

# PLS 343

# Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa

Week 8, Lecture 2:

Political mobilization and salience of ethnicity

Politics of autochthony, indigeneity, and race

# Recap

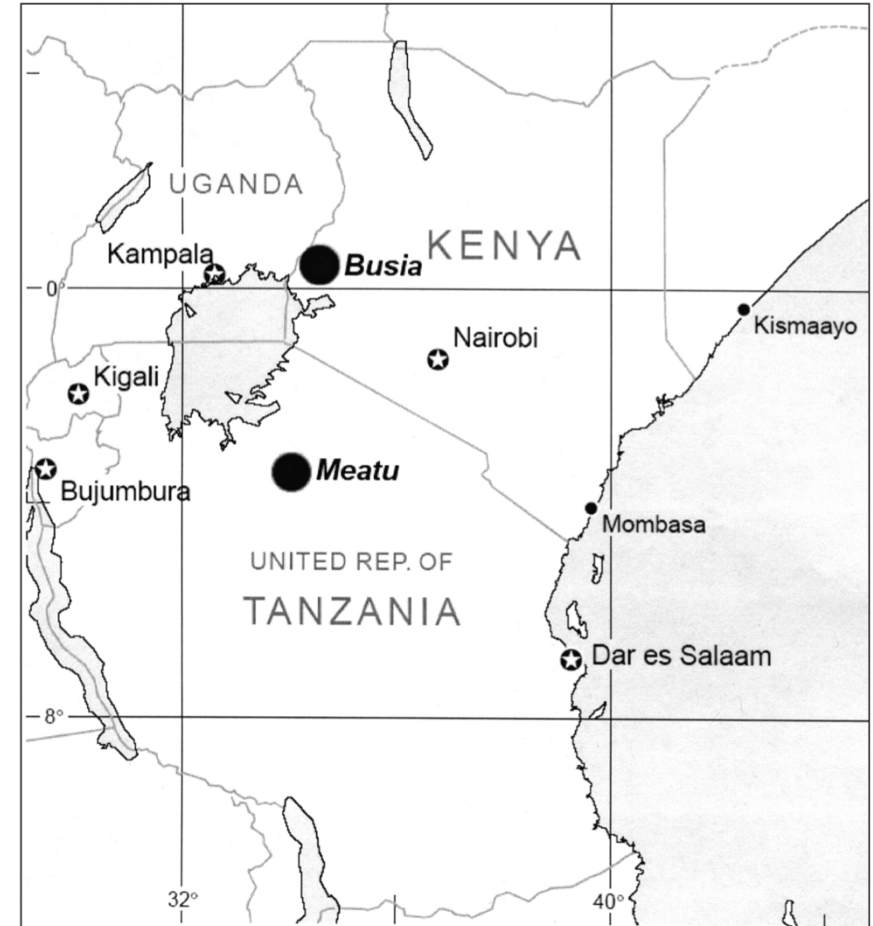
- Ethnicity as an effective political tool bequeathed by colonizers and adapted by Africans

# Plan for today

- Politics of ethnicity:
  - Consequences of the political mobilization of ethnicity
  - Variation in the political salience of ethnicity and its causes
- Politics of autochthony and indigeneity
- Politics of race

# Consequences of political mobilization of ethnicity according to Miguel

- 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.

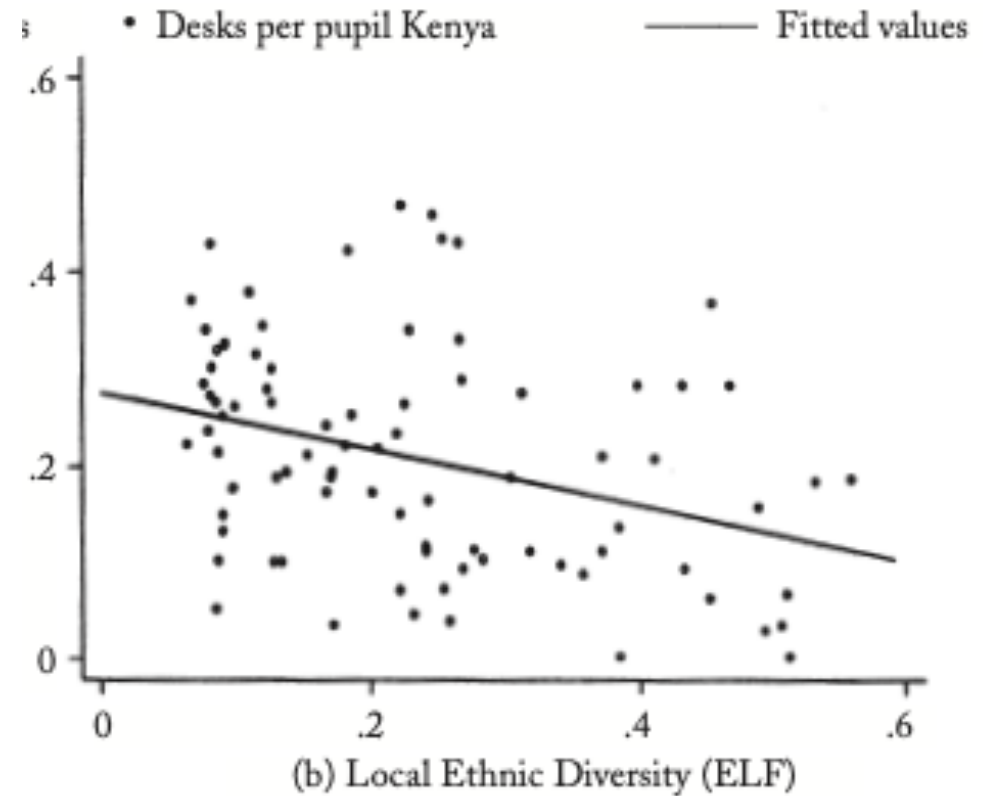
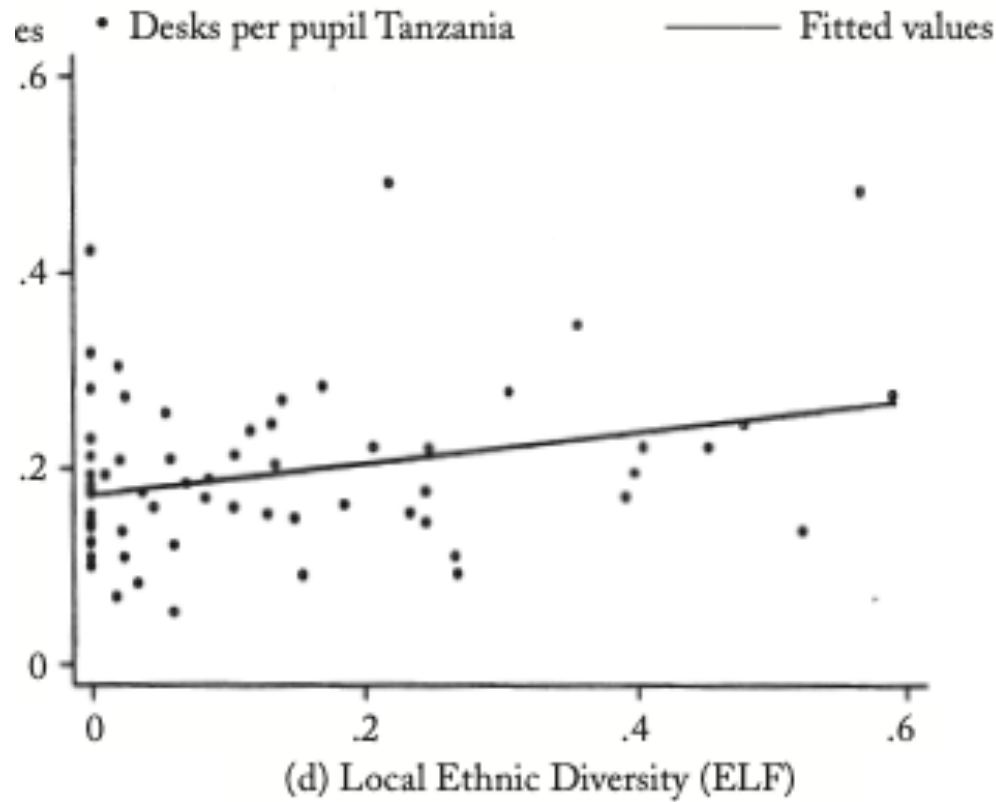


# Consequences of political mobilization of ethnicity according to Miguel

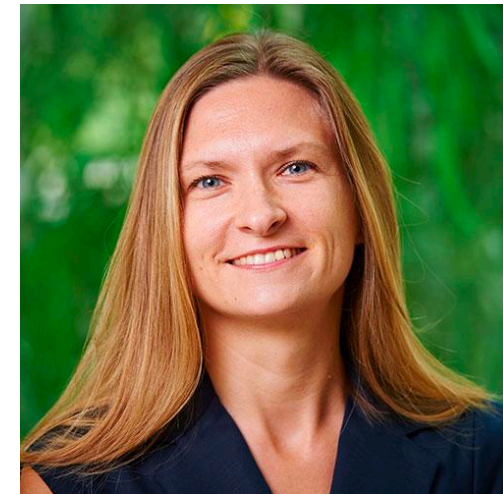
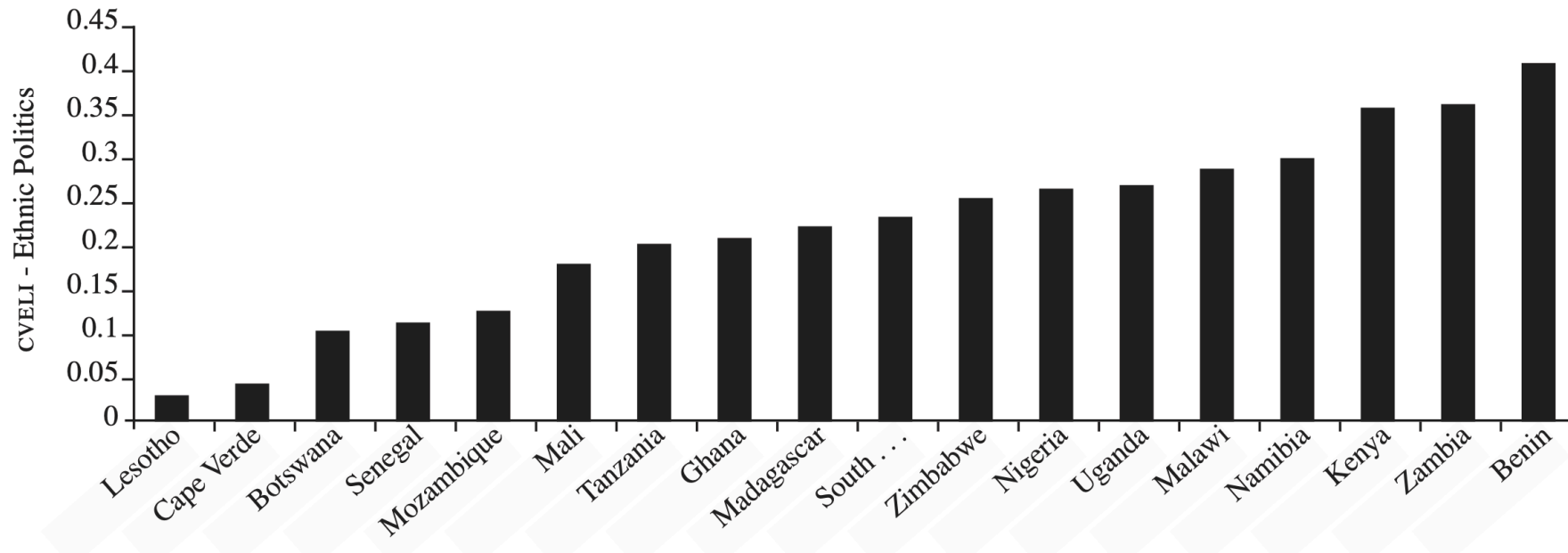
- Kenya:
  - Jomo Kenyatta, Kikuyu
  - Ethnic favoritism
  - Political mobilization of coethnic ties
- Tanzania:
  - Julius Nyerere, Zanaki
  - Equitable distribution of government resources
  - Nation-building



# Consequences of political mobilization of ethnicity according to Miguel



# Variation in the political salience of ethnicity



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

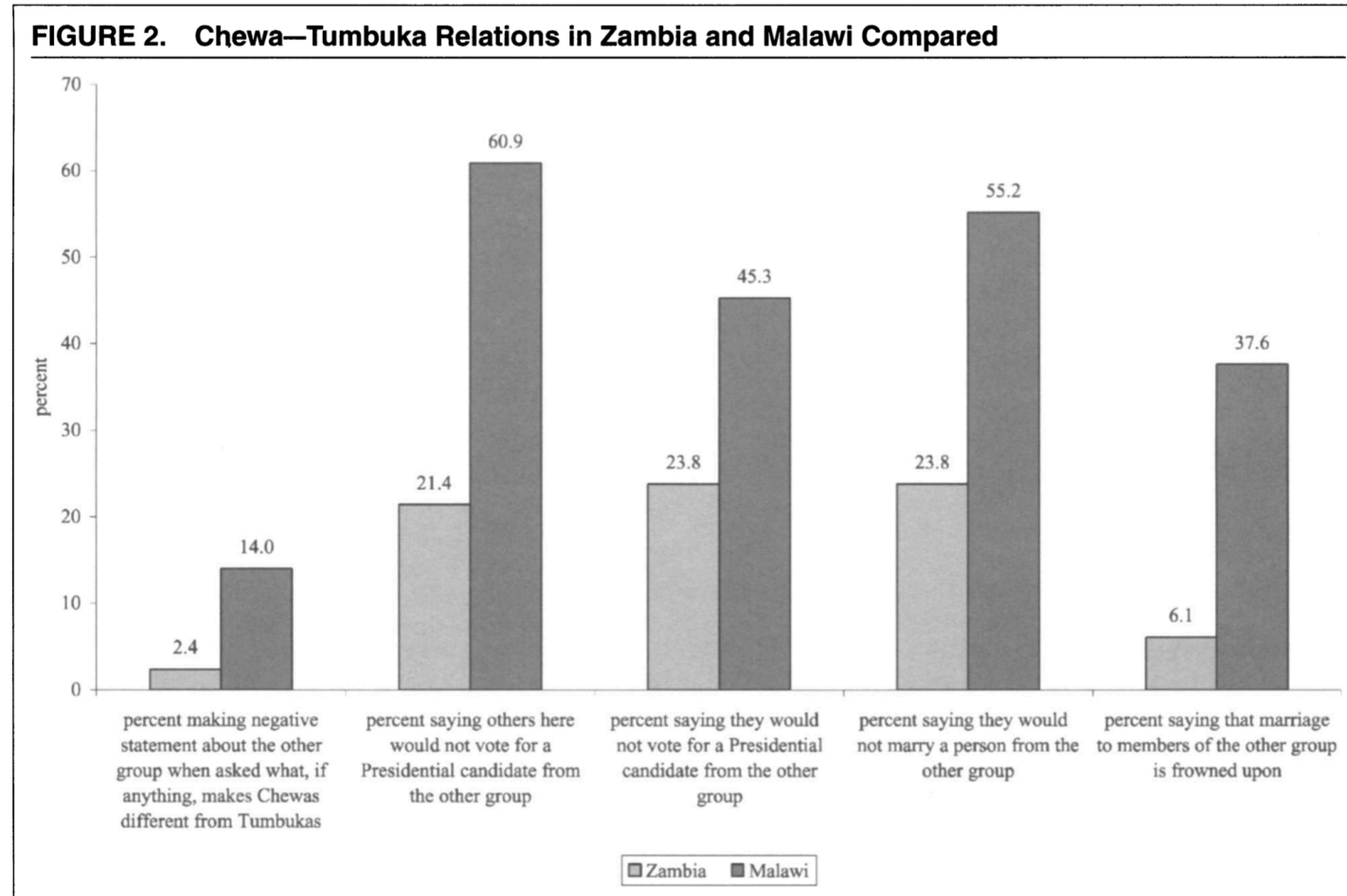
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# Variation in the political salience of ethnicity according to Posner

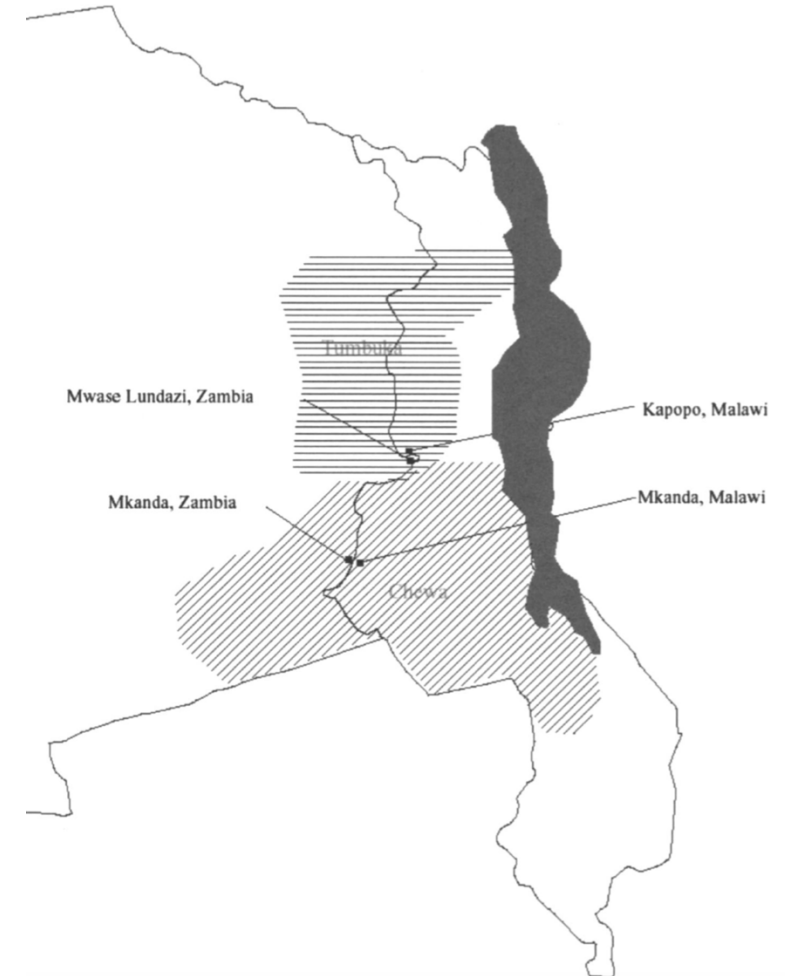


Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 4 (2004): 529–45

# Variation in the political salience of ethnicity according to Posner

- 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



# Variation in the political salience of ethnicity: evidence from Zambia

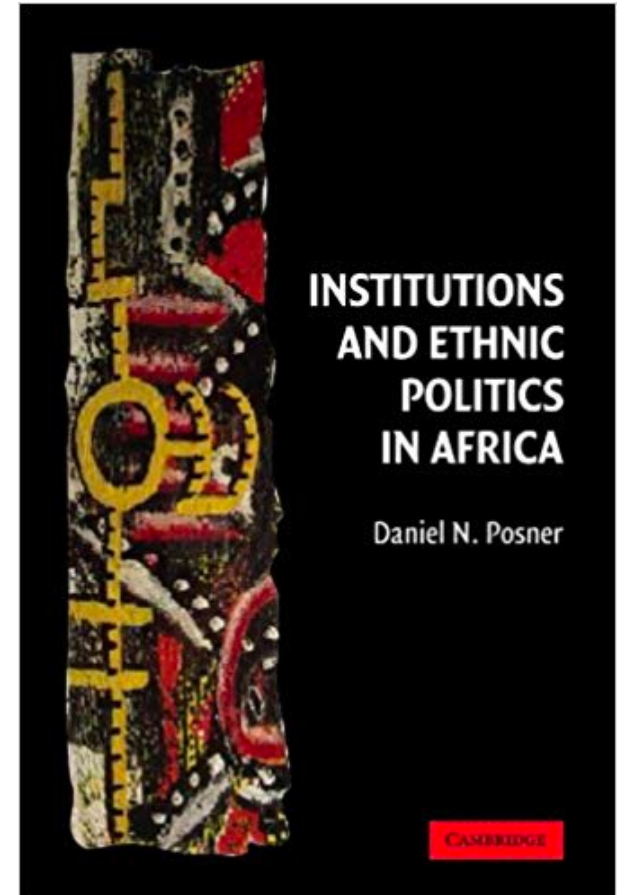
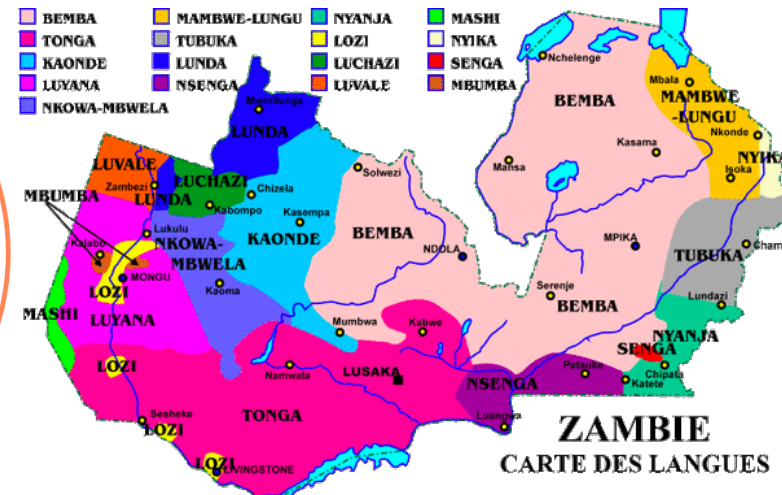
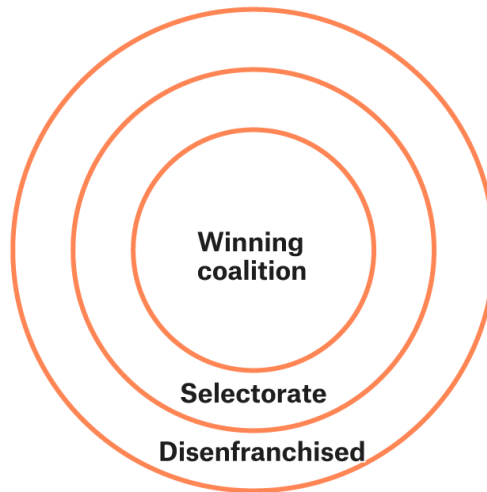
- Posner (2005):
  - Identities as situational and instrumental
  - Individuals as utility maximizers
  - Institutions as parameters that determine the salience of identities
  - The political salience of ethnicity vs. language in one-party and multi-party Zambia

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

# 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).

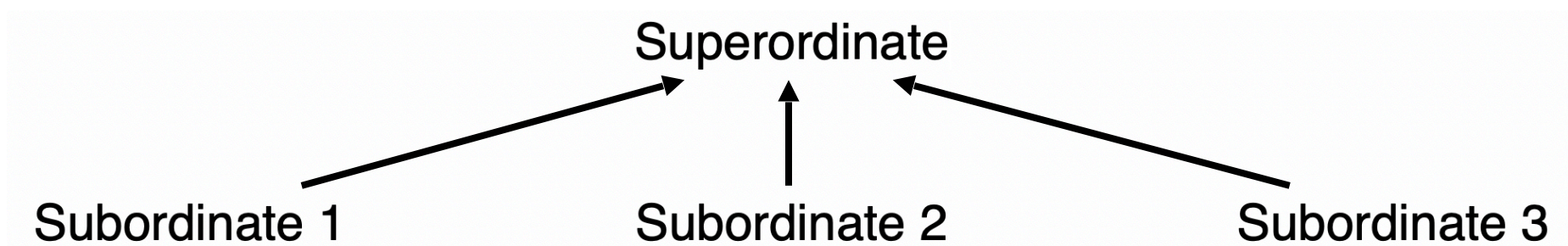
Daniel N. Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

# Mobilization of ethnic and linguistic identities in Zambia

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

# 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 and Ukur Yatani, Gar Gabbra



# Politics of autochthony and indigeneity

- Similar discourses:
  - The need to safeguard 'ancestral lands' against 'strangers' who 'despoil' the patrimony



# Autochthony

- Tool of dominant / majority groups
- Migration and 'sons of the soil'

# Ivoirité: autochtony in Côte d'Ivoire

- Economic success and immigration under Félix Houphouët-Boigny
- Struggle for power between Henri Konan Bédié and Alassane Ouattara following Houphouët-Boigny's death
- Political potency of the discourse of (Southern) Ivorian autochthony
- Civil war: 2002-2007 and 2010-2011



# Indigeneity

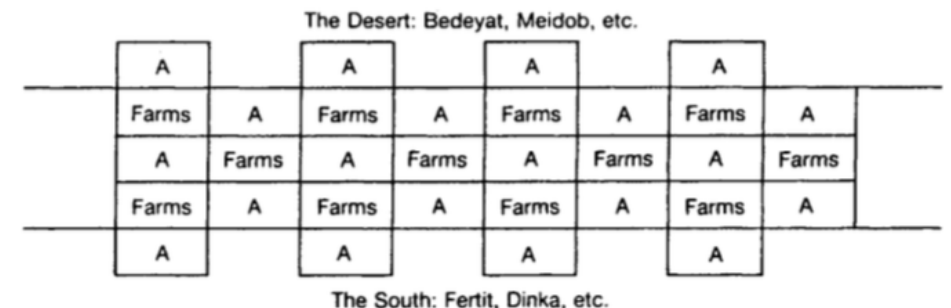
- A 'weapon of the weak'
- Political mobilization of the Il Chamus in Kenya —> official recognition as an underrepresented minority
  - Little, Peter D. 2016. "A Victory in Theory, Loss in Practice: Struggles for Political Representation in the Lake Baringo-Bogoria Basin, Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 10 (1): 189–207.



# Politics of race 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.



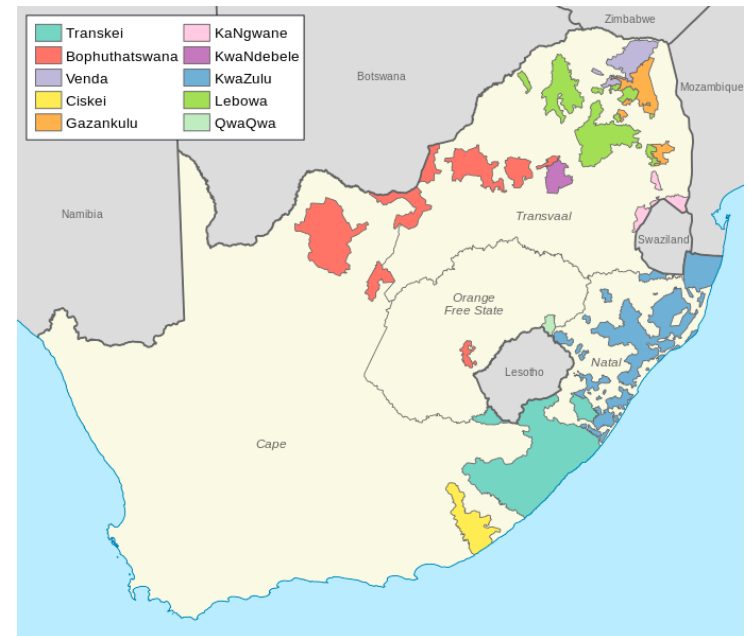
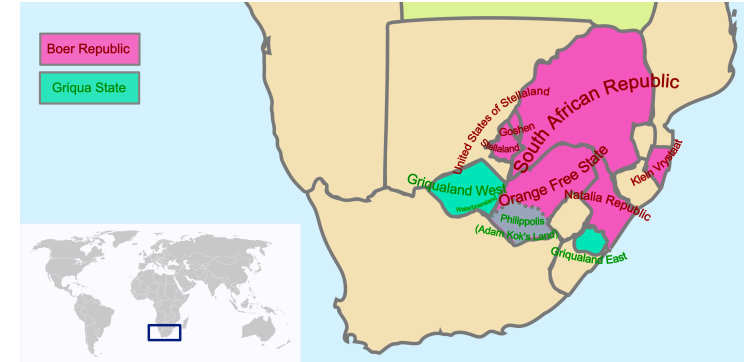
<https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/whats-the-difference-between-sudan-and-south-sudan/>

# Politics of race in South Africa

- Dutch settler colonialism from the 17<sup>th</sup> c.
- British colonization, Great Trek, and Boer Republics
- Boer War (1899-1902) and the Union of South Africa
- 1948 election and the National Party
- Apartheid
- Homelands / Bantustans

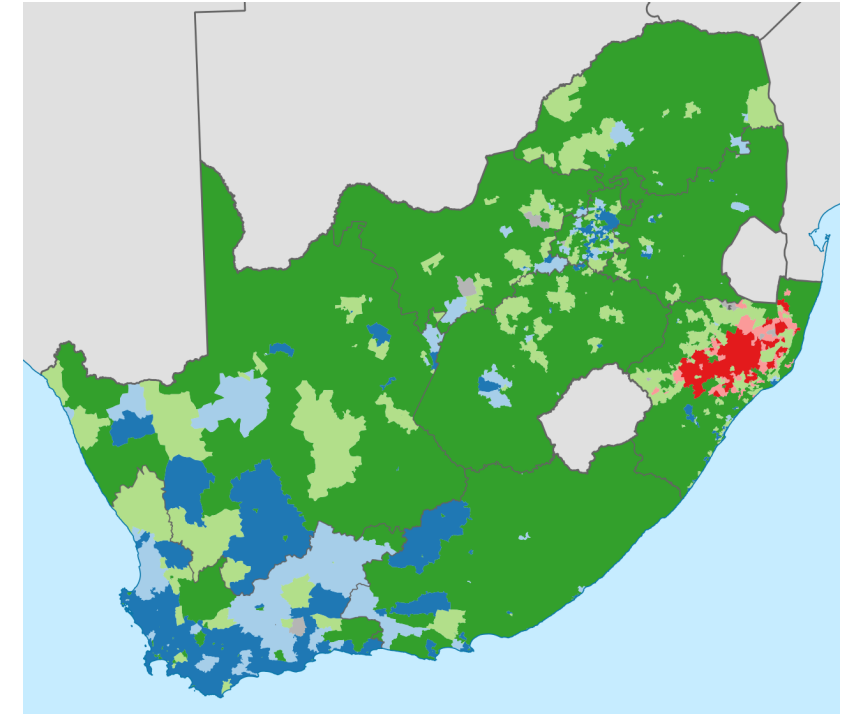
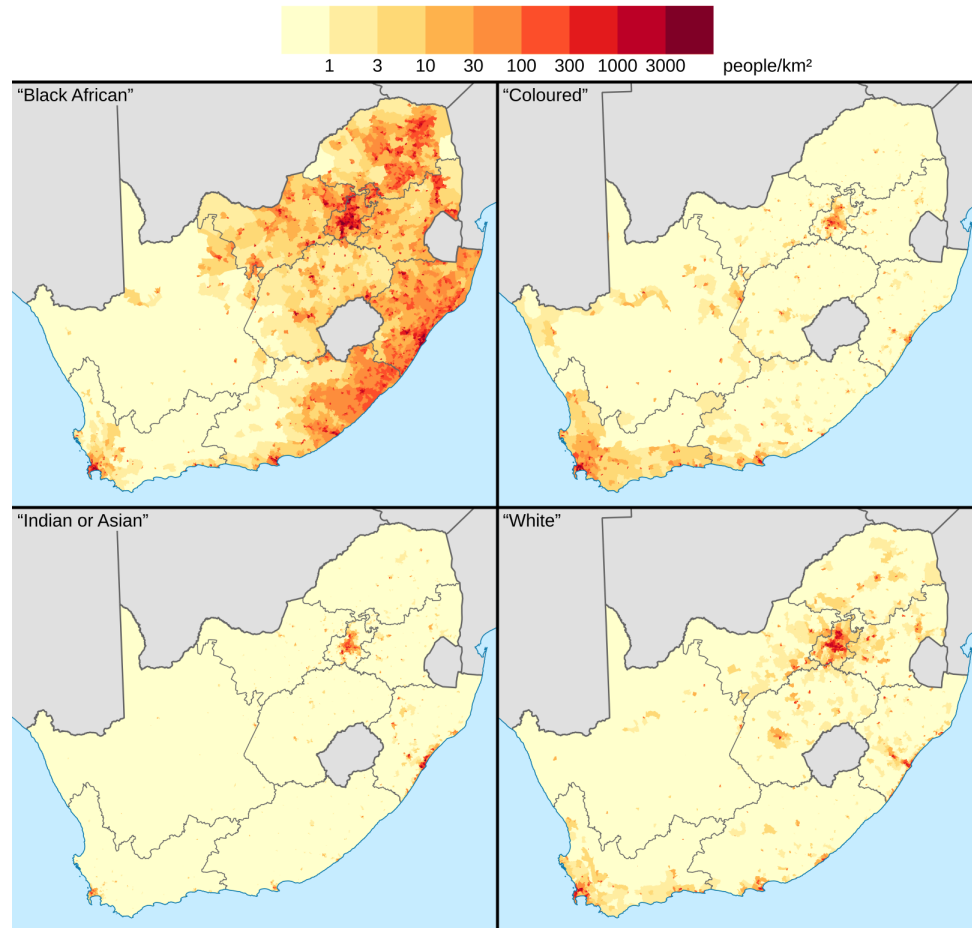
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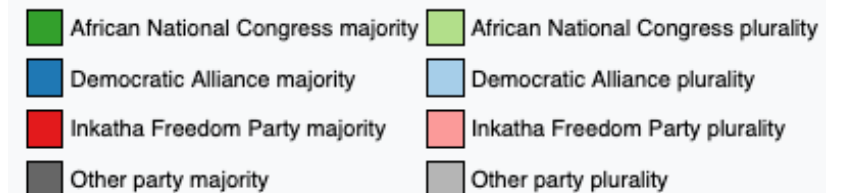


# Politics of race in South Africa

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



Map showing the largest party in each ward following the election



# Takeaways

- Political salience of collective identities as a consequence of instrumental pursuit of influence and power in political conditions shaped by Africa' history