

AGRARIAN POLITICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Political Science, W3952
Columbia University, Spring 2008

Professor Kimuli Kasara
Office: IAB 717
Office Hours: Tuesday, 11-1

Time: Tuesday 9.00-10.50am
Location: IAB 711
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COURSE OVERVIEW

Africans have engaged their leaders and each other in their capacities as owners of land and livestock and as producers of agricultural goods. Drawing on the literature in political science, economics, anthropology and history this seminar examines the following questions: What impact did colonial agricultural and conservation policies have on African opposition to colonial rule? How have rural producers organized to further their economic interests and what are the political implications of their collective efforts? What institutions have post-colonial governments created in order to extract resources from and/or deliver services to rural producers? Finally, how are claims to land and other natural resources shaped by government policy, traditional institutions, community membership and violence?

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

The requirements are as follows:

- *Class Participation and Weekly Submission of Discussion Questions – 25% of the final grade*
You are expected to have done the required readings for the week before the class meets and to send me three discussion questions by 9pm on the day before class.
- *Research Paper Proposal – due Friday, February 29th by 9am – 20%*
You will write a short memo describing your research paper in approximately 1500 words. You should describe your central question and outline your research strategy. I will discuss your memo with you in individual meetings on the 11th of March. The seminar will not meet on that day.
- *In-Class Presentation of Research Projects – April 29th – 10%*
- *Research Paper – due Tuesday, May 13th by 9am – 50%*
Your research paper must contain a theoretical argument related to one of the themes of the course and must test that argument empirically. Research papers should be between 15 and 20 pages long. In a few cases students considering a senior thesis will be allowed to submit a detailed research proposal instead of a paper.

The penalty for late assignments will be one letter grade per hour after the deadline.

LOGISTICS

There is no course reader for this class. All readings are on reserve at Butler Library and many are available electronically through the class website on Courseworks <https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>

READINGS

Session 1 (1/22): Introduction

Session 2 (1/29): Colonial Policies and African Responses: Cash Crops

Alence, Rod. 2001. Colonial Government, Social Conflict and State Involvement in Africa's Open Economies: The Origins of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board, 1939-46. *The Journal of African History* 42 (3):397-416.

Isaacman, Allen. 1982. The Mozambique Cotton Cooperative: The Creation of a Grassroots Alternative to Forced Commodity Production. *African Studies Review* 25 (2/3):5-25.

Lawler, Nancy. 1990. Reform and Repression under the Free French: Economic and Political Transformation in the Côte d'Ivoire, 1942-45. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 60 (1):88-110.

Williams, Gavin. 1985. Marketing Without and with Marketing Boards: the Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria. *Review of African Political Economy* 12 (34):4-15.

Session 3 (2/5): Colonial Policies and African Responses: Land and Conservation

Anderson, David M. 2002. *Eroding the Commons: The Politics of Ecology in Baringo, Kenya, 1890s-1963*. Athens: Ohio University Press., Chapters 1 & 8.

Beinart, William. 1984. Soil Erosion, Conservationism and Ideas about Development: A Southern African Exploration, 1900-1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11 (1):52-83.

Colson, Elizabeth. 1971. The Impact of the Colonial Period on the Definition of Land Rights. In *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*, edited by V. Turner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maack, Pamela A. 1996. 'We Don't Want Terraces!': Politics and Identity under the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme In *Custodians of The Land: Ecology and Culture In History Of Tanzania* edited by G. Maddox, I. Kimambo and J. L. Giblon. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Spear, Thomas. 1997. *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land and Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru*. Oxford: James Currey, Chapters 9 & 11.

Session 4 (2/12): Land Rights and Government Policy

- Berry, Sara. 1993. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, Chapter 5.
- Ensminger, Jean. 1997. Changing Property Rights: Reconciling Formal and Informal Rights to Land in Africa. In *The Frontiers of the New Institutional Economics*, edited by J. N. Drobak and J. V. C. Nye. New York: Academic Press.
- Firmin-Sellers, Katherine. 1995. The Politics of Property Rights. *American Political Science Review* 89 (4):867-881.
- Gray, Leslie, and Michael Kevane. 1999. Diminished Access, Diverted Exclusion: Women and Land Tenure in Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Studies Review* 42 (2):15–39.
- Klopp, Jacqueline M. 2000. Pilfering the Public: The Problem of Land Grabbing in Contemporary Kenya. *Africa Today* 47 (1):7-26.
- Toulmin, Camilla, and Julian Quan, eds. 2000. *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.

Recommended

- Deininger, Klaus, Daniel Ayalew Ali, and Takashi Yamano. 2006. Legal Knowledge and Economic Development: The Case of Land Rights in Uganda. In *American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting*. Long Beach, CA
- Onoma, Ato Kwamwena 2006. Securing Property Rights: Politics on the Land Frontier in Postcolonial Africa Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, Chapter 1.
- Bruce, John W. 1998. Country Profiles of Land Tenure, 1996. *Land Tenure Center Research Paper* 130.

Session 5 (2/19): Identity, Status and Rights to Land

- Austin, Gareth. 2004. Land Rights and Ethno-National Consciousness in Historically Land-Abundant Economies. In *Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality, and Sovereignty in History*, edited by S. L. Engerman and J. Metzger. New York: Routledge.
- Berry, Sara. 2006. Privatization and the Politics of Belonging. In *Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa*, edited by R. Kuba and C. Lentz. Leiden: Brill.
- Peters, Pauline E. 2002. Bewitching Land: The Role of Land Disputes in Converting Kin to Strangers and in Class Formation in Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (1):155-178.
- Homewood, Katherine, Ernestina Coast, and Michael Thompson. 2004. In-Migrants and Exclusion in East African Rangelands: Access, Tenure and Conflict. *Africa* 74 (4):567-610.
- Kevane, Michael. 1997. Land Tenure and Rental in Western Sudan. *Land Use Policy* 14 (4).

Recommended

- Evers, Sandra. 2005. Trumping the Ancestors: The Challenges of Implementing a Land Registration System in Madagascar In *Competing Jurisdictions: Settling Land Claims in Africa*. Leiden: Brill., edited by S. Evers, M. Spierenburg and H. Wels. Leiden: Brill.
- Goldstein, Markus, and Christopher Udry. 2005. The Profits of Power: Land Rights and Agricultural Investment in Ghana. *Working Paper*.

Session 6 (2/26): Conflict over Land

- André, Catherine, and Jean-Pierre Platteau. 1998. Land Relations under Unbearable Stress: Rwanda caught in the Malthusian Trap *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 34 (1):1-47.
- Chauveau, Jean-Pierre. 2000. *The Land Tenure Question in Côte d'Ivoire: A Lesson in History*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development, Drylands Programme.
- Deininger, Klaus, and Raffaella Castagnini. 2006. Incidence and Impact of Land Conflict in Uganda. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 60 (3):321-345.
- Vlassenroot, Koen, and Chris Huggins. 2005. Land, Migration and Conflict in Eastern DRC. In *From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict and Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa* edited by C. Huggins and J. Clover. Pretoria, South Africa Institute for Security Studies.
- Alexander, Jocelyn. 2003. 'Squatters,' Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, edited by A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos and S. Jensen. Harare: Weaver Press.

Recommended

- Besteman, Catherine, and Lee V. Cassanelli. 1996. Explaining the Somali Crisis. In *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia: The War Behind the War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Marongwe, Nelson. 2003. Farm Occupations and Occupiers in the New Politics of Land in Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, edited by A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos and S. Jensen. Harare: Weaver Press.

Session 7 (3/4): Agricultural Markets and the Post-Independence State

- Bates, Robert H. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pages 1-30 & 81-119
- Berry, Sara. 1993. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, Chapter 3.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1988. Societal Demands and Government Choices: Agricultural Producer Price Policy in Zimbabwe. *Comparative Politics* 20 (3):265-288.
- Lofchie, Michael F., and Stephen K. Commins. 1982. Food Deficits and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 20 (1):1-25.
- McCann, James C. 2002. Prospects for Democracy Agro-Ecology and Civil Society. The Elections in Amhara Region, Ethiopia's Rural/Urban Hinterland In *Ethiopia since the Derg. A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, edited by S. Pausewang, K. Tronvoll and L. Aalen. London: Zed Books.
- Widner, Jennifer. 1993. The Origins of Agricultural Policy in Côte d'Ivoire. *Journal of Development Studies* 29 (4):23-59.

Recommended

- Binswanger, Hans P , and Klaus Deininger. 1997. Explaining Agricultural and Agrarian Policies in Developing Countries *Journal of Economic Literature* 35 (4):1958-2005.
- Bratton, Michael. 1987. The Comrades and the Countryside: The Politics of Agricultural Policy in Zimbabwe. *World Politics* 39 (2):174-202.
- MacLean Morris, Lauren. 2004. Empire of the Young: The Legacies of State Agricultural Policy on Local Capitalism and Social Support Networks in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46 (3):469-496.
- van de Walle, Nicholas. 1989. Rice Politics in Cameroon: State Commitment, Capability, and Urban Bias. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27 (4):579-599.

Session 8 (3/11): No Meeting

Students will meet with Prof. Kasara to discuss their research proposals.

Session 9 (3/25): Organizing Farmers: Cooperatives

- Beckman, Bjorn. 1976. *Organizing the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Chapters 3 & 6.
- Bingen, R. James. 2000. Prospects for Development and Democracy in Mali: Agrarian Politics in Mali. In *Democracy and Development in Mali*, edited by R. J. Bingen, D. Robinson and J. M. Staatz. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Bunker, Stephen G. 1991. *Peasants Against the State: The Politics of Market Control in Bugisu, Uganda, 1900- 1983*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 6-8.
- Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 1975. *Saints and Politicians: Essays in the Organization of a Senegalese Peasant Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press., Chapter 11
- Woods, Dwayne. 1999. The Politics of Organizing the Countryside: Rural Cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (3):489-506.

Session 10 (4/1): Organizing Farmers: The State

- Boone, Catherine. 2003. *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 & 2.
- Bowen, Merle L. 2000. *The State against the Peasantry: Rural Struggles in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Chapter 5.
- Hyden, Goran. 1980. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Chapter 1.
- Scott, James C. 1998. Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania: Aesthetics and Miniturization, Chapter 7 in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Session 11 (4/8): Reforming Agricultural Markets

- Akiyama, Takamasa, John Baffes, Donald F. Larson, and Panos Varangis. 2001. Market Reforms: Lessons from Country and Commodity Experiences. In *Commodity Market Reforms. Lessons of Two Decades*, edited by T. Akiyama, J. Baffes, D. F. Larson and P. Varangis. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

- Jakobeit, Cord. 1991. Reviving Cocoa: Policies and Perspectives on Structural Adjustment in Ghana's Key Agricultural Sector. In *Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery*, edited by D. Rothchild. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Pitcher, Anne M. 2002. *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization, 1975-2000*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 6..
- Pletcher, John. 2000. The Politics of Liberalizing Zambia's Maize Markets *World Development* 28 (1):129-142
- Ponte, Stefano. 2002. Brewing a Bitter Cup? Deregulation, Quality and the Re-organization of Coffee Marketing in East Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2 (2):248-272.
- Recommended*
- Gibbon, Peter. 1998. Limping Towards a Ditch Without a Crutch: The Brave New World of Tanzanian Cotton Marketing Cooperatives. *Working Paper. Center for Development Research Copenhagen*. 3.
- McMillan, Margaret, Dani Rodrik, and Karen Horn Welch. 2002. When Economic Reform Goes Wrong: Cashews in Mozambique. *NBER Working Paper* 9117.

Session 12 (4/15): Drought and Famine

- de Waal, Alexander 1997. *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Oxford: James Curry, Chapters 1-2, 5 & 6.
- McCann, James C. 1999. *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800-1990*. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman, Chapter 4.
- Munemo, Ngonidzashe. 2007. Political Incumbency and Drought Relief in Africa. *Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper* 3.

Recommended

- Dréze, Jean. 1990. Famine Prevention in Africa: Some Experiences and Lessons. In *Political Economy of Hunger*, edited by J. Dréze and A. Sen. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Keen, David. 1994. *The Benefits of Famine: A Political Economy of Famine and Relief in Southwestern Sudan* Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press.

Session 13 (4/22): The International Context

- Blackhurst, Richard, and William Lyakurwa. 2005. Markets and Market Access for African Exports: Past, Present and Future Directions. In *Africa and the World Trading System* edited by W. Lyakurwa and T. A. Oyejide. Trenton, NJ & Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Minot, Nicholas, and Lisa Daniels. 2002. Impact of Global Cotton Markets on Rural Poverty in Benin. *Paper Presented at Northeast Universities Development Consortium Conference (NEUDC) Program, Williamstown, MA*.
- Oxfam America. 2007. Impacts of Reductions in US Cotton Subsidies on West African Cotton Producers. *Oxfam America Working Paper* June.

Session 14 (4/19): Presentation of Final Projects

