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 Depts. of Int. Development and Government
 27 Sept. 2019

DV435 African Political Economy MT 2019

Lecture: Tues, 5:00 to 7:00, CBG 2.01
 Films (optional), Tues, 7:15 to 8:45, CBG 2.01

Seminars 1 and 2: Professor Boone (c.boone@lse.ac.uk)
 Wed. 9:30-11 and 11 to 12:30 in PAN 3.02
 Office hrs: CON 604 (sign up on LSE Student Hub)

Seminars 3, 4, and 5: Dr. Eyob Balcha Gebremariam (E.B.Gebremariam@lse.ac.uk)
 Th., 1:00 to 2:30, 2:30 to 4:00, and 4:00 to 5:30 in OLD 3.23
 Office hrs: CON 618A. Tuesdays, 2:00 – 4:00 (sign up on LSE Student Hub)

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.

Some students interested in a African specialism for their MSc degree will take both DV435 and DV418. DV435 provides a foundation for DV418, African Development. DV418 adopts a more policy-oriented and sociological approach, centering on debates over development strategies and policies by sector. DV418 takes up questions of taxation; savings and investment policy; sectoral debates focused on industry, agriculture, finance, and social policy; and questions of employment, informal sector, and new information technologies.

II. DV435 Requirements

Assessed Essay. 40% of your final grade is based upon a 2,000 word (maximum) assignment (composed of 2 essay questions), due at noon on 20 January 2020 (the start of Lent Term).

Exam. 60% of the final grade is based upon for one examination (2 hours, 2 questions). This will also be held at the beginning of Lent Term.

These two assignments will be very similar in structure and content. Preparing for one will prepare you for the other.

Optional formative essay. You are strongly encouraged to write an optional formative essay, which is an assignment of 2 essays questions for a total of 2,000 words (maximum). It is due on Tues, Nov. 5 (Week 6) at midnight. This assignment is "graded," but the score does not count toward your final grade. It is a practice assignment. This will help you prepare for the exam both through the reading

and studying that will be required to prepare the answers, and through the composition of the essay itself -- this will help you figure out how to write the assessed (graded) essay questions. You will get feedback that will help prepare you for the exam. Email the formative essay to c.boone@lse.ac.uk or E.B.Gebremariam@lse.ac.uk.

To score above 55/100 on the assessed essay and exam, students must (a.) show good knowledge of a broad cross-section of **required course readings** and (b.) apply general concepts and theories to the analysis of political economic problems, responding to prompts.

Attending weekly lectures and class (seminar) attendance and participation are course requirements. Be sure to participate in class (seminar) each week -- by contributing to discussion, asking a question, 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

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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) All shown on Tuesdays at 7:15 in **CBG 2.01**.

Week 1. Oct. 1. *Good Fortune*, by Landon van Soest, 2009)

Week 2, Oct. 8. *Survivors: One Community's Response to Ebola* (2018, by Arthur Pratt, with Peabody and Emmy Award Nominations)

Week 3. Oct. 15. *End of Empire: Gold Coast* (BBC, c. 1975) or *Lumumba*, by Raoul Peck (2000)

- Week 4. Oct. 22. *The Africans: In Search of Stability* (Ali Mazuri, WNET Boston, c. 1989)
- Week 5. Oct. 29. *Black Gold: Wake Up and Smell the Coffee* (Mark and Nick Francis, Dogwoof, 2006)
- Week 7. Nov. 12. *An African Election* (by Jarreth Merz, 2011)
- Week 8. Nov. 19. *China in Africa*
- Week 9. Nov. 26. *Not Yet Kenyan*, Al Jazeera Correspondent, (avail. via YouTube) or Chloe Josse Durand, Decentralization Discontents in Kenya
- Week 10. Dec. 3.. *Stealing Africa?* Christoffer Guldbrandsen, dir. (YouTube)
- Week 11. Dec. 10 no movie or *Elephant's Dream* (DRC)

VI. Blogs

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>

VII. Maps.

Observatory of Economic Complexity at Atlas.media.mit.edu
 UT Austin Map Collection: <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa.html>
 FEWS NET Story Maps: <https://fewsnets.maps.arcgis.com>
 UNDP Africa: Atlas of Our Changing Environment (2008). Downloadable
 Yale Geocon Project light/heat maps: <https://gecon.yale.edu/angola>

Week 1. Tues., Oct. 1

History, Geography, and Institutions in the African Growth Debate

This lecture introduces debates over Africa's growth trajectory. Some analysts describe "poor economic performance" as episodic (see Mkandawire, see also Ndulu 2007), while others define it as chronic (Bloom, Sacks, et al). Some describe Africa as "rising," while others describe the trajectory as "growth without development." Some focus on expanding middle classes, while others describe growing poverty. Some focus on deepening democracy, others focus on violence and instability. This lecture discusses the sources these debates, arguing that their roots lie in data quality and availability issues, periodization, what's left in and out of the numbers, and the problem of averages versus disaggregations by country or region.

In this course, we propose to solve these riddles via analytic strategies that break down the data by periods, national units, and subnationally. (See Jerven and Cooper readings). Understanding the causes and effects of patterns of uneven development over time, across countries, and within African countries will be a central theme of the course.

Assignment for class discussion

Scholarly and media characterizations of African growth trajectories can vary wildly. What is the source of the difference between different descriptions of African economic trajectories? What arguments do this week's readings contain about the sources of change *over time* and *cross-national variation* in African political economies?

Required Readings:

World Bank. 2016. "Poverty in a Rising Africa," *Africa Research Newsletter*, (Feb.): 1-5.

The Economist, 29 October 2016. "The Oil Effect: African Economies are Growing at Very Different Speeds."

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

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, 2nd Edition (CUP 2019 [2002]), Ch. 1.

Recommended Readings:

Fouad Makki, "Postcolonial Africa and the World Economy: The Long Waves of Uneven Development," *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 21/1 (2014): 124-146.

Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence* (U. of Wisconsin Press, 2012).

Benno Ndulu and Stephen A. O'Connell, "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 2007),

Ian Taylor (2014), *Africa Rising? BRICS – Diversifying Dependency*. Oxford: James Currey.

Morten Jerven, *Poor Numbers: How we are misled by African development statistics and what we can do about it* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 2011).

Omolade Adumbi, *Oil Wealth and Insurgency in Nigeria*, Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2015.

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

Niels Fold and Marianne Nylandsted Larsen, eds., *Globalization and Restructuring of African Commodity Flows*, 2008

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): 207-295.

Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics. Volume I: Contexts and Concepts; Volume II: Policies and Practices*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Akyüz, Yilmaz and Charles Gore. 2001. "African Economic Development in a Comparative Perspective," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 25, n°3, May, pp. 265-288.

Week 2. Oct. 8.

film: *Survivors: One Community's Response to Ebola* (2018, by Arthur Pratt, with Peabody and Emmy Award Nominations)

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. Were they sustainable? What institutional, economic, and political legacies did they leave behind?

Assignment for class.

Were colonial growth strategies sustainable? What are the implications of your argument for development trajectories in post-colonial Africa?

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.

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

Recommended:

Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Commerce, Credit, and Mobility in Late Nineteen-Century Gold Coast: Changing Dynamics of Euro-African Trade," in E. Akyeampong et al, *Africa's Development in Historical Perspective* (CUP 2014), pp. 231-264.

Iliffe, J. (1995), *Africans: A History of the Continent*, Cambridge University Press.

Bade Onimode, "Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria," and A. Adu Boahen, "The Colonial Impact," all in Robert O. Collins et al., eds., *Historical Problems in the Study of Africa* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1994, pp. 294-315).

Lovejoy, Paul E. (1989) "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of African History* 30, 365-394.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation" NBER Working Paper 771, June 2000.

David Y. Albouy, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Comment" *American Economic Review* 2012. 102(6): 3059-3076.]

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton 2000)

A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1987).

Justin Willis, "Hukm: The creolization of authority in Condominium Sudan," *J. of African History*, 46 (2005), 29-50.

Chris Vaughan, "Reinventing the Wheel? Local Government and Neo-Traditional Authority in the Late-Colonial Northern Sudan," *J. of African Historical Studies*, 43/2 (2010): 255-278.

Richens, P., 2009. The Economic Legacies of the "Thin White Line": Indirect Rule and the Comparative Development of Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Economic History*, 37, pp.33-102.

Monica van Beusekem and Dorothy Hodgson, "Lessons Learned? Development experiences in the late colonial period," *JAH* 41 (2001): 29-33.

Jan S. Hogendorn and K. M. Scott, "The East African Groundnut Scheme: Lessons of a large-scale agricultural failure," *African Economic History* 10 (1981).

Simensen, Jarle. "Rural mass action in the context of anti-colonial protest: the Asafo movement of Akim Abuakwa, Ghana." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines* 8, no. 1 (1974): 25-41.

Waller, Richard. "Rebellious youth in colonial Africa." *The Journal of African History* 47, no. 1 (2006): 77-92.

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

Week 3, Oct. 15.

Film: *End of Empire: Gold Coast*

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.

Nationalist movements united against the colonizers but often divided along regional lines and over competing visions of the postcolonial state.

Assignment

Find a country example of each of Amin's economic "types."

Consider how these types are registered in "maps" of that country at Observatory of Economic Complexity at <https://oec.world/en/> and Yale Geocon Project <https://gecon.yale.edu/>.

How could the "type of colonial economy" shape the distribution of political power within newly independent African countries?

Required Readings:

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

Keith Hart, *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture* (Cambridge, 1983), Chs. 2, 4

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

Recommended:

Hopkins, Anthony G. (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*, New York: Addison Wesley

Longman.

Young, Crawford (1994) *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

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

Keijiro Otsuka and Frank Place, "Land Tenure and Ag. Intensification in Sub-Saharan Africa," pp. 289-307 in Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, Vol. 2, Policies and Practices (OUP 2015).

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

Terrence Ranger, "Concluding Comments," in Paris Yeros, ed., *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa* (Macmillan, 1999): 133-145.

Week 4, October 22 Film: *The Africans: In Search of Stability* (Ali Mazuri)
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 to the allocation/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.

Assignment.

What major developmental initiatives were undertaken in the 1960-1980 period? What vision or theory of development, if any, informed and justified these undertakings, and how were these financed? Would these mitigate or exacerbate existing inequalities within countries (or create new ones)?

Required Readings:

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

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

Benno Ndulu and Stephen A. O'Connell, "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 2007), pp. 3-75.

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.

Recommended

Paul Nugent, "States and Social Contracts in Africa," *New Left Review* 63, May/June 2010: 35-63.

Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa* (Essex: Longman, 1981).

Patrick J. McGowan, African Military Coups d'Etat, 1956-2001: Frequency, Trends, and Distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41/3 (Sept) 2003.

Bates, Robert H. (1981) *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*, Berkeley: U. of California Press.

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice* (Cambridge 2003).

Carola Lentz, "'I take an oath to the state, not the government,' Career Trajectories and Professional Ethics of Ghanaian Public Servants," in Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, eds., *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies* (Leiden and Boston, Brill Publishers, 2014: 175-204.

M. Kpressa, D. Elands, and A. Lecours.. 2011. "Nationalism, development, and social policy: The politics of nation-building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 34 (12). p. 2115-2133.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. 2007. "The Politics of Citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo," in Sara Rich Dorman et al, eds., *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*, Brill, pp. 69-80.

Tareke, G., 2014. *The Ethiopian revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*. Yale.

Week 5, Oct. 29

Black Gold: Wake Up and Smell the Coffee
(Mark and Nick Francis, Dogwoof, 2006)

The Changing International Context of Development: Economic Liberalization and Political Liberalization of the 1980s and 1990s

What growth strategy was proposed by the IFIs through Structural Adjustment Programs, and how did this differ from the growth models of the 1950s and 1960s? How and why did the experience of SAPs vary across countries in Africa? What was the connection, if any, between the SAPs and the returns to multipartism in the 1990s?

Assignment

What were the "recurrent crises" that Cooper (2002/2019) writes of? Did the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) address the sources of these crises, or otherwise lay foundations for resolving the crises of the 1970s and 1980s?

Required Readings:

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

Howard Stein, "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, 2008).

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

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

Recommended

Thomas J. Biersteker, "The 'triumph' of liberal economic ideas in the developing world," in Barbara Stallings, ed., *Global Change, Regional Response: The New International Context of Development* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 174-196.

John Loxley, "Structural Adjustment in Africa: Reflections on Ghana and Zambia," *Review of African Political Economy*, n. 47 (Spring, 1990), pp. 8-27

Jon Kraus, "The Struggle over Structural Adjustment in Ghana," *Africa Today*, 38/4 (1991): 19-37.

Michael Barratt Brown, "'Fair Trade' with Africa," *R. of African Political Economy*, 34/112 (2007), pp. 267-77.

Easterly, William. 2001. "The Lost Decades: Developing Countries' Stagnation in Spite of Policy Reform, 1980-1998," *Journal of Economic Growth*, vol. 6, n°2, June, pp. 135-157.

Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (Cambridge 2000).

Thandika Mkandawire and Charles C. Soludo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1999).

Ndikumana, Leonce and James K. Boyce. 2011. "Capital Flight from Sub-Saharan Africa: Linkages with External Borrowing and Policy Options," *International Review of Applied Economics*, vol. 25, n°2, March, pp. 149-170.

Ndikumana, Leonce and James K. Boyce. 2011. *Africa's Odious Debts: How Foreign Loans and Capital Flight Bled a Continent*, London: Zed Books.

James Ferguson 1999 *Expectations of Modernity: Myth and meanings of urban life in the Zambian Copperbelt*. U California Press, Berkeley.

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

Jamie Bleck and Nicolas Van de Walle, *Electoral Politics in Africa since 1990* (Cornell 2018).

Week 6. READING WEEK 2019. Nov. 5.

Formative Essays due on Tues, Nov. 5. (see above, p. 1-2).

Week 7, Nov. 12

FILM: *An African Election* (by Jarreth Merz, 2011)

Tensions in the Dual Liberalisations: The Democracy-Development Nexus in 21st Century Africa

This week's lecture focuses on the relationship between political regimes and patterns (and levels) economic and social development. The lecture uses comparative case studies of African states that are considered to be democratic and developmental (Botswana and Mauritius), competitive-clientelistic (Ghana), and authoritarian-developmental (Ethiopia and Rwanda).

Assignment

What is a "developmental state" in Africa today? Identify two "developmental states" and explain how they vary. What explains why some states are more "developmental" than others?

Required Readings

Mkandawire, Thandika. (2001) "Thinking about developmental states in Africa." *Cambridge journal of economics* 25:3, 289-314.

Leftwich, Adrian (1993), "Governance, democracy and development in the Third World", *Third World Quarterly*, 14 (3), 605-24.

Poteete, Amy R. (2009) "Is development path dependent or political? A reinterpretation of mineral-dependent development in Botswana." *The Journal of Development Studies* 45, no. 4: 544-571.

Kelsall, Tim. (2011) "Rethinking the Relationship between Neo-patrimonialism and Economic Development in Africa." *IDS bulletin* 42.2: 76-87.

Recommended Readings

Heinz Jockers, Dirk Kohnert, and Paul Nugent. 2010. "The Successful Ghana Election of 2008: A convenient myth?" *J. of Modern African Studies*, 48/1 (March): 95-115.

Carbone, G., V. Memoli, and L. Quartapelle. (2014), "Are lions democrats? The impact of democratization on economic growth in Africa, 1980-2010", *Democratization*, 23:1, 27-48.

Mushtaq H. Khan (2005) "Markets, states and democracy: Patron-client networks and the case for democracy in developing countries", *Democratisation*, 12:5, 704-724

Gebremariam, Eyob Balcha. (2018) "The Carrot and Stick of Ethiopian 'Democratic Developmentalism' ideological, legal and policy frameworks" in Chris Tapscott et al, *The Democratic Developmental State: North-South Perspectives*. Columbia University Press

Vaughan, Sarah. (2011) "Revolutionary democratic state-building: party, state and people in the EPRDF's Ethiopia." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5.4: 619-640.

Carroll, Barbara Wake, and Terrance Carroll. (1997) "State and ethnicity in Botswana and Mauritius: A democratic route to development?." *The Journal of Development Studies* 33.4: 464-486.

Ansoms, An. "Re-engineering rural society: The visions and ambitions of the Rwandan elite." (2009) *African Affairs* 108:431, 289-309.

Behuria, Pritish (2016). "Centralising rents and dispersing power while pursuing development? Exploring the strategic uses of military firms in Rwanda." *R. of African Political Economy* 43:150, 630-647.

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

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

Willie Mutunga, *Constitution-Making from the Middle: Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya, 1992-1997* (Nairobi: SARWAT/MWENGO, 1999).

Adrienne LeBas, *From protest to parties: Party building and democratisation in Africa* (Oxford, 2011).

Gebremariam, E.B. and Herrera, L. (2016) 'On Silencing the Next Generation: Legacies of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution on Youth Political Engagement', *Northeast African Studies* 16.1: 141-66

Andrew M. Mwenda. (2007) Personalizing Power in Uganda, *Journal of Democracy*, 18(3) pp. 23-37

Charles Fernandes Taylor, Jon Pevehouse, Scott Straus. 2017. Perils of pluralism: Electoral violence and incumbency in sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 54, Issue 3, pp. 397 - 411

Resnick, Danielle. "Protesting for a better tomorrow? Youth mobilization in Africa." In *African Youth and the Persistence of Marginalization*, pp. 65-82. Routledge, 2015.

Obadere, Ebenezer. 2011. "Revalorizing the Political: Towards a New Intellectual Agenda for African Civil Society Discourse," *J. of Civil Society* 7/4: 427-42.

Aili Mari Tripp, 2015. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa* (Cambridge University Press.

Charles Fernandes Taylor, Jon Pevehouse, Scott Straus. 2017. Perils of pluralism: Electoral violence and incumbency in sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 54, Issue 3, pp. 397 - 411

Said Adejumobi, ed., *National Democratic Reforms in Africa: Changes and Challenges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). See herein Christopher Zambakari, "South Sudan and the Nation-Building Project: Lessons and Challenges, pp. 89-128, and Godfrey B. Asimwe, "Progress and Challenges of Liberal Democracy in Uganda," pp. 129-164, inter alia.

Week 8, Nov. 19

Film: *China in Africa*

Prospects and Challenges of Structural Transformation in African Political Economy

This lecture examines the possibilities of achieving structural transformation in Africa, defined as “the transition of an economy from low productivity and labour-intensive economic activities to higher productivity and skill intensive activities.”

Assignment

What does "structural transformation" of an African economy look like in practice? Under what conditions could we expect this to happen?

Required Readings

Aryeetey, Ernest and Nelipher Moyo. 2012. Industrialisation for Structural Transformation in Africa: Appropriate Roles for the State, *Journal of African Economies*, vol. 21, AERC Supplement 2, pp. ii55–ii85.

Clapham, Christopher. "The Ethiopian developmental state." *Third World Quarterly* (2017): 1-15.

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

Mkandawire, Thandika. "Can Africa Turn from Recovery to Development?" *Current History* 113, no. 763 (2014): 171.

Recommended Readings

Sandbrook, Richard. "Africa's Great Transformation?" *Journal of Development Studies* 41, no. 6 (2005): 1118-1125.

Whitfield, L., Therkildsen, O; Burr, L., Kjaer, Anne Mette. 2015. *The Politics of African Industrial Policy: A Comparative Perspective* (CUP).

Hillbom, Ellen. (2011) "Botswana: A development-oriented gate-keeping state." *African Affairs* 111, no. 442 : 67-89.

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.

White, B. (2012) 'Agriculture and the Generation Problem: Rural Youth, Employment, and the Future of Farming', *IDS Bulletin* 43.6: 9–19,

Lefort, R. (2012) "Free Market Economy, "Developmental State" and Party-State Hegemony in Ethiopia: the Case of the "Model Farmers"” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (4): 681- 706.

Catherine Boone, "State, Capital, and the Politics of Banking Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 37, n. 4 (July 2005): 401-420.

Fantu Cheru and Cryril Obi, eds. 2010. *The Rise of China and India in Africa* (Uppsala and London: Nordiska Afrika Institutet and Zed Press).

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

Dolan, Catherine, and Dinah Rajak."Remaking Africa's informal economies: Youth, entrepreneurship and the promise of inclusion at the bottom of the pyramid." *The Journal of Development Studies* 52, no. 4 (2016): 514-529.

Di Nunzio, Marco. "What is the alternative? Youth, entrepreneurship and the developmental state in urban Ethiopia." *Development and Change* 46, no. 5 (2015): 1179-1200.

Hickey, Sam. "Conceptualising the politics of social protection in Africa." In *Social protection for the poor and poorest*, pp. 247-263. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2008.7-332.

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Resnick, Danielle. "Protesting for a better tomorrow? Youth mobilization in Africa." In *African Youth and the Persistence of Marginalization*, pp. 65-82. Routledge, 2015.

Week 9, Nov. 26. The Political Economy of Inequality

Not Yet Kenyan, Al Jazeera
Correspondent

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? What are the political and economic consequences of growing regional (subnational) inequalities?

Territorial and political inequality arises in part from hierarchies that govern resources and populations, including land. These often serve as templates for local resource conflicts, electoral conflict, and civil war. We discuss the territorial dimensions of civil conflict, land-related conflict, in civil wars of the 1990s and 2000s.

Assignment

Have patterns of subnational spatial inequality (aka, regional disparities, or uneven development) been exacerbated over time, or have they been mitigated in most African countries? Are the sources of inequalities changing or constant? Do spatial inequalities find political expression in electoral politics, civil conflicts, or other ways in the 21st century?

Required readings

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

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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.

Recommended:

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

F. Stewart, Crisis Prevention: Tacking Horizontal Inequalities: *Oxford Dev. Studies* 28/3 (2000): 245-262.

Jean Paul Azam, "The Political Geography of Redistribution," in Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000* (CUP, 2008), pp. 225-248

Bossuroy, Thomas and Denis Cogneau. 2013. "Social Mobility in Five African Countries," *Review of Income and Wealth* 59 (S1): S84-S110.

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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.

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Ikelegbe, Augustine. "The Economic Conflict in the Oil-Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria," *African and Asian Studies*, 5/1 (Feb. 2006) 23-50.

John Boye Ejobowah, "Who Owns the Oil? The Politics of Ethnicity in the Niger Delta of Nigeria," *Africa Today*, 47/1, Winter 2000, pp. 29-47.

Yvette Monga, "'Au Village!' Space, Culture, and Politics in Cameroon," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 160 (2000): 723-750.

Brennan Kraxberger, "Strangers, Indigenes, and Settlers: Contested Geographies of Citizenship in Nigeria," *Space and Polity* 9/1 (2005): 9-27.

Francis Nyamjoh, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa* (CODESRIA and Zed Books, 2006).

Hassan Ndzovu. 2014. *Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status* (Northwestern U. Press).

Ukoha Ukiwo, (2006) *Creation of Local Government Areas and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: The Case of Warri Delta State*. CRISE Oxford Paper.

Elliott Green, (2010) "Patronage, District Creation, and Reform in Uganda," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 45, 1 (2010): 83-103.

Rotimi T. Suberu, "The Struggle for New States in Nigeria, 1976-1996," *African Affairs*, Vol. 90/361 (October) 1991: 499-522.

Dereje Feyissa, "Decentralization as Ethnic Closure, with special reference to a declining negotiated access to natural resources in Western Ethiopia," *Africa Development/Afrique Développement* 31/2 (2006): 243-260.

Naseem Badiey, "The Strategic Instrumentalization of Land Tenure in 'State Building': The case of Juba, South Sudan," *Africa* 83/1 (2013): 57-77.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002. The terrible toll of post-colonial 'rebel movements' in Africa: Toward an explanation of violence against the peasantry," *JMAS* 40/2: 181-125.

Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, "The Resurgence of Rural Movements under Neoliberalism," in Moyo and Yeros, *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgences of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Zed Books, 2005): 8-67.

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

M. Kpressa and D. Beland, "Mapping social policy development in sub-Saharan Africa," *Policy Studies*. 34/3 (2013), p. 326-341

M. Kpressa, D. Beland, and A. Lecours, (2011). Nationalism, development, and social policy: The politics of nation-building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 34 (12). p. 2115-2133.

Hickey, S., Lavers, T., Niño-Zarazúa, N. and Seekings, J. (eds) *The Politics of Social Protection in sub-Saharan Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Week 10, T., Dec. 3

The Political Economy of Aid in Africa (Teddy Brett)

FILM: ~~*Stealing Africa*~~

Ben Radley, We will win peace.

Aid relationships have played a key and heavily contested role in Africa since the colonial period. 'Who calls the shots?' and what are the consequences of the shift from 'hard' Structural Adjustment to the post Paris Agreement recipient country ownership. This lecture uses the Uganda case to focus on three issues— poverty, (Hickey) Security (Fisher & Anderson), and administrative reform and industrial policy using two recent papers on Uganda (Bukonya & Muhumuza, Ggoobi, Wakabula, & Ntayi). These readings place emphasis on African governments formal commitments to donor-supposed economic and security policy, on the one hand, and the practical politics of clientelism, patronage, and maintaining political power, on the other hand. Donors are often willing to ignore these tensions.

Assignment

Why are aid relationships "contested," and by whom? How might aid flows between international agencies and Western governments, on the one hand, and African governments, on the other hand, be at "cross purposes" ?

Required readings

Abuzeid, Farah (2009) 'Foreign Aid and the "Big Push" Theory: Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa' *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, 16, Fall. Avail. at https://web.stanford.edu/group/sjir/pdf/Aid_11.1.pdf

Bukenya, B. and Muhumuza, W. (2017) The politics of core public sector reform in Uganda: Behind the façade. ESID Working Paper No. 85. Manchester, UK: The University of Manchester.

Ggoobi, R., B. Wakabula, & J. Ntayi, (2017) Economic Development and industrial policy in Uganda," Kampala, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Hickey, S. (2012) 'Beyond 'Poverty Reduction through Good Governance': The new political economy of development in Africa.' *New Political Economy* 18 (2) 683-90.

Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson, 2015. "Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa," *International Affairs*, 91: 131-151.

Recommended

Brett, E.A., (forthcoming) 'Managing Pro-Poor Development in Weak States The Politics of Donor-Recipient Relationships,' June 2014.

Robinson, M. (2006) *The political economy of governance reforms in Uganda*, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies.

Mwenda, A. & R. Tangri, (2005) 'Patronage politics, donor reforms and regime consolidation in Uganda,' *African Affairs*, 104 (416) 449-67.

Tobias Hagmann and Filip Reyntjens, eds. *Aid and Authoritarianism in Africa*. Uppsala and London: Zed Books, 2016.

Whitfield, L. ed. (2008) *The Politics of Aid; African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*, OUP.

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

Mkandawire, T. (2007). 'Good governance': the itinerary of an idea. *Development in Practice*, 17(4-5), 679-681.

Léonce Ndikumana and James K. Boyce. 2011. *Africa's Odious Debts: How foreign loans and capital flight bled a continent* (London: Zed Books).

Whitfield, Lindsay. 2005. "Trustees of Development from Conditionality to Governance: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Ghana," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43/4: 641-664.

Moyo, D. (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane.

Brown, W. (2013) 'Sovereignty matters: Africa, donors and the aid relationship,' *African Affairs*, 112 (447) 262-82.

Easterly, William and Tobias Pfitze. 2008. "Where does the money go? Best and worst practices in foreign aid," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 22, n°2, Spring, pp. 29-52.

Ferguson, J. (1996) *The Anti-politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic State Power in Lesotho*, Cambridge University Press.

Kragelund, Peter. "'Donors go home': Non-traditional state actors and the creation of development space in Zambia," *Third World Quarterly* 35/1 (2014): 145-62.

Sonja Grimm, Nicolas Lemay-Hébert, and Olivier Nay, "'Fragile States': Introducing a Political Concept," *Third World Quarterly*, 35/2 (2014): 197-209. See related articles on the "fragile state" concept in theory in practice in same issue.

Gould, J. 2005. *The New Conditionality: The Politics of the PSRPs* (London: Zed).

Feyissa, D. (2011) 'Aid Negotiation: The Uneasy "Partnership" Between EPRDF and the Donors', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5.4: 788–817

Elisa Lopez Lucia. 2017. "Performing EU Agency by experimenting the 'Comprehensive Strategy': The European Union Sahel Strategy," *J. of Contemporary African Studies*, 35/4: 451-468.

Week 11, T., Dec. 10

film: *China in Africa*

Varieties of Capitalism in Africa

How can we describe variation in national economic and regulatory structures across African countries? Are the differences deeply ingrained and path-dependent, or pre-determined by geography, or can they be attributed in large part to policy choices as the authors in the Ndulu et al (2007) volume suggest? (See Week 1). Is China's rapidly growing role as an investor and "development partner" in African countries contributing to structural transformation of African economies, or is partnership with China deepening Africa's dependence on the extraction and export of raw materials? What will African political economies look like 30 years from now?

Assignment

How can we describe variation in national economic and regulatory structures across African countries? Are these differences explained by policy choice? (What about locational and historical factors, or geography, institutional quality, and international economic factors?)

Required Readings

Ian Taylor, *Africa Rising? BRICs -- Diversifying Dependency*. Rochester, NY and London: James Currey, 2014, Ch. 5, "China in Africa," pp. 102-122

Andreas Nölke and Simone Claar, "Varieties of capitalism in emerging economies," *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 81/82, 2013. pp. 33-54.

Ricardo Soares de Olivera, "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola," *J. of Modern African Studies*, 49/ 2 (2011): 287-314.

Recommended:

Fantu Cheru and Cryril Obi, eds. 2010. *The Rise of China and India in Africa* (Uppsala and London: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet and Zed Press).

Cramer, C, D. Johnston, and C. Oya, "Africa and the Global Financial Crisis," *African Affairs*, 2009, 108 (433, October, 643-654

Colin Poulton, "Democratisation and the Political Incentives for Agricultural Policy in Africa," *Development Policy Review*, 32, S2 (2014): s101-s122.

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Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, and Dzodzi Tsikata, eds. 2015. *Africa's Rural Land Rush: Livelihoods and Agrarian Change*. Woodbridge: James Currey.

M. Anne Pitcher, *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies* (CUP, 2012).

Jesse Salah Ovadia, *The Pedro-Developmental State in Africa: Making Oil Work in Angola, Nigeria, and the Gulf of Guinea*, London: Hurst, 2015.

Thandika Mkandawire, Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections," *World Politics*, May 2015: 1-50.

deGrassi, Aaron. 2008. "Neopatrimonialism" and Agricultural Development in Africa: Contributions and Limitations of a Contested Concept " *African Studies Review*, 51(3), pp. 107-33.

Gibbon, P. and S. Ponte (2005) *Trading Down: Africa, Value Chains and the Global Economy* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

T.S. Jayne et al, "Land Pressures, the evolution of farming systems, and development strategies in Africa: A synthesis," *Food Policy* 48 (2014): 1-17.

Anne Walraet, "Governance, violence and the struggle for economic regulation in South Sudan: the case of Budi County (Eastern Equatoria), *Afrika Focus* 21/2 (2008):53-70.

Daniel Large and Luke Patey, *Sudan Looks East: China, India and the Politics of Asian Alternatives* (2013)

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Rahmato, D., 2014. The perils of development from above: land deals in Ethiopia. *African Identities*, 12(1): 26-44.

Patrick Low, Cheidu Osakwe, and Maika Oshikawa, eds., 2016. *African Perspectives on Trade and the WTO* (CUP YEAR?).

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