

Legacies of Empire

Political Science (PLSC) 460-01/770-01

Class

Wednesdays 9:25 am-11.15 am
Location: Rosenkranz (RKZ) 102

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Introduction

Since the 1950s, dozens of scholars from Seymour Martin Lipset to Niall Ferguson have argued that the impact of the major colonial empires helps explain former colonies' post-independence levels of outcomes as varied as democracy, governance, economic growth, and conflict.

But determining the effects of empire is much harder than it looks. How do we disentangle the effects of imperial institution-building from the endowments of the particular areas the imperial powers chose to colonize? How do we measure and assess intra- and inter-empire differences in colonial policies and colonial practice? And when looking at post-independence outcomes, how do we work out what's caused by colonial legacies as opposed to what outcomes are caused by post-independence events and processes? These questions—broadly, how to measure the impact of history—are increasingly important in political science, sociology and economics, as scholars turn to historical processes and historical data in search of answers to broader theoretical questions that are often not easily tractable using contemporary evidence.

This course is broadly comparative, looking at the major colonial empires and their successor states in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. It is interdisciplinary, drawing on recent work from across the social sciences. And it tries to make us think, not just about the questions at hand, but also about the broader opportunities and pitfalls posed by the marriage of methods and historical evidence.

The course assumes some knowledge of the basic history of at least the British and French empires. Those students with no such background should be prepared to read and refer to a couple of good general histories, such as:

- Robert Aldrich, *Greater France: History of French Overseas Expansion* (St. Martin's September 1996).
- T.O. Lloyd, *The British Empire, 1558-1995* (Oxford, 2nd edition 1997).

You may also wish to read, for some brief background on the Japanese, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Belgian empires, the following articles/extracts on J-Stor or the Classesv2 site:

- Angus Maddison, "Dutch Income in and from Indonesia, 1700-1938," *Modern Asian Studies*, 23, 4, (1989), pp.645-670. (J-Stor)
- John Lynch, "The Institutional Framework of Colonial Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992) pp.69-81. (J-Stor).
- Hyman Kublin, "The Evolution of Japanese Colonialism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, No. 1. (Oct., 1959), pp. 67-84. (J-Stor).
- D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (NY: Delacorte Press) pp.325-371. [Brief summary of Dutch, Portuguese, Belgian, US and Russian empires].
- Bruce Cumings, "The Legacy of Japanese Colonialism in Korea," in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, 1984) pp.479-96.

There are three *required* books for the course. Two of these will be needed quite early on so you should order them online as soon as possible. They are:

- Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, 2000).
- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, 2000).
- James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, 2010).

Other readings are either available online through Yale Library (almost all of the journal articles), through the URLs on the syllabus, or as an E-Reserve on Classesv2. Please let me know if a reading is not available.

Paper

50% of the grade is for a 15-20 page research paper, to be handed in by **April 19th at 5pm**. Late papers will lose 1/3 of a letter grade for each day overdue (e.g. an A- grade paper will drop to a B+, a B paper will drop to a B-).

Midterm

An in-class midterm exam on March 6th (two questions, no choice) will count for 25% of the overall grade.

Short Response papers

15% of the grade is for 2 short 3-4 page response papers, on a topic to be assigned by me, one before and one after the midterm. Different people will be assigned to write these (with some influence over who does what according to preferences) this each week, after shopping.

Class Participation

The quality of your classroom participation –in terms of regular attendance, having done the readings and participation in the discussion--will count for 10% of your grade.

This is a seminar where we are in conversation. Therefore I ask you not to take notes on a laptop, as working with the computer distracts from engagement with the class conversation. I want to remind students that emailing, texting, etc. is rude to their fellow seminar participants, and will also have an adverse effect on their grade for class participation.

<i>Jan 16th</i> <i>2013</i>	Introduction—Democracy, Institutions and Conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The effects of colonialism; different ways of assessing the effects; some leading explanations of the colonial impact; climate, the pre-colonial legacy and the issue of endogeneity; the issue of post-colonial policies.• An overview of the course.
<i>Jan 23rd</i> <i>2013</i>	Democratic Legacies <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," <i>The American Political Science Review</i>, LIII, 1 (March 1959), pp.69-105. (<i>J-Stor</i>).• Myron Weiner, "Empirical Democratic Theory and the Transition from Authoritarianism to Democracy," <i>PS</i>, Vol. 20, No. 4. (Autumn, 1987), pp. 861-866. (<i>J-Stor</i>).• Samuel P. Huntington, "Will More Countries become Democratic?" <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, Vol. 99, No. 2. (Summer, 1984), pp. 193-218.• Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure? <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 7.1 (1996) 39-55. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v007/7.1przeworski.htm• Stanley L. and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. "The Evolution Of Suffrage Institutions In The New World," <i>Journal of Economic History</i>, 2005, v65 (4,Dec), 891-921.
<i>Jan 30th</i> <i>2013</i>	When did empire end? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Harry J. Benda, "Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change," <i>The American Historical Review</i>, 70,4 (1965), pp.1058-73. (<i>J-Stor</i>)• Tony Smith, "A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization," <i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> 20, 1, (January 1978), pp.70-102. (<i>J-Stor</i>).• Martin Staniland, "Francophone Africa: The enduring French Connection," <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>, Vol. 489, <i>International Affairs in Africa</i>. (Jan., 1987), pp. 51-62.• Garcia Ponce, Omar and Wantchekon, Leonard, Echoes of Colonial Repression: The Long-Term Effects of the 1947 Revolt upon Political Attitudes in

	<p>Madagascar (2011). APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper. Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1903315.</p>
Feb 6 th 2013	<p>States and Power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dan Slater, <i>Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia</i> (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.50-114. • Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control</i> (Princeton, 2000). • Carl Rosberg and Robert Jackson, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood," <i>World Politics</i>, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Oct., 1982), pp. 1-24.(J-Stor)
Feb 13 th 2013	<p>Economic Legacies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leander Heldring and James Robinson, "Colonialism and Economic Development in Africa," 2012 NBER Working Paper, http://www.nber.org/papers/w18566. • Paul Bunnell, "The Colonial Legacy of Salary Structures in Colonial Africa," <i>The Journal of Modern African Studies</i>, 20, 1 (March 1982), 127-54. • Atul Kohli, <i>State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery</i> (Cambridge, 2004) "The Colonial Origins of a Modern Political Economy," pp.27-83 • Edward Peter Fitzgerald, "Did France's Colonial Empire make Economic Sense? A Perspective from the Postwar Decade," <i>The Journal of Economic History</i> 48, 2 (June 1988), pp.373-385. (J-Stor). • Elliot J. Berg, "The Economic Basis of Political Choice in French West Africa," <i>American Political Science Review</i>, 54, 2 (June 1960), pp.391-405. (J-Stor.)
Feb 20 th 2013	<p>Ethnic Imbalances and Conflicts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horowitz Ch.4 "Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict," Ch.5 "Group Entitlement and the Sources of Conflict," pp.141-184, 185-228. • David D. Laitin, "Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Religious Cleavages in Yorubaland," in Rueschmeyer, and Skocpol, eds. <i>Bringing the State Back In</i> (Cambridge, 1985) pp.285-316. • Daniel N. Posner, <i>Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21-88. • Julian Wucherpfennig and Lars-Erik Cederman, "Who inherits the state? Colonial Rule and Post-Colonial Conflict," APSA Conference paper 2012 available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2107161
Feb 27 th 2013	<p>Party Politics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horowitz, "Ch.10 "Multiethnic Alliances and Parties," 396-440. • Crawford Young, <i>Politics in the Congo: Decolonization and Independence</i> (Princeton, 1965) "The Rise of Nationalism: From Primary Resistance to Political Parties," pp.273-317.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Myron Weiner, "Institution-Building in India," in Ashutosh Varshney/Myron Weiner, <i>The Indian Paradox</i> (Sage, 1989), pp.77-95. <i>E-Reserves</i>. • Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi," <i>American Political Science Review</i>, 98,4, 529-45.
March 6 th 2013	<i>In-Class Midterm</i>
	Yale Spring Break March 8th-March 25th 2013.
March 27 th 2013	<p>The Military Legacy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horowitz Ch.11 "The Militarization of Ethnic Conflict" and Ch.13 "The Effects of Intervention and the Art of Prevention," pp. 443-471, 526-59. • Timothy H. Parsons, 'Wakamba Warriors are Soldiers of the Queen':The Evolution of the Kamba as a Martial Race, 1890-1970, <i>Ethnohistory</i> 46, 4 (Autumn 1999), pp.671-701.
April 3 rd 2013	<p>'Institutions'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson (2001) "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," <i>American Economic Review</i>, 91, 5, pp.1369-1401. (http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.91.5.1369 and J-Stor). • Przeworski, Adam. 2004. "Geography vs. Institutions Revisited: Were Fortunes Reversed?" Available at http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/przeworski/papers/reversal.pdf • Pranab Bardhan, "History, Institutions and Underdevelopment," in Bardhan, <i>Scarcity, Conflicts and Cooperation: Essays in the Political and Institutional Economics of Development</i> (MIT Press, 2005), pp.1-26 [E-Reserves]. <p><i>Optional</i> (Not optional for the graduate students...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Albouy, David (2012) "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Comment," <i>The American Economic Review</i>, 102(6): 3059-3076 http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.102.6.3059. • Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson (2012) "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Reply," <i>American Economic Review</i>, 102(6): 3077-3110 http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.102.6.3077
April 10 th 2013	<p>Legal Institutions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fasseur C. (1992). "Colonial Dilemma: Van Vollenhoven and the Struggle between <i>Adat</i> Law and Western Law in Indonesia," in W.J. Mommsen and J.A. De Moor, eds. <i>European Expansion and Law: The Encounter of European and Indigenous Law in 19th and 20th-Century Africa and Asia</i> (New York:

	<p>Berg) pp.237-56.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Douglass C. North, <i>Understanding the Process of Economic Change</i> (Princeton, 2005) Chapters. 8-10, pp.103-115, 127-145. (<i>e-reserves</i>). • LaPorta, Rafael, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, & Andrei Shleifer, "The Economic Consequences of Legal Origins," NBER Working Paper No. 13608, November 2007. www.nber.org/papers/w13608. • Treisman, Dan (2000). "The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study," <i>Journal of Public Economics</i> 76, 3, 399-457. • Mark Fathi Massoud, <i>The Colonial Path to the Rule of Law in Sudan 1898-1956</i> (APSA Conference 2010). http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1901110
<p>April 17th 2013</p>	<p>The Search for Identification</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lakshmi Iyer, "Direct Versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences," <i>The Review of Economics and Statistics</i>, November 2010, 92(4): 693-713 http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1162/REST_a_00023 • Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, History, Institutions and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India? <i>American Economic Review</i>, 95,4, (Sep 2005) pp.1190-1213). http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/0002828054825574. • Nathan Nunn, "Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa," http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/aer.100.2.147. • Lee, Alexander and Schultz, Kenneth A., Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon (2011). APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper. Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1903316
<p>Last Session April 24th 2013</p>	<p>Colonial Legacies in Latin America</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Mahoney, <i>Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective</i> (Cambridge, 2010).