



## ANGLAIS

### CIVIL SOCIETY IN AFRICA

After independence, African ruling elites gave top priority to state sovereignty and national security and sought to bring about “departicipation”. Although they invested heavily in the construction of one-party and military regimes, elites were not always successful at discouraging autonomous organizations from taking root in civil society. Some leaders nipped them in the bud by incorporating them under the wing of governing parties; others banned them entirely. But, in many places, voluntary associations proved too strong to be subordinated and survived as an alternative institutional framework to officialdom.

Associational life took different forms in different countries: Christian churches in Kenya and Burundi, Islamic brotherhoods in Senegal and Sudan, lawyers’ and journalists’ associations in Ghana and Nigeria, farmer organizations in Zimbabwe and Kenya, and mineworkers’ unions in Zambia and South Africa. But everywhere that independent associations survived, they provided ordinary Africans with an outlet for the urge to combine in pursuit of shared goals.

The poor performance of planned economies in Africa gave an added impetus to autonomous activity beyond the purview of the state. As a means of evading the costs and inefficiencies of economic regulation, producers and traders chose increasingly to participate directly in that part of the economy variously referred to as the second, parallel, informal, underground, black or irregular economy. In scope and formality, trading networks ranged from ad hoc village markets to organized smuggling rings spanning international frontiers. By 1980, the size of the second economy in several African countries (e.g. Ghana, Uganda, and Zaire) was estimated to approach, if not exceed, the size of the official gross domestic product.

The fact that African citizens autonomously undertook a wide gamut of organized economic activity had profound political implications. As trade shifted to illegal or informal networks, taxes became difficult to collect and public revenues diminished, especially in valuable foreign exchange, thereby exacerbating the fiscal crisis of the state. Financially-deprived governments had little option but to loosen restrictions on autonomous networks and organizations by permitting them to perform some of the functions previously monopolized by government. By the end of the 1980s, independent associations and alternative economic networks together provided a recruiting ground for a popular upsurge against post-colonial autocracy.

By Michael Bratton  
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**Glossary:** Nipped them in the bud: les ont tués dans l’oeuf

Impetus: élan

Purview: tutelle

Gamut: gamme, éventail, panoplie

**I. READING COMPREHENSION (8 marks)**

**A. Find in the text words meaning the same as the following. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

1. Forbidden: .....
2. Exporting or importing secretly and unlawfully to avoid paying taxes: .....
3. Relating to public finances: .....

**B. Match the following titles with the corresponding paragraphs. Write the paragraph number in column B. (0.5 x 4) 2 marks)**

A/TITLES	B/NUMBERS
a. Forms of civil movements	4. Paragraph.....
b. African governments and civil society	5. Paragraph.....
c. Informal economy	6. Paragraph.....
d. Consequences of parallel economy	7. Paragraph.....

**C. Which of the following sentences are *True (T)* or *False (F)*? Write down *T* or *F* and justify by quoting the text. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

8. African regimes always failed to break associational development.     *T / F*  
**Justification:** .....
9. The GDP of some countries was almost exceeded by black economy.     *T / F*  
**Justification:** .....
10. Public incomes increased due to alternative economic networks.            *T / F*  
**Justification:** .....

**D. Fill in the table with information from the text. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

11. West Africa	.....
12.....	Christian Associations
13.....	Miners' movements

**E. Give three consequences of informal economies. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

- 14.....
- 15.....
- 16.....

**II. LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE (7 marks)**

**F. Rewrite the following sentences without changing their meaning. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

17. It will be better for us if African civil societies govern our countries.  
I'd rather .....
18. He thought the best thing for military regimes to do then was to give up to popular pressure.  
Military regimes.....

19. "Elites gave top priority to state sovereignty and national security instead of working for the economic development of the country".

Bratton reported that civil society movements rebelled because.....

**G. Rewrite the following sentences in their correct order to form a meaningful paragraph. (0.75 x 4 = 3 marks)**

**20. Sentences**

- a. These values are promoted by citizens who actively seek to participate in public affairs.
- b. The most important values for the construction of civil society are trust, reciprocity, tolerance, and inclusion.
- c. Measuring how such civic norms or values are advocated can be done through sample surveys and public opinion polls and voting, and a variety of collective behavior.
- d. Trust is a prerequisite for individuals to associate voluntarily; reciprocity is a resource for reducing the transaction costs of collective action; political tolerance enables the emergence of diverse and plural forms of association.

**H. Complete this passage with the right forms of the words in brackets. (0.5 x 3 = 1.5 marks)**

Civil society 21. .... (strong) democracy. It takes roots in different forms such as 22. .... (Islam) organizations that seek to create an alternative economy. However, the birth of an alternative economy causes big 23. .... (lose) in tax collection.

**I. Dialogue: Fill in the missing words. (1 mark)**

- A. - In Africa, civil movements defy all tyrant regimes led by pre-independence generations, 24. ....?
- B. - Definitely!
- A. - 25. Then.....these pre-independence politicians give power to younger leaders?
- B. - Because they think that younger generations lack the necessary skills.

**III. WRITING: Choose one topic and write 100-150 words about it. (5 marks)**

**TOPIC 1:** More and more people think that, for a change in African countries, civil society should take power from politicians.  
Do you agree with this opinion? Write down what you think, giving the positive as well as the negative aspects of a civil society government.

**TOPIC 2:**  
You are worried about an economic or behavior problem in Senegal.  
You need religious leaders to help you change things.  
Write a letter to these leaders to explain the problem and share the solutions you are suggesting.  
(NB.: Pay attention to the format of your letter.)