

POLS 227

Africa in World Politics

Classes 14 and 15:
Politics of identity

PSA

- Research proposal due October 23
- Midterm grades

Recap

- Divide and rule:
 - Extraversion
 - Patronage
 - Populism

Kahoot!

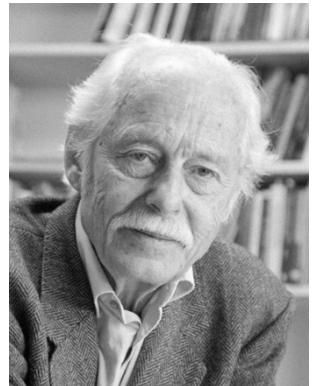
Collective identities and the politics of identity

- Collective identities:
 - Ethnic
 - Gender
 - Linguistic
 - National
 - Racial
 - Religious

What is ethnicity?

Ethnicity

- Max Weber:
 - “A subjective belief” in “common descent [...] whether or not an objective blood relation exists.”
 - Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968).
- Donald Horowitz:
 - “A minimal scale requirement, so that ethnic membership transcends the range of face-to-face interactions.”
 - Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
- Fredrik Barth:
 - “Continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders.”
 - Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).



Ethnicity

- → Ethnic groups: all descent-based groups based on ascriptive identities
- Ethnicity, nationality, and race

Ethnicity in precolonial Africa

- Collective identities:
 - Multiple
 - Fluid
- Political systems:
 - States
 - Chiefdoms
 - A variety of non-state political systems

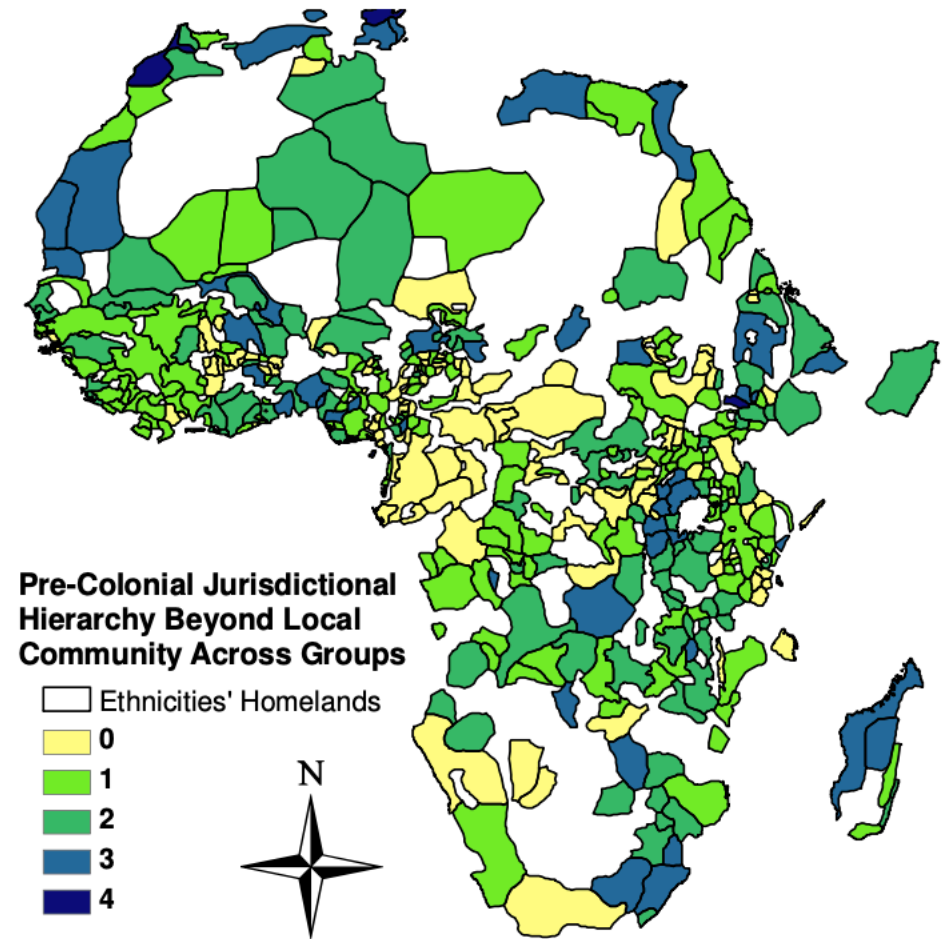
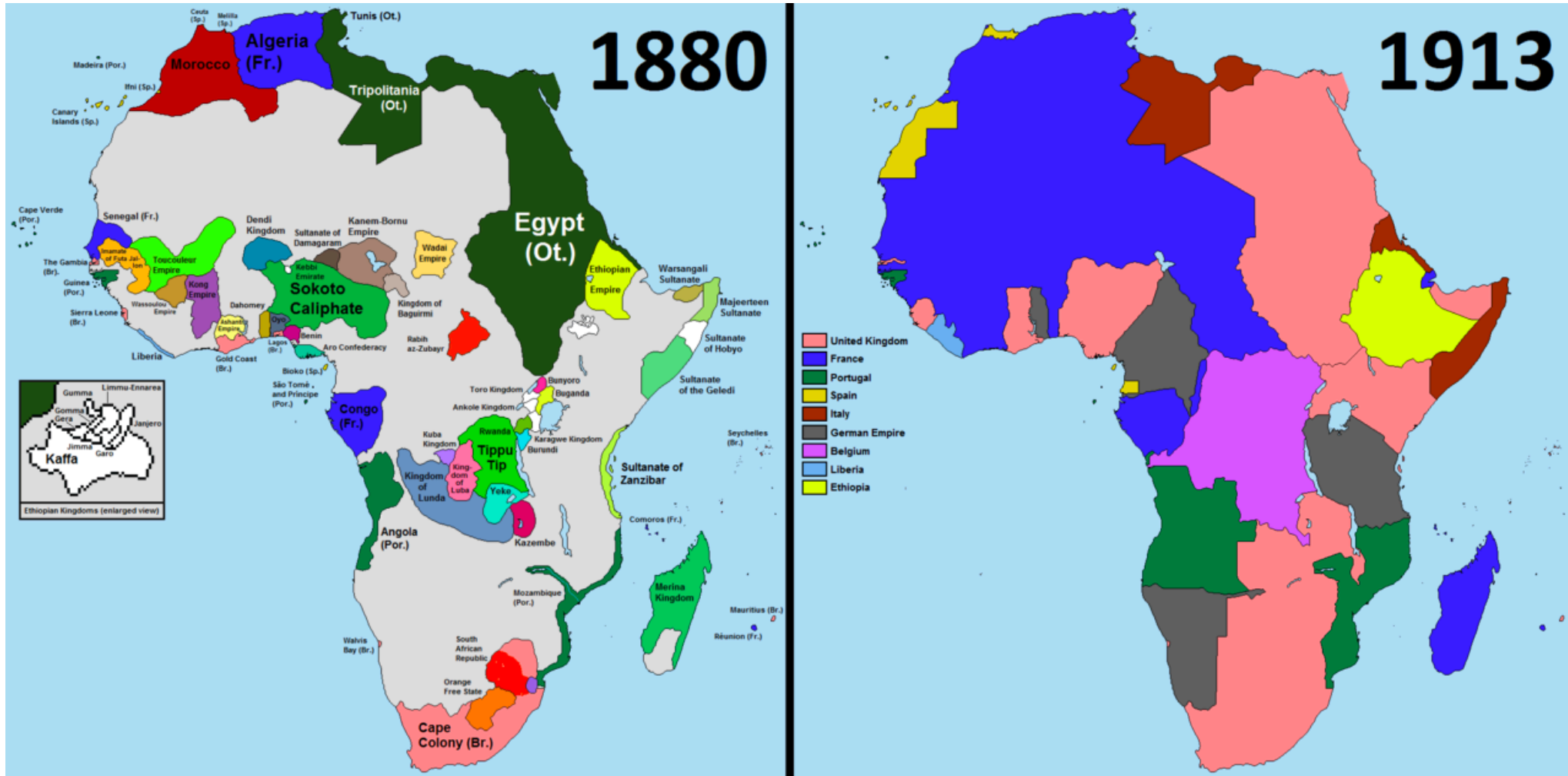


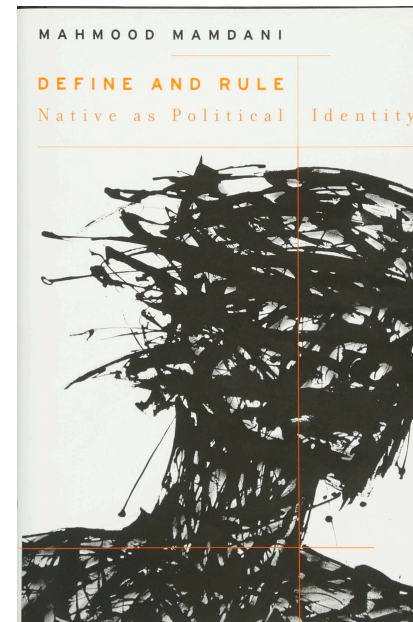
Figure 1b: Ethnic Pre-Colonial Institutions

The scramble for Africa



Ethnicity in colonial Africa

- Racist preconceptions
- Ethnic identity creation and solidification

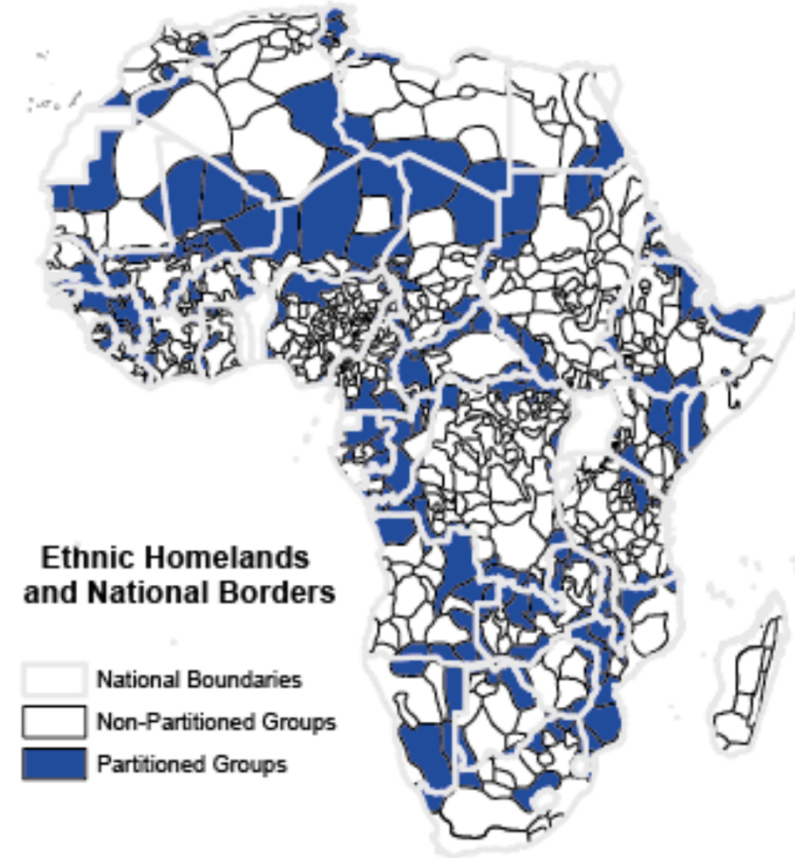


Ethnicity in postcolonial Africa

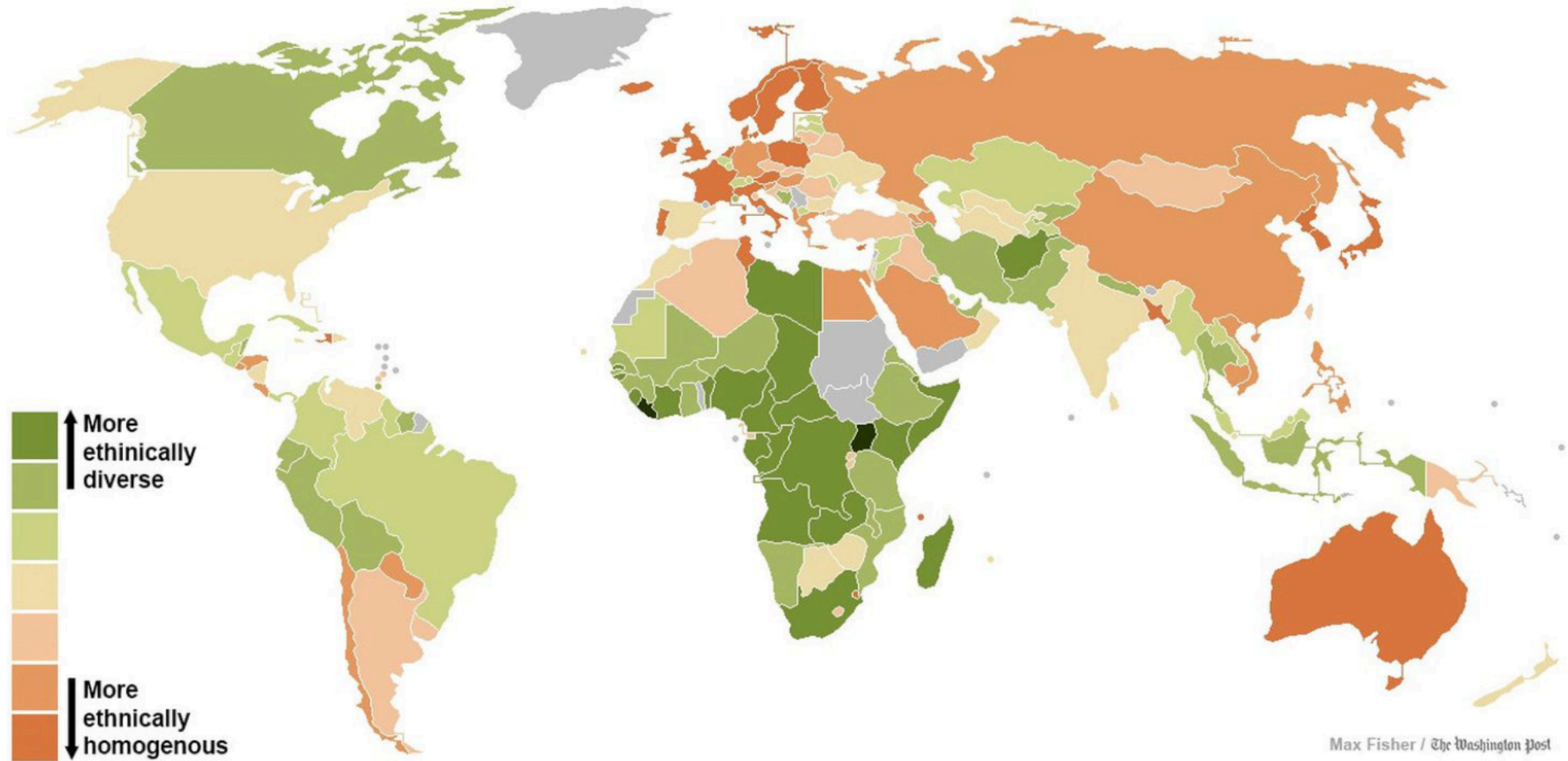
Decolonization in Africa



Figure 1b



Ethnic fractionalization

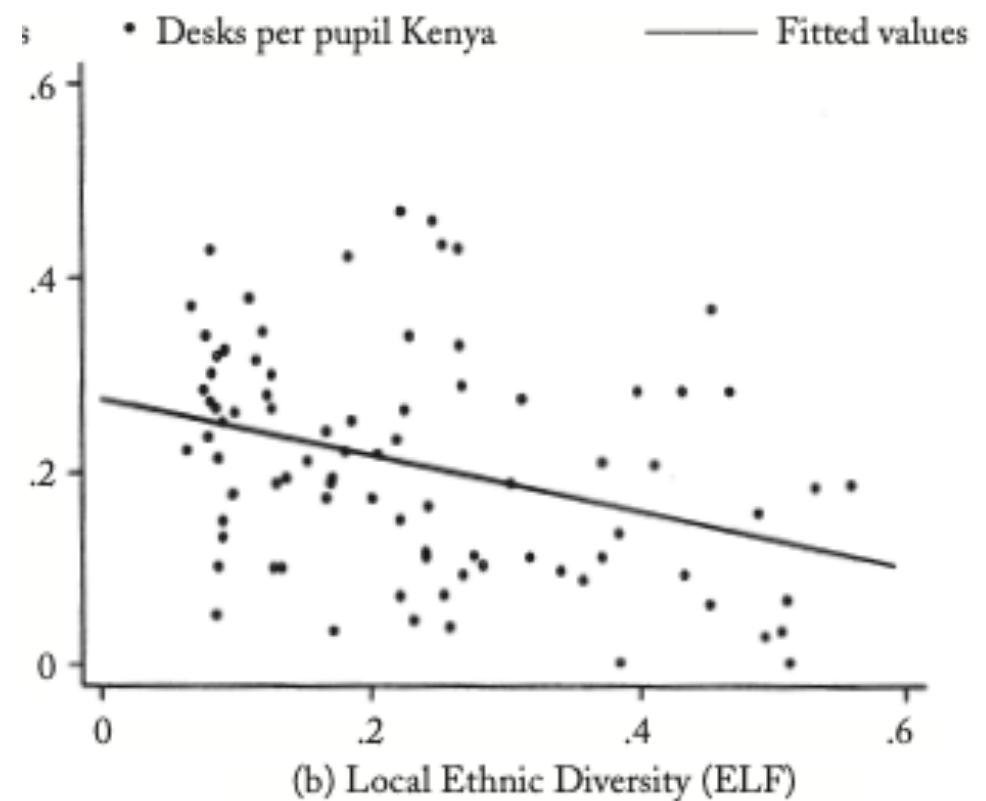
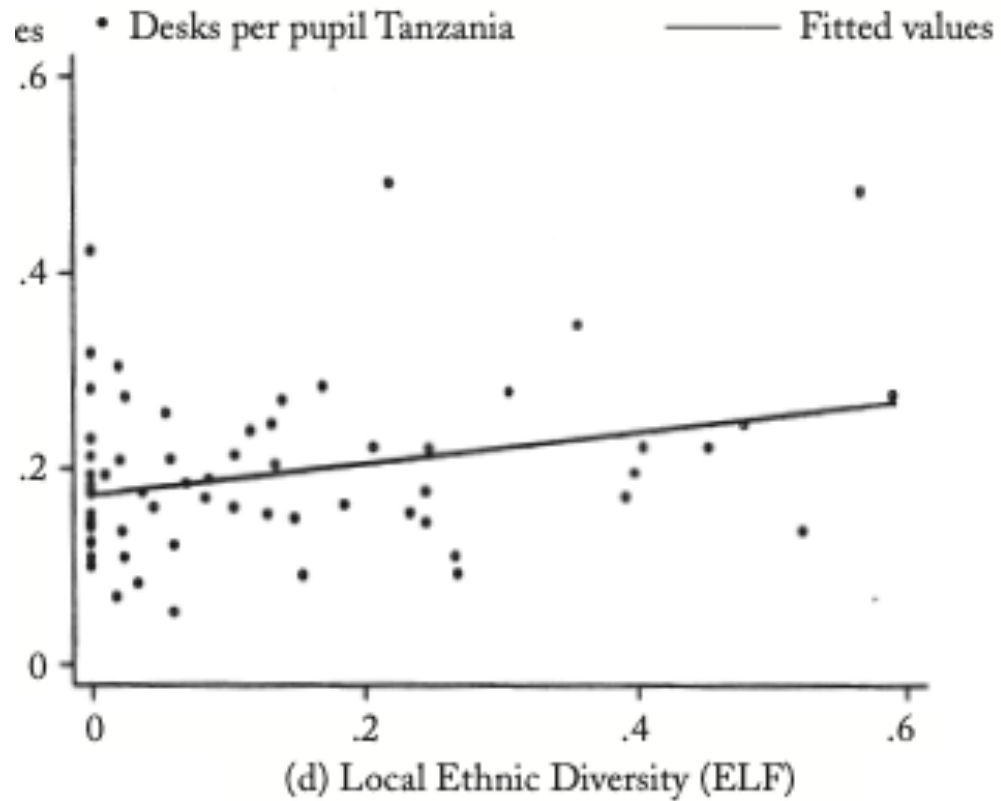


Correlates of ethnic fractionalization

- Positive:
 - Negative
- Negative:
 - Economic growth
 - Government public goods provision
 - Societal trust
 - Civil peace

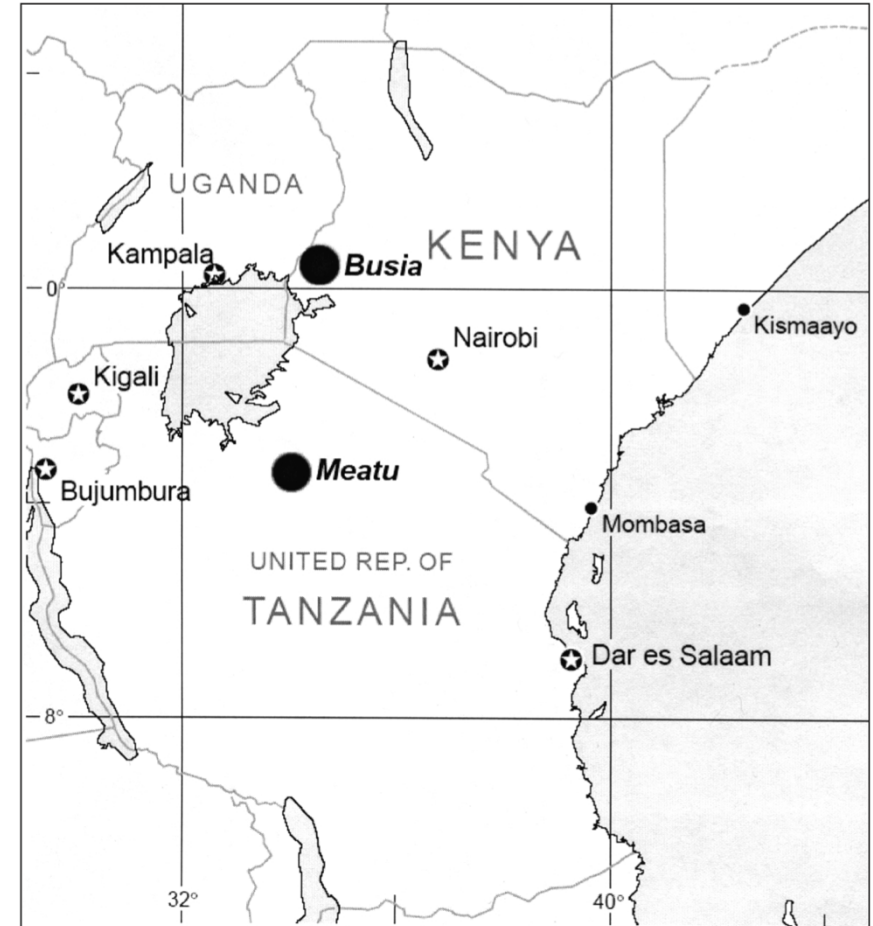
Are the relationships between ethnic fractionalization and its correlates causal?

Ethnic fractionalization and public service provision in Kenya and Tanzania



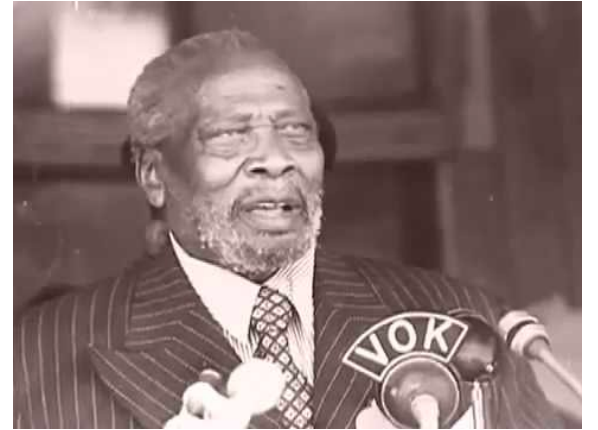
Ethnic fractionalization and public service provision in Kenya and Tanzania

- Natural experiment
- Political salience of ethnicity:
 - High in Kenya
 - Low in Tanzania
 - Edward Miguel, "Tribe or Nation?: Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 327–62.



Political salience of ethnicity in Kenya and Tanzania

- Kenya:
 - Jomo Kenyatta, Kikuyu
 - Ethnic favoritism
 - Political mobilization of coethnic ties
- Tanzania:
 - Julius Nyerere, Zanaki
 - Equitable distribution of government resources
 - Nation-building



Political salience of ethnicity in Malawi and Zambia

TABLE 1. The Determinants of Chewa—Tumbuka Relations

Dependent Variable	Country ^a	Tribe ^b	Gender ^c	Age	Number of Differences	Constant
Believes others in the area would not vote for a presidential candidate from the other group	1.98*** (0.370)	0.77* (0.360)	-0.60 (0.360)	0.31 (0.219)	0.07 (0.187)	-1.92*** (0.510)
Say <i>they</i> would not vote for a presidential candidate from the other group	1.16** (0.353)	0.91** (0.348)	-0.78* (0.349)	0.04 (0.208)	-0.07 (0.190)	-1.33*** (0.478)
Say they would not have married (have considered marrying) a member of the other group	1.89*** (0.410)	2.05*** (0.416)	-1.57*** (0.405)	0.16 (0.231)	0.07 (0.208)	-2.11*** (0.557)
Say that, in general, marriage to a person from the other group is frowned upon	2.43*** (0.533)	0.86* (0.428)	-0.91* (0.427)	0.37 (0.255)	-0.03 (0.238)	-3.24*** (0.718)

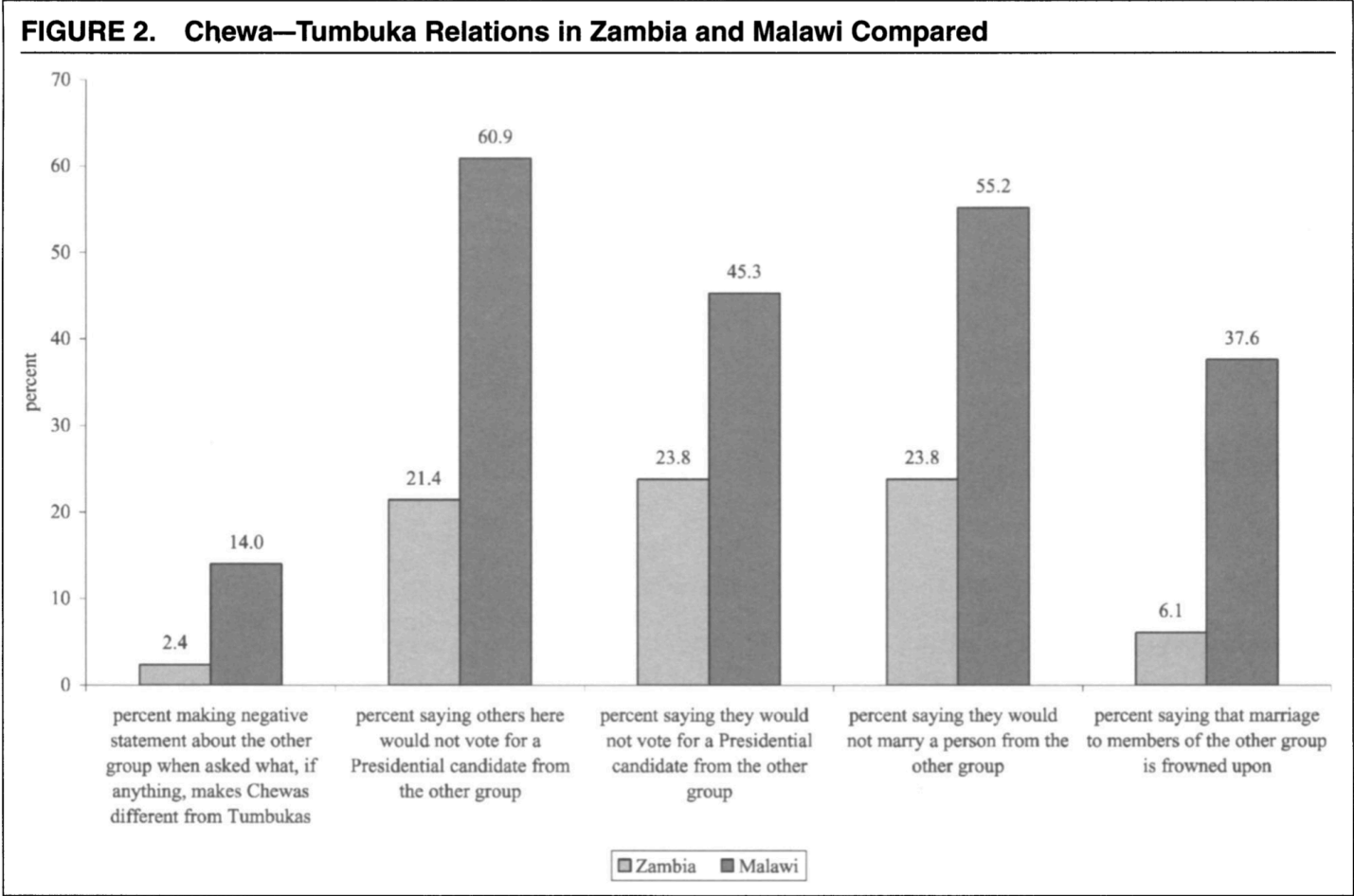
Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *N*s = 172, 175, 176, 172. * $p = .05$; ** $p = .01$; *** $p = .001$.

^a Country coded 0 for Zambia, 1 for Malawi.

^b Tribe coded 0 for Chewa, 1 for Tumbuka.

^c Gender coded 0 for female, 1 for male.

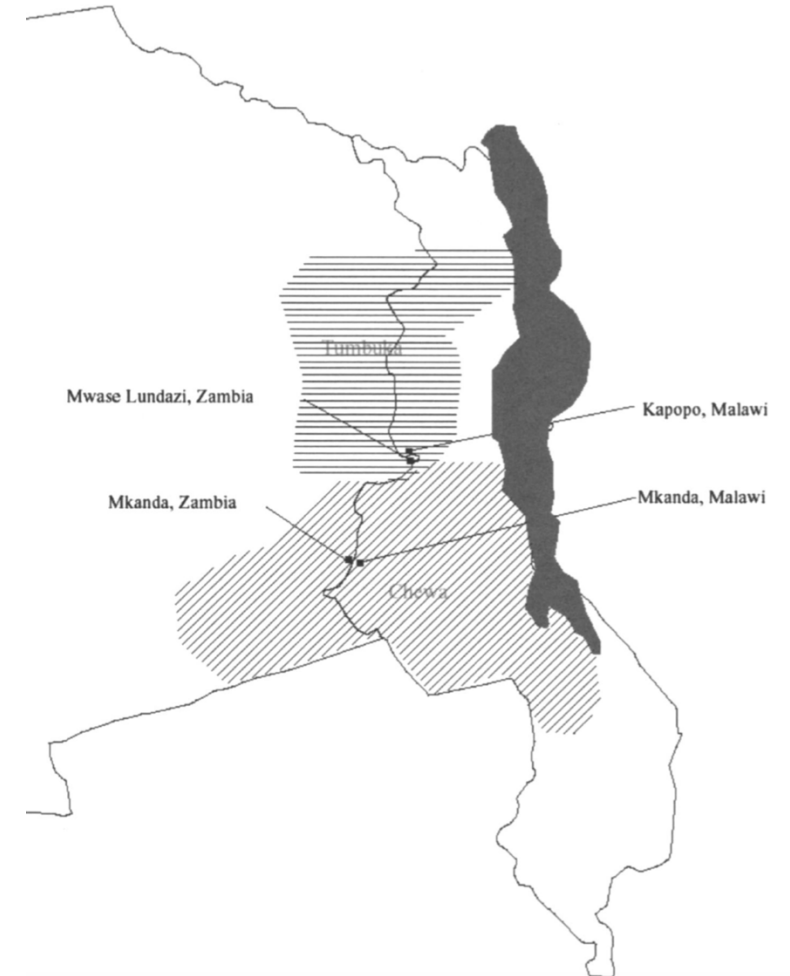
Political salience of ethnicity in Malawi and Zambia



Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 4 (2004): 529–45

Political salience of ethnicity in Malawi and Zambia

- Malawi:
 - Hastings Banda, Chewa
 - Ethnic favoritism
 - Antagonism towards Tumbukas
- Zambia
 - Search for influence
 - Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 4 (2004): 529–45



Why do political leaders
mobilize ethnic identities?

Benefits of ethnic identity mobilization

- Jóhanna Birnir:
 - “A stable but flexible information shortcut for political choices.”
 - Jóhanna Kristín Birnir, *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

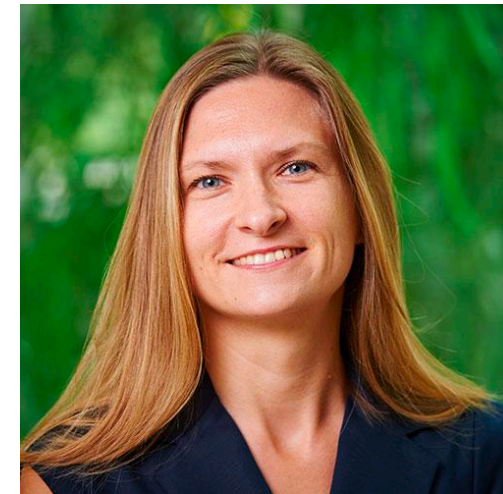
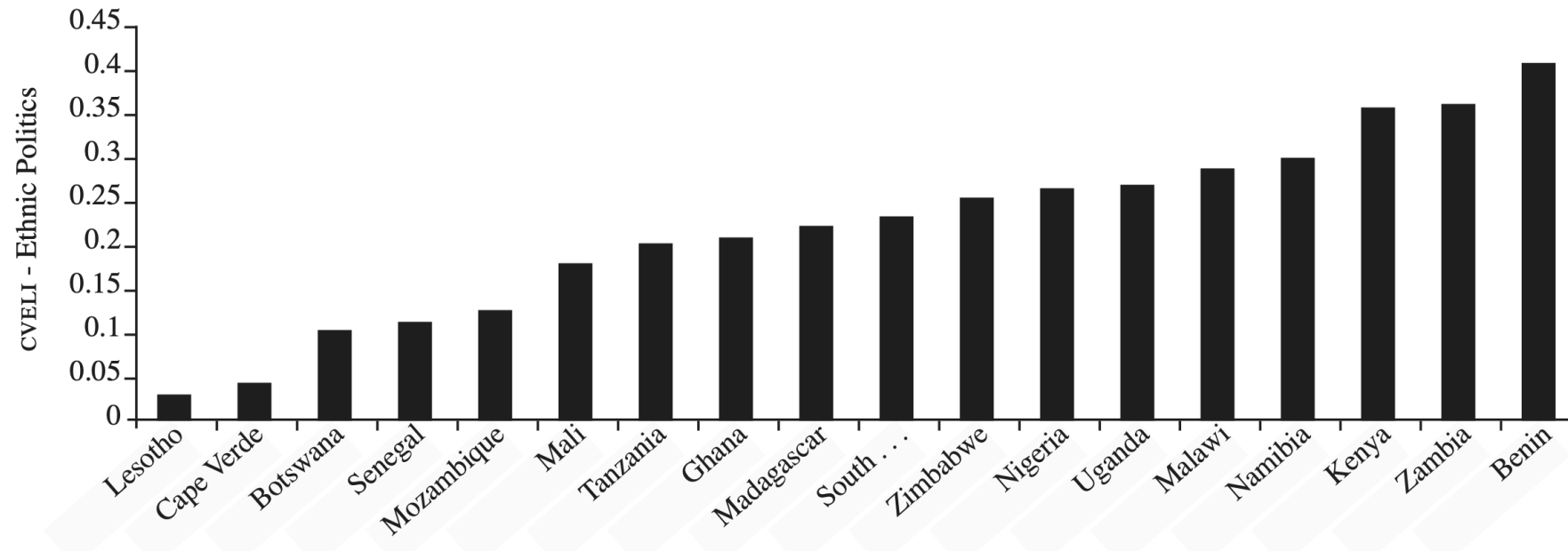


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- Coordination facilitation
- Solidarity
- Accountability
- Promise credibility enforcement
- Exclusion of non-coethnics
- Limitations on identity switching



Mobilization of ethnic identities

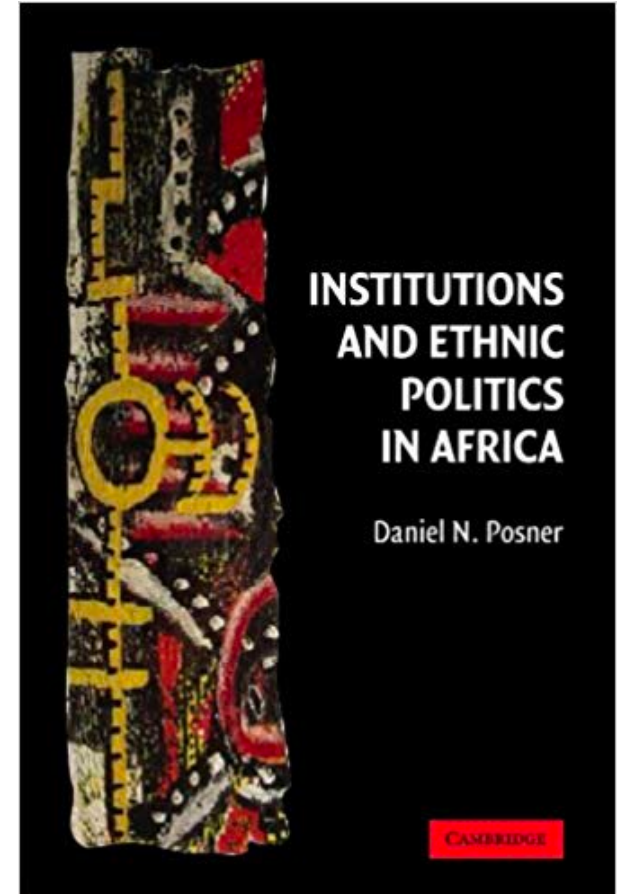
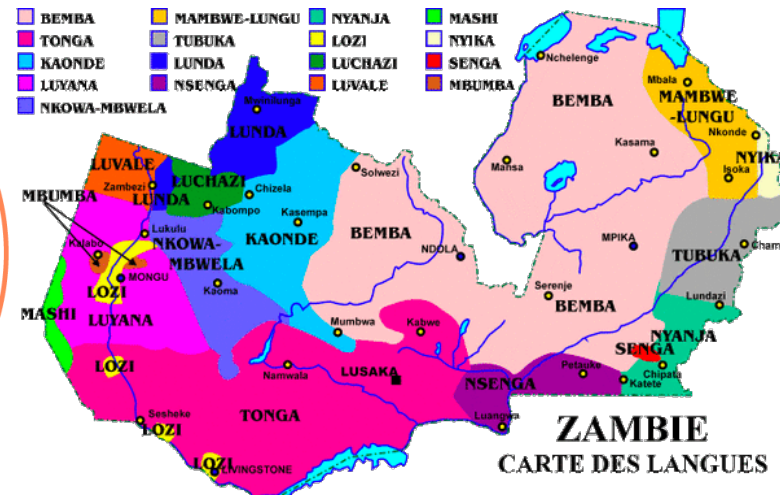
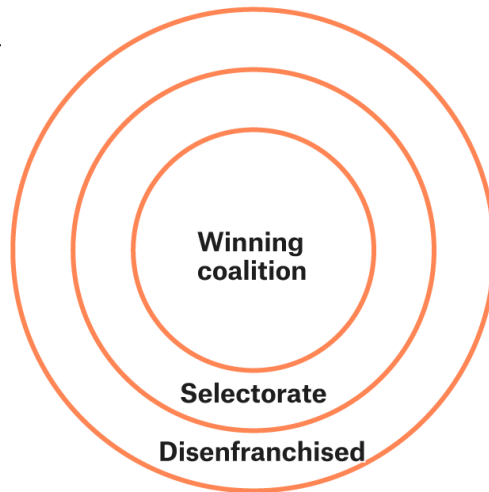


Dominika Koter, "King Makers: Local Leaders and Ethnic Politics in Africa," *World Politics* 65, no. 2 (2013): 187–232.

Mobilization of ethnic and linguistic identities in Zambia

- Political salience of (smaller) ethnic identities under authoritarian rule →
- Political salience of (larger) linguistic identities in democratic Zambia

- Minimum winning coalition (William Riker)



William H. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

Daniel N. Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

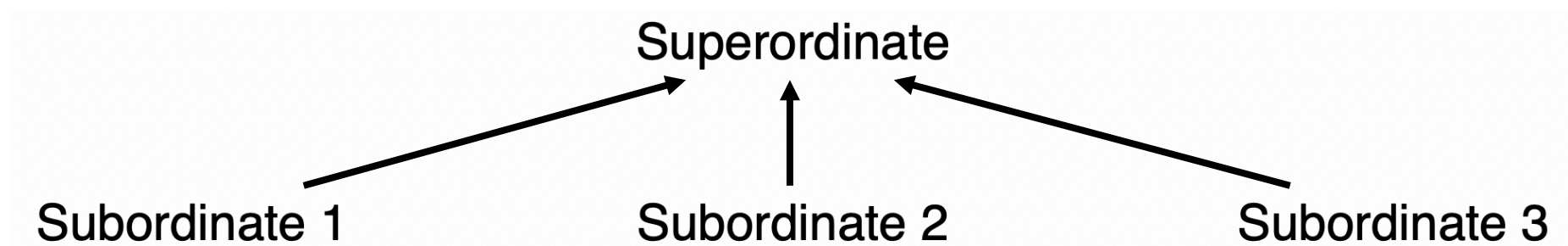
Mobilization of ethnic and linguistic identities in Zambia

- Instrumental mobilization of collective identities
- Situationality of the political salience of collective identities

Is a politician has more than one ethnic identity, which identity will she mobilize?

Mobilization of hierarchically layered ethnic identities

- Hierarchically layered ethnic identities:
 - Superordinate
 - Subordinate



Mobilization of hierarchically layered ethnic identities in Kenya

- Electoral districts:
 - Moyale:
 - Superordinate: Borana (dominant)
 - Subordinate: Karrayyuu, Warraa Jiddaa
 - North Horr:
 - Superordinate: Gabbra (dominant)
 - Subordinate: Algana, Gar
 - Marsabit:
 - Multiethnic
- Candidates:
 - Mohammed Ali (Abshiro), Karrayyuu Borana
 - Ukur Yatani, Gar Gabbra



What explains political
leaders' choices to mobilize
specific identities in Marsabit?

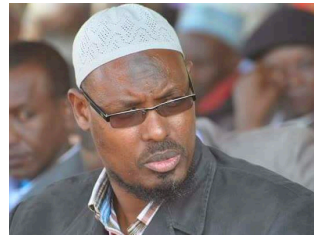
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Politics of religion in Kenya

- 2007 parliamentary elections in Laisamis Constituency:
 - Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton (Ariaal) vs. Abubakar Godana Hargura (Saale Rendille)



Q SEARCH

The New York Times Magazine

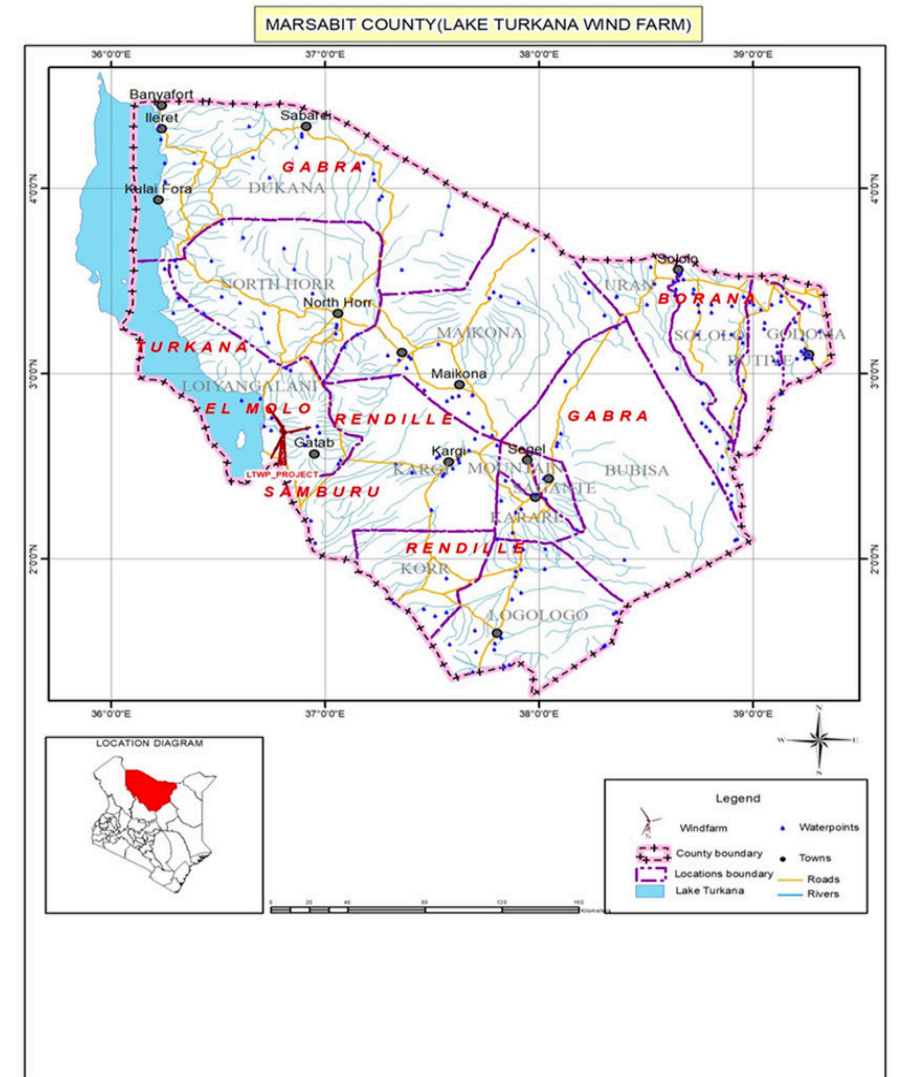
Magazine

The African Front

By JOSHUA HAMMER DEC. 23, 2007

<https://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/23/magazine/23kenya-t.html?nytmobile=0>

Achiba, Gargule. 2019. "Navigating Contested Winds: Development Visions and Anti-Politics of Wind Energy in Northern Kenya." *Land* 8 (7): 1-29.



Politicization of religion in Ethiopia

- Oromo nationalism and other centrifugal forces in Ethiopia
- Ethiopia's ethnic federalism project
- Osmond:
 - Waaqeffannaa association, return to (neo)traditional religion, and invention of tradition
 - Osmond, Thomas. 2004. "Waaqeffannaa: une association religieuse d'Éthiopie entre nationalisme ethnique et idéologie afrocentriste." *Politique africaine*, 94(2), 166-180.



Politics of race (or ethnicity? or religion?) in Darfur

- de Waal:
 - Migration and livelihoods
 - (North) Sudan and South Sudan and the formation / adoption of the contemporary Arab and African identities
 - Elite 'Arabization' (or 'Sudanization') in Darfur and emergence of Arab supremacism
 - Adoption of African identity by non-Arab Darfurians

• Waal, Alex de. "Who Are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement." *African Affairs* 104, no. 415 (2005): 181–205.



The Desert: Bedeyat, Meidob, etc.

A		A		A		A	
Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms	A
A	Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms
Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms	A	Farms	A
A		A		A		A	

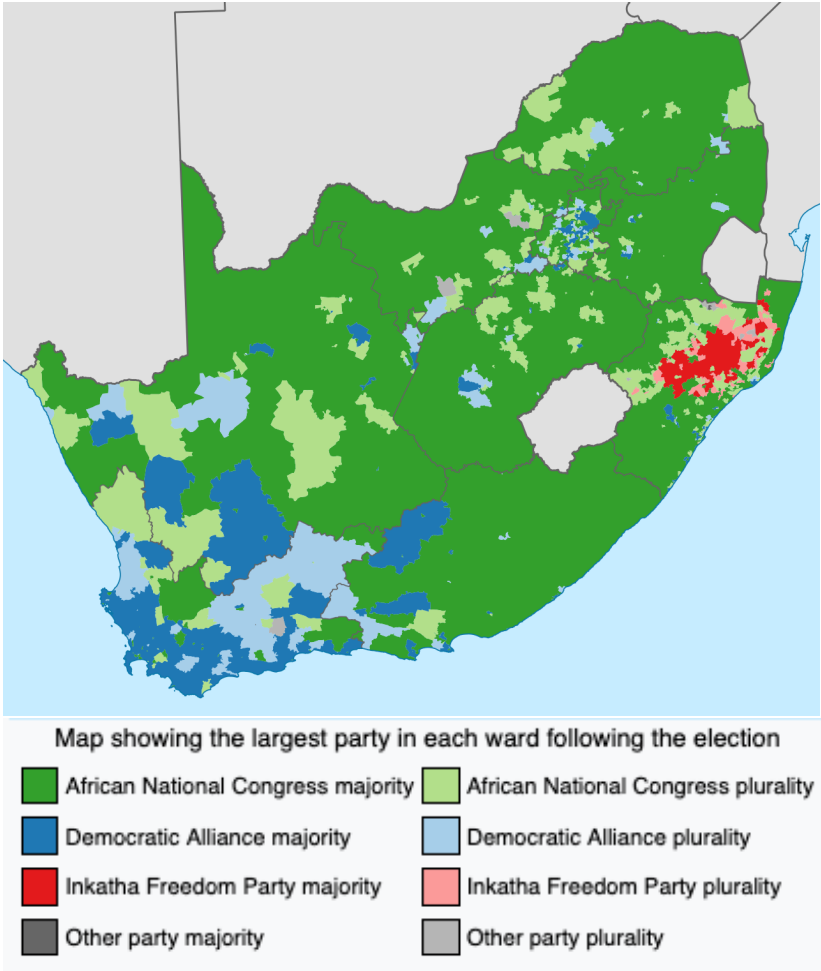
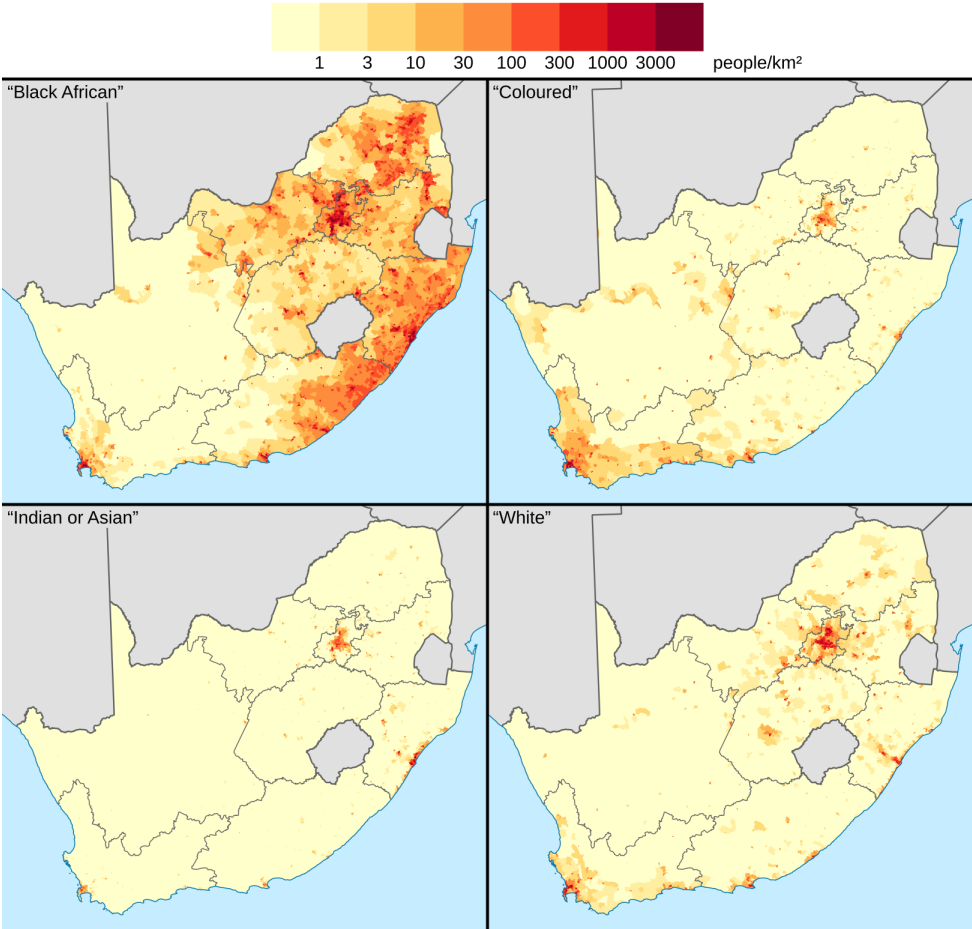
The South: Fertit, Dinka, etc.

<https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/whats-the-difference-between-sudan-and-south-sudan/>

What is the politics of race in
South Africa?

Politics of race in South Africa

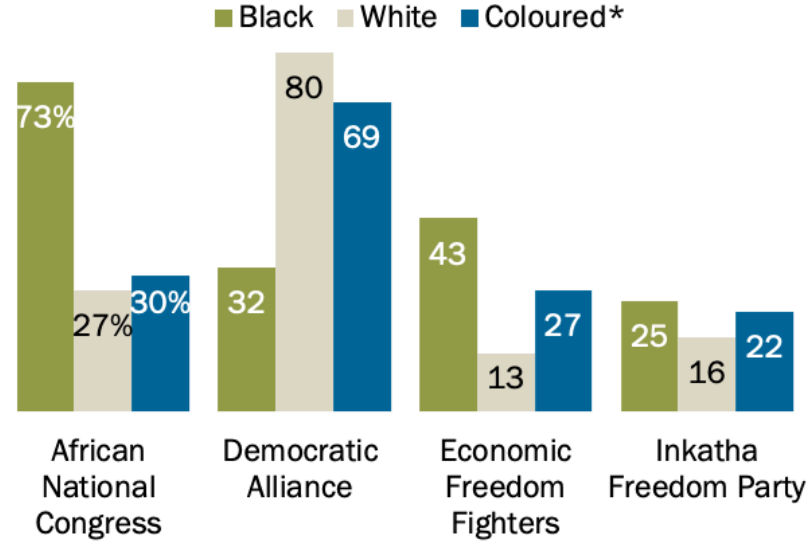
Density of "population groups" in South Africa according to Census 2011



Politics of race in South Africa

ANC is the most favored party among black South Africans

% who have a favorable view of ...



* The question was asked as “coloured,” a term used in South Africa for multiracial people.

Source: Survey of South African adults, conducted May 21-Aug. 10, 2018. Q18RSAa-d.

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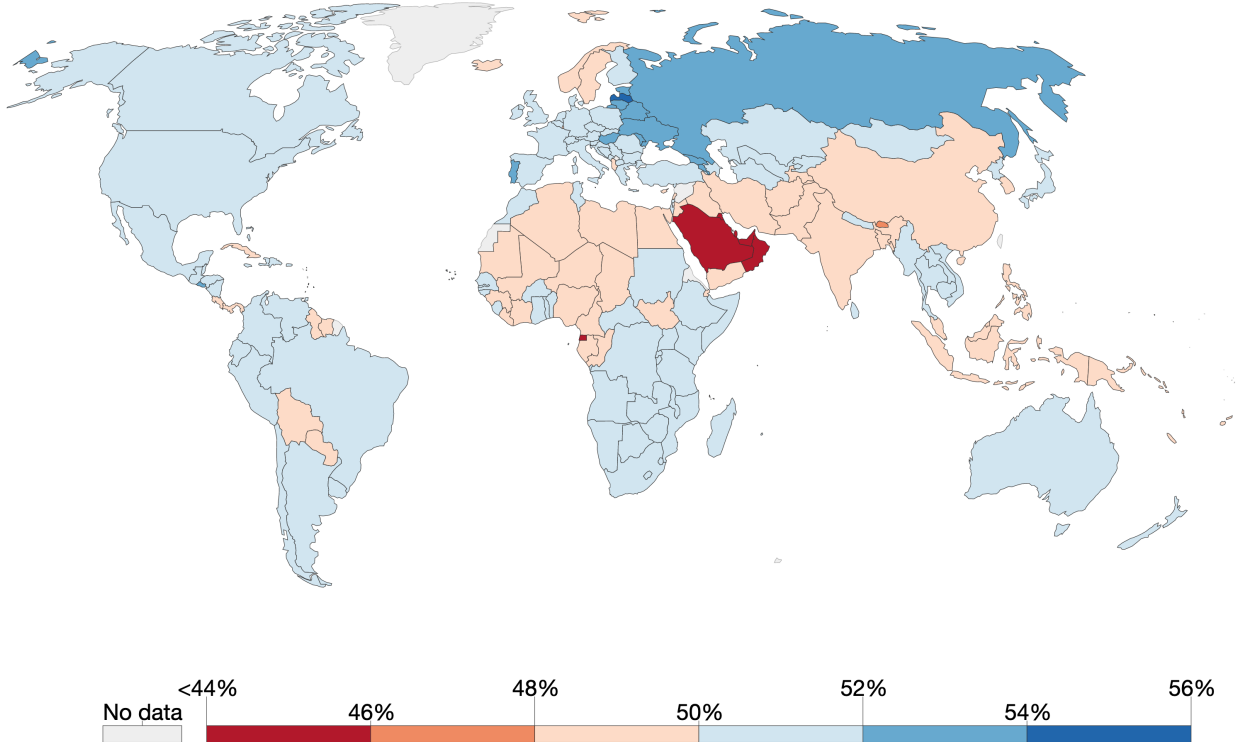
What explains South Africa's
'racial census'?

Instrumental and strategic political mobilization of collective identities

- Ethnic
- Linguistic
- National
- Racial
- Religious

Gender as the basis of minimum winning coalitions

Share of the population that is female, 2017

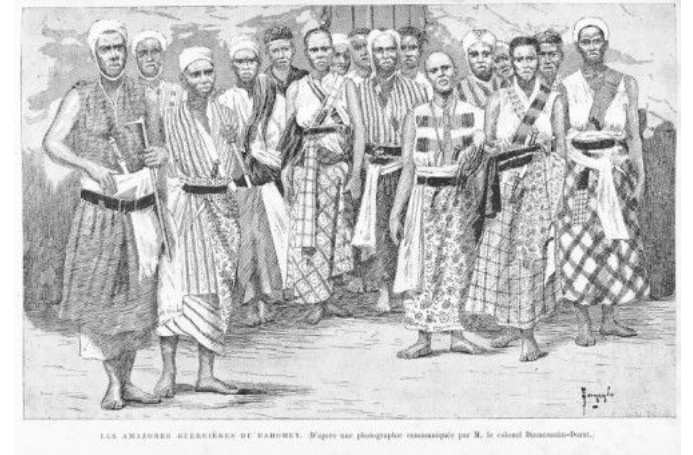


Source: World Bank
Note: Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship.
OurWorldInData.org/gender-ratio • CC BY

Why is gender not politically mobilized in the same way as other collective identities?

Women and politics in Africa: historical legacies

- Precolonial gender roles:
 - Fluidity and division of roles
 - Variation:
 - Matrilineal societies
 - Dahomey Mino
 - Complementarity vs. subordination
 - Changes over time:
 - E.g. Sokoto Caliphate



<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/dahomeys-women-warriors-88286072/>

Women and politics in Africa: historical legacies

- Colonialism:
 - Imposition of European 19th c. gender norms
 - Indirect rule
 - Provision of formal education, agricultural equipment, and incentives to produce cash crops to men
- Early postcolonial period:
 - Formal franchise, but societal norms

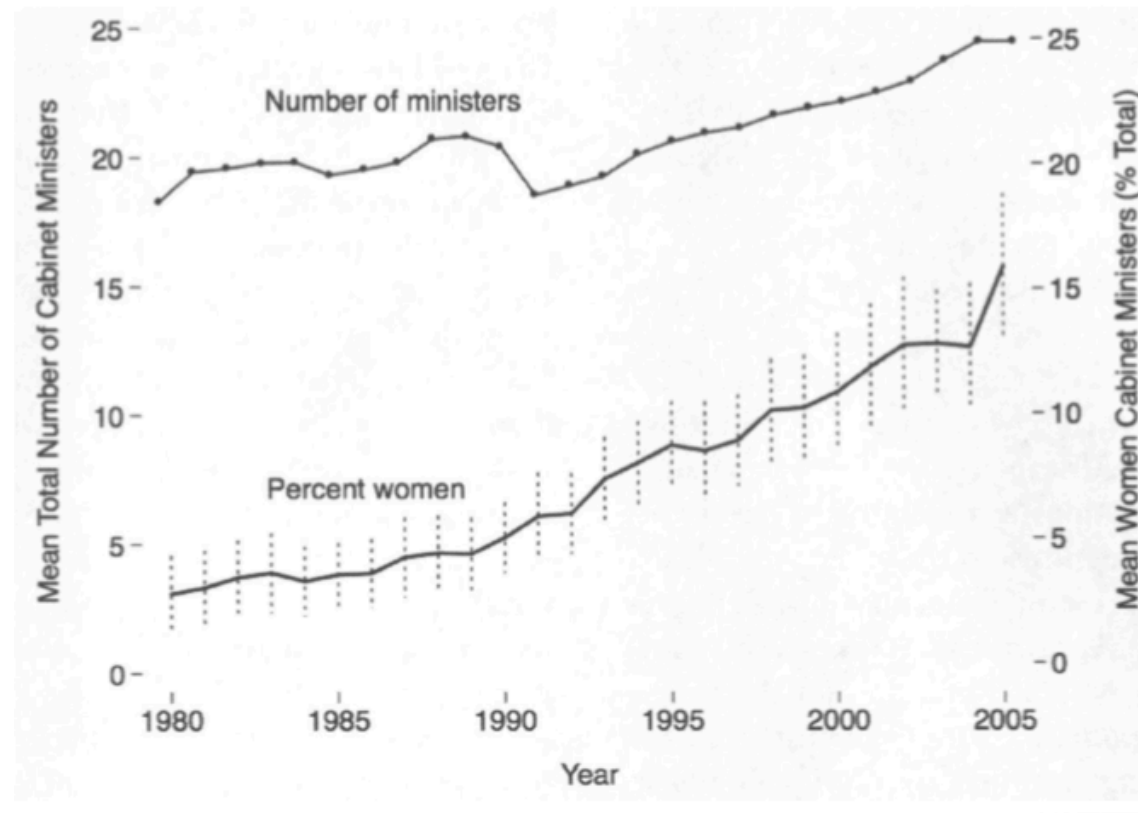
Women and political activism

- Wangari Maathai
- Green Belt Movement, 1977
- Nobel Peace Prize, 2004



Women in formal politics

FIGURE 1 Women in African Cabinets, 1980–2005



Arriola, Leonardo R., and Martha C. Johnson. 2019. "Executive Cabinets Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (2): 495–510.

Women in formal politics


- Heads of state (excluding acting):
 - Ruth Perry, Liberia, 1996-1997
 - Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Liberia, 2006-2018
 - Joyce Banda, Malawi, 2012-2014
 - Sahle-Work Zewde, Ethiopia, 2018-
- Heads of government:
 - Elisabeth Domitien, CAR, 1975-1976
 - Sylvie Kinigi, Burundi, 1993
 - Mame Madior Boye, Senegal, 2001-2002
 - Maria das Neves, Sao Tome and Principe, 2002-2004
 - Aminata Toure, Senegal, 2013-2014



Women in formal politics: the case of Rwanda

- 68% of MPs
- Diane Rwigara's presidential campaign in the 2017 election

CNN World > Africa | Americas | Asia | Australia | China | Europe | Middle East | India | UK Live TV U.S. Edition +



She wanted to be president, but ended up jailed instead

By Kara Fox and Edward Kiernan, CNN

Women in formal politics: the case of Rwanda



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q26z2wPVKb0>

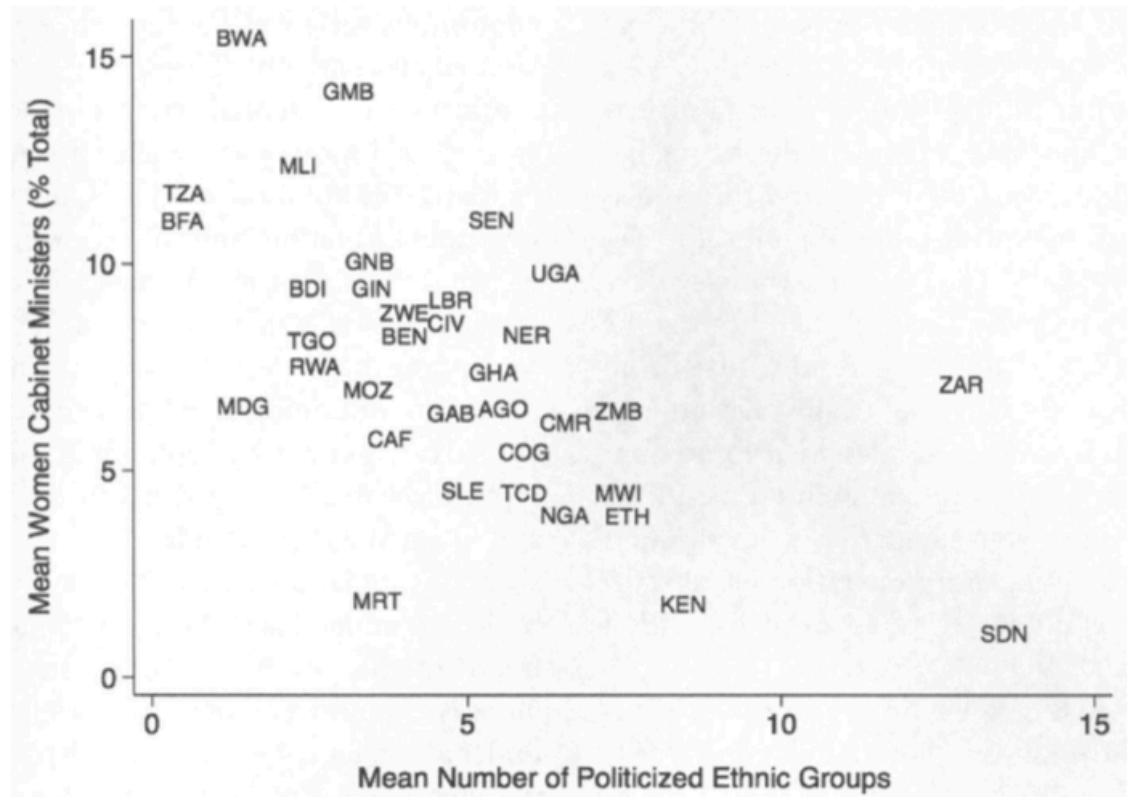
Under what conditions are women in Africa more likely to acquire political influence?

Political influence of women according to Arriola and Johnson

- “[W]omen's share of cabinet appointments is significantly lower in countries where leaders must accommodate a larger number of politicized ethnic groups, but it rises with higher levels of democracy and greater representation of women in parliament.”

- Arriola, Leonardo and Martha Johnson. 2014. “Ethnic Politics and Women’s Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 58 (2).

FIGURE 2 Ethnic Politicization and Women in African Cabinets



What can explain Arriola
and Johnson's findings?

What are some prominent examples of the political mobilization of collective identities from outside Africa?

Me Too



Black Lives Matter



Fibonacci Blue/Flickr

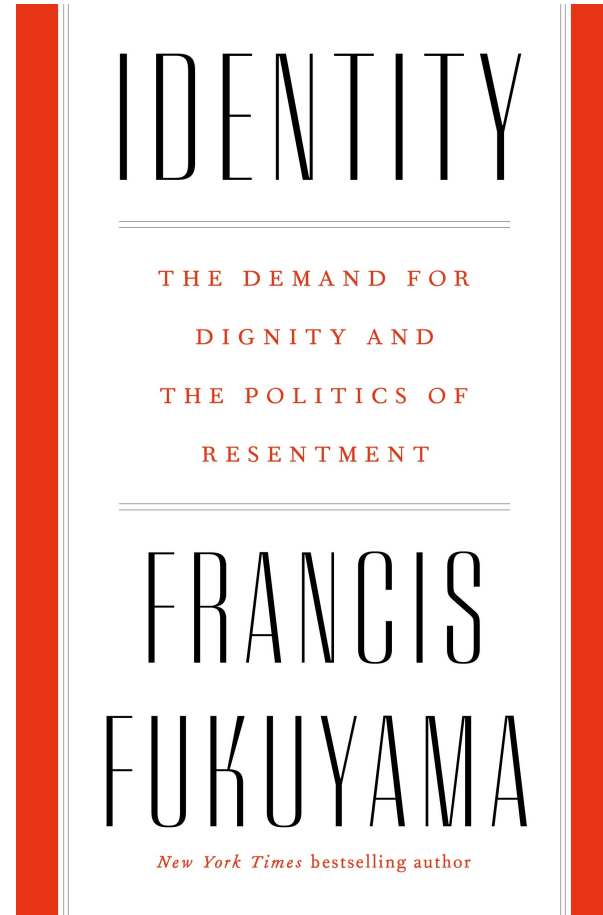
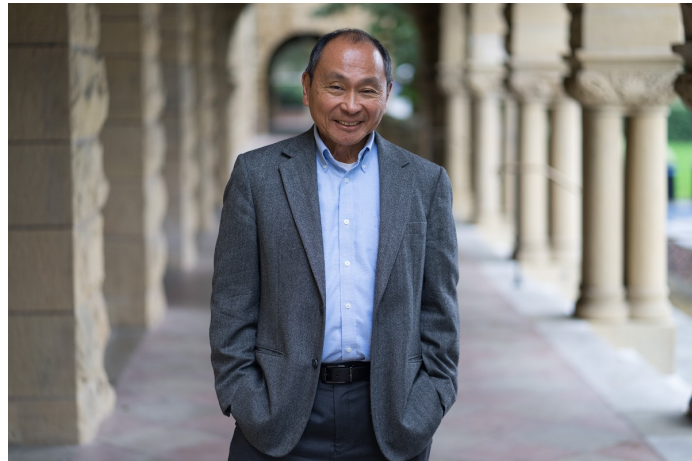
White supremacy



What explains the prominence of identity politics in the contemporary Global North according to Fukuyama?

Identity politics in the contemporary Global North according to Fukuyama

- Economic inequality
- Loss of employment
- Discrimination
- → Calls for special recognition



Identity politics in the contemporary Global North according to Fukuyama



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1_HNcSpBNs

What is missing from
Fukuyama's account?

Is politics of identity in the Global North a weapon of the weak, or also a tool of the powerful?