# PLS 343 Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa

Week 7, Lecture 1: State-society relations

# Recap

- Historical legacies
- Competing accounts of African statehood

#### Part II

- State and society:
  - Neopatrimonialism
  - Politics of collective identities
  - Political violence
- Economic development
- Political regimes:
  - Democratization
  - Democratic consolidation and (re-)authoritarianization

#### Plan for this week

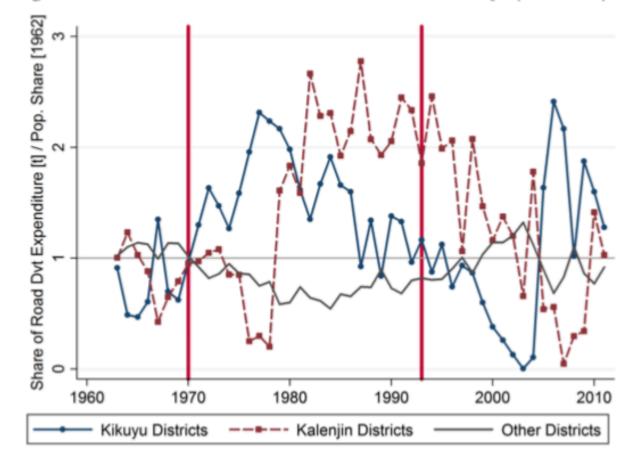
- State-society relations in postcolonial Africa
- Neopatrimonialism

## Plan for today

- Introduction to:
  - State-society relations
  - Neopatrimonialism

#### Public service provision in Africa: evidence from Kenya

Figure 5: Road Investments and Presidential Ethnic Groups (1963-2011).



Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padro i Miquel. 2011. "Ethnic Favoritism." London: London School of Economics and Political Science.

#### Regimes and regime change in post-independence Africa

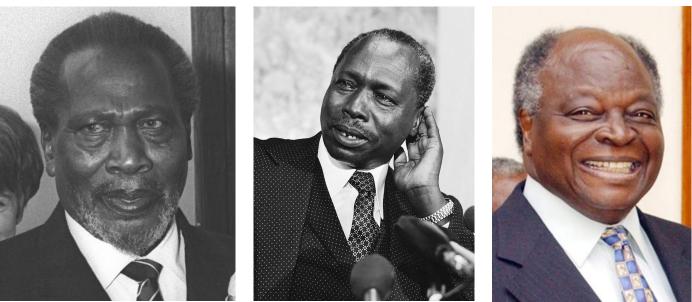
- Initial democratic experiments
- Political instability:
  - Coups d'état
  - Military rule
- Authoritarianization and one-party rule

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## Regimes and regime change in Kenya

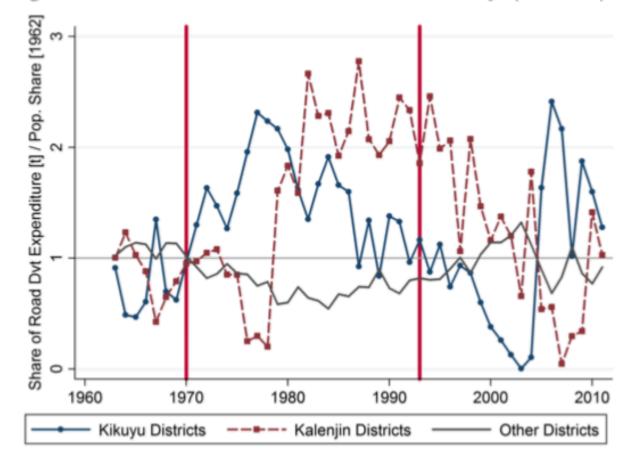
#### • Presidents:

- Jomo Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, 1963-1978
- Daniel arap Moi, a Kalenjin, 1978-2002
- Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu, 2002-2013
- 1982 coup and one-party rule 1982-1991
- Pressure from civil society —> gradual democratization with multiparty elections in 1992



#### State and society: the case of Kenya

Figure 5: Road Investments and Presidential Ethnic Groups (1963-2011).



Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padro i Miquel. 2011. "Ethnic Favoritism." London: London School of Economics and Political Science.

#### Clientelism according to Fukuyama



https://youtu.be/GLMXSWobiHM

### State and society according to Fukuyama

- Necessity of impersonal institutions for modern statehood
- Patrimonialism as the natural form of social relationships:
  - "The natural human propensity to favor family and friends"
    - Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

#### Patrimonial states according to Weber

• "The majority of all great continental empires had a fairly strong patrimonial character until and even after the beginning of modern times."

• Weber, Max. 1968. Economy and Society. New York: Bedminster Press.



#### Patrimonial states according to Fukuyama

- "Governments staffed by the family and friends of the ruler, and run for their benefit"
- (In contrast, 'modern governments' are "staffed by officials chosen on the basis of merit and expertise, and run for the sake of a broad public interest")
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.



#### Neopatrimonialism according to Fukuyama

- "Today, not even the most corrupt dictators would argue, like some early kings or sultans, that they literally 'owned' their countries and could do with them what they liked. Everyone pays lip service to the distinction between public and private interest. Hence patrimonialism has evolved into what is called '*neopatrimonialism*.'"
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

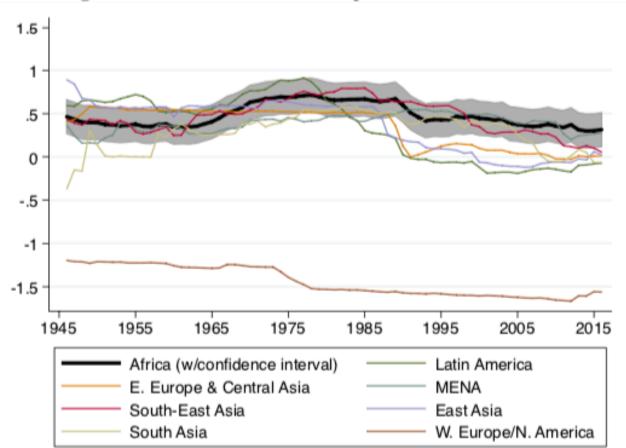


## Neopatrimonial states

- Outward form of a modern state:
  - Constitution
  - Office holders
  - •Legal system
  - Pretensions of impersonality
- Actual operation of the government centered on sharing state resources with friends and family
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

#### Neopatrimonialism across the world

Figure 1: Global Trends in Neopatrimonialism Index

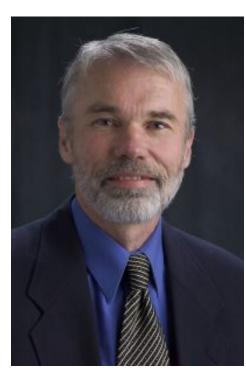


Sigman, Rachel, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2017. "Neopatrimonialism and Democracy: An Empirical Investigation of Africa's Political Regimes." VDem Working Paper No. 56.

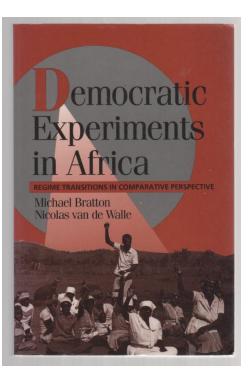
## Neopatrimonialism in Africa

#### • Bratton and Van de Walle:

- Neopatrimonialism as "the core feature of politics in Africa"
  - Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1997. "Neopatrimonial Rule" in *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, pp. 61-96.







Takeaways

• State autonomy and dependence on (neo)patrimonial ties