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Depts. of Int. Development and Government

v. 26 Sept., 2023

DV435 African Political Economy Autumn 2023

Lecture: Tuesdays, 5-7 pm, CBG 1.01

Films and post-film discussion (optional): Several Tuesdays, 7:00 to 8:30. CBG 1.01

Seminars 1, 2

Wed. 10:30 to 12:00 (PAN 3.04) and 12:30 to 2:00 (PAN 2.02).

Office hrs: CON 6.04

I. Aims of the course

This class is an introduction to the study of contemporary African political economy, with a focus on sub-Saharan Africa. The goal of DV435 is to set major questions of state, politics, and economic development in Africa in historical, geographic, and international context. Course readings and lectures stress marked unevenness in national and subnational trajectories, aiming to describe and explain structure and variation in patterns of economic change and political competition across and within states. Students completing DV435 will come away with a better understanding of the economic and social underpinnings of order, conflict, and transformation in African countries.

There is a research component to DV435: each student will use secondary literature, grey literature, and other sources to develop particular knowledge about two country "case studies." Knowledge of these countries will be leveraged in the assessed assignment to consider general arguments concerning the political economy of Africa, and to compare/contrast the historical trajectories of different African states. The approach avoids levelling and overgeneralization (neglect of variation), time compression (neglect of temporal variation), and African exceptionalism in political economy explanation. The research component builds-in an "open syllabus" approach that requires students to explore the vast research literature on African political economy on their own.

DV435 is a complement to DV418, African Development. The two courses, taken together, are required for the African Development specialism in the ID department. Each also functions as a stand-alone course.

II. DV435 Requirements

Formative work (Optional): Assessed essay provisional outline due on Monday, Week 7 (M., Nov. 6). Up to 800 words. Prompt to be posted during Week 4.

Assessed (i.e., summative) Essay. Essay (100%, 3000 words) in the Winter (former LT) Week 1. This is a paper of about 10 double-spaced pages) due in the first week of school in January. Footnotes and reference list are excluded from the word count. Question will be posted on Dec. 1. You may incorporate ideas and revised text from formative work.

To score above 55/100 on the assessed work, students must (a.) show good knowledge of, draw upon, and cite a broad cross-section of required course readings and (b.) respond directly to the essay prompt, (3) draw on country-specific case material to support your main arguments, and (4) write a

well-structured essay (strong introduction that clearly states the author's main argument, good paragraph structure (each with a strong topic sentence) and good conclusion that briefly summarizes and draws out implications of the work).

Attending weekly lectures and classes (seminar) are course requirements. Be sure to participate in class (seminar) each week -- by asking a question, contributing to discussion, or contributing actively in break-out groups (groups of 3-5 students). To prepare for class discussion, prepare answers to questions that appear as weekly assignments on this course syllabus.

III. Readings (see lists by week)

Required readings for each week are available via the LSE library as electronic journal articles or e-books, OR in the LSE library course book collection. The syllabus also lists recommended readings which you can draw upon according to your interests.

Books available in the course book collection of LSE library. ("Key Readings" on LSE Reading List on-line)

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge U. Press, 2019 [or 2002])

Benno Ndulu et al., 2007. *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1 Cambridge.

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. Wisconsin Press), 1993

Mahmood Mamdani. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Africa and the Legacy of late Colonialism* Princeton.

Keith Hart. 1983. *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture*. Cambridge.

Said Adejumobi, ed. 2015. *National Democratic Reforms in Africa: Changes and Challenges* (Palgrave Macmillan).

Abiodun Alao, 2007. *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa*. Rochester.

Jon Schubert, Ulf Engel, and Elísio Salvado Macamo, eds. 2018. *Extractive industries and changing state dynamics in Africa : beyond the resource curse*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.

Arkebe Oqubay and Justin Yifu Lin, eds., *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds.. 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, Vol. 2, Policies and Practices. Oxford University Press.

IV. DV435 Moodle Page.

The course Moodle Page contains electronic copies of this syllabus, other handouts, other resources (such as copies of essay questions, assessed essay, and exam questions from last year), lecture recordings (when available), and links readings available via the LSE library on-line catalogue. We may post some readings in PDF format on the Moodle page.

V. Films (optional)

- Week 1. Sept. 27. no film.
 Week 2, Oct. 3. *Good Fortune*, by Landon van Soest, 2009. (Will not be shown in-person this year)
 Week 3. Oct. 10. *End of Empire: Gold Coast* (BBC, c. 1975)
 Week 4. Oct. 17. *Lumumba*, by Raoul Peck (2000)
 Week 5. Oct. 24. *The Africans: In Search of Stability* (Ali Mazuri, WNET Boston, c. 1989)
 Week 7. Nov. 7. *An African Election* (by Jarreth Merz, 2011)
 Week 8. Nov. 14. *When China Met Africa* (Nick and Mark Francis, 2010, Speakit Films)
 Week 9. Nov. 21. *Stealing Africa?* Christoffer Guldbrandsen, dir. (*YouTube*)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNYemuiAOfU&t=20s>
 Week 10: Nov. 28 *Not Yet Kenyan*, Al Jazeera Correspondant, (avail. via YouTube:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QeagOhyABXU>)
 Week 11. Dec. 5 No film.

Additional suggestions:

- Sankara is not dead* (Lucie Viver, 2019) via Vimeo
Bamako (Mock Trial of the IFIs)
President (IMDb films.) (Chamisa's challenge post-Mugabe in Zimbabwe)
African Apocalypse (IMDb 2020, Rob Lemkin; Femi Nylander)

VI. Blogs/Websites

- An Africanist Perspective. <https://kenopalo.com>
 The Week in Africa. thisweekinafrica.tumblr.com
 Africa at LSE Blog <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/>
 Africa is a Country <http://africasacountry.com>
 CODESRIA, codesria.org
 Our World in Data.
 Africapolis (Africa urbanization): <https://africapolis.org/en>
[World Development Indicators](https://data.worldbank.org) at data.worldbank.org and
[Observatory of Economic Complexity](https://gecon.yale.edu) > "Profiles">"Countries"
 Yale Gecon Project Economic Activity maps (<https://gecon.yale.edu>)

Course outline and readings by Week

Week 1: 26 Sept. 2023.

Film: no film

Introduction and Course Overview

Classes: Overview of course outline and organization.

Required readings:

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni. 2020. African Decolonizations's Past and Present Trajectories. *Current History*, May 2020. 188-193.

Léonce Ndikumana. 2015. "Integrated yet Marginalized: Implications of Globalization for African Development," *African Studies Review*, 58/2 (Sept.): 7-29

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2019 [2002]), Ch 1.

Recommended

Thandika Mkandawire, "Thinking about Developmental States in Africa," *Cambridge J. of Economics*, 25 (2001), pp. 289-313.

Week 2. Tues., 3 Oct. 2023

[No in-person showing this week, but is archived:
Film: *Good Fortune*, by L. van Soest, 2009]

History, Geography, and Policy in the African Growth Debate

This lecture introduces debates over Africa's growth trajectory. Some analysts describe "poor economic performance" as chronic stagnation (Bloom, Sacks, et al). Others see the growth trajectory as episodic -- that is, as marked by episodes of recurring growth (see Ndulu 2008, Jerven 2010) and episodes of recurring blockage or crisis. This lecture discusses the sources these debates, arguing that their roots lie in issues of periodization, historical timelines, and the levels of aggregation/disaggregation of the data. Readings focus on geography (endowment), modes of integration into the world economy, and policy and political factors as drivers of growth trajectories.

Classes. According to Bloom & Sacks (1998), Jerven (2010), and Ndikumana (2015), what are the main causes (drivers) of growth trends in African countries? According to Jerven, what determines whether "growth episodes" produce sustained growth, or not? Students select two countries from different regions of Africa to follow as case studies over the course of the term. Where do your countries fit into the typology in Ndulu and O'Connell (2008), Table 1.3?

Required Readings:

David E. Bloom, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Paul Collier, Christopher Udry, "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, vol. 1988, n. 2 (1998): 207-51 only.

Ndulu and O'Connell, part of Ch.1, "Policy plus: African growth performance, 1960-2000," in Benno J. Ndulu et al, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa: 1960-2000*, 2008, pp. 1-26, 41-46.

Morten Jerven, "African Growth Recurring: An Economic History Perspective on African Growth Episodes," *Econ. History of Developing Regions*, 25/2 (2010): 127-154.

Recommended:

Stephen Broadberry and Leigh Gardner. 2022. Economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1885-2008: Evidence from eight countries. *Explorations in Economic History* 83.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014. "The Spread of Economic Doctrines and Policymaking in Postcolonial Africa," *African Studies Review*, 57/1.

Inikori, JE. 2017. The development of capitalism in the Atlantic world: England, the Americas, and West Africa, 1450-1900. *Labor History*, 58/2: 138-153.

John C. Anyanwu and Adeleke O. Salami. 2021. "The Impact of Covid-19 on African Economies: An introduction." *African Development Review* 33/S1: S1-S16

Week 3. T., 10 Oct. 2023

Film: *End of Empire: Gold Coast* (Boston Public TV)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aFe4xB-swt8>

Colonialism and Colonial States in Africa: Rule and Revenue

Lectures and readings in Week 2 and 3 focus on colonial state formation processes and colonial economies. We study the creation of contemporary African states through the colonial partition of Africa, establishment of colonial states, and the development of internal structures of rule and revenue generation. These processes built upon but profoundly modified pre-existing economic and political structures.

Classes: Cooper (2019 [2002]) describes the colonial states and economies as unstable and unsustainable. Why? What were the revenue bases of colonial states were these likely to be sustainable after independence? On the film, *End of Empire: Gold Coast*: What was indirect rule and how did it Indirect Rule contribute to sub-national political cleavages over decolonization strategy in Ghana in the 1950s?

Required Readings:

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2019 [2002]), Chs. 2, 3

Leigh Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism* (Oxford U. Press, 2012), Ch. 1, "An Introduction to the Problem of Colonial Taxation," pp. 1-13.

Recommended:

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton 1996), Ch 2.

Marlous van Waijenburg. (2018) "Financing the African Colonial State: The Revenue Imperative and Forced Labor." *J. of Economic History* 78(1): 40-80.

Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, eds., *Law in Colonial Africa* (Heinemann and J. Currey, 1991), pp. 3-60.

Week 4, T., 17 October 2023

Film: *Lumumba* (Raul Peck, 2000)

Colonial Economies and the crises of post-WWII colonialism

This week focuses on structure and variation in the economies of colonial Africa, building upon the typology established by Samir Amin. We trace post-WWII forms of political and economic instability that emerged in the African colonies, and rulers' attempts to stabilize government and expand economies. This analysis of colonial states lays groundwork for understanding the "successor states" that emerged with the granting of political independence.

Classes: How do your case study countries (or subnational regions within them) fit into Amin's typology of colonialisms, which distinguishes between colonial cash-crop, concession states, and labor reserves? What was "hegemony on a shoestring"? (Berry, ch. 2), and how did commercialization of agriculture fuel protest? What was "the second colonial occupation"? (Cooper, ch. 4). On the film *Lumumba*: Nationalist movements united against the colonizers but often divided along regional lines and over competing visions of the postcolonial state. How did this happen in Congo?

Required Readings:

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2019 [2002]), Ch. 4

Samir Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10.4 (1972): 503-24.

J.F. Ade Ajayi, "Expectations of Independence," *Daedalus*, vol. 111, n. 2 (Spring), 1982: 1-9.

Recommended:

Robert Bates, "Commercialization of Agriculture and Rural Political Protest, in Bates, *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 1983 (2010): 92-104.

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. of Wisconsin Press), ch. 2, "Hegemony on a Shoestring, Indirect Rule and Farmers' Access to Resources," 22-43.

Belinda Archibong, Historical Origins of Persistent Inequality in Nigeria, *Oxford Development Studies*, 46/3 (2018): 325-347.

Week 5, 24 October 2023 Film: *The Africans: In Search of Stability* (Ali Mazuri, 1989) Building States and National Economies in 1960-1980.

Postcolonial rulers sought to promote growth while maintaining and extending control over territory, populations and resource flows. State-led developmentalism -- including the expansion of the civil service, infrastructure, social services, export crop production, and light industry -- supported this kind of state-building. The logic of subnational administration and subnational boundary creation was closely linked to the allocation of subnational entitlements, especially regulation of land access. We shall see that economic liberalization in the late 1980s and 1990s restructured these arrangements and disrupted territorial strategies of rule.

Classes. List 5 policies in each of your case study countries that were typical of "state-led developmentalism." (Look in the sectors of agriculture, industry, infrastructure, health and education, national administration, land tenure, and/or research. What was the geographic focus on such policies within your two case study countries?

Visit the Observatory of Economic Complexity at <https://oec.world/en/> and Yale Gecon Project Economic Activity maps (<https://gecon.yale.edu>) to get an idea of how your two countries' main

economic activities distributed in space. To what extent do these patterns reflect post-colonial development strategies?

Required Readings:

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940* (Cambridge 2002), Ch. 5 and Ch. 6.

Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, 2019), Ch. 5, pp. 142-170.

Recommended:

Iris Berger. 2014. African Women's Movements in the Twentieth Century, A Hidden History. *African Studies Review*, 57/3: 1-19.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, Ch. 1 and 5

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. of Wisconsin Press), ch. 3, "Inconclusive Encounters: Farmers and the State in the Era of Planned Development" pp. 43-66.

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State* (CUP 2003).

Week 6. T., 31 Oct. 2023.

Reading Week.

Week 7, 7 Nov. 2023

An African Election (by Jarreth Merz, 201

Formative Outline due on Monday, 7 Nov.

The Changing International Context of Development and the Dual Liberalisations: Economic and Political Liberalization since 1990

This lecture focuses on the macroeconomic crises of the late 1970s and 1980s and the political drivers and responses to them. We consider the growth strategy that was proposed by the IFIs through Structural Adjustment Programs, how this differed from the growth model(s) of the 1950s and 1960s, and how it contributed to the so-called "last decades" of the 1980s and 1990s. How and why did the experience with the SAPs vary across countries? What was the connection between the SAPs and the return to multiparty competition in the 1990s? Has multipartism produced democracy?

Classes. What were the "recurrent crises" of the postcolonial state that Cooper (2002/2019) writes of? Did the Structural Adjustment Programs address the sources of these crises, or lay the foundation for

resolving the crises of the 1970s and 1980s? Why does Mkandawire describe African democracies as "choiceless"? What was the experience of the "dual liberalizations" (political and economic) in your two case study countries?

Required Readings

Adom Getachew, Ch. 5, section on "Displacing the NIEO," pp. 171- 175 and Epilogue, 176-181.

J. Barry Riddel. 1992. "Things fall apart again: Structural Adjustment Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa," *J. of Modern African Studies*, 30/1: 53-68.

Howard Stein. 2008. "From Structural Adjustment to 'Poverty Reduction,'" Adjustment to the Crisis and the Crisis of Adjustment," Ch. 2 in Howard Stein, *Beyond the World Bank Agenda* (Univ. of Chicago Press).

E. Gyimah-Boadi, "Aspirations and Realities in Africa: Democratic delivery Falls Short," *Journal of Democracy*, 30/3 (July) 2019: 86-93.

Recommended:

Giovanni Arrighi, "The African Crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects," *New Left Review* 15 (May-June), 2002: 5-36.

"Adebayo Adedeji," profiled by Reginald Cline-Cole, in David Simon, ed., *Fifty Key Thinkers on Development* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 3-8

Said Adejumobi, "Democratic Performance in Africa: Uneven Progress, Faltering Hopes," chapter 1 in Adejumobi, ed., *National Democratic Reforms in Africa: Changes and Challenges* (Palgrave, 2015), pp. 1-15.

Léonce Ndikumana and James K. Boyce. 2011. Capital flight from sub-Saharan Africa: Linkages with external borrowing and policy options. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 25/2: 149-170.

Thandika Mkandawire. 1999. "Crisis Management and the Making of "Choiceless Democracies," in Richard Joseph, ed., *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa* (Lynne Rienner), pp. 119-136.

Opalo, Kennedy. 2012. 'African Elections: Two Divergent Trends' *J. of Democracy*, 23(3): 80-93.

Week 8, 14 November 2023.

Film: *When China Met Africa*
(Nick and Mark Francis, 2010, Speakit Films)

African Economies in a "post-Washington Consensus" World : China and Expanded Policy Space

Is China's rapidly growing role as an investor and "development partner" in African countries contributing to structural transformation of African economies, How have the entry of China as a major player and the related 2004-2014 resource boom impacted development thinking ("policy space") and investment patterns in Africa?

Classes:-What is "new policy space"? Do your two case study countries seem to have embraced a new, post-2000 "growth model"? Are regional disparities in your countries likely to be attenuated, or exacerbated?

Required Readings

Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi, eds. 2010. *The Rise of China and India in Africa* (Uppsala and London: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet and Zed Press), Introduction and Ch. 1 (pp. 1-20).

Akyeampong, Emmanuel and Liang Xu. 2015. Three Phases/Faces of China in Independent Africa: Reconceptualizing China-Africa Engagement. In Monga and Lin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics: Vol. 2: Policies and Practices*.

ADD READING HERE.

Recommended:

Honwana, Alcinda. *The time of youth: Work, social change, and politics in Africa*. Kumarian Press Pub., 2012.

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2014. "The Spectre of Global China" [China in Zambia], *New Left Review* 89 (Sept/October): 29-65.

Xiaofang Shen. 2015. Private Chinese Investment in Africa: Myths and Realities, *Development Policy Review*, vol. 33, n°1, January, pp. 83-106.

Scoones, Ian, Kojo Amanor, Arilson Favareato, and Gubo Qi. 2016. A New Politics of Development Cooperation? Chinese and Brazilian Engagements in African Agriculture," *World Development* 81, 1-12.

Week 9. 21 November 2023.

Film: *Stealing Africa* [on Glencore in Zambia]

New Growth Models? Resource Boom, Extractives, and Infrastructure

What is the new resource nationalism and what are its domestic and international correlates? Do the domestic politics of development under the "new extractives" and infrastructure development represent a departure from the patterns of political mobilization and cleavage in the earlier era?

Classes: Will extractives creates a new burst of growth in your case study countries? How do post 2000 developments around extractives differ from colonial models of resource exploitation?

Required readings:

Lars Burr, Rasmus H. Pedersen, Malin J. Nystrand, and José Jaime Macuane. 2019. Understanding the three key relationships in natural resource investments in Africa: An analytical framework. The

Extractive Industries and Society. 6; 1195-1204.

Gregor Dobler and Rita Kesselring, Swiss extractivism: Switzerland's role in Zambia's copper sector, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 57/2 (2019): 223-245

Japhace Poncian. 2021. Resource nationalism and community engagement in extractive resources: insights from Tanzania," *Review of African Political Economy*, 48/170: 529-551.

NYT, "Race to the Future: A Power Struggle over Cobalt Rattles the Clean Energy Revolution," Nov. 20, 2021. (3 pages).

Recommended:

Jon Schubert, Ulf Engle, and Elisio Macamo, "Introduction: Boom and bust: extractive industries and African states in the twenty-first century," in Schubert et al, *Extractive industries and changing state dynamics in Africa: Beyond the resource curse*, (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis 2018): 1-18.

Vogel, Christoph; Raeymaekers, Timothy (2016). Terr(it)or(ies) of peace? The Congolese mining frontier and the fight against "conflict minerals". *Antipode*, 48(4):1102-1121.

Barnaby Joseph Dye, "Continuity or Change in the Infrastructure Turn? Reform of the Technicians' Realm in a World Bank Dam," *The European Journal of Development Research* (2019): 1–25.

Abiodun Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa* (Rochester, 2007), Ch. 1, "Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: Framework for Understanding a Linkage," pp. 14-40.

Igbatayo, S.A. 2019. Flows from Africa's Extractive Industries and Implications for Good Governance: A Multi-country study of Angola, the DRC, and Nigeria. *Africa Development/ Afrique et Développement (CODESRIA)*, 44/3: 55-86.

Hillbom, Ellen. (2008) "Diamonds or development? A structural assessment of Botswana's forty years of success." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46.2: 191-214.

Harry Verhoeven. 2021. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam: Africa's Water Tower, Environmental Justice, and Infrastructural Power," *Daedalus*, Fall 2021, pp. 159-180.

Andreasson, Stefan. 2015. "Varieties of Resource Nationalism in Sub-Saharan Africa's Energy and Minerals Markets." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2 (2): 310–319.

Week 10, 28 November 2023.

Film: *Not Yet Kenyan*, Al Jazeera Correspondent

Remapping National Political Economies: The Spatially Uneven Effects of Economic Liberalization and Natural Resource-based Development

Economic inequality has long been a stark reality in African countries. Since the dual liberalizations of the 1990s, inequality (and especially regional inequality) seems to be increasing in many African countries. How is this linked to patterns of uneven development that were visible in earlier periods? How do new growth strategies (extractives, new productive-sector policies) and patterns of FDI shape

or reshape existing patterns of income and spatial (subnational) inequality, and how does this translate into politics? These often serve as templates for new local resource conflicts, electoral conflict, and even civil war. What are the drivers (causes, exacerbators) of regional inequalities? Do or how do spatial inequalities find political expression?

What are the tensions between space-blind economic development strategies and national-integration?

Classes. Consider the spatial distribution of inequality in each of your two case study countries. What could explain observed unevenness? Do you think that these patterns have changed over time and if so, in what direction?

Consider information in Poverty Maps and electoral maps. What political effects might we expect?. On the documentary *Not yet Kenyan*: are the sources of inequality in Kenya mostly geographic, mostly political, or mostly something else?

Required readings

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Ch. 7, "The Recurrent Crises of the Gatekeeper State."

G. Ostby, R. Nordas and J.K. Rod. 2009. "Regional Inequalities and Civil Conflict in sub-Saharan Africa," *International Studies Quarterly*, 53/2: 2009: 301-3245.

Abubakar K. Monguno and Ibrahim Umara, "Why in Borno? The history, geography, and sociology of Islamic radicalization," Mustapha and Meagher, eds., *Overcoming Boko Haram* (2020). 64-92.

Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai, Rethinking Spatial Inequality in Development: The Primacy of Power Relations," *J. of International Development* 29/3 (April 2017): 386-403

Biniam Bedasso. 2017. "For richer, for poorer: Why ethnicity often trumps economic cleavages in Kenya." *Review of African Political Economy*, 44/151: 10-29.

Recommended:

C. Boone, "'Africa's New Territorial Politics: Regionalism and the Open Economy in Côte d'Ivoire,'" *African Studies Review* 50/1 (April 2007): 59-81.

Lindsay Whitfield and Lars Buur, "The Politics of Industrial Policy: Ruling Elites and their Alliances," *Third World Quarterly*, 35/1 (2014): 126-44.

Gabrielle Lynch and Gordon Crawford, "Democratization in Africa, 1990-2010: An Assessment," *Democratization* 18/2 (2011), 275-310.

Pitcher, M. Anne. *Party politics and economic reform in Africa's democracies*. Cambridge University Press, 2012. Chapter 2 pp. 30-64.

Kacou Yves Thierry Kacou. 2020. Interregional inequality in Africa, convergence, and multiple equilibria: Evidence from nighttime light data. *Review of Development Economics*, 26. read pp. 918-922 only.

Week 11, T., 5 Dec. 2023

Growth Models and National Projects: Looking forward to Africa in 2040. No movie.

This session focuses on cross-national variation in growth trajectories and growth models in African countries in the last decade. Can we talk about 21st century developmental states, the return of industrial policy, and technological leapfrogging? If so, (a.) Are cross-national differences in trajectories and outcomes explained by policy choice? What about locational and historical factors, or geography, institutional quality, and international economic factors? (b.) will how will Covid, debt, climate change, and global and continental trade restructurings impact these forms of state activism? (c.) Are there tensions between new growth strategies, on the one hand, and building more inclusive and cohesive political systems, on the other?

Required Reading:

Fosu, A. and E. Ogunlelye. 2018. African growth strategies -- the past, present, and future. *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics -- Volume II: Policies and Practices*, OUP. Ch. 1, pp. 23-38.

Estelle Maussion, "Côte d'Ivoire–Ghana: Five questions to better understand the battle over cocoa," *The Africa Report*, 14 Oct. 2022.

Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, "Pandora Papers: 4 lessons Africa can draw from the leak." *The Africa Report*, 4 October 2021, pp. 1-4.

How have patterns and processes of democratic political competition evolved in your two countries since the 1990s? What could explain tensions between sub-national regions tensions as well as ebb and flows in political stability/ conflictuality over time?

Recommended:

Edward B. Barbier, Is green rural transformation possible in developing countries? *World Development* 131 (2020): ____.

Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, Researching Africa and the Offshore World, 10 June 2022.

Fana Gebresenbet, Securitisation of development in Ethiopia: The discourse and politics of developmentalism. *Review of African Political Economy*, 41, sup. 1, S64-S74.

Cherif, Reda and Fuad Hasanov. 2019. The Return of the Policy that Shall Not be Named: Principles of Industrial Policy. IMF Working Paper WP/19/74, March 2019.

Kojo S. Amanor, Global Value Chains and Agribusiness in Africa: Upgrading or Capturing Smallholder Production? *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 8(1-2): 30-63. (You can skip pp. 37-41).

Classes. What is more important in explaining variation in the structure of national economies and the thrust of economic policy choice in African countries today -- geography and endowment, national politics and institutions, nature of the global economy, or the policy choices of leaders? What explains why we see apparently stronger "developmental states" in some countries than in others? Discuss with respect to your two country case studies.