

Economics, Politics, and African Societies

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PPHA 32736 Spring 2021, Monday, Wednesday 10.30-11.50

“In order to find the real artichoke, we divested it of its leaves.”

- Ludwig Wittgenstein *Philosophical Investigations*, 1958, p. 66.

This course is an attempt to put back the leaves back onto the African artichoke.

It is open to Masters students but it is primarily aimed at PhD students who want to know about Africa and can imagine themselves doing research there. We hope that it will help them identify new and interesting questions. The Masters students will be examined by an exam. The PhD students will have to write a short research proposal on some question on Africa and the last two lectures will be devoted to presentations.

This course has two objectives. First, we will try to convince ourselves that the lenses through which economics and political science have tried to explain “African” “development” are charged with presuppositions that have limited our ability to grasp the logic of those societies. There is nothing specific to those disciplines in that regard, they are part of a given cultural and historical context. In doing that, this course is also about the rich diversity of the societies lumped in the term Africa. Second, we will try to undo the learnings weaved through that lens, but at the same time engage with a fertile ground for research, with a focus on generating new research ideas that carry less, we hope, the heavy veil of our assumptions. We will seek for new notions, ideas, and logics to the fields of economics and politics, many of which African scholars and other social scientists are familiar with. In doing that, therefore, we will explore the set of research topics that have been covered by economists, political scientists, historians and anthropologists, and ask what we can learn about why the diverse African societies have the institutions, economic outcomes, political systems and cultures they have today.

To achieve those objectives, the course begins with a lecture that contrasts the way economists study African societies to that of anthropologists, and offers a few self-reflections about the biases that researchers carry with themselves. This is an attempt to pose the problem. The challenge is then what to do about that. That is the ambitious goal of the remainder of the course.

Lectures 2, 3, and 4 cover topics that have historically been the focus of the study of African societies: the impact of external influence. How they have been affected by the slave trades, by colonization, and geo-politics during the cold war. According to this view, these forces are the dominant determinants of the political and economic development of many African societies. However, these questions remain focused on forces that strip Africans of their agency, and

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nurture a logic that puts a veil on our ability to understand the logic of those societies. The remainder of the course is about letting that logic express itself in its own terms.

We begin that project in lecture 5 by studying the worldviews and social structure of many African societies, with an emphasis on how they differ from the worldview that prevails in social sciences, like economics, which take as its frame the historical evolution of western societies. A worldview produces meanings for different social interactions. Without a proper understanding of the worldviews that govern people's choices and their interpretations of reality, we are likely to come up with a theory of the stalk, but not the artichoke with its leaves attached. To grasp a different worldview, we may benefit from unlearning some of our foundational assumptions about choices and behavior. Anthropologists have long talked about the importance of meaning. For instance, the same economic interactions look very different if their meaning is exchange, reciprocity, or redistribution (Polanyi 1957).

Related to the question of worldview, lecture 6 focuses on witchcraft. We provide some background on witchcraft and how it influences economic and political life in Africa. With witchcraft, ancestors ascribe meaning, and allocate costs and luck to those who make life decisions today much like a (benevolent or malevolent) social planner. Witchcraft can be used to regulate economic interactions, to punish, and to reduce anxiety about the risks of life.

We then turn to a topic that remains the focus of much of political science today in the study of African societies: ethnicity. We cover some of the notions about ethnicity, what it is, why it is not what you may think, and how economists and political scientists have studied the question empirically.

Lecture 8 examines a traditional question of development economics, households and couples, but introduces new notions important in most of Sub-Saharan Africa. Gluckman points out that the kinship and marriage strategies that Africans have used to build coalition and cooperation in the absence of a state have many conflicts built into them. These conflicts can have economic consequences. Gluckman particularly shows how matrilineal kinship is a compromise between different priorities in stateless societies, providing an explanation for the belt of matrilineal societies in Central Africa. This has economic consequences too. Part of this equilibrium is the institution of bride price, which influences the decision to invest in female education

In lecture 9 we introduce the notion of social embeddedness and wealth in people from anthropology and history. These may provoke a fertile flow of ideas as they are potentially a different notion that explains many social phenomena today and through history. Or it may be an old notion that fits the existing models, but that has particular importance in many African societies. Whatever you think, it will be a useful idea for future research in economics.

Lectures 10, 11, 12 and 13 challenge acquired notions of the state and listen to the African experience with the state on its own terms. We first will try to cynically deconstruct romanticized notions of the state often influenced by the Enlightenment in lecture 10. This will open the space for new ways to understand economics and politics with and without states. In lecture 11, we

study how states work in practice, including how society permeates and influences the functioning of the state, as well as corruption (and whether this is a right mental model to think about bureaucratic motives and behavior). We will discuss old notions of moral economy in that regard. In lecture 12, we focus specifically on governance of markets and contract enforcement, and contrast enforcement by society to enforcement by the state. We will question the notion of the state as a *deus ex machina* independent from society. In lecture 13, we will discuss the literature on the welfare consequences of the state in the context of the “development” of African economies.

Lecture 14 studies African traditional institutions, with a focus on those that preceded the colonial era of exposure to European rule, and their logic. We will zoom in on applied economics papers.

Many observers characterize Africa as a violent continent, with conflicts over resources by armed actors and states. Lecture 15 will suggest that, like in the rest of the world, other motivations for behavior than just material incentives, such as ideology and emotions, are important for explaining conflict. Lecture 16 focuses on the citizen-state relationship. We will zoom in on a few studies of taxation, traditional authorities and chiefs, and state building in DR Congo. The theme is whether or not there are actual models which “improve” African institutions, or instead make them appear to work within the narrower framework of how we see our own.

We will close the course by discussing what we learned and focus on “Research Topics beyond pitying or saving Africa”. Hopefully our perspective will prove fruitful in generating new ideas and questions.

1. Mandarins in the white house (March 29)

*Andersen, Jorgen Juel Johannesen, Niels; Rijkers, Bob. 2020. “Elite Capture of Foreign Aid : Evidence from Offshore Bank Accounts.” Policy Research Working Paper;No. 9150. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank.

*Humphreys, Macartan, Raúl Sanchez de la Sierra and Peter van der Windt (2016) “Exporting Democratic Practices: Evidence from a Village Governance Intervention in Eastern Congo” *Journal of Development Economics*, Volume 140, 279-301.

*McGovern, Michael (2011) “Popular Development Economics--An Anthropologist among the Mandarins,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2): 345-355.

*Robinson, James A. (2019) “How different social scientists think,”

*Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 61–83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X>

*Gauthier Marchais, "Leaving the white house," (Translated from French: ``Le Deni Blanc: Penser la Question Raciale du Point de Vue d'un Blanc")

Nunn, Nathan (2019) "Rethinking economic development," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 52(4), 1349-1373.

2. African societies as victims? I -- traumatic effect of the slave trades and nature (March 31)

*Nunn, Nathan (2008) "The Long Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123 (1): 139--176.

*Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon (2011) "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa," *American Economic Review*, 101 (7): 3221-3252.

*Alsan, Marcella (2015) "The Effect of the Tse Tse Fly on African Development," *American Economic Review*, 105, 1, 382-410.

The historians perspective

Inikori, Joseph E. (1983) *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, Africana Publishers.

3. African societies as victims? II -- traumatic effect of colonial influence (April 5)

*Lowes, Sara, and Eduardo Montero. 2020. "The Legacy of Colonial Medicine in Central Africa," *American Economic Review*, conditionally accepted

*Lowes, Sara, and Eduardo Montero. 2020. "Concessions, Violence, and Indirect Rule: Evidence from the Congo Free State". Revision Requested, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

*Michalopoulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou. 2016. "The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa." *American Economic Review*, 106 (7): 1802-48.

Related readings

A classic study of indirect rule

Busia, Kofi A. (1951) *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

One of the most influential books in political science

Mamdani, Mahmood (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

Institutional legacies of colonialism

Ochieng' Opalo, Ken (2020) *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pulling the slave trade and colonialism and international capital together

Rodney, Walter (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

4. African societies as victims ? -- the cold war and post-colonial forces (April 7)

*Young, Crawford (1978) "Zaire: The Unending Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, 57, 1, 169-185.

*Guidolin, Massimo, and Eliana La Ferrara. 2007. "Diamonds Are Forever, Wars Are Not: Is Conflict Bad for Private Firms?" *American Economic Review*, 97 (5): 1978-1993.

*Dube, Arindrajit, Ethan Kaplan, and Suresh Naidu. "Coups, Corporations and Classified Information." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126, no. 3 (2011): 1375-409.

*Berger, Daniel, William Easterly, Nathan Nunn, and Shanker Satyanath. 2013. "Commercial Imperialism? Political Influence and Trade during the Cold War." *American Economic Review*, 103 (2): 863-96.

Bayart, Jean-François and Stephen Ellis (2000) "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion," *African Affairs*, 99, No. 395, 217-267.

Related readings:

Nunn, Nathan and Nancy Qian (2014) "US Food Aid and Civil Conflict," *American Economic Review*, VOL. 104, NO. 6, (pp. 1630-66).

The New Yorker, "Daniel Ellsberg, Edward Snowden, and the Modern Whistle-Blower," December 19 & 26, 2016 Issue

The guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/12/former-raf-pilot-shot-down-un-chief-dag-hammarskjold-1961-plane>

5. Social structures and worldviews (April 12)

*Ferguson, James (1985) "The Bovine Mystique: Power, Property and Livestock in Rural Lesotho," *Man*, 20, 4, 647-674.

*Maxwell Mkondiwa (2020) "Mancala board games and origins of entrepreneurship in Africa," *PLoS ONE* 15(10): e0240790. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0240790>.

Worldviews and meaning

*Emmanuelle Auriol, Julie Lassébie, Amma Panin, Eva Raiber, Paul Seabright (2020) "God Insures those Who Pay? Formal Insurance and Religious Offerings in Ghana," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume 135, Issue 4, 1799–1848.

Ways to think about it

*Polanyi, Karl (1957) "The Economy as Instituted Process." in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, edited by Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Related readings

Sahlins, Marshall, 1965 "On the sociology of primitive exchange" in Michael Banton ed. *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, New York: Routledge.

Horton, Robin (1967) "African Traditional Thought and Western Science." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Part I: Vol. 37, No. 1 (January 1967), pp. 50–71; and Part II: Vol. 37, No. 2 (April 1967), pp. 155–187.

6. Witchcraft (April 14)

What is witchcraft and why is it important in African society? How does it influence economics and politics?

*Ashforth, Adam (2005) *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa*, Chapter 3 "On living in a world with witches," University of Chicago Press.

*Aimable Amani Lameke, Lewis Dunia Butinda, Nathan Nunn, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra and Max Winkler (2020) "Traditional Belief Systems and Economic Behavior: Evidence from Beer Retailers in the Eastern DRC,"

*Lowes, Sara, Eduardo Montero, Nathan Nunn and James A. Robinson (2020) "Bokoko: Supernatural power and politics in the DRC,"

*Miguel, Edward. 2005. "Poverty and Witch Killing." *Review of Economic Studies* 72 (4): 1153-1172.

Related Readings

A very good overview of the ethnographic literature is

Mair, Lucy (1969) *Witchcraft*, McGraw-Hill.

7. Ethnicity and other forms of identity and social organization (April 19)

“Ethnicity” seems to matter:

*Miguel, Edward, and Mary Kay Gugerty (2005) “Ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya.” *Journal of Public Economics*, 89(11-12): 2325-2368.

Habyarimana et al. find that people have no intrinsic preference for people of their own ethnicity, but ethnicities do have social norms of reciprocity which come from co-habitation and the expectation of future interaction.

*Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2007) “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” *American Political Science Review*, 101, 4, 709-725.

*Lowes, Sara, Nathan Nunn, James A. Robinson and Jonathan Weigel (2020) “Ethnic Identity and Political Institutions: Evidence from Découpage in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,”

Posner shows how ethnic identification flexibly responds to political institutions and incentives.

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

Gluckman emphasizes that in a society without a state, for order to emerge people must have many cross-cutting and intersecting identities. This makes it implausible that African can just be a story of one sort of identity: ethnicity.

*Gluckman, Max (1966) “Peace in the Feud,” in his *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Some tests.

*Monscona, Jacob, Nathan Nunn and James A. Robinson (2020) “Segmentary Lineage Organization and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Econometrica*, 88,5, 1999-2036

Related readings

But how relevant is it for understanding social organization and African societies? Cymone Fourshey et al. point out that Africa has a history of migration and the intermingling of peoples, one based not on hostility but on hospitality.

Cymone Fourshey, Catherine, Rhonda M. Gonzales and Christine Saidi (2018) "Negotiating Hospitality" Chapter 5 of their *Bantu Africa: 3500 BC to Present*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper (2000) "Beyond "Identity," *Theory and Society*, 29, 1, 1-47.

Hjort, Jonas (2014) "Ethnic Divisions and Production in Firms," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129, 4, 1899-1946.

8. Households, Individuals and Couples (April 21)

*Udry, Christopher (1996) "Gender, Agricultural Production, and the Theory of the Household," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (Oct., 1996), pp. 1010-1046.

*Gluckman, Max (1966) "Estrangement in the Family," in his *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

*Lowes, Sara (2018) "Matrilineal Kinship and Spousal Cooperation: Evidence from the Matrilineal Belt," <http://www.saralowes.com/research.html>

*Ashraf, Nava, Natalie Bau, Nathan Nunn, and Alessandra Voena. "Bride price and female education." *Journal of Political Economy* 128, no. 2 (2020): 591-641.

9. Social Embeddedness and wealth in people (April 26)

*Jakiela, Pamela and Owen Ozier (2016) "Does Africa Need a Rotten Kin Theorem? Experimental Evidence from Village Economies," *The Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (294) (January 2016), pp. 231-268.

*Squires, Munir (2019) "Kinship Taxation as a Constraint to Microenterprise Growth: Experimental Evidence from Kenya," <https://www.munirsquires.com/>

*Berry, Sara (1993) "Chapter 7: Investing in Networks," in her *No Condition in Permanent*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

*Bledsoe, Caroline (1980) *Women and Marriage in Kpelle Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 3 "Wealth in People."

A moral economy of wealth in people?

*Ensminger, Jean, (1992) "Making a Market: The Institutional Transformation of an African Society" (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions) [Chapter 4: agency theory: patron client relationships as a form of labor contract]

10. States Origins (April 28)

The western perspective, exported to Africa,

Herbst, Jeffrey I. (1990) "War and the State in Africa." *International Security*, 14, 4, 117–139.

Emergence of state functions:

*Schönholzer, David (2020) "The Origin of the Incentive Compatible State: Environmental Circumscription,"
https://www.dropbox.com/s/7rv2po5ek53el75/circumscription_paper_191207.pdf?dl=0

*Sánchez de la Sierra, Raúl (2020) "On the Origins of the State: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo," *Journal of Political Economy*, 128,1, 32-74.

*Henn, Soeren, Ortiz, Miguel, David (Qihang) Wu, and Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra (2020), "On the ends of the state: evidence from stationary bandits and the time horizon in Eastern DRC"

Or why they may not emerge:

*Bohannon, Paul (1958) "Extra-processual Events in Tiv Political Institutions," *American Anthropologist*, 60, 1-12.

*Southall, Aidan (1956) *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination*, Cambridge: W. Heffer. Chapters 8 and 9.

Vansina, Jan (1990) *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press.

11. How do "states" work? (May 3)

*Aimable Amani Lameke, Albert Jolino Malukisa, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra and Kristof Titeca (2019) "Corruption (with a Hierarchy)"

*Aimable Amani Lameke, Albert Jolino Malukisa, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra, Vincent Tanutama and Kristof Titeca (2019) "Organization of corruption in the traffic police: a market for protection, social relationships, and collective action. The economic, sociologist, and political scientist perspectives."

*J. P. Olivier de Sardan (1999) "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 25-52.

*Verweijen, Judeith (2013) "Military business and the business of the military in the Kivus." *Review of African Political Economy*, 40, no. 135: 67–82.

*Titeca, Kristof and James Thamani (2018) "How to get ahead in DR Congo Politics," <https://africanarguments.org/2018/12/18/how-get-ahead-dr-congo-politics-guide/>

Related readings

How do "weak states" help their rulers stay in power?

Hassan, Mai (2020) *Regime Threats and State Solutions Bureaucratic Loyalty and Embeddedness in Kenya*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Do states engage in "ethnic favoritism"?

Francois, Patrick, Ilya Rainer and Francesco Trebbi, F. (2015), How Is Power Shared in Africa?. *Econometrica*, 83: 465-503. doi:10.3982/ECTA11237

The impact of democracy on ethnic favoritism

Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padró i Miquel. 2015. "The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya." 2015, *American Economic Review*, 105(6): 1817-1851.

The political science literature on the state in Africa is dominated by the notion of "neopatrimonialism" for a critique

Mkandawire, Thandika (2015) "Neopatrimonialism and the political economy of economic performance in Africa: critical reflections," *World Politics*, 67 (03), 563-612.

12. States ... and societies (May 5)

*State co-evolve with societies. In fact, states are not even *deus-ex machina* independent from society: they are an extension of it.*

*Avner Greif (1994) "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies," *Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 102, Issue 5 (Oct., 1994), 912-950.

*Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra (2021) "Whither Formal Contracts"?"

Related readings

There is a long history of the study of informal institution in Africa history. A salient example is how southern Nigeria organized extensive trade in the absence of a state. Two seminal studies are

Afigbo, A.E. (1981) *Ropes of sand: Studies in Igbo history and culture*, Oxford University Press.

Dike, K. Onwuka (1956) *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter VII.

13. State consequences (May 10)

*Lowes, Sara, Nathan Nunn, James A. Robinson and Jonathan L. Weigel (2017) "The Interaction of Culture and Institutions: Evidence from the Kuba Kingdom," *Econometrica*, 85(4), 1065-1091.

*Heldring, Leander (2020) "The Origins of Violence in Rwanda," *Review of Economic Studies*.

*Markus Goldstein and Christopher Udry (2006) "The Profits of Power: Land Rights and Agricultural Investment in Ghana," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 116, No. 6 (December 2008), pp. 981-1022.

14. Long shadow of the past (May 12)

The organization of African societies predates colonization and even the slave trade and heavily influences the present. Some examples:

*Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou (2015) "Pre-Colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development," *Econometrica*, 81, 1, 113-152.

*Acemoglu, Daron, Tristan Reed and James A. Robinson (2014) "Chiefs: Elite Control of Civil Society and Development in Sierra Leone," *Journal of Political Economy*, 122(2), 319-368.

*Henn, Soeren, Gauthier Marchais, and Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra (2020) “Indirect rule and armed groups: causes and consequences”

Related readings

Henn, Soeren, Gauthier Marchais, and Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra (2018) “Indirect rule and armed conflict: theoretical insights from Congo”

Ajayi, J. F. Ade (1968) “The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism,” in Terence O. Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes in African History* (London, 1968), 189-200.

15. Civil conflict: many more complex causes than just foreigners and resources (May 17)

*Marchais, Gauthier, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra and Qihang Wu (2020) “Forging of Rebels: Economic Motives or Parochial Altruism?”

*Nunn, Nathan, and Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra, “Magical Warfare Technologies and the Persistence of False Beliefs,” *American Economic Review*, 107 (2017), 582–587.

* “Witchcraft, sorcery, magic, and other psychological phenomena and their implications on military and paramilitary operations in the Congo” (1965) Unclassified special operations research office, 464903

Richards, Paul (1996) *Fighting for the Rainforest*, Oxford: James Currey. Chapters 1 and 2.

Related readings

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2008) “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Apr., 2008), pp. 436-455 (20 pages)

Marchais, Gauthier. Dissertation “He who touches a weapon becomes other” chapter on supernatural protection.

Titeca, Kristof. (2010). 'The spiritual order of the LRA'. January 2010 In book: The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality. (pp.59-73)Chapter: 'The spiritual order of the LRA'Publisher: Zed PressEditors: Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot

Hedlund, Anna (2020) *Hutu Rebels: Exile Warriors in the Eastern Congo*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

16. Building Societies and Institutions (May 19)

We have seen (in the DRC and Lesotho) that external actors, disinterested in the organization of African societies, have done a bad job at this. Are there any successful models?

*Blouin, Arthur and Sharun Mukund (2019) "Erasing Ethnicity? Propaganda, Nation Building and Identity in Rwanda," *Journal of Political Economy*, 127, 3,

*Weigel, Jonathan L. (2020) "The Participation Dividend of Taxation: How Citizens in Congo Engage More with the State When it Tries to Tax Them," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume 135, Issue 4, November 2020, Pages 1849–1903.

*Bergeron, Augustin, E.K. Ngindu, Gabriel Tourek and Jonathan L Weigel (2020) "Informal elites as local bureaucrats: Why working as a tax collector increases the local accountability of city chiefs in Congo," <https://jonathanweigel.com/>

Related readings

In some sense the best example of indigenous institution building in what happened in Botswana after 1875 (Somaliland in the past 30 years is also interesting). On this see

Schapera, Isaac (1970) *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795-1940*, London: Athlone Press.

17. Research Topics beyond pitying or saving Africa (May 24)

*Gauthier Marchais, Paulin Bazuzi and Aimable Amani Lamekeb (2020) "'The data is gold, and we are the gold-diggers': whiteness, race and contemporary academic research in eastern DRC," *Critical African Studies*, 2020, Vol. 12, No. 3, 372–394.

*Henn, Soeren and James A. Robinson (2020) "Africa's Latent Assets,"

*Congo calling (documentary by Stephan Hilpert).

*Stop filming us (documentary by Joris Postema)

*Fanon, Franz (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York: Grove Press.

May 26 and June 2 PhD Student Presentations.

May 31 Memorial Day No Lecture