

POLC42

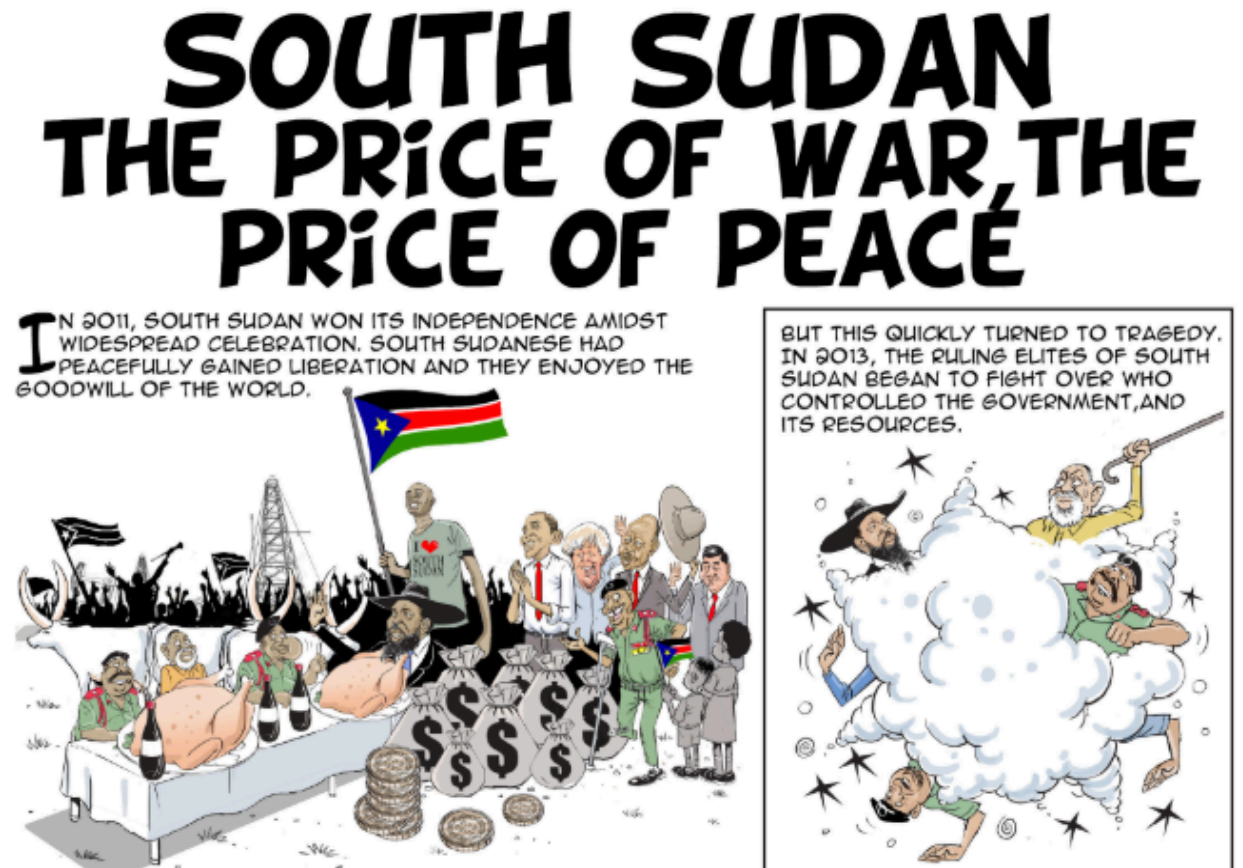
Topics in Comparative Politics

African Politics

Week 3: Colonial Africa

Sudan and South Sudan

- *African Arguments*, “What al-Bashir’s removal means for South Sudan’s fragile peace”
<https://africanarguments.org/2019/04/30/what-al-bashir-removal-south-sudan-fragile-peace-deal/>
- *Monkey Cage*, “Sudan ousted two autocrats in three days. Here’s what’s next”
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/04/15/four-things-know-about-sudans-coups/>
- *African Arguments*, “South Sudan: The price of war, the price of peace – a graphic story”
<https://africanarguments.org/2016/02/05/south-sudan-the-price-of-war-the-price-of-peace-a-graphic-story/>
- *The Guardian*, “Top 10 books about Sudan”
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/may/15/top-10-books-about-sudan>
- Rift Valley Institute, “The Sudan Handbook”
<http://riftvalley.net/publication/sudan-handbook>



Research proposal + essay

Two parts of the same assignment

Writing an essay

Due on the 26th June (proposal) and 24th July (essay)

Case selection

Research proposal + essay questions

1) What explains subnational variation in the provision of public goods in Africa? Critically evaluate the scholarly literature on the subject, identify the explanation that is in your assessment most compelling, and explain the underlying mechanisms.

2) According to many scholars, African states' control over borderlands is limited. Does this claim still hold today? Critically evaluate relevant academic literature and identify empirical evidence of the contemporary applicability of scholars' arguments on the subject.

Research proposal + essay questions

3) What explains the prevalence of civil conflict in Africa? Review the existing evidence on the subject, identify the explanation that is in your assessment most compelling, and explain the underlying mechanisms.

4) Why do some—and not other—social identities become politically salient in specific contexts? Identify the processes whereby identities acquire political salience, critically evaluate the scholarly literature on these processes, specify an argument that you find compelling, test it using 1-3 empirical cases in Africa, and explain the applicability of that approach to your chosen cases.

Research proposal + essay questions

5) To what extent are the governments of postcolonial African states responsible for the current levels of economic development on the continent? Critically evaluate the scholarly literature on the subject, identify the explanation that is in your assessment most compelling, and explain the underlying mechanisms.

6) In the late 1980s nearly every African country was ruled by an authoritarian regime. Three decades later, half of the countries on the continent have democratized, and the others are autocratic. What explains this recent regime type heterogeneity and the trajectories of democratization and authoritarian retrenchment in Africa? Critically evaluate the scholarly literature on the subject, identify the most compelling explanation, and explain the mechanisms.

Map quiz

- Identify the country and former colonial power



Recap

Comparative politics of precolonial Africa

- Centralization
- Distribution of power

Non-state polities

States

Origins of precolonial political systems

Contemporary impacts of precolonial centralization

Slave trade and its impacts

Plan for today

History of colonization of Africa

Three key questions

- What explains Africa's late colonization?
- What was the nature of the colonial state in Africa?
- What have been the impacts of colonization in Africa?

Key concepts

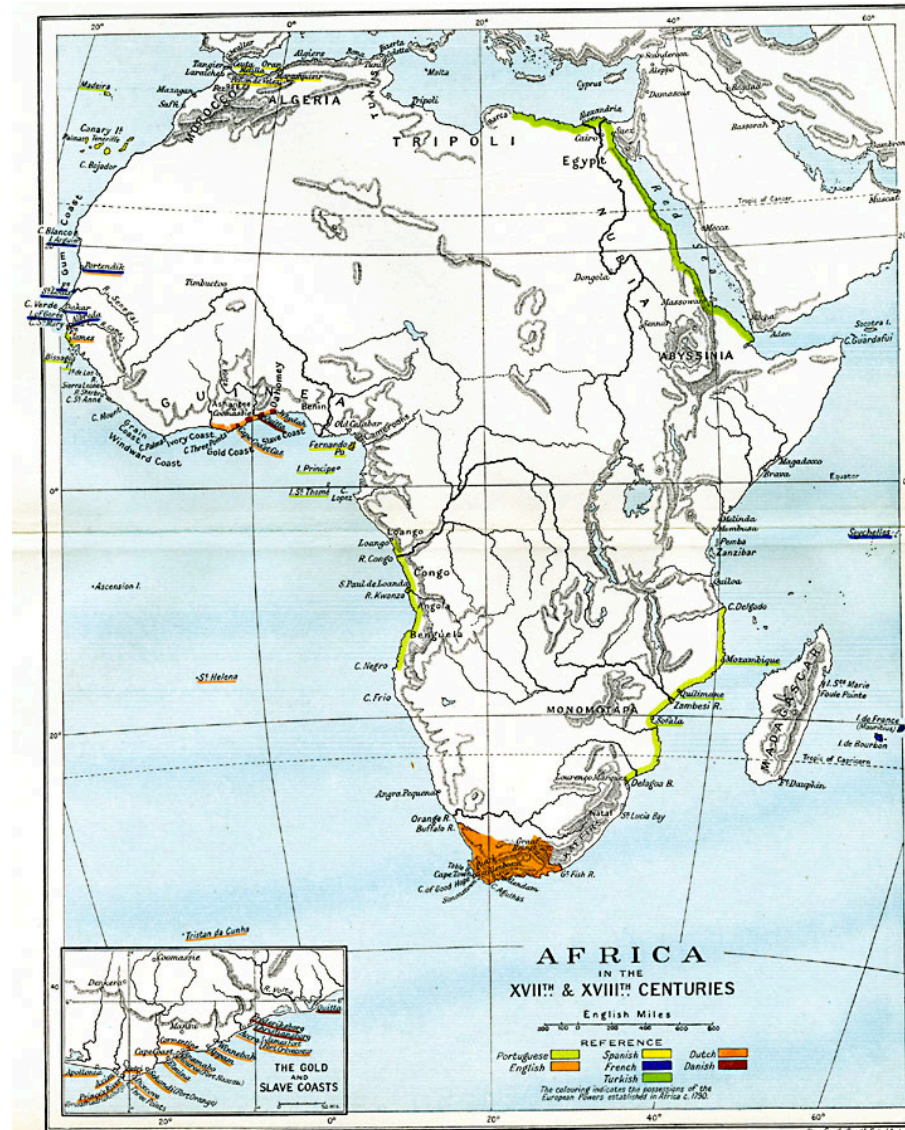
Colonialism (→ neocolonialism)

Colonization (→ decolonization)

Imperialism

Empire

Early European colonization



Early European colonization: trading outposts

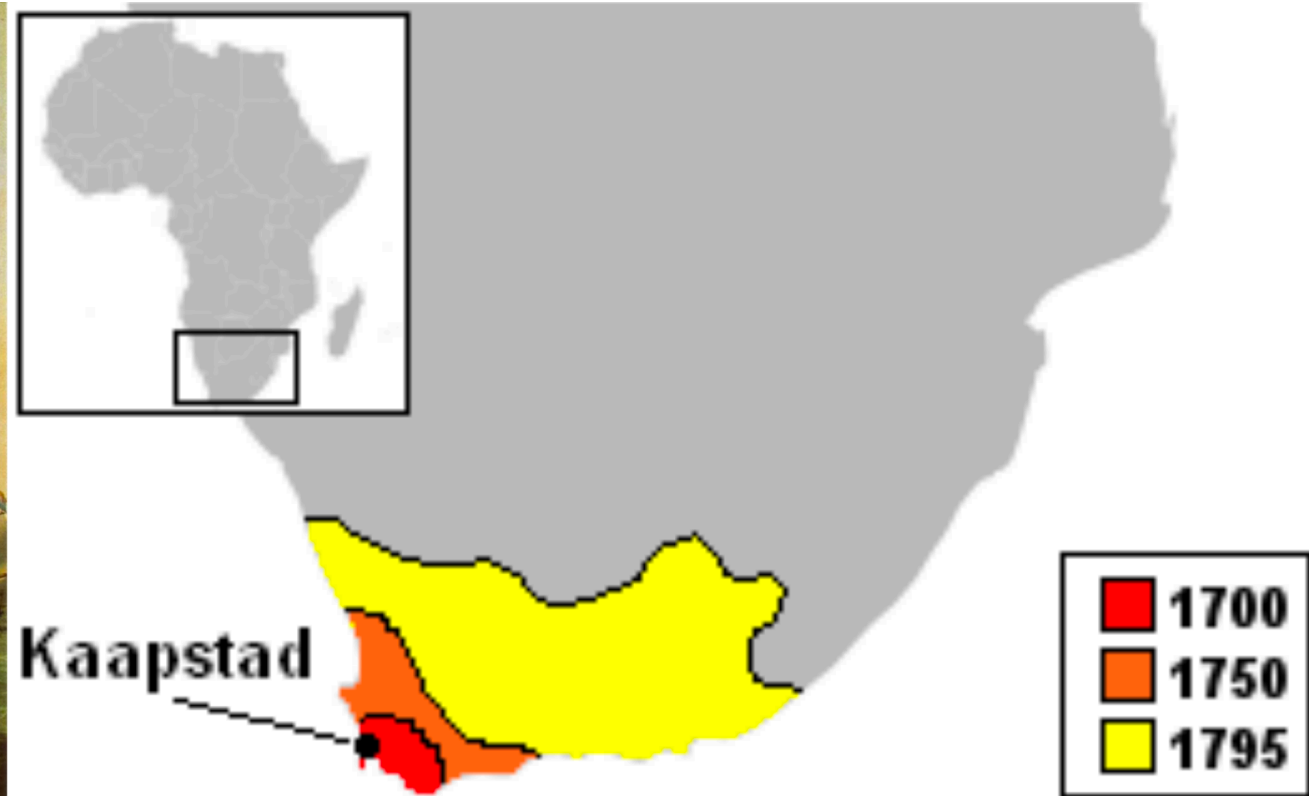


Elmina Castle

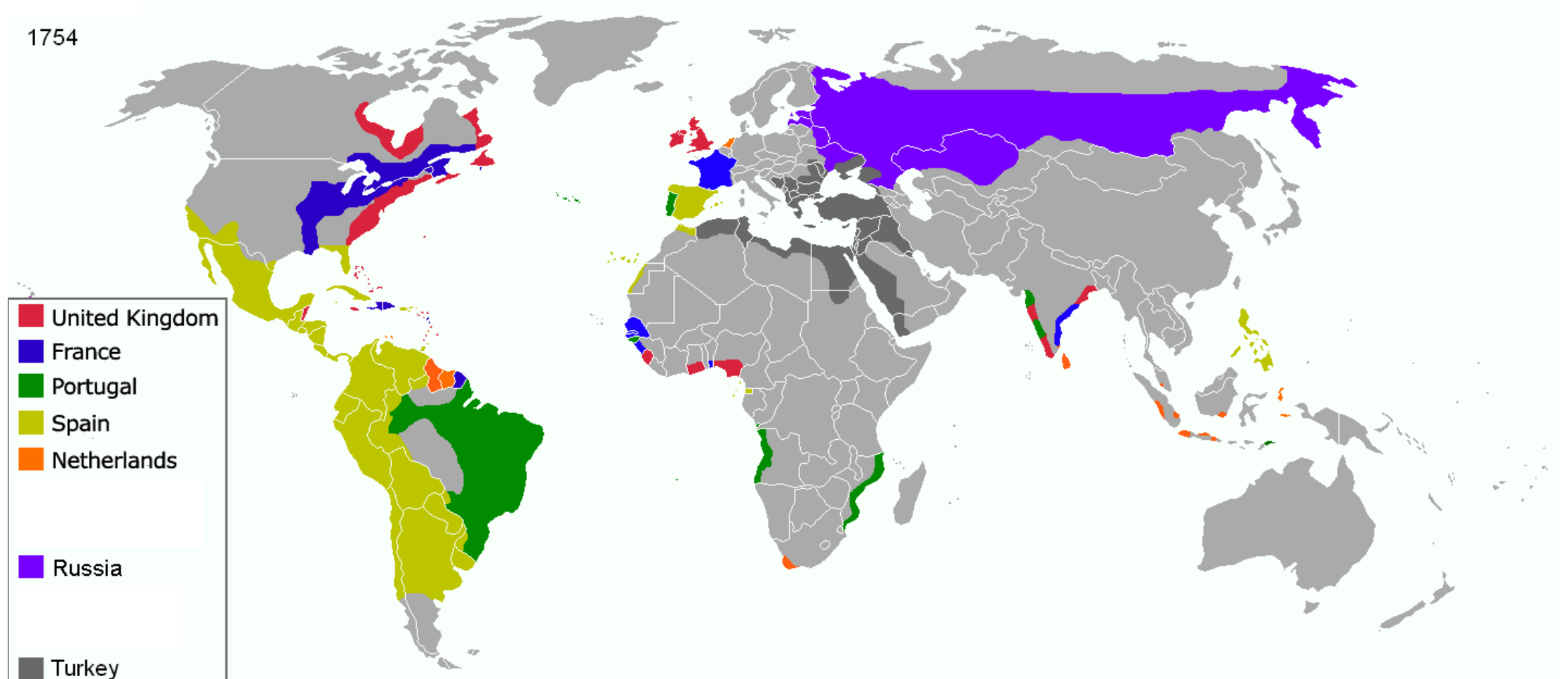


Osu Castle (Fort Christiansborg)

Early European colonization: the birth of settler colonialism in Africa



What explains the limited reach of European colonialism in Africa before the Scramble?



What explains the limited reach of European colonialism in Africa before the Scramble?



Disease environment
(especially malaria)



Inaccessibility /
distance



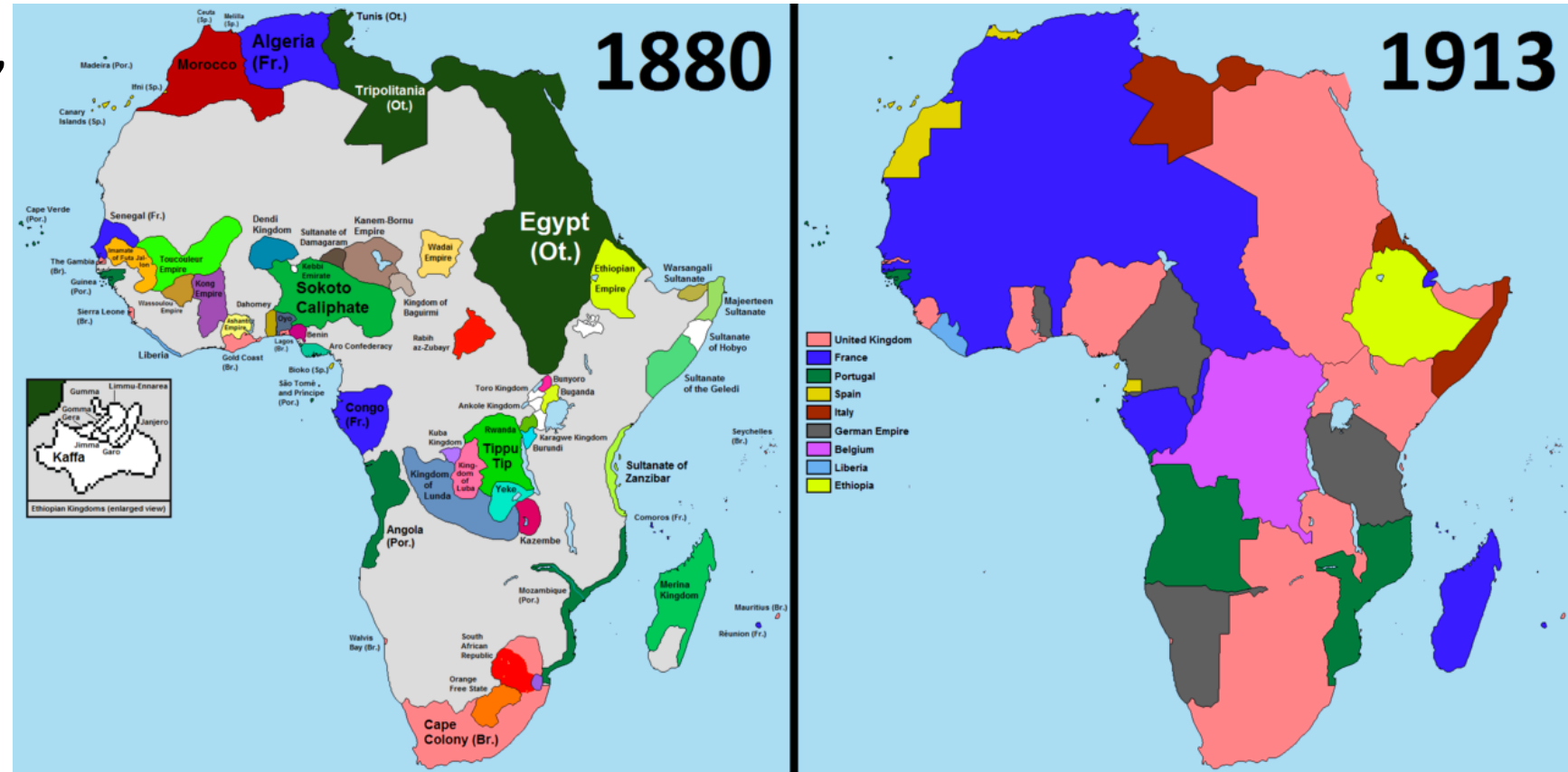
Relative lack of
established states
(complicating
conquest)



Inaccessibility + poor
agricultural yields

The Scramble for Africa

- Berlin Conference, 1884-1885 + bilateral agreements between colonial powers



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a8/Scramble-for-Africa-1880-1913.png/1280px-Scramble-for-Africa-1880-1913.png>

What explains the Scramble for Africa?

What explains the Scramble for Africa?



Quinine
prophylaxis



Steamboats



Maxim guns



European
balance of
power



Shortage of
cotton



Local officials'
initiatives

What explains the Scramble for Africa?

- Governance innovation → reduction of cost through either indirect rule 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.

Varieties of colonial rule



Chartered companies



Direct rule



Indirect rule



Settler colonialism



Again, continuum of forms + substantial variation

Varieties of colonial rule: chartered companies

- Dutch East India Company → Cape Colony
- British South Africa Company → Rhodesia
- Anglo-Belgian India Rubber Company, Congo Free State



Varieties of colonial rule: direct rule



Varieties of colonial rule: indirect rule

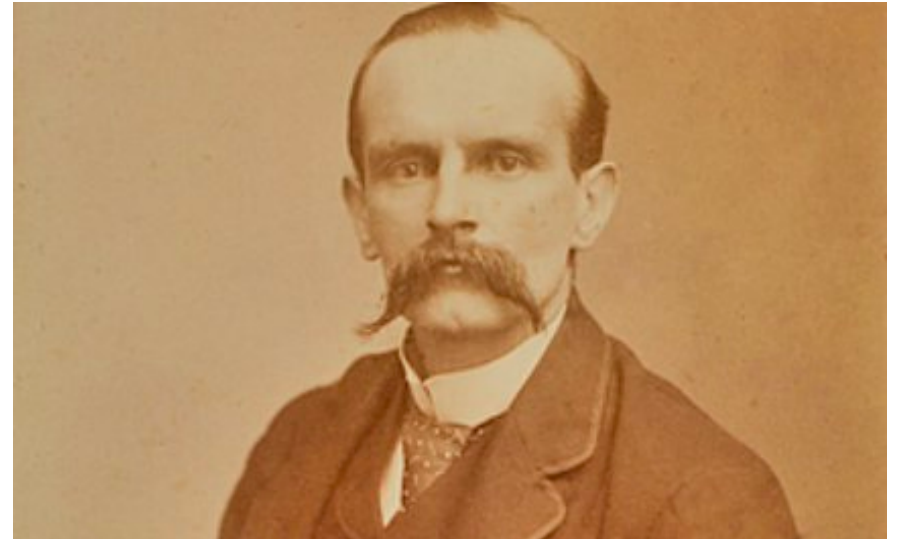
- Mahmood Mamdani:

- “Like all colonial powers, the British worked with a single model of customary authority in precolonial Africa. That model was monarchical, patriarchal, and authoritarian.”

- George Padmore:

- “The chief is the law, subject to only one higher authority, the white official stationed in his state as advisor. The chief hires his own police . . . he is often the prosecutor and the judge combined and he employs the jailer to hold his victims in custody at his pleasure. No oriental despot ever had greater power than these black tyrants, thanks to the support which they receive from the white officials who quietly keep in the background.”

- Padmore, George. 1936. *How Britain Rules Africa*. London: Negro Universities Press: 317.



Frederick Lugard

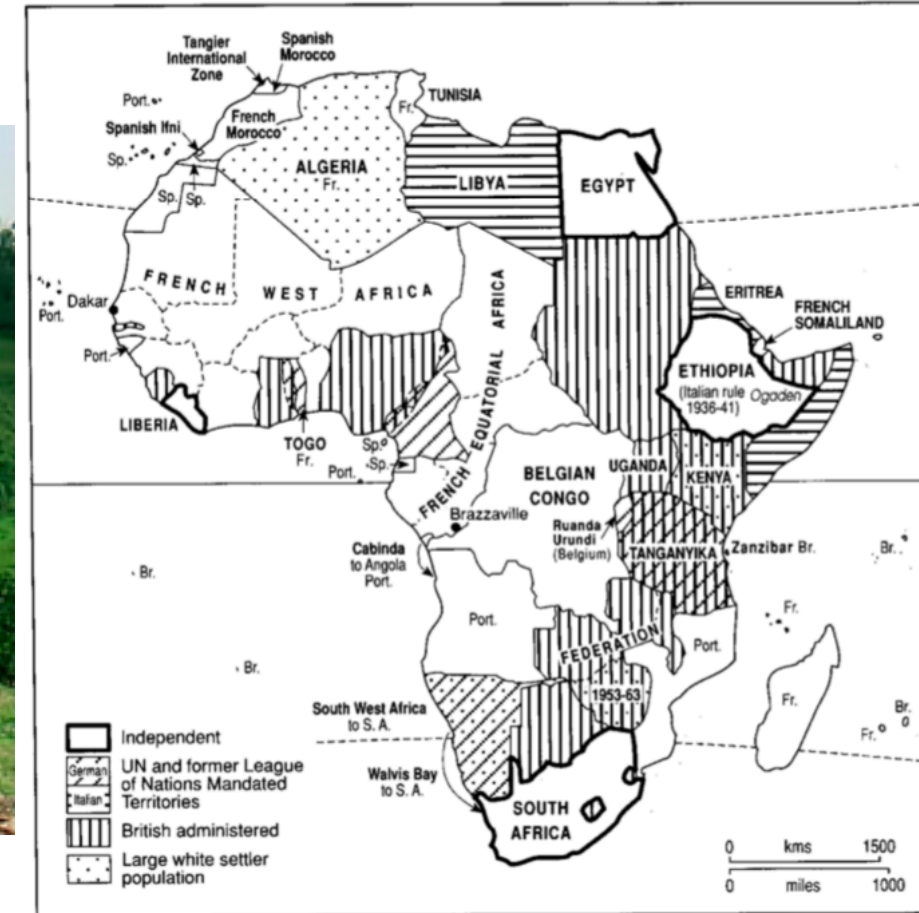
Varieties of colonial rule: indirect rule

One of the first steps which Tufnell took in Karamoja was to establish chiefs. There was, however, no tradition upon which he could build, for the tribes of Karamoja were controlled by elders within the clan group. Tufnell was therefore forced to make his selection arbitrarily. The objective was to choose men of social standing, but who were not so old as to be physically incapable of carrying out their duties. Preference was given to Swahili speakers. Lopuko, who was made a chief in Bokora, says that he was appointed after he handed over two guns which he had obtained from the Abyssinians.² Presumably Tufnell decided that a man who could acquire two guns was not lacking in initiative. The chiefs were expected to keep their people in order, and to provide porters and food when called upon to do so. For their efforts they received irregular payments in cattle.



Barber, James P. 1962. "The Karamoja District of Uganda: A Pastoral People under Colonial Rule." *The Journal of African History* 3 (1): 111–24.

Varieties of colonial rule: settler colonies

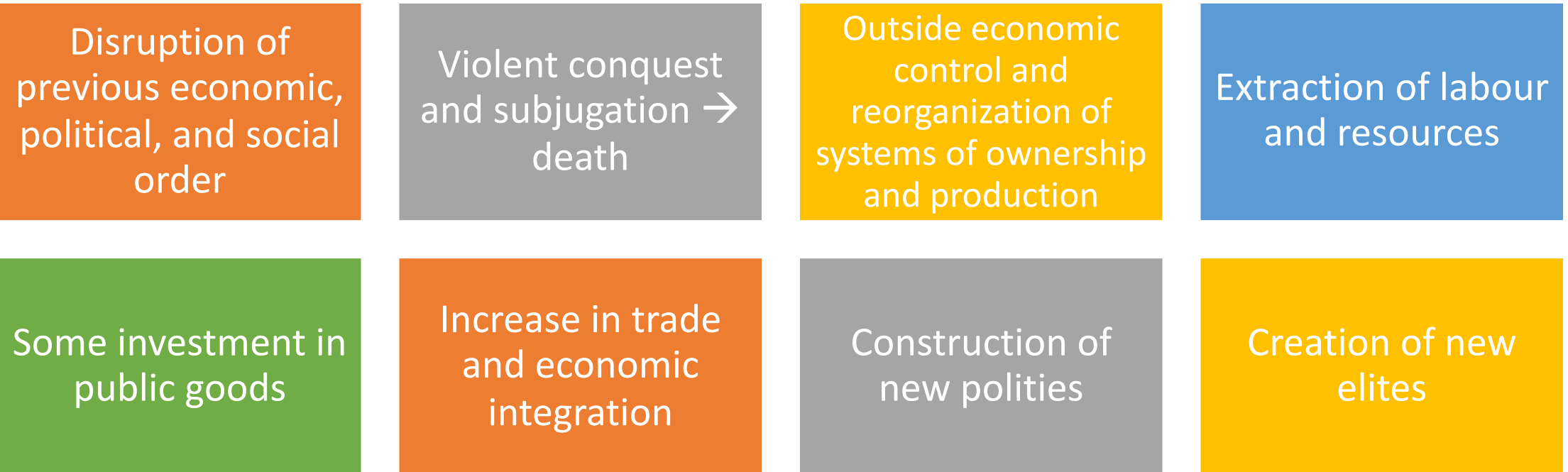


Political power in colonial Africa

- Three perspectives:
 - Crawford Young: Bula Matari
 - Mahmood Mamdani: hegemonic, bifurcated state and decentralized despotism
 - Jeffrey Herbst: external sovereignty and administrative weakness of non-hegemonic states

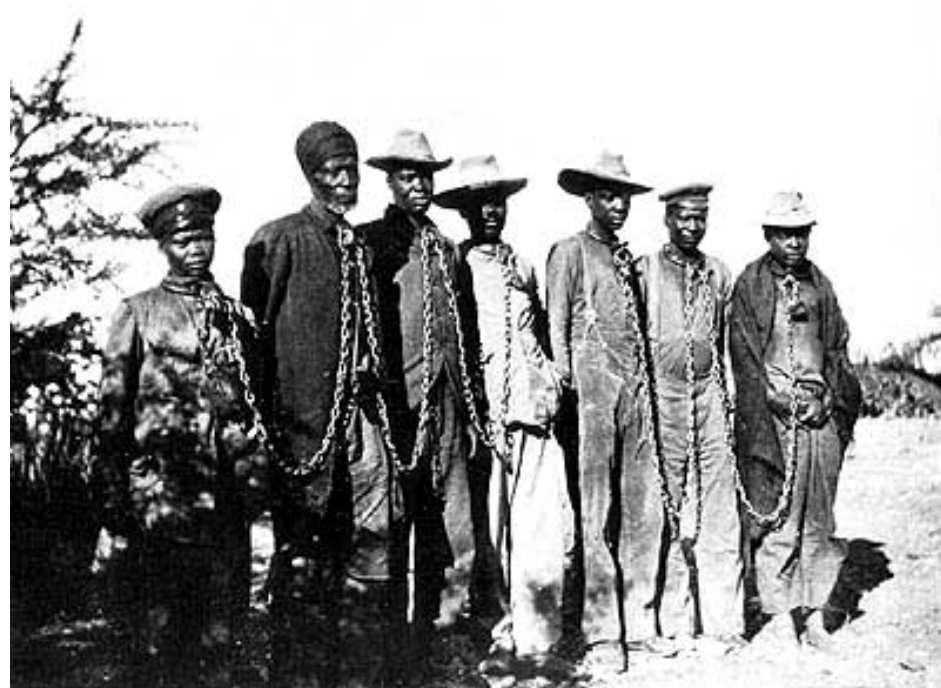
Are the three perspectives contradictory?

Effects of colonization



Effects of colonization: death

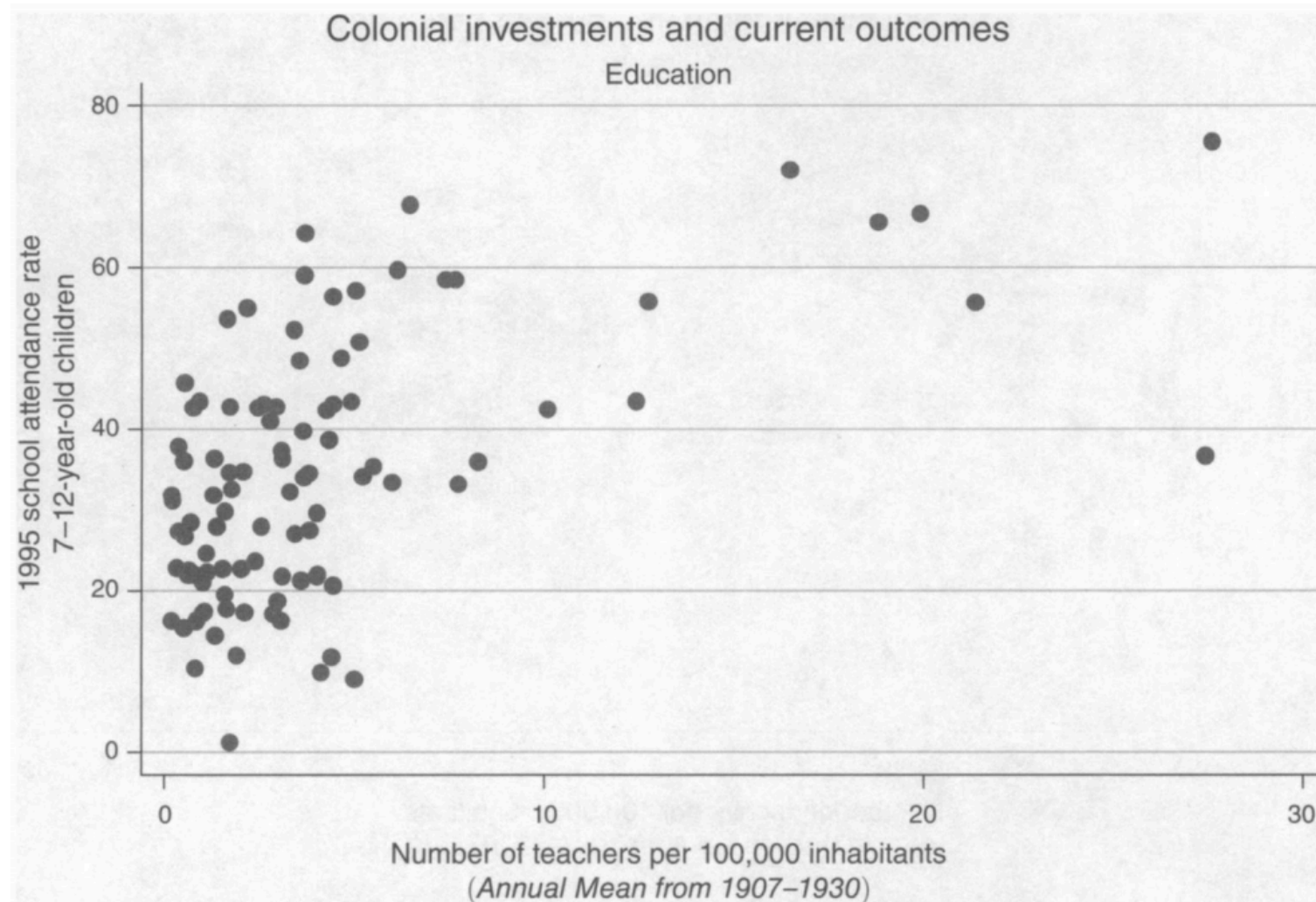
- Congo Free State / Belgian Congo:
 - ~ 10 million dead
- Herero and Namaqua genocide in German South West Africa



Effects of colonization: extraction

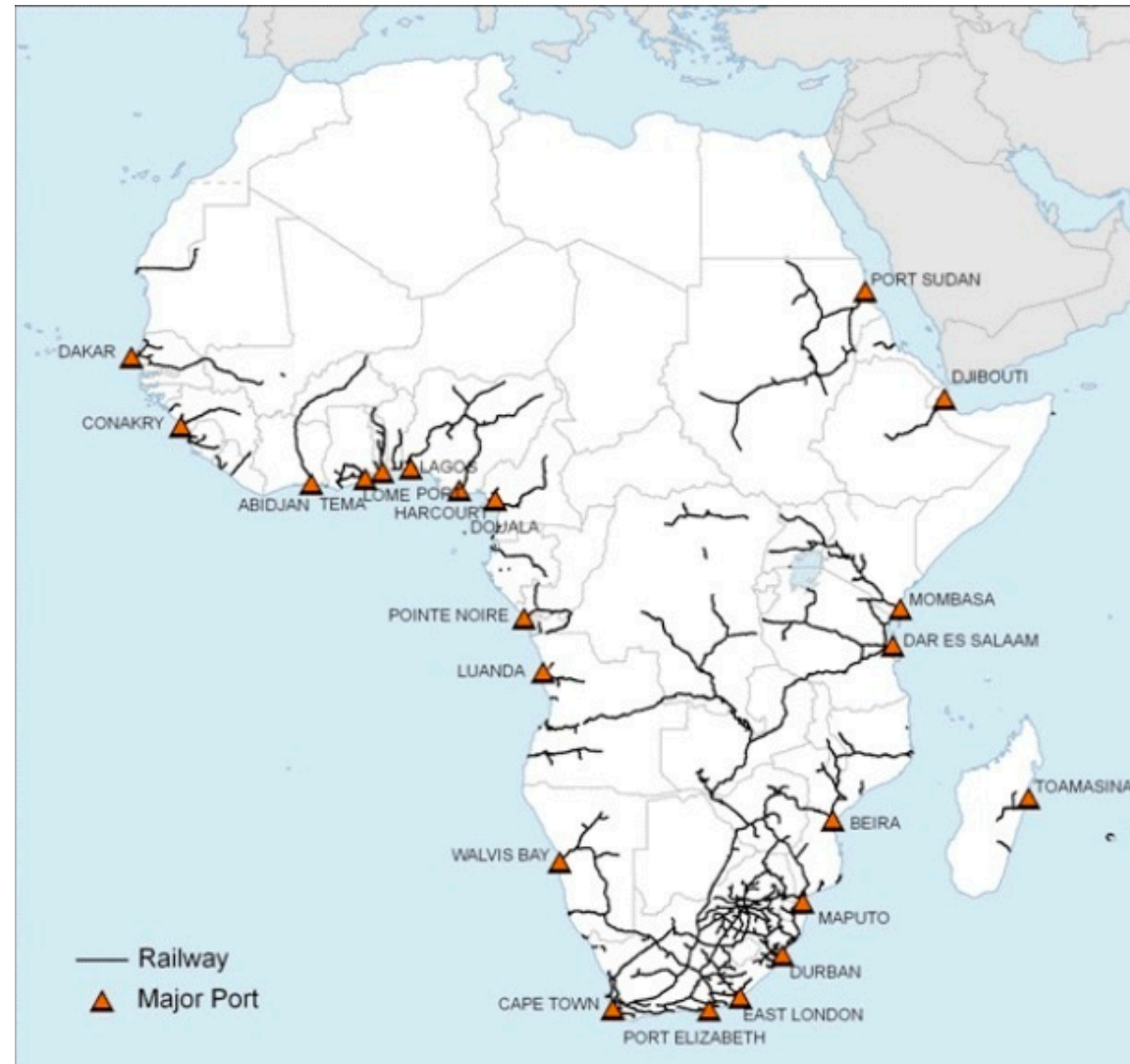
- Finn Fuglestad:
 - "The fact that the French were able to squeeze more than a million francs out of the impoverished and hunger-stricken peoples of Niger can only be described as a major performance."
 - Fuglestad, Finn. 2008. *A History of Niger, 1850-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Effects of colonization: public goods



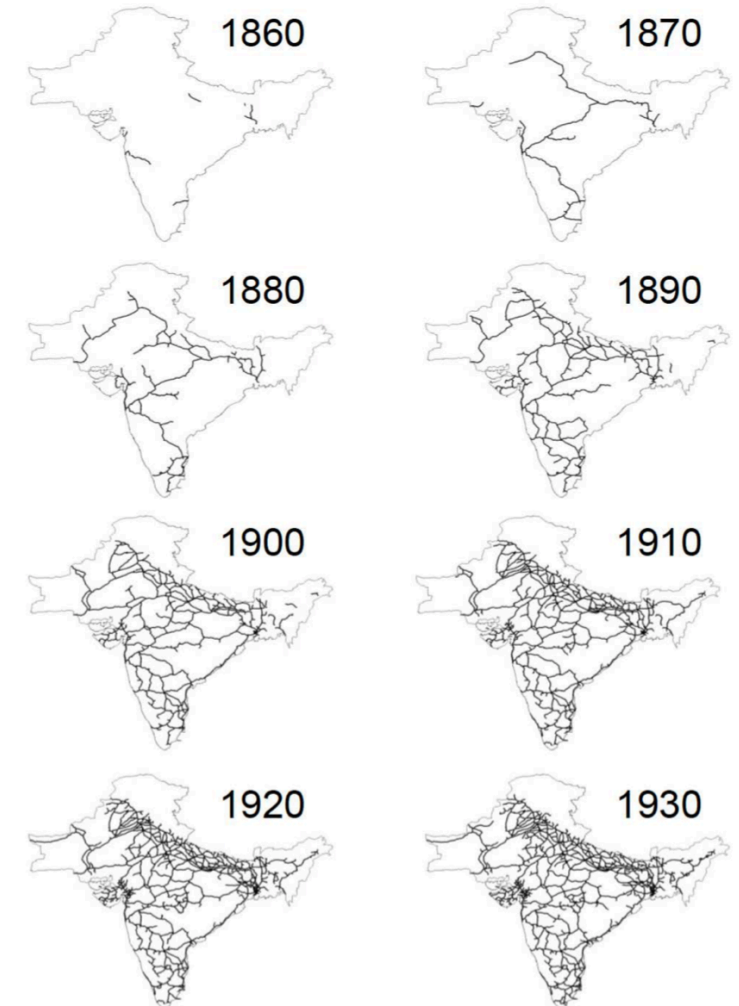
Huillery, Elise. "History Matters: The Long-Term Impact of Colonial Public Investments in French West Africa." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1, no. 2 (2009): 176-215.

Effects of colonization: public goods



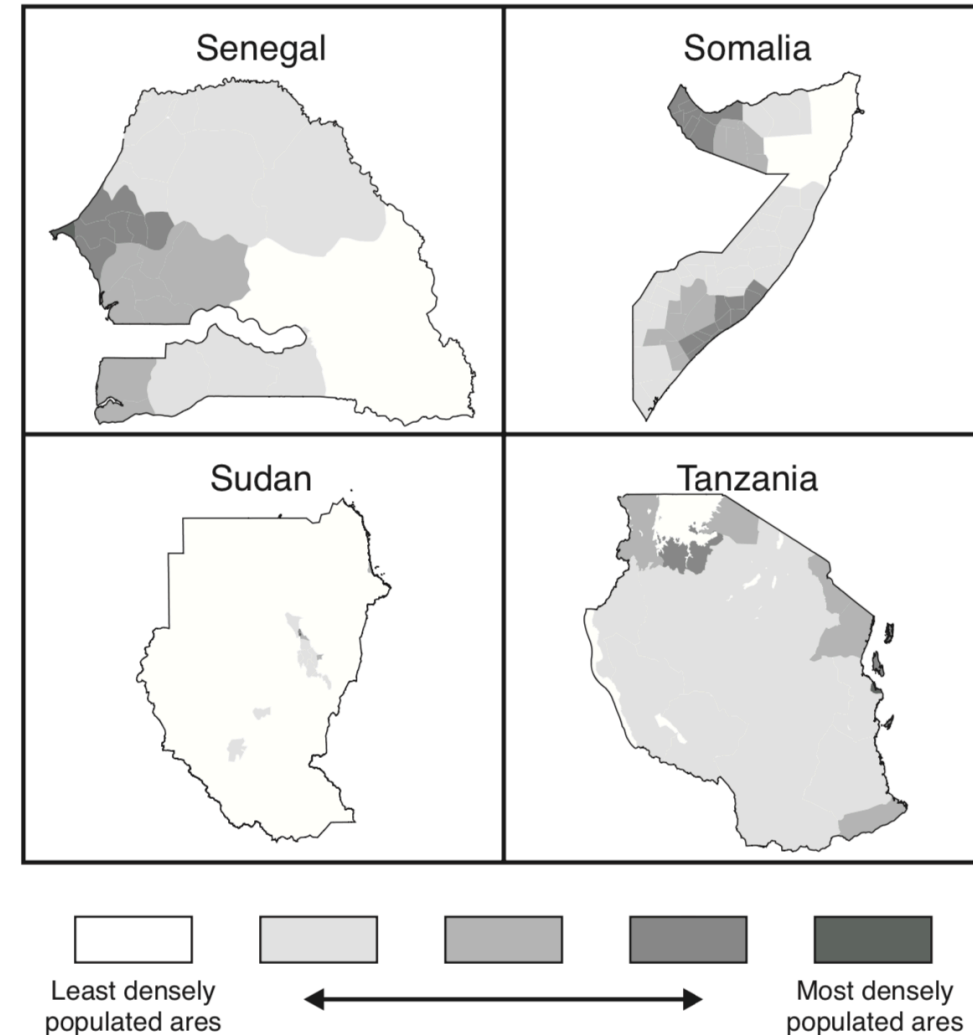
Effects of colonization: public goods

- 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.



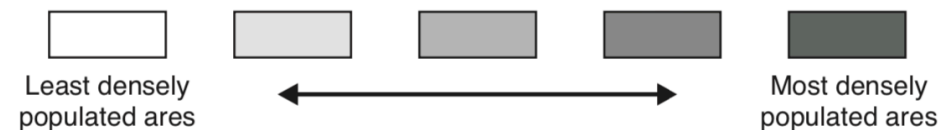
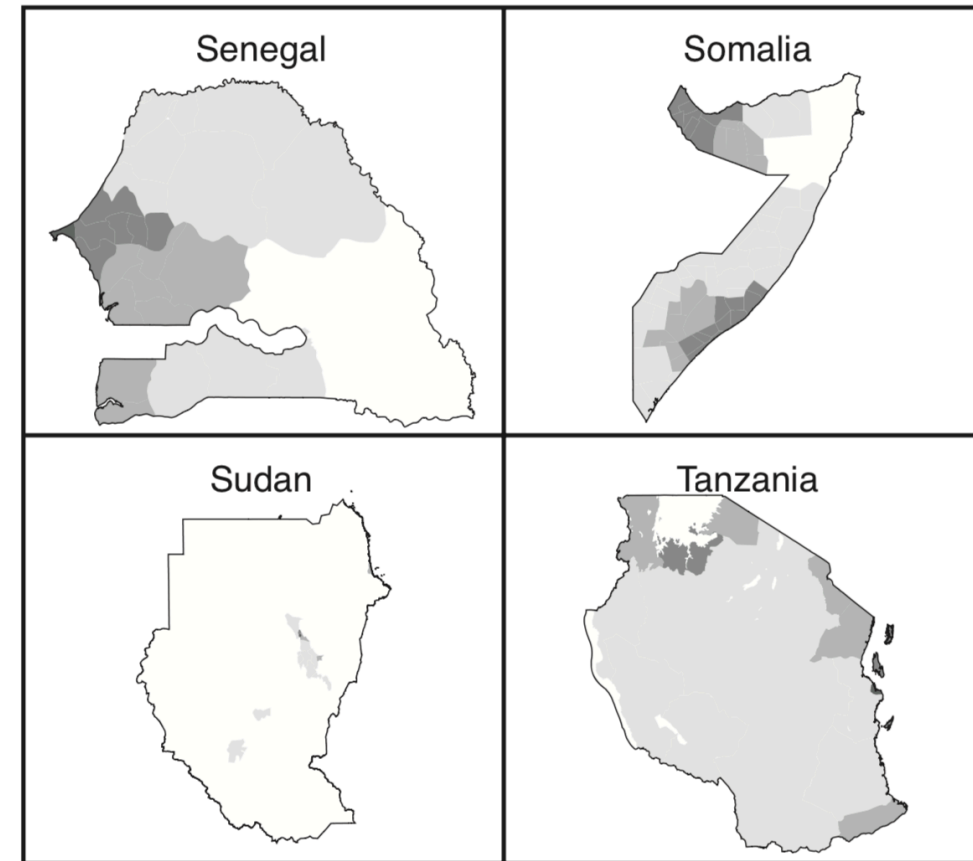
Effects of colonization: creation of new polities

- Artificial states and artificial borders:
 - 80% of non-coastal African borders follow latitudinal and longitudinal lines



Effects of colonization: creation of new polities

- Artificial states and artificial borders:
 - 80% of non-coastal African borders follow latitudinal and longitudinal lines →
- Communities divided by national borders
- Irredentist movements
- Divided societies and internal ethnic competition
- Lack of resources or market access



Effects of colonization: creation of new elites

European

- Colonial officials
- Settlers

Local

- Warrant chiefs in British colonies in Africa
- 'Bureaucratic bourgeoisie' →
- Transformation into state elites →
- Neopatrimonialism

Effects of colonization: ethnicization

Mahmood Mamdani

- “More than any other colonial subject, the African was containerized, not as a native, but as a tribesperson.”

Terence Ranger: ‘invention of tradition’

Effects of colonization: continuation of colonial governance practices

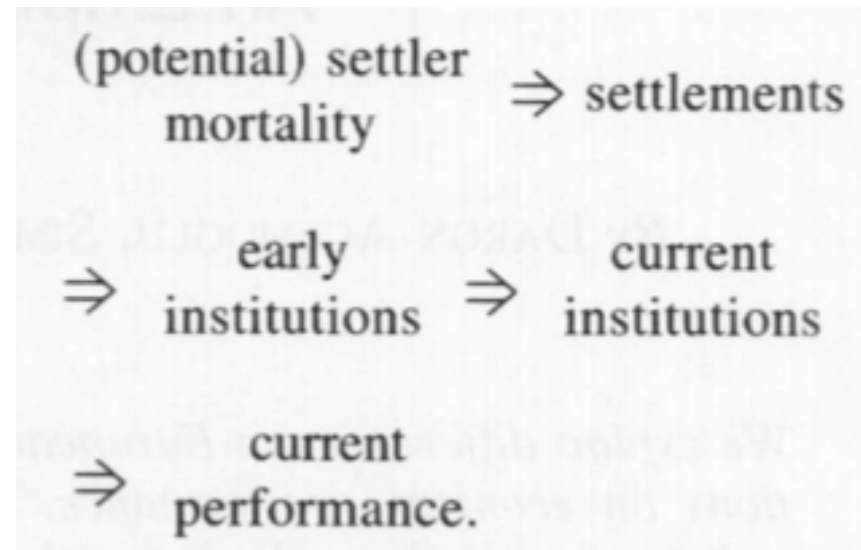
- Mamdani:
 - Continuation of decentralized despotism after independence →
 - Ethnicization: rural and urban popular resistance to decentralized despotism inevitably took an ethnic form as 'tribal' political organization →
 - Government response to resistance: either continuation of decentralized despotism or attempt to reform it through centralization, resulting in centralized despotism →
 - No democratization

Effects of colonization: continuation of colonial governance practices

- Recent empirical evidence from a natural experiment in Namibia:
 - “[I]ndividuals in indirectly ruled areas are less likely to support democracy and turn out at elections.”
 - Mechanism: “the greater influence of traditional leaders in indirectly ruled areas has socialized individuals to accept nonelectoral bases of political authority.”
 - Lechler, Marie, and Lachlan McNamee. 2018. “Indirect Colonial Rule Undermines Support for Democracy: Evidence From a Natural Experiment in Namibia.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (14): 1858–98.

Effects of colonization: continuation of colonial governance practices

- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson:
 - Extractive vs. inclusive institutions
 - Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91 (5): 1369–1401.



Effects of colonization: continuation of colonial governance practices

Non-hegemonic states

- Territorial concentration of state power
- Inability to project state power

Weak links between state and society → weak accountability and legitimacy

Weak political institutions

Imposition of 'unambiguous sovereignty' (Herbst)

Effects of colonization: social norms

- Divergent precolonial attitudes towards homosexuality in Africa
- Christianity (→ Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda) and colonial legislation
- The use of anti-homosexuality legislation and policies (esp. the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014 & 2018 in Uganda) by elites to manipulate social anxieties
 - Rao, Rahul. 2015. "Re-membering Mwanga: Same-Sex Intimacy, Memory and Belonging in Postcolonial Uganda." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9 (1): 1–19.
 - Sadgrove, Joanna, Robert M. Vanderbeck, Johan Andersson, Gill Valentine, and Kevin Ward. 2012. "Morality Plays and Money Matters: Towards a Situated Understanding of the Politics of Homosexuality in Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (01): 103–29.

High Court declines to decriminalise anti-gay sex law

FRIDAY MAY 24 2019



LGBT supporters at the High Court on February 22, 2019. PHOTO | JEFF ANGOTE | NATION MEDIA GROUP

Kahoot!

Africa on the eve of decolonization

