  
Fall 2018



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
FACULTY OF ARTS

POLI 471 L01  
AFRICA: CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PROBLEMS

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

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**OFFICE:** SS 702

**OFFICE HOURS:** Tuesday & Thursday 1200-1300 or by appointment

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

**COURSE DAY/TIME:** Tuesdays & Thursdays 1400-1515

**COURSE LOCATION:** SA 121

**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 related 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 (2016-2018) 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, and 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? Students will select and develop a related research topic of their choice within guidelines provided, do a short presentation on their research question and findings at the end of the term, and submit a major research paper. There is no final exam. 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 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 & TopHat quizzes/homework)	20%	Throughout
Mid-Term (on elections)	20%	Thurs, Oct. 18th (70 minutes)
Election Analysis Assignment	25%	Tues, Oct. 30th (hard copy in class)
Research Paper (30%) plus presentation (5%)	35%	Short scheduled presentation during last 2 weeks; paper due (D2L Dropbox) 23:59 Sat, December 15th
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	

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

**CLASS PARTICIPATION INCLUDING TOPHAT (20%)**

This will be a relatively small class and active student participation will be expected in most classes. In-class participation, discussions, and exercises, plus TopHat – an online response application available for free for all University of Calgary students – will create opportunities for students to accumulate participation points during the term. TopHat quizzes will be announced in advance, but more than half of the participation points will come from regular in-class discussions. Thus, it is expected you will arrive in class having already read the day’s assigned required readings.

**MID-TERM EXAMINATION (20%)**

A mid-term exam will be done in class on Thursday, Oct. 18th. It will comprise multiple-choice and short answers/exercises, and be scheduled for 70 minutes.

*Note: This will be a closed book exam. No notes, laptops, cell phones, etc., will be allowed.*

**ELECTION ANALYSIS ASSIGNMENT (25%)**

Each student will be assigned a specific, recent (2016-2018) 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 Tuesday, Oct. 30th. 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.

### **RESEARCH PAPER & PRESENTATION (35%)**

Within guidelines provided in class and with a topic approved by the instructor, students will select a relevant research question for their major research paper (approx. 12-15 pages, double-spaced). Prior to final submission on Saturday (23:59), December 15th (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 final research paper for each 12 hours late, given the late due date and the requirement to submit final grades early the following week.

### **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 final research paper for each 12 hours late.

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

<b>COURSE SCHEDULE (Subject to change)</b>		
<b>DATE</b>	<b>TOPICS &amp; THEMES</b>	<b>REQUIRED READINGS BEFORE CLASS Cheeseman (ed.) 2018 textbook = "Chapter"</b>
<b>Week 1 Sept 6th</b>	<b>Course Introduction</b> Syllabus & Assignments D2L & TopHat usage Class background survey	<b>Besides readings listed below, supplemental readings will be posted in D2L modules or otherwise available online or via UCalgary Library</b>

Week 2 Sept 11th & 13th	Countering the “institutionless” approach to African politics	Chapter 1 – Cheeseman, “Introduction: Understanding African Politics: Bringing the State Back In”
Week 3 Sept 18th & 20th	Elections in historical perspective <i>On Thursday, Sept 20th, a recent (2016-2018) African election will be assigned to each student.</i>	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.”
Week 4 Sept 25th & 27th	Deep institutional effects on elections, incumbency, and political parties	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]
Week 5 Oct 2nd & 4th	Democratization by elections?	Chapter 9 – Van Ham and Lindberg, “Elections: The Power of Elections in Multiparty Africa” Chapter 10 – Klass, “Electoral Rules: The Relationship between Political Exclusion & Conflict”
Week 6 Oct 9th & 11th	Parties, leadership, & presidents	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]
Week 7 Oct 16th & 18th	Tuesday: Review – Frameworks for analyzing linkages among African elections, parties, leadership, democratization  Thursday: Mid-Term (70 Minutes)	<i>Class exercise related to students’ election case studies</i>

Week 8 Oct 23rd & 25th	Constitutional foundations & the division of powers	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] Sources: <a href="http://www.constituteproject.org">www.constituteproject.org</a> <a href="http://www.constitutionnet.org">www.constitutionnet.org</a>
Week 9 Oct 30th & Nov 1st	Separation of powers: legislative & judicial branches  Tuesday, Oct. 30th: Election Assignment due in class / paper copy	Chapter 12 – Collard, “The Legislature: Institutional Strengthening in Dominant-Party States” Chapter 13 – Vondoepp, “The Judiciary: Courts, Judges and the Rule of Law”
Week 10 Nov 6th & Nov 8th	Tuesday: finalize research proposals (RQ, framework, cases)  Thursday: Bureaucracy, decentralization, & governance	Chapter 15 – Cheeseman, “Conclusion: Political Institutions & Democracy: A Research Agenda”  Chapter 7 – Pitcher & Teodoro, “The Bureaucracy: Policy Implementation and Reform” Chapter 14 – Dyzenhaus, “Decentralization: Accountability in Local Government”
Week 11	Reading Break	No classes – Work on your research project
Week 12 Nov 20th & 22nd	Security governance	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]
Week 13 Nov 27th & 29th	Research Project Presentations Tuesday: Panel 1 Thursday: Panel 2	Students will make a short (8-10 minute) presentation to the class about their project and receive feedback from instructor and classmates.
Class 14 Dec 4th & 6th	Research Project Presentations Tuesday: Panel 3 Thursday: Panel 4	Students will make a short (8-10 minute) presentation to the class about their project and receive feedback from instructor and classmates.
Sat, Dec. 15th	Research Paper Due on D2L Dropbox	Upload PDF or MS-WORD document by 23:59

## **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**

### Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons (e.g. illness with the appropriate documentation) 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-5.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

### 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: [ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca](mailto:ask@gsa.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/>