

# POL201Y1: Politics of Development

Lecture 5:

History

Colonialism

# Assignments: research proposal

- 10% of the course grade
- Due 22 June
- 3-5 double-spaced pages + 1-page bibliography
- Contents:
  - Identify your selected question
  - Outline what other scholars who have studied the topic have argued and what evidence they have provided to support their arguments
  - Identify the limitations of the existing research on the subject and explain how your research will fill an existing gap in the literature
  - Consider how they relate to the theories/explanations of development that we have covered in the course
  - Outline your basic argument
  - Explain what kinds of data you will collect to support your argument.

# Assignments: research essay

- 30% of the course grade
- Due 27 July
- 10-12 double-spaced pages + bibliography
- At least 10-12 academic sources, including at least 2 sources from the syllabus

# Essay questions

- *Why did successful developmental states emerge in East Asia, but not in Africa or Latin America?*

Answer with reference to either Africa **or** Latin America (but not both).

You must incorporate into your argument analysis of **at least** to two of the theories/explanations of development discussed in the second part of the course.

You may choose to focus on specific countries (no fewer than three) within the three regions (instead of whole regions); **you must justify your case selection.**



# Essay questions

- *Strong states led by consolidated authoritarian governments are more likely to effect development than other regime types.*

Discuss with reference to **at least** three countries and **at least** two of the theories/explanations of development discussed in the second part of the course.

**You must justify your case selection and address alternative explanations of their developmental success (or lack thereof).**

- *Strong societies are conducive to development.*

Discuss with reference to **at least** three countries and **at least** two of the theories/explanations of development discussed in the second part of the course.

**You must justify your case selection and address alternative explanations of their developmental success (or lack thereof).**

# Essay questions

- *Can institutions that result in socially efficient development outcomes be built in short periods of time?*

Answer with reference to **at least** two countries that have experienced efforts to develop new "good" institutions and **at least** one country that has not; **you must justify your case selection.**

Incorporate into your argument analysis of **at least** two of the theories/explanations of development discussed in the second part of the course.

- Two-part question:

*Is trade **or** migration more beneficial for the inhabitants of developing countries?*

**Choose one option (justifying your selection)** and answer the following question:

*What trade/migration regime would result in most socially efficient development outcomes?*

Discuss with reference to **at least** three countries (**you must justify your case selection**) and **at least** two of the theories/explanations of development discussed in the second part of the course.

# Writing help

- Library information session: 2 pm-3.30 pm on the 8th June in Room 4033 (Electronic Classroom) at the Robarts Library
- Writing centres and English Language Learning programme
- Office hours

# Term test

- 20% of the course grade
- 13 June
- Based on sections 1 (key concepts) and 2 (theories/explanations) of the course
- Essay:
  - 60%
  - Answer one of three essay questions
- Multiple-choice questions:
  - 40%
  - 20 questions

# Recap

# Geography vs. history

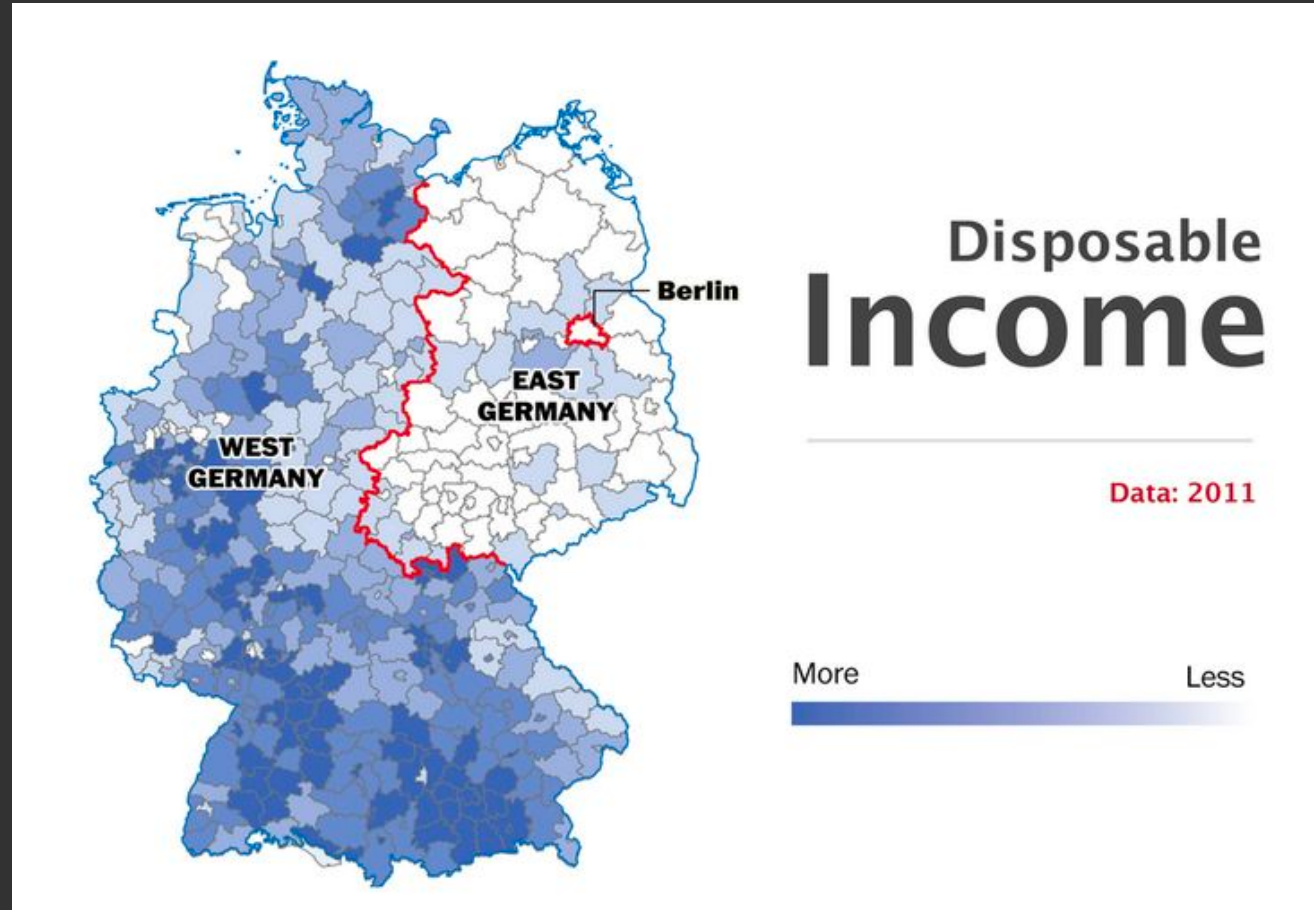
- How much does geography really explain?
- Where do institutions come from?

# Geography vs. history

- Average household income:
  - Nogales, Arizona: USD 30,000
  - Nogales, Sonora: USD 10,000
    - Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2012. *Why nations fail: the origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. New York: Crown Publishers.



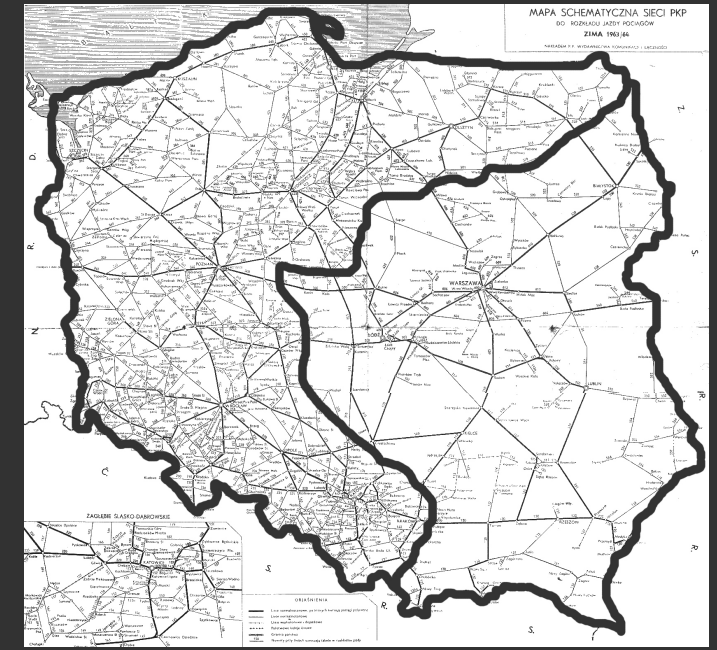
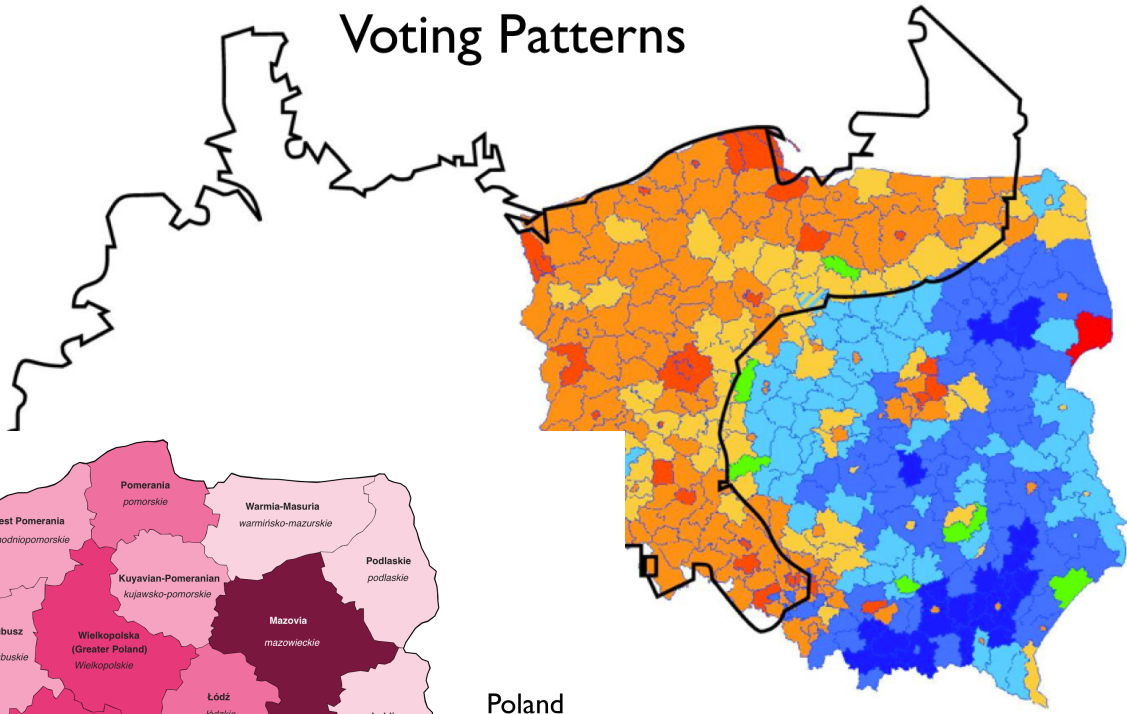
# Geography vs. history





# Geography vs. history

## Pre-WWI Germany and Recent Polish Voting Patterns

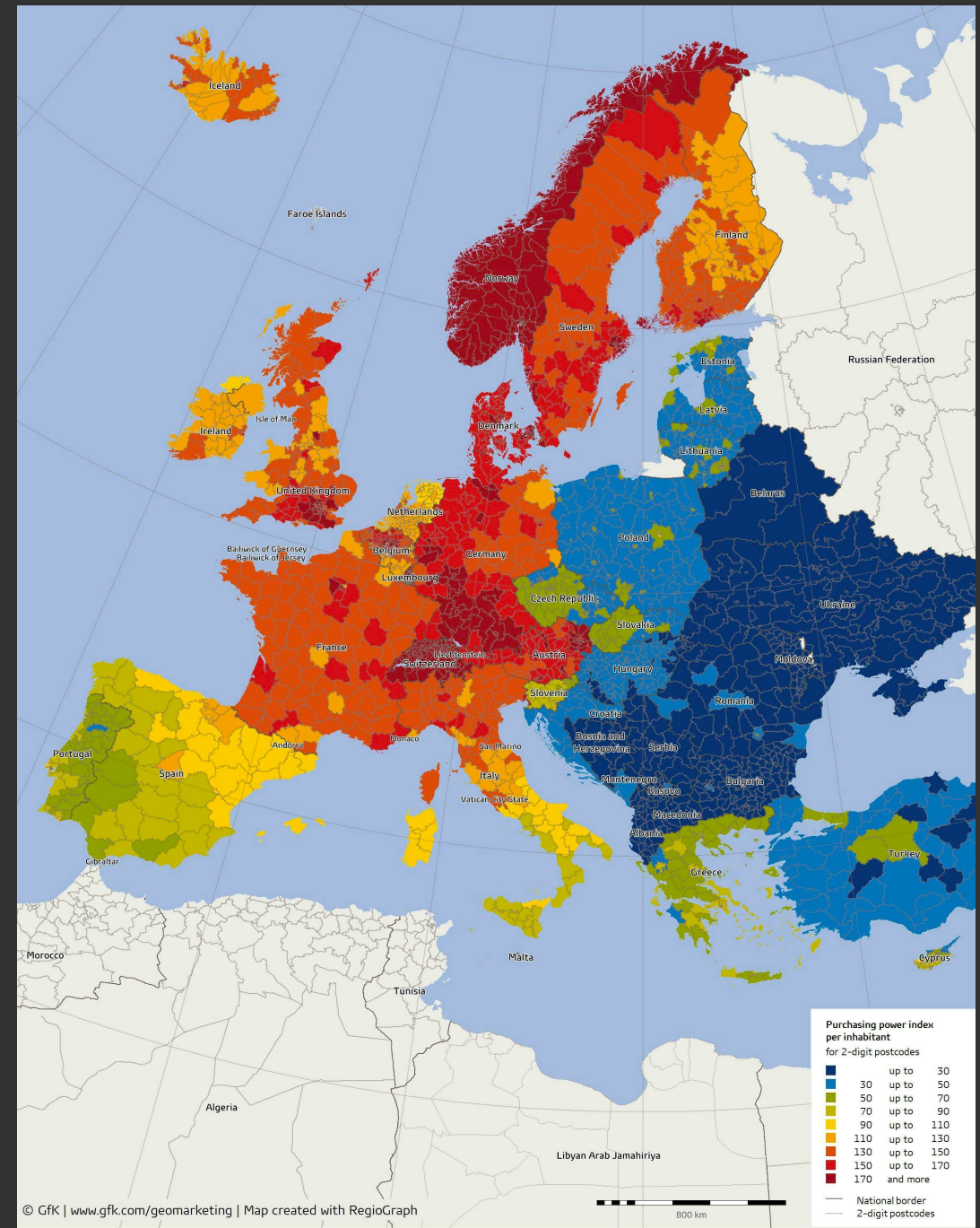
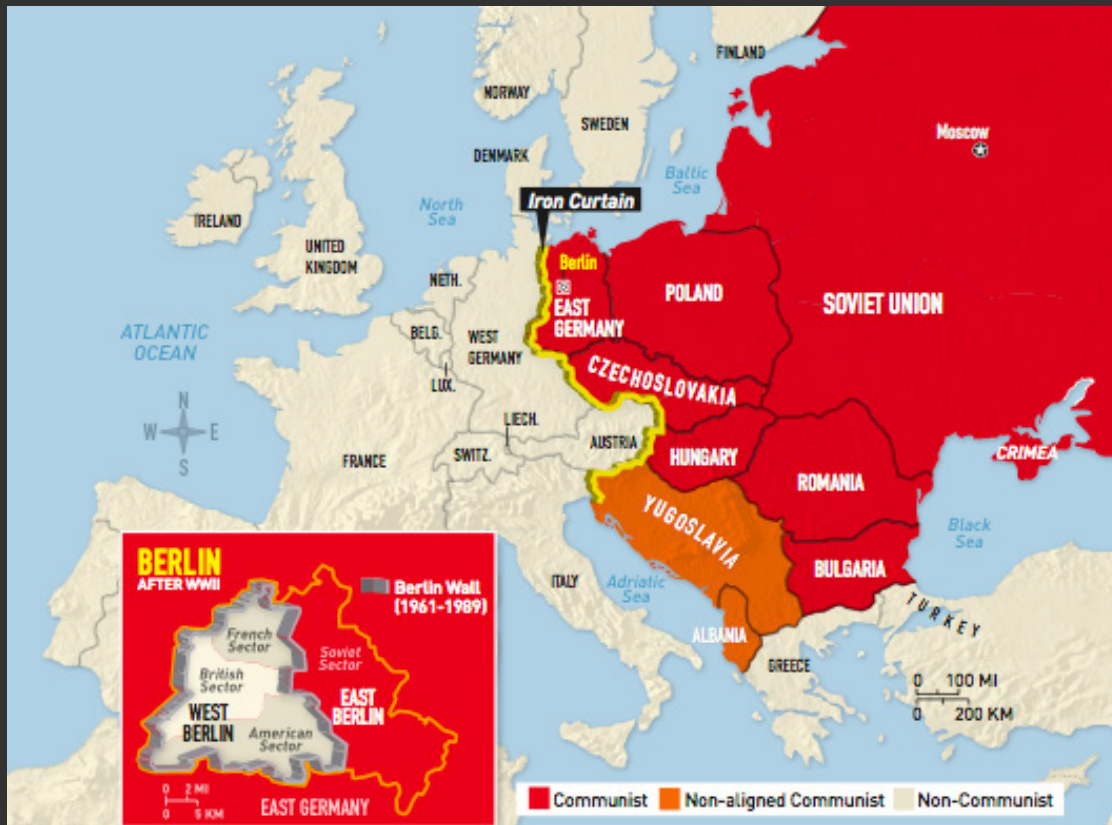


DATA SOURCE: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Poland\\_voivodeships\\_by\\_GDP\\_per\\_capita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Poland_voivodeships_by_GDP_per_capita)

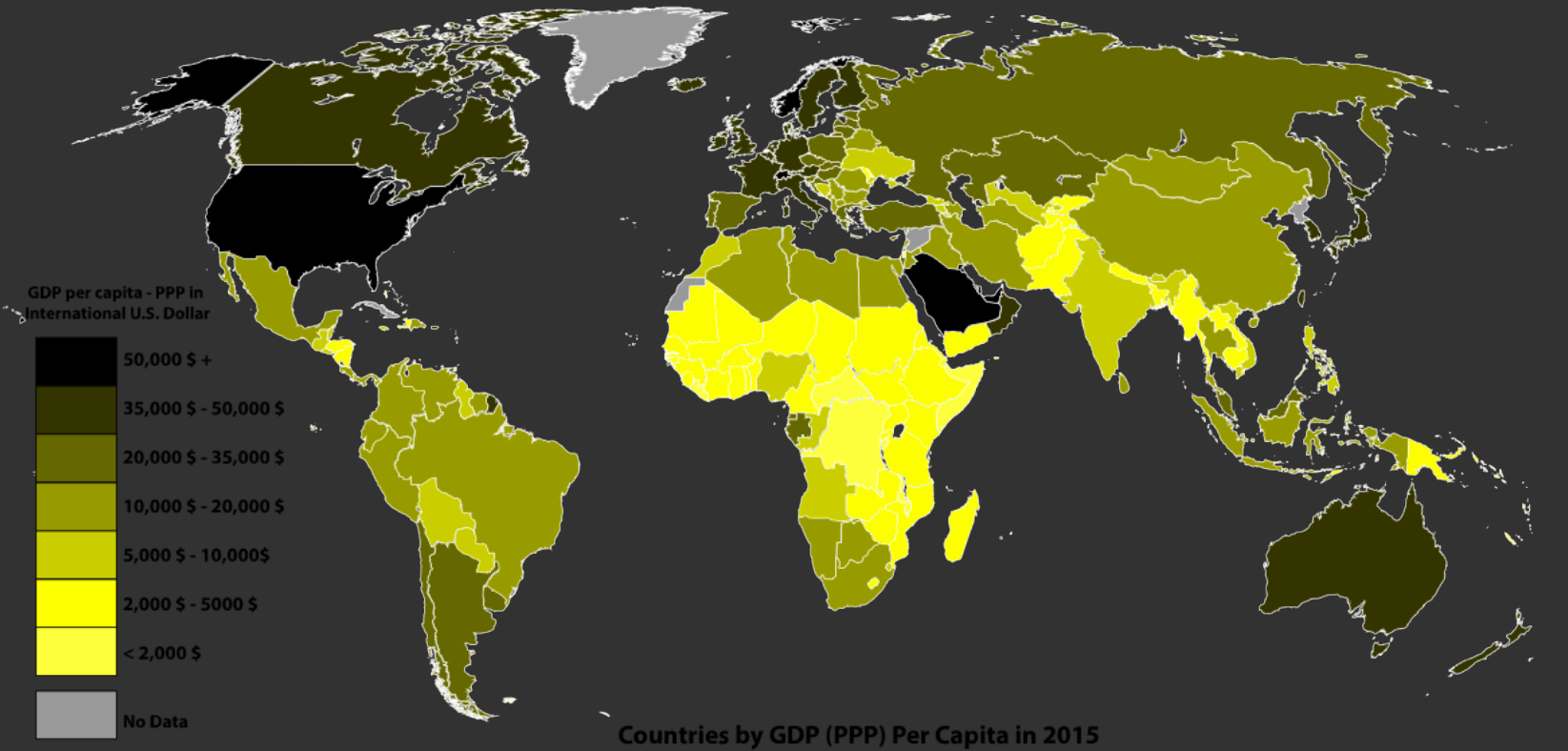
GeoCurrents Map

[110/09/polish-elections-v-imperial-germany-big.jpg](#)

# Geography vs. history

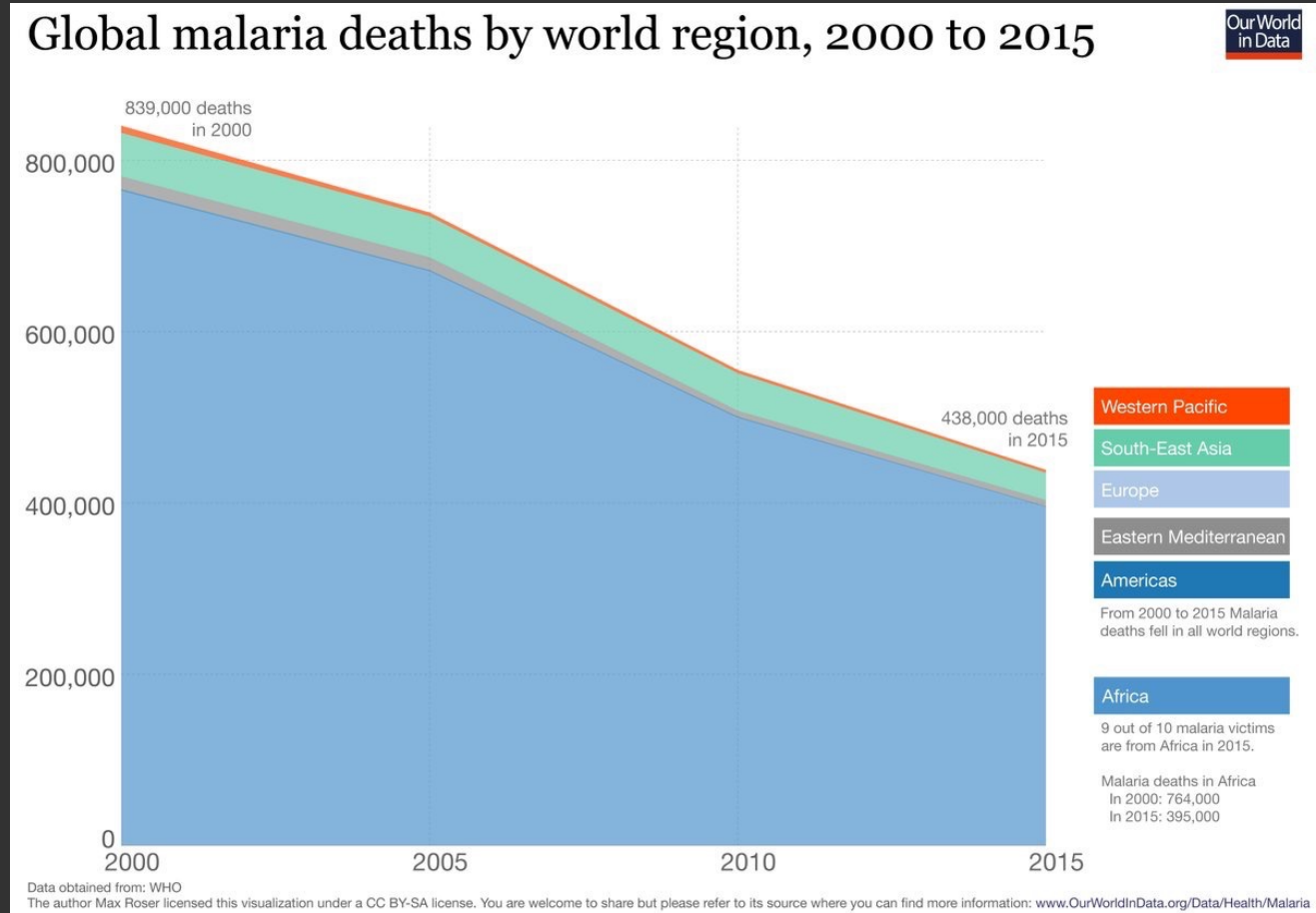
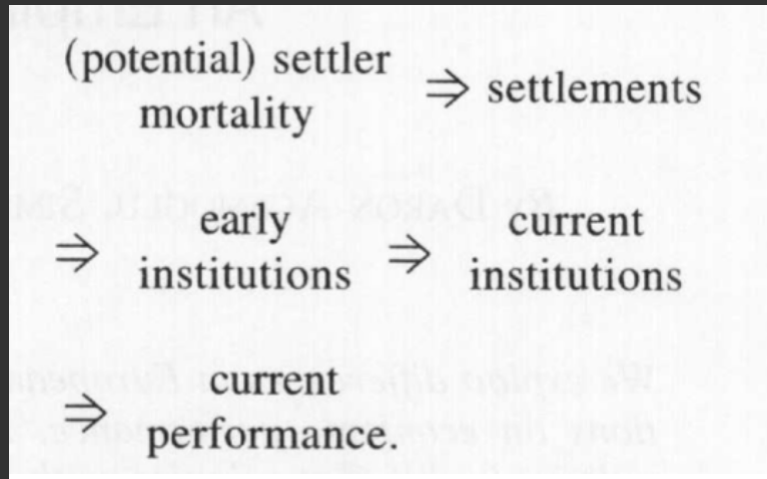


# Geography vs. history





# Geography vs. history



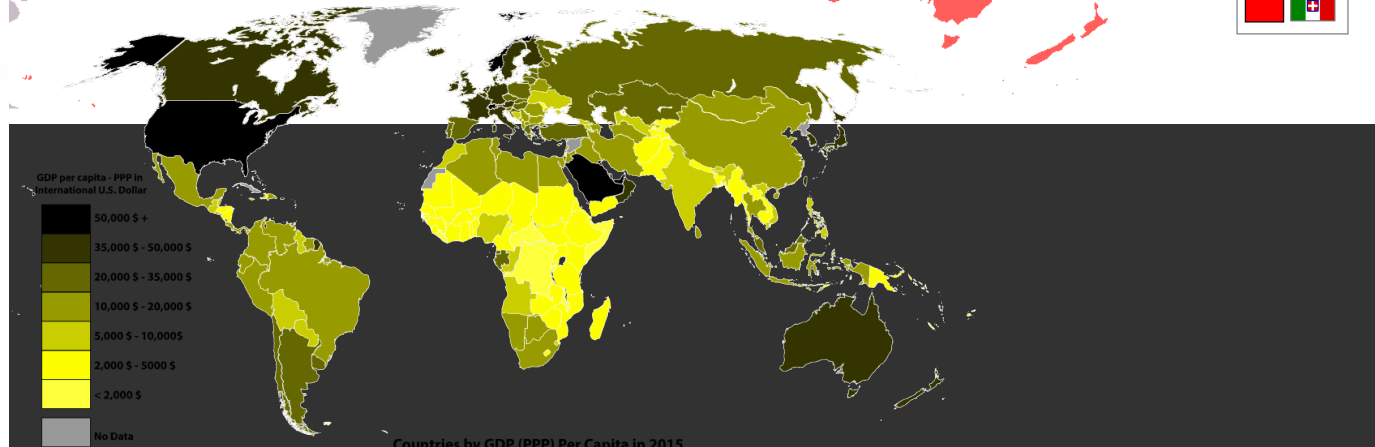
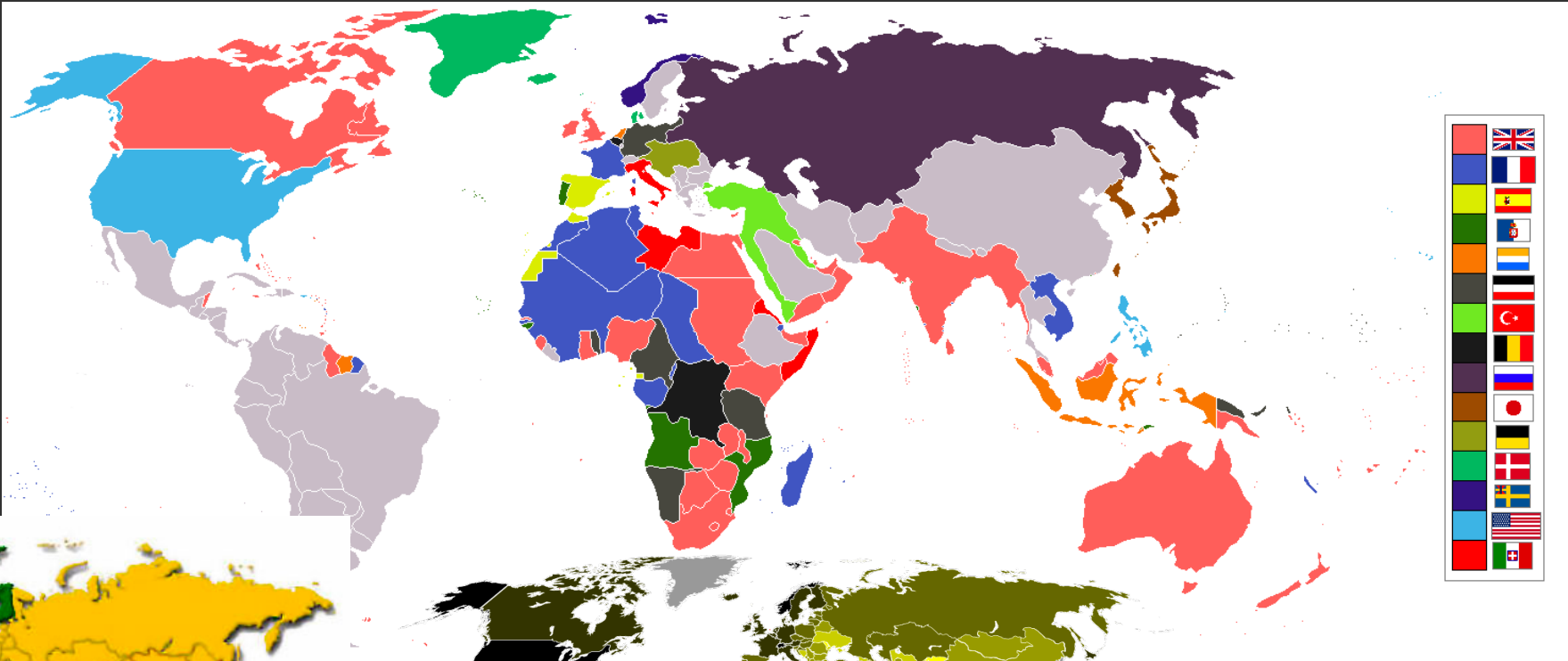
# Why does history matter?

- Institutions
- Exploitation

# Why does history matter?

- Explanations always make implicit or explicit assumptions concerning historical origins of the phenomenon and time-place scope conditions for the claimed explanation
- Analysis of any long-term process requires historical reconstruction
- Political processes are at least partly a function of historically determined local cultural accumulations
- Path dependence
  - Tilly, Charles. "Why and How History Matters." *Oxford Handbooks Online*. 29 May. 2017.

# History of the global South



# Colonialism and imperialism

- Colonialism: the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically
- Imperialism: the policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force
  - From *New Oxford American Dictionary*



# Colonialism and imperialism

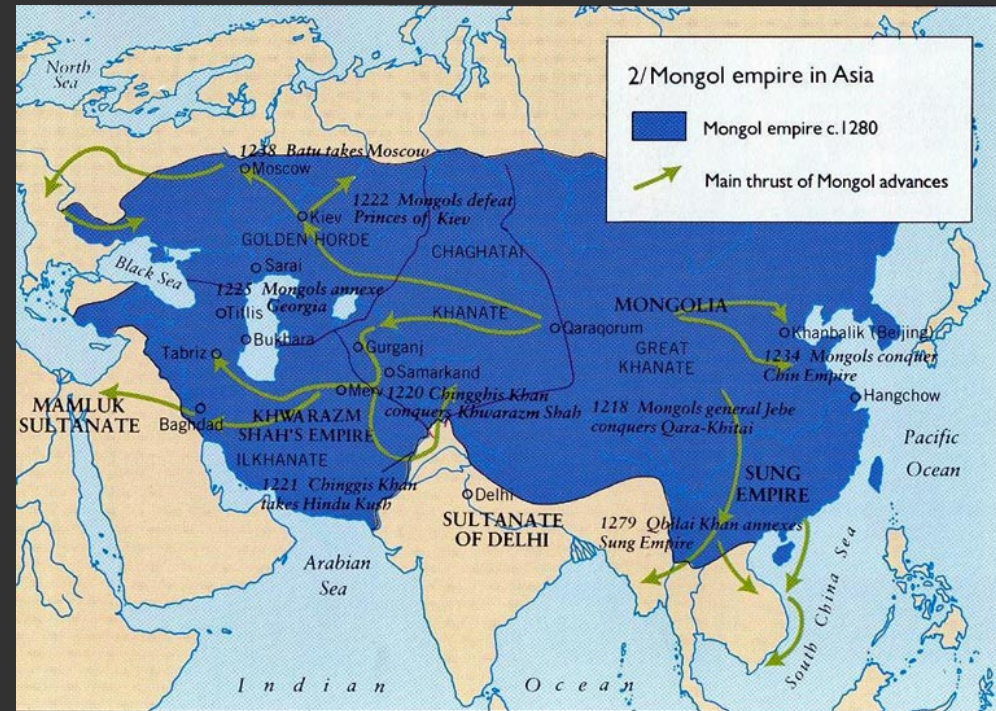
- What's the difference?
  - Edward Said:
    - Colonialism: “implanting of settlements”
    - Imperialism: “the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory”
      - Said, Edward W. 1994. *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.
  - Robert Young:
    - Colonialism: creation of settlements and commercial operations
    - Imperialism: state policy operated from the centre for both economic and ideological reasons
      - Young, Robert. 2001. *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
  - Lenin: imperialism as the highest, necessary stage of capitalism
    - Lenin, Vladimir Il'ich. 1939. *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism: a popular outline*. New York: International Publishers.

# History of colonialism





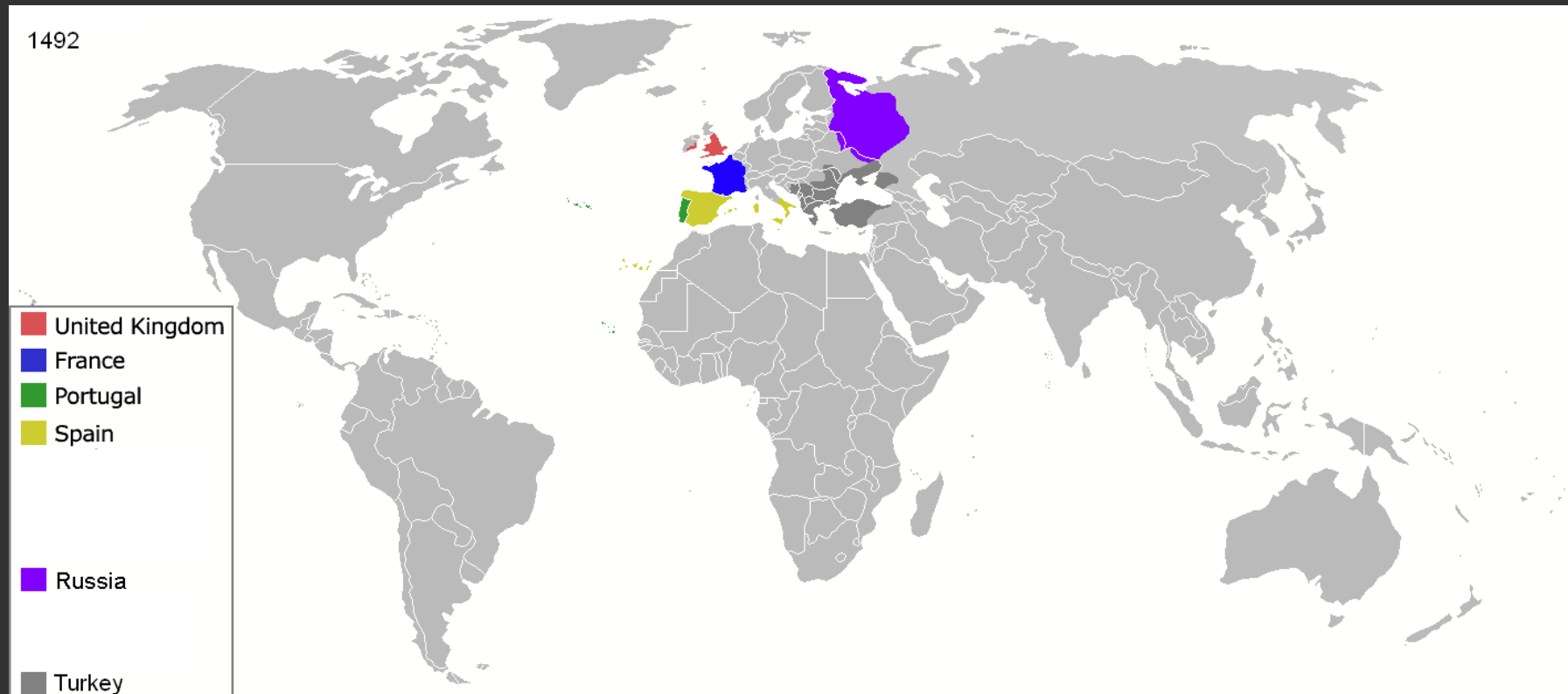
# History of imperialism



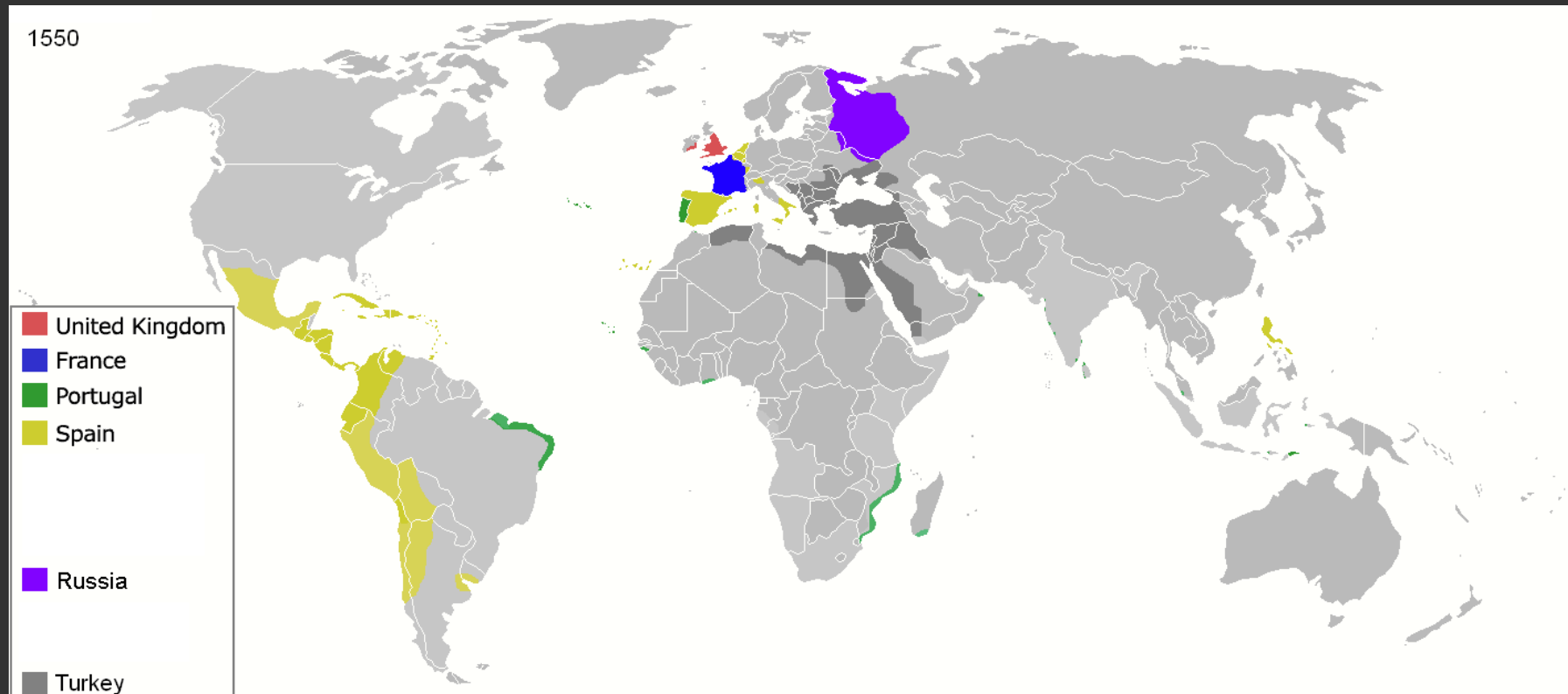
# History of imperialism



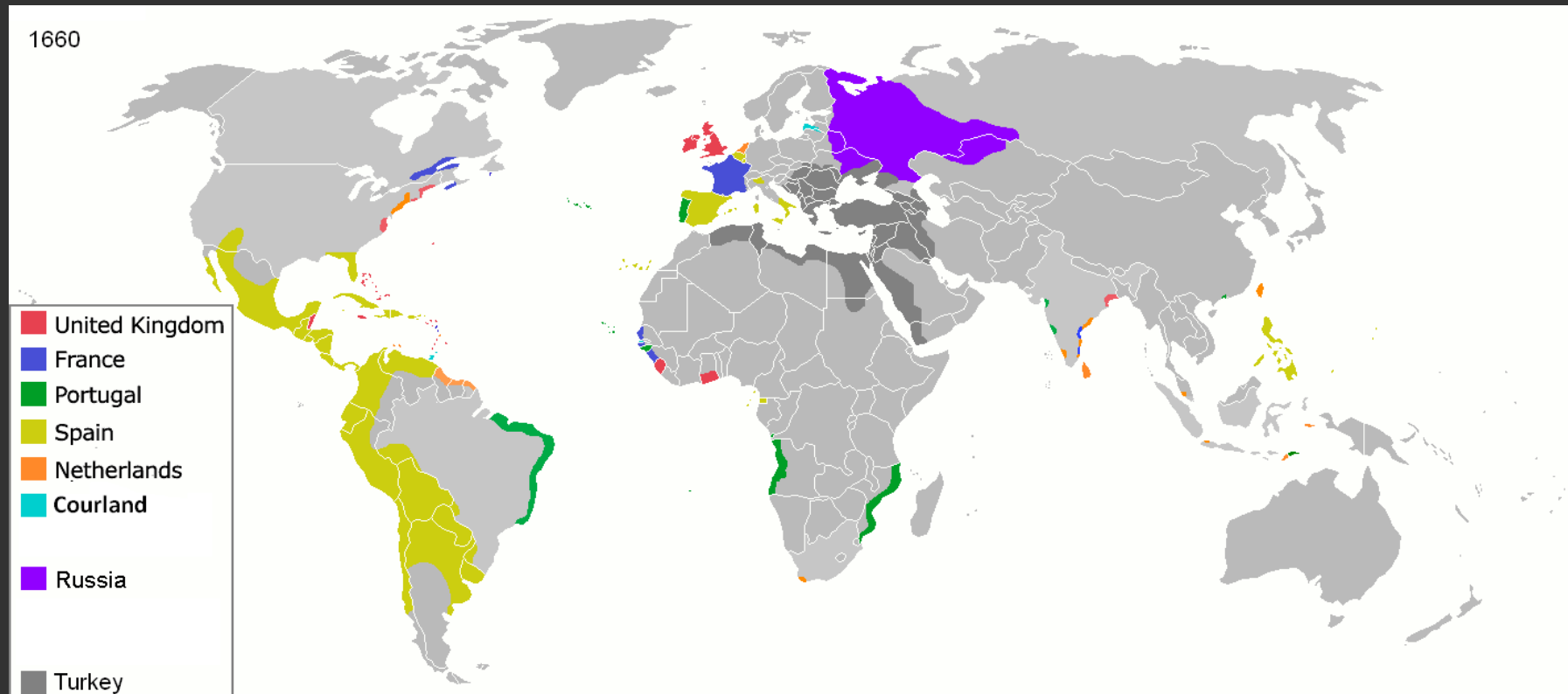
# European colonialism / imperialism



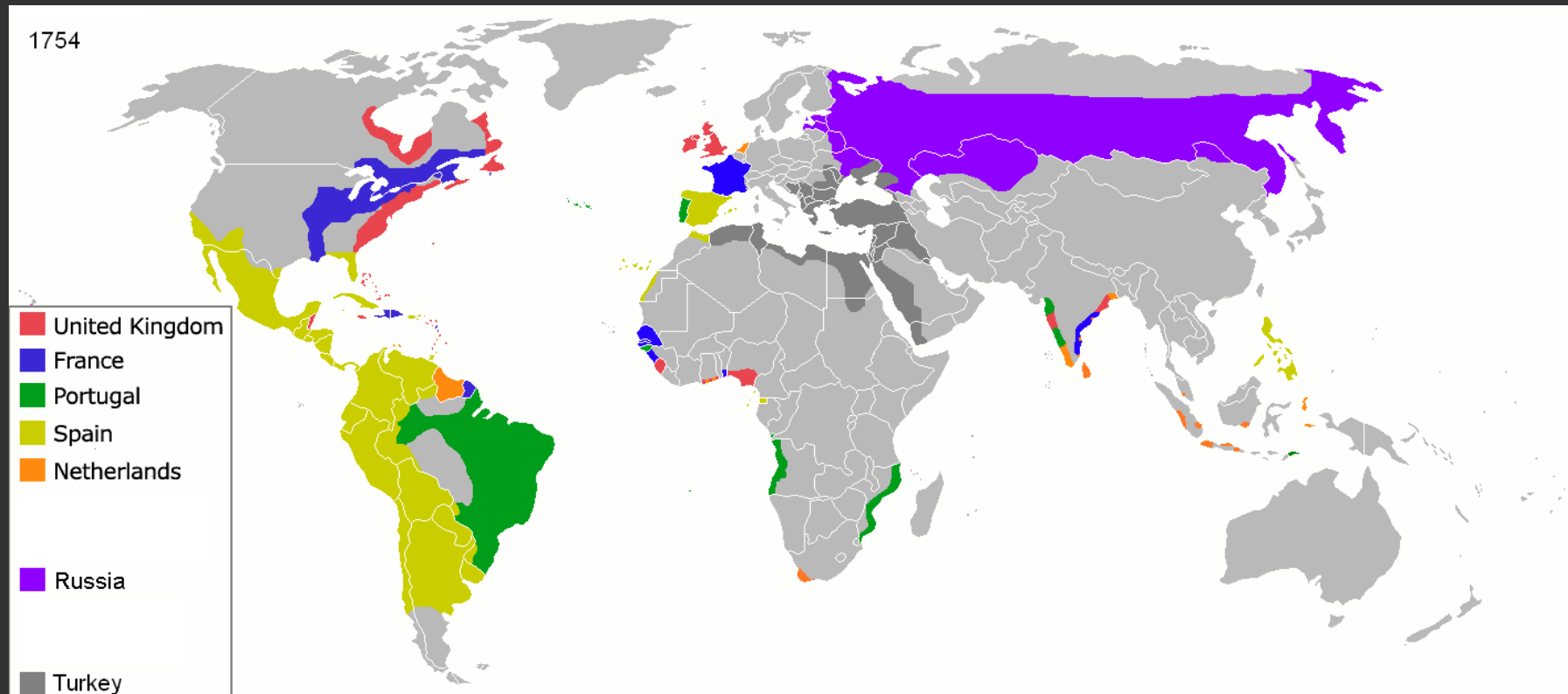
# European colonialism / imperialism



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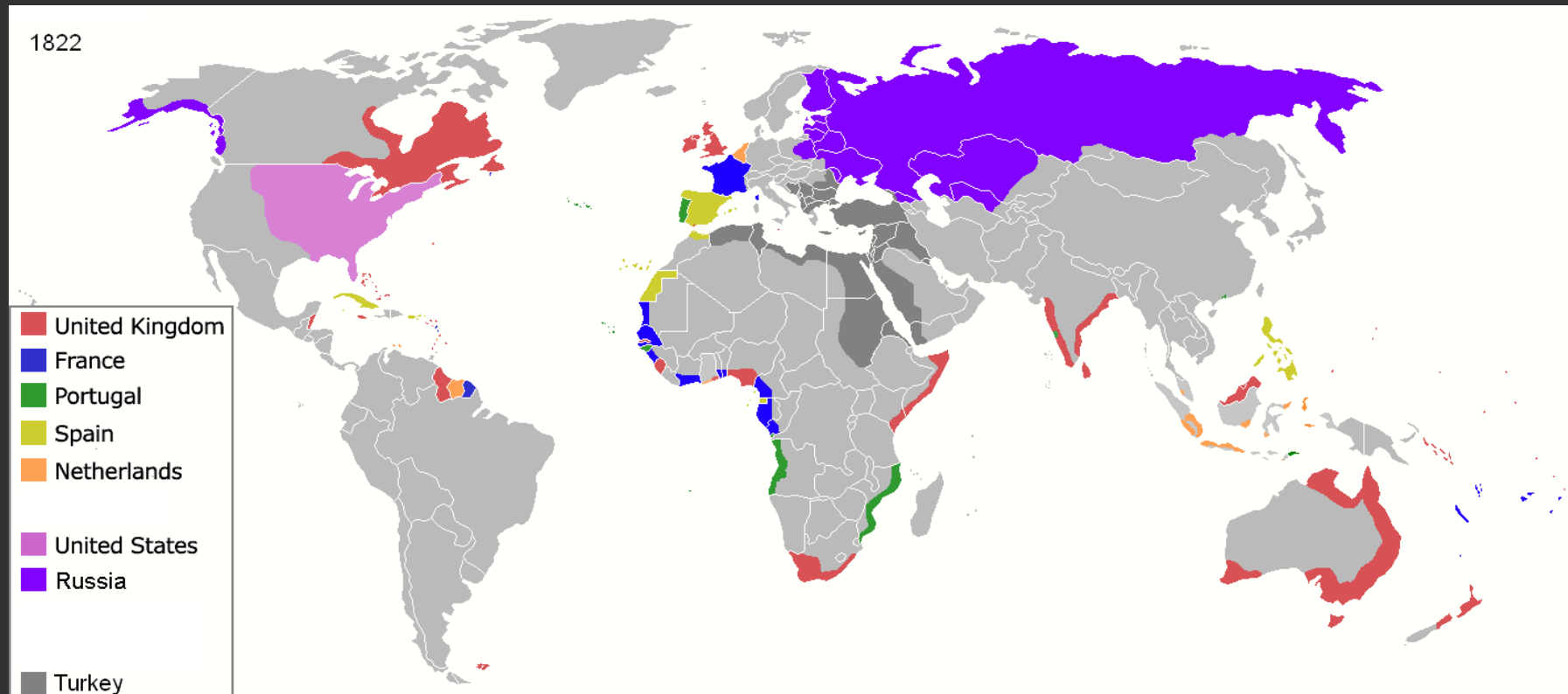


# European colonialism / imperialism

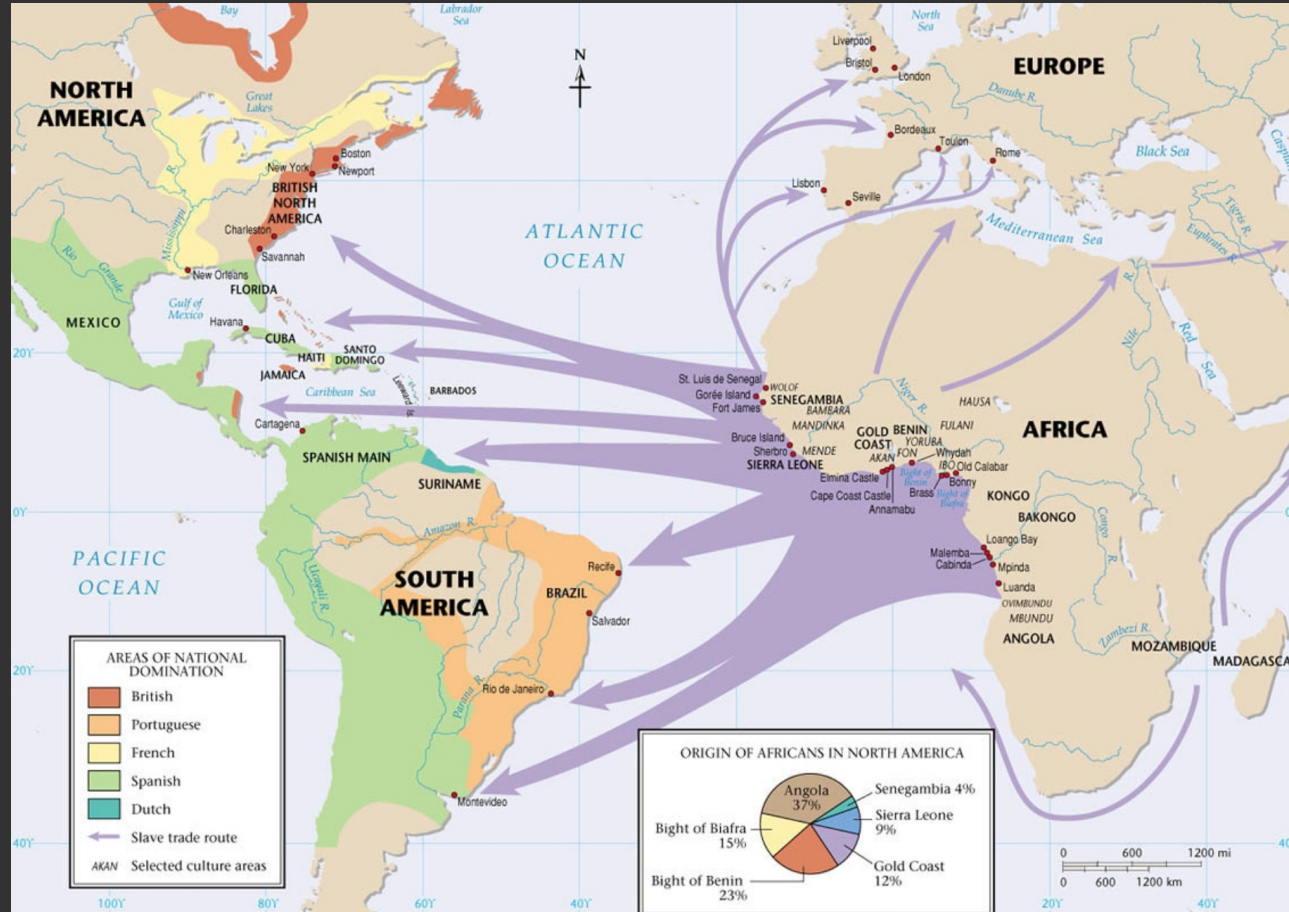




# European colonialism / imperialism



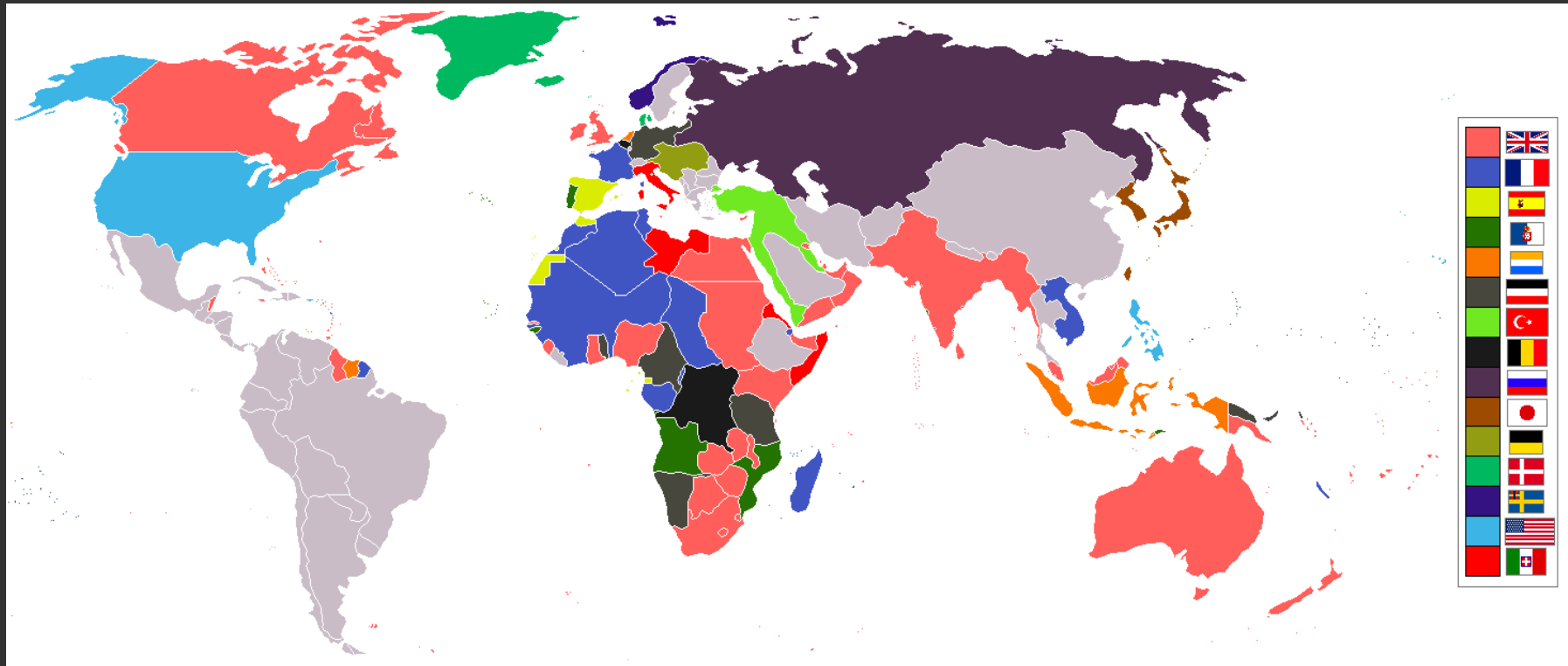
# Slave trade



# Causes of early modern European colonialism / imperialism

- Economic
- International relations / balance of power
- Religious / ideological

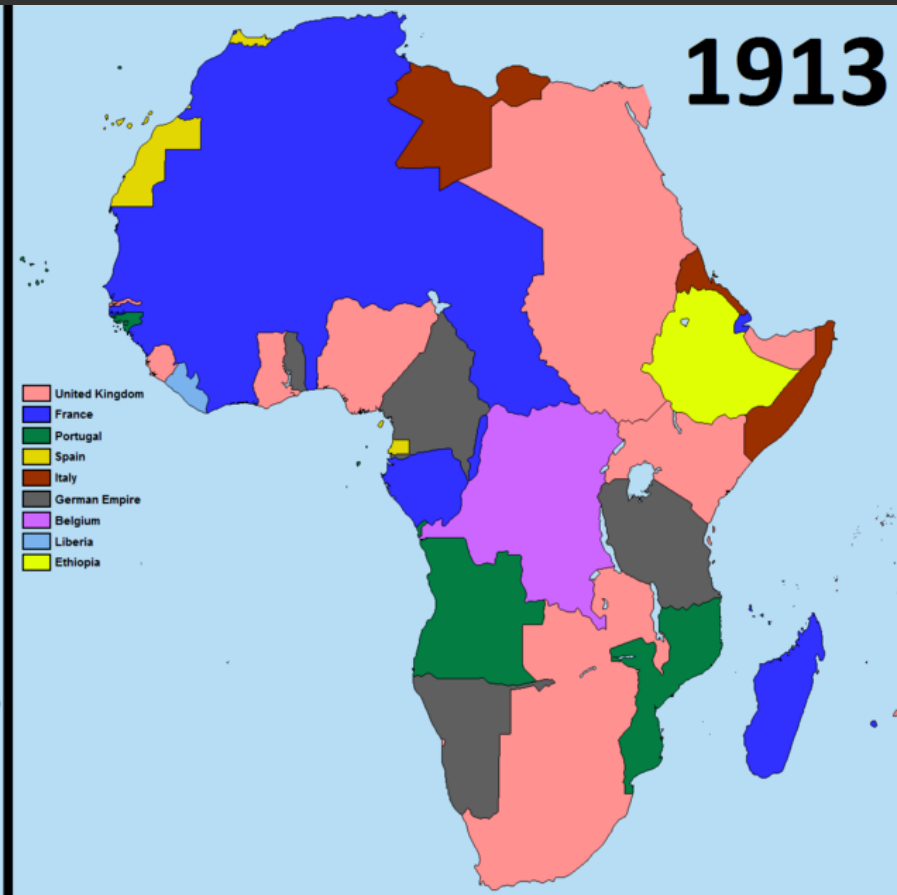
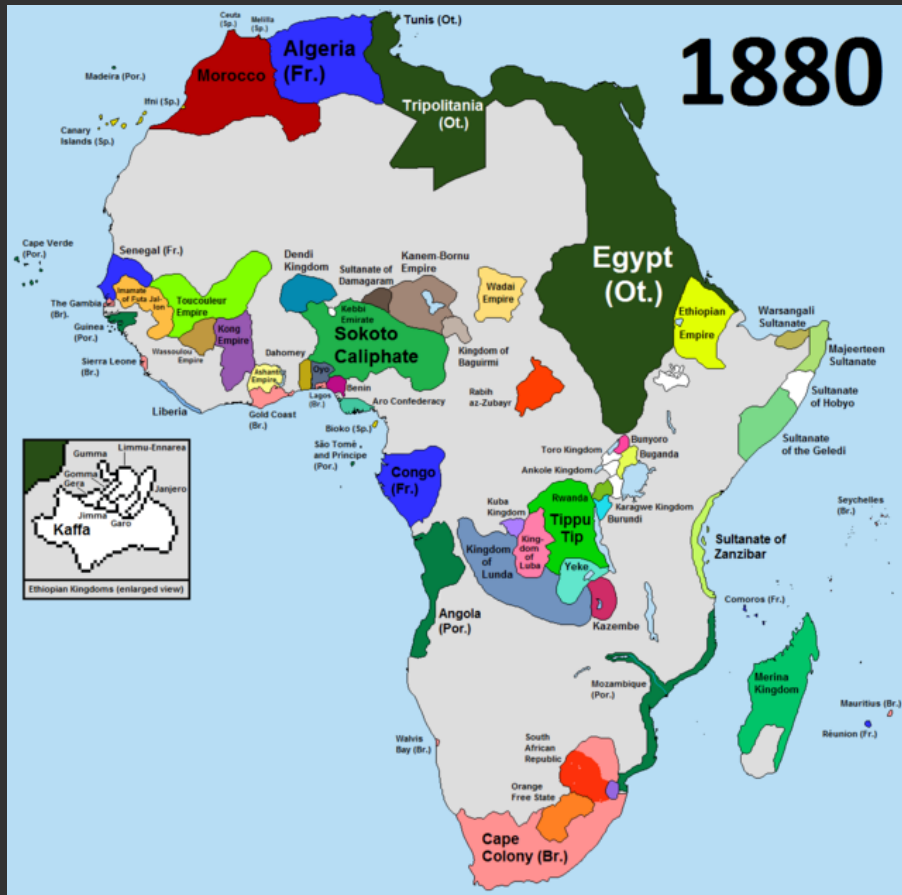
# High / new imperialism



# Causes of new imperialism

- Accumulation theory:
  - Industrial revolution ->
  - Accumulation of surplus ->
  - Competition limited market in Europe ->
  - Expansion to areas with lower labour costs, unexploited raw materials, and little competition
  - Lenin: imperialism as the highest (last) stage of capitalism
- European balance of power

# Scramble for Africa



# Why was Africa colonized so late?

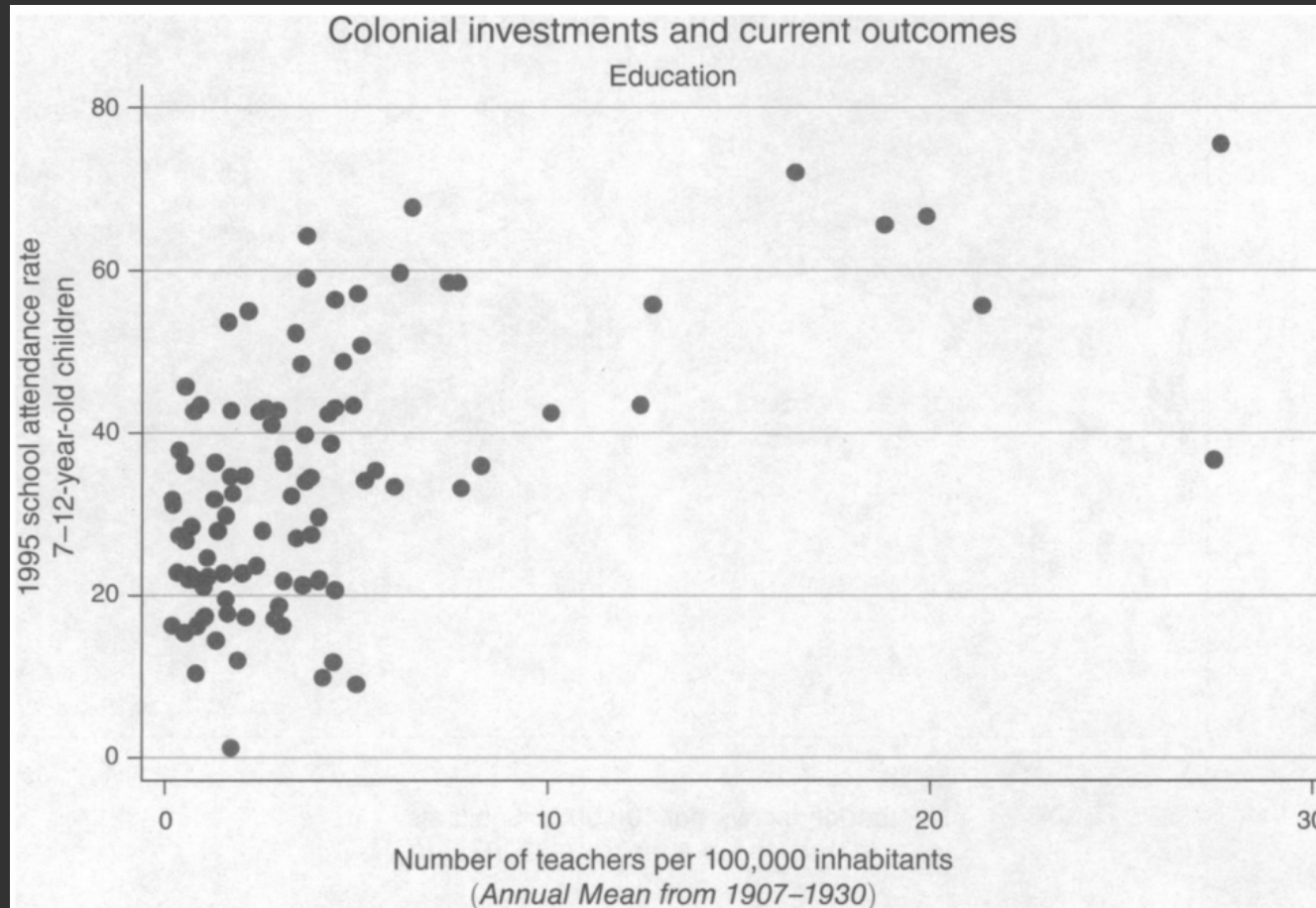
- Disease environment (especially malaria) -> quinine
- Inaccessibility / distance -> steamboats
- Relative lack of established states (complicating conquest) -> guns
- Cost vs. benefit calculation
  - Inaccessibility + poor agricultural yields
  - Reduction of cost through either indirect rule (UK) or subsidization of European colonial officials' salaries by locals:
    - “French West Africa's colonization took only 0.29 percent of French annual expenditures, including 0.24 percent for military and central administration and 0.05 percent for French West Africa's development. For West Africans, the contribution from French taxpayers was almost negligible: mainland France provided about 2 percent of French West Africa's revenue. In fact, colonization was a considerable burden for African taxpayers since French civil servants' salaries absorbed a disproportionate share of local expenditures.”
      - Huillery, Elise. 2014. "The Black Man's Burden: The Cost of Colonization of French West Africa." *The Journal of Economic History* 74 (1): 1-38.
  - European balance of power

# Impacts of colonization

- Disruption of previous economic, political, and social order
- Violent conquest
- Subjugation
- Outside economic control and reorganization of systems of ownership and production
- Extraction of labour and resources
- Construction of new polities
- Creation of new elites
- Some investment in public goods
- Increase in trade and economic integration



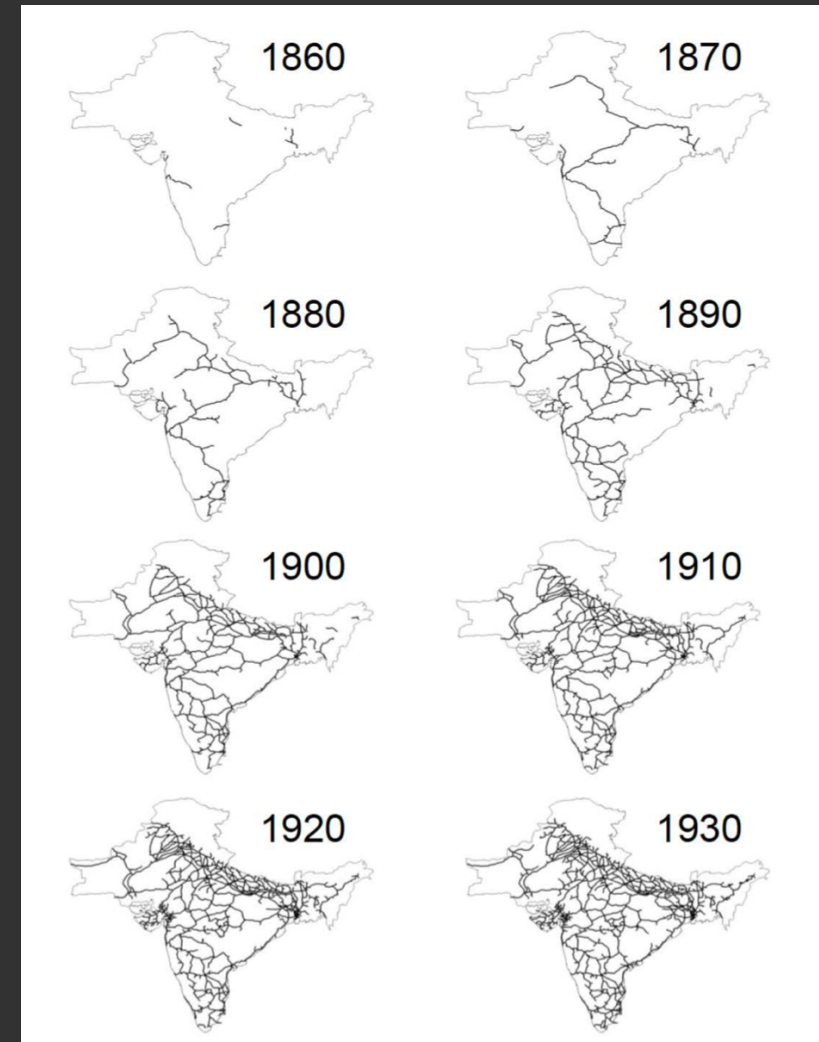
# Impacts of colonialism: public goods



Huillery, Elise. "History Matters: The Long-Term Impact of Colonial Public Investments in French West Africa." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1, no. 2 (2009): 176-215.

# Impacts of colonialism: public goods

- Railways in India:
  - Decreased trade costs and interregional price gaps
  - Increased interregional and international trade
  - Eliminated the responsiveness of local prices to local productivity shocks (but increased the transmission of these shocks between regions)
  - Increased the level of real income (but harmed neighbouring regions without railroad access)
  - Decreased the volatility of real income
    - Donaldson, Dave. 2010. "Railroads of the Raj: Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure." NBER working paper.



# Impacts of colonialism: public goods

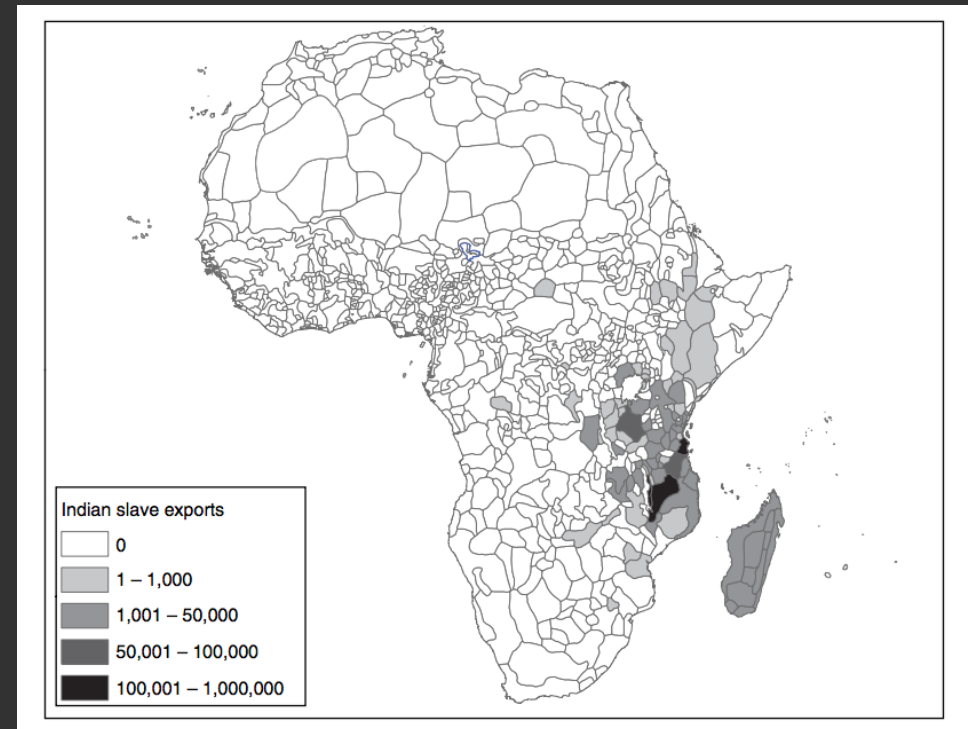
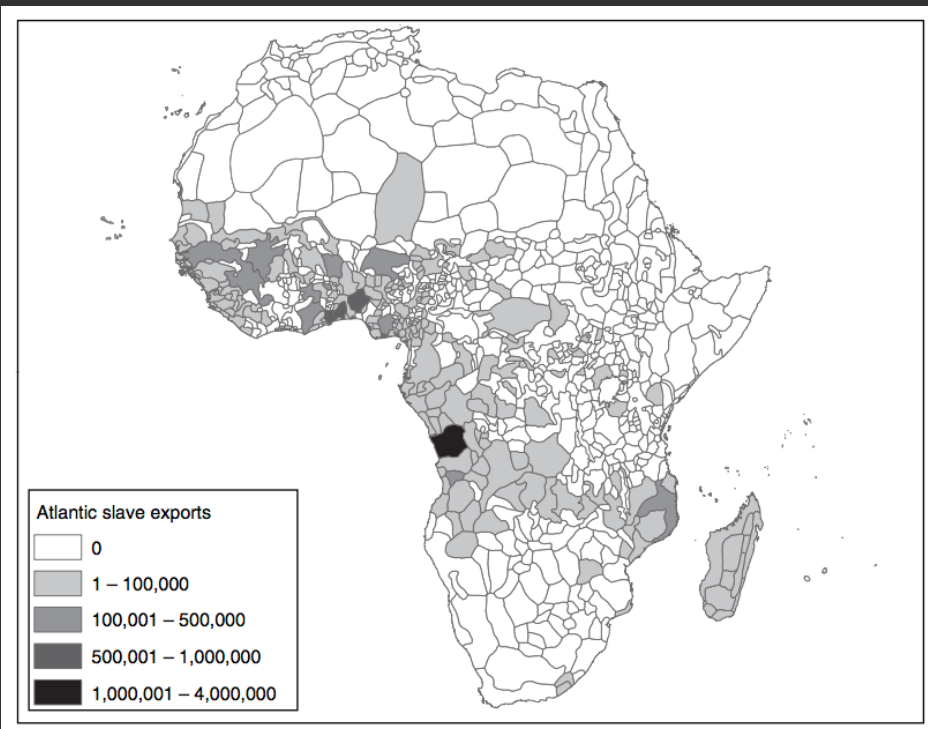


# Impacts of colonialism: slave trade

- Slave trade had a significant negative effect on long-term economic development
  - Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(1): 139–76.

# Impacts of colonialism: slave trade

- Individuals' trust in their relatives, neighbours, coethnics, and local government is lower if their ancestors were heavily affected by the slave trade
  - Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3221–52.

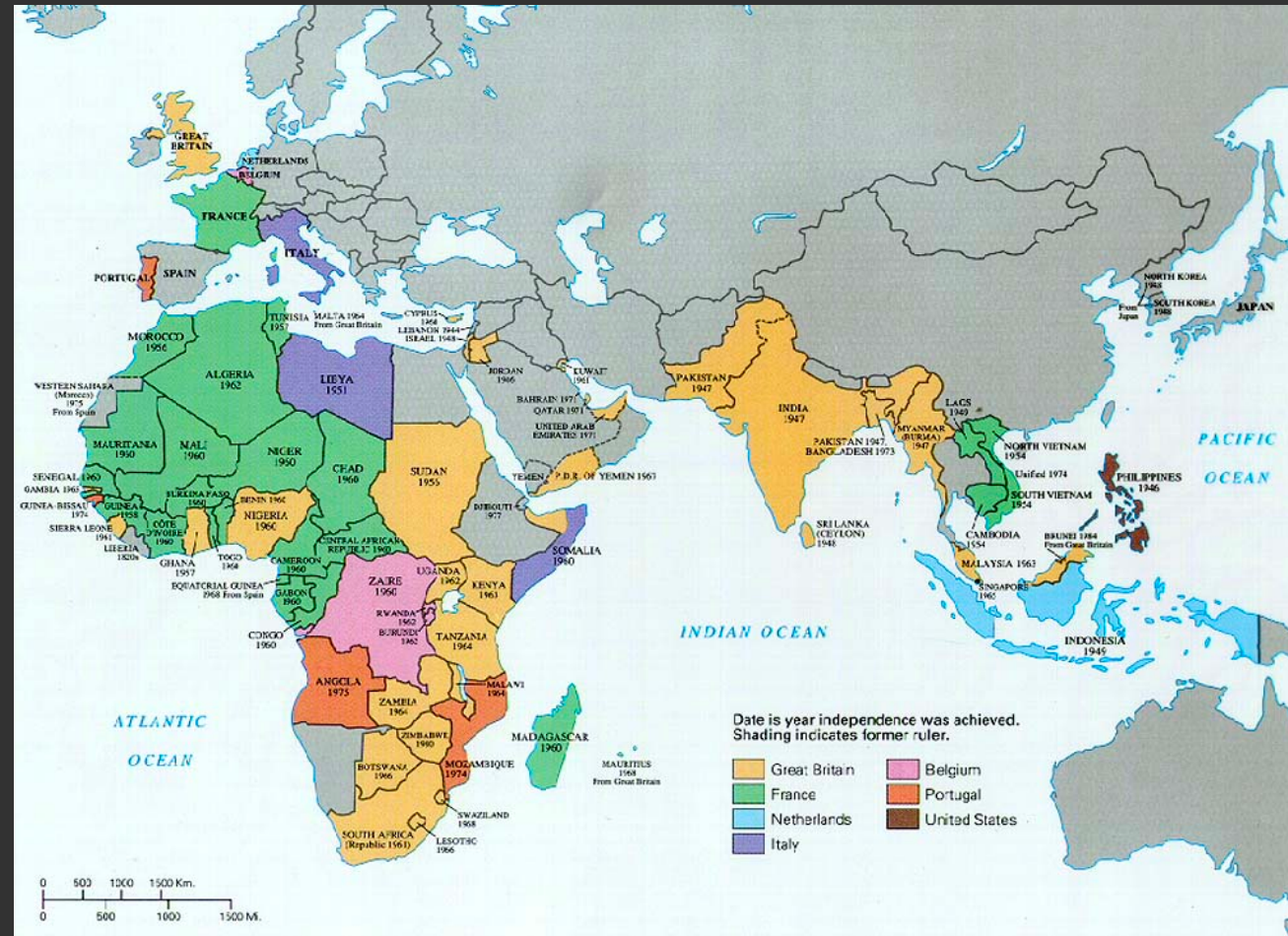
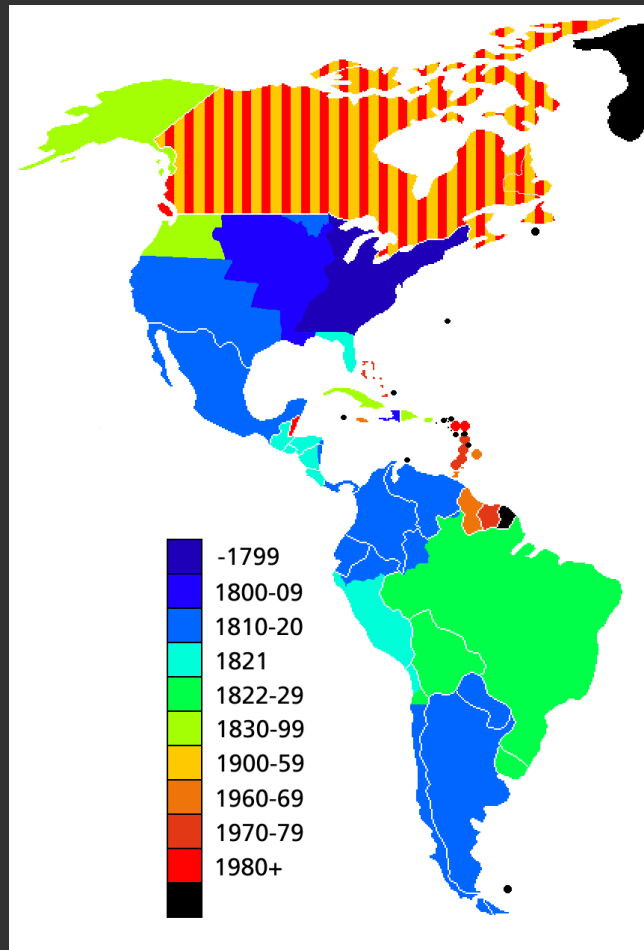


# Impacts of colonialism: slave trade

- Slave trade is estimated to have reduced Africa's population in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century by half
  - Manning, Patrick. 1990. *Slavery and African life: occidental, oriental, and African slave trades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Recap:
  - Bloom et al.: low population density as one of the causes of Africa's long-term growth crisis
    - Bloom, David, et al. 1998. "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2: 207-295.
  - Herbst:
    - "The fundamental problem facing state-builders in Africa—be they pre-colonial kings, colonial governors, or presidents in the independent era—has been to project authority over inhospitable territories that contain relatively *low densities of people*."
    - Slave trade + Africa's geography -> high cost of expanding the infrastructure of power -> weak states -> low levels of economic development
      - Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.



# Impacts of colonialism: creation of new polities





# Impacts of colonialism: creation of new polities

- Postcolonial, and especially African, states were artificially created by colonial rulers to serve their interests
- Artificial states and artificial borders:
  - 80% of non-coastal African borders follow latitudinal and longitudinal lines
  - Map from Alesina, A., Easterly, W. and Matuszeski, J. 2011. "Artificial States." *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 9: 246–277.

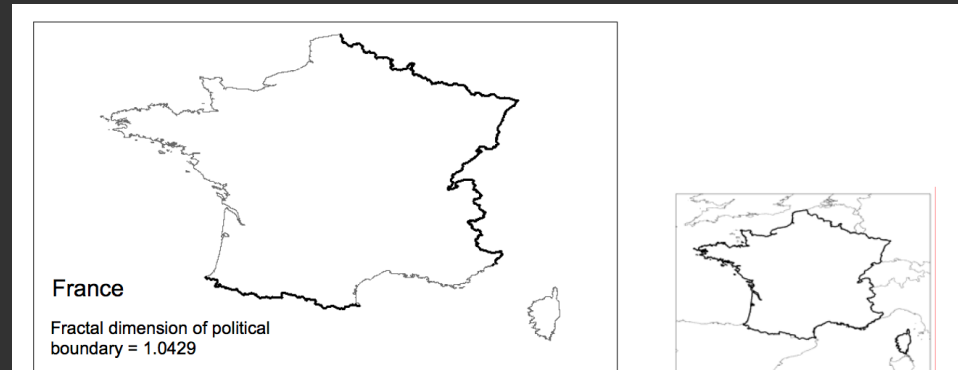
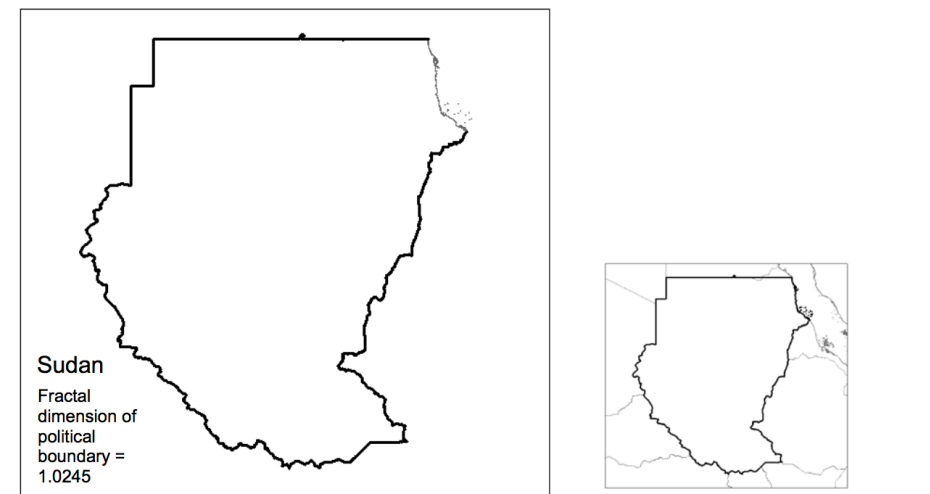


Figure 1a – France, with political boundaries highlighted at left



# Impacts of colonialism: creation of new elites

- European
  - Colonial officials
  - Settlers
- Local, e.g.:
  - Zamindari in British India
  - Chiefs in British colonies in Africa
    - Invention of tribalism

# Impacts of colonialism: Mamdani

- Fundamental question of colonial rule: How to organize a colonial state in such a way that a small foreign minority can rule over the indigenous majority?
- The answer: decentralized despotism and bifurcated state
- Bifurcated state:
  - In urban areas: direct rule over 'citizens'—above the writ of customary laws, enjoying some civil liberties, and mostly white
  - In rural areas: indirect rule of 'subjects' by local chiefs (appointed or invented by colonial authorities) using 'customary law' ->
    - “More than any other colonial subject, the African was containerized, not as a native, but as a tribesperson”

# Impacts of colonialism: Mamdani

- Decolonization:
  - Successful Africanization of bureaucracy
  - Failure to detribalize and democratize the countryside ->
- Ethnicization: rural and urban popular resistance to decentralized despotism inevitably took an ethnic form as 'tribal' political organization
- Postcolonial regimes:
  - Either continuation of decentralized despotism or attempt to reform it through centralization, resulting in centralized despotism
    - Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.



# Impacts of decolonization

- Lack of preparation and abrupt departure of colonial rulers
- Limited human capital
- Very limited (and frequently nonexistent) infrastructure
- Little social cohesion / national identity
- Lack of institutionalization, including weak bureaucracies->
  - Neopatrimonialism:
    - “Power was personalized because it was never properly institutionalized.”
      - Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  - Weak states protected by the international system

# International relations in the global South

- Tilly: “war made the state and the state made war”
  - Tilly, Charles. 1975. “Reflections on the History of European State Making.” In Charles Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Latin America:
  - “What were the effects of the wars of 19th-century Latin America on the fiscal capacity of the state? Instead of a state built on ‘blood and iron,’ they constructed a constantly bankrupt beggar made of blood and debt. The easy availability of external financing allowed the state the luxury of not coming into conflict with those social sectors who possessed the required resources. In the 1820s and from the 1870s through the 1890s, loans were relatively easy to obtain. Increasingly throughout the 19th century, almost all the Latin American economies became integrated into a global economy through the export of a mineral or agricultural commodity.”
    - Centeno, MA. 1997. “Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (6): 1565–1605.



# International relations in the global South

- Africa:
  - Quasi-states and negative sovereignty
  - Positive sovereignty: capabilities “which enable governments to be their own masters”
  - Negative sovereignty: formal legal condition that ensures freedom from external interference
  - Former colonies have juridical independence (negative sovereignty), but possess only limited empirical statehood (positive sovereignty)—they are ‘quasi-states’

# Roots of the African international system

- Norms of sovereignty / Westphalian system
- Cold War:
  - Fear of escalation ->
  - Non-interference
  - Territorial integrity
- Economics interests of the global North -> dependency / underdevelopment theories