

The Politics of Africa

Lent term 2013- Optional Module D, John Rapley

The Challenges of Sovereignty in the Post-Colonial African State

Fridays 11:00-13:00, starting Jan 17th

Location: Centre of Development Studies meeting room, Alison Richard Building

The economic, social, political and demographic changes of the last thirty years that have attended the spread of free-market policies and the onset of globalization have produced significant transformations in the character of the state. Nation-states find their power whittled away from above, as they delegate power to transnational bodies like the WTO and interact with increasingly important non-state actors with significant political leverage, such as NGOs, multi-national corporations and bond-rating agencies. At the same time, they find some of their powers whittled away from below, as the emergence of transnational economic and political networks, from criminal gangs to Islamic charities, creates non-state actors with political agendas and autonomous control of resources. Meanwhile, deepening integration and the legacy of structural adjustment has caused public-sectors to trim their capacity while inducing races-to-the bottom in tax policy, further restraining the state's potential capacity. The state in Africa has been a particular field of contestation, with many predicting state failure in post-colonial states. And yet, earlier predictions in the globalization literature of the imminent demise of the state have proved to be premature, at the very least. Faced with this combination of erosion yet resilience on the part of the state, some IR theorists have begun to speak of a new medievalism, an overlay of formal and informal governance which has enabled states to adapt to the challenges to its authority by means of a sort of negotiated sovereignty with these new players. This option will assess the relevance of this theory to the study of state adaptation to globalization in Africa, paying particular attention to two case studies: gang-controlled communities in South Africa, and the Senegalese holy city of Touba.

Relevant Lectures: There are no required lectures for Lent term, but there are some relevant undergraduate lectures that you may find interesting. If you would like the reading lists for any POLIS undergraduate courses, you can get them from Rebecca Burtenshaw in POLIS.

African Development

(Dr Fraser, Wednesdays 11-12, starting 22 Jan, Sidgwick Lecture Block room 4)

Seminars and Readings

Some weeks we will discuss a full book, other weeks you will be read a number of different articles. There are limited copies of the books in the UL, PPS library, African studies library, Marshall library. Please also check your college library

for the books. The articles will be on Camtools on the HSPS library site. I will expect you to have read all the weekly readings on the list.

In the course of the term, we will develop a model of the state which accounts for variations from the ideal-type that emerged from the historiography of the European state. The module will therefore situate African debates within their broader theoretical contexts. Thus, the “read-along” sections for some weeks are not required readings. Rather, they include readings that were covered during Michaelmas term, and which are relevant to the discussion for that week. They are worth bearing in mind as you do the week’s reading.

In addition to the assigned readings, the instructor will each write circulate a short introduction to the week’s topic and readings

1. A MODEL OF MODERN SOVEREIGNTY (Jan 17)

Yoram Barzel, *A Theory of the State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Max Weber, “Politics as Vocation.” 1918 (available online)

Mancur Olson, 1993, “Dictatorship, Democracy and Development,” *American Political Science Review* 87, 3: 567-576.

Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” in *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Read along with:

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

2. SOFT STATES, WEAK STATES AND FAILED STATES (Jan. 24)

Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood,” *World Politics* 35, 1 (1982): 1-24.

Robert I. Rotberg, “Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators,” in *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2003.

Cameron G. Thies, “National Design and State-Building in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *World Politics* 61, 4 (2009): 623-669.

William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1998. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Read along with:

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, Jean-Pascal. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

Jean-Francois Bayart. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* London: Longman, 1993.

Robert Jackson and C. G. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Jean-Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou, *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton University, 1988.

3. GLOBALISATION, ECONOMIC INFORMALITY AND THE EROSION OF STATE CAPACITY (Jan 31)

Gritsch, Maria 2005: "The Nation-State and Economic Globalization: Soft Geopolitics and Increased State Autonomy." Review of International Political Economy 12, 1 (February): 1-25.

Rudra, Nita 2002: "Globalization and the Decline of the Welfare State in Less-Developed Countries." International Organization 56, 2 (Spring): 411-445.

Friedrich Schneider, *Size and Measurement of the Informal Economy in 110 Countries around the World*. Canberra: Presentation to workshop of Australian National Tax Centre, Australian National University, 17 July 2002 (available online).

Chong, Alberto and Gradtsein, Mark. 2007. "Inequality and Informality." Journal of Public Economics 91: 159-179.

Torgler, Benno and Schneider, Friedrich. 2009. "The Impact of Tax Morale and Institutional Quality on the Shadow Economy." Journal of Economic Psychology 30,2: 228-245.

Rijckeghem, Caroline van and Weder, Beatrice. 2001. "Bureaucratic Corruption and the Rate of Temptation: Do wages in the civil service affect corruption, and by how much?" Journal of Development Economics 65,2: 307-331.

4. THE SOCIAL AND TAX CONTRACT (Feb 7)

Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.

Read along with:

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

5. A MODEL OF NEO-MEDIEVAL SOVEREIGNTY (Feb 14)

Jorg Friedrichs, "The Meaning of New Medievalism," *European Journal of International Relations* 7,4 (Dec. 2001): 475-501.

John Rapley, "The New Middle Ages," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 2006.

Abdel-Fatau Musah, "Privatization of Security, Arms Proliferation and the Process of State Collapse in Africa," *Development and Change* 33(5), 2002.

6. CASE STUDIES (Feb 21)

John Rapley, "The development of informal governance in post-apartheid South Africa: Criminal gangs as neo-medieval agents," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 19, 3 (2012): 319-336.

Donal Cruise O'Brien, "The Shadow Politics of Wolofisation," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, 1 (1998): 25-46.

Erid Ross, "Touba: A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 29, 2 (1995): 222-259.

Assessment

Your second assignment is a 4500-word research essay displaying significant research and probing in depth one of the themes of the course. Topics should be approved in advance by the lecturer, and should be related to the topics discussed in Lent term. In some circumstances, students may choose a topic related to a theme from Michaelmas term.

Please give your essay title to your lecturer by 3 February.

This essay is worth 75% of the final grade and is due at noon on 31 March 2014.