PSCI 116

Political Change in the Third World

Sumitra Badrinathan

November 13, 2019



What are the main cleavages in society?

Region:

What are the main cleavages in society?

Region: north versus south

2 Religion:

- Region: north versus south
- Religion: Muslim (north) and Christian (south)
- **3** Tribe / ethnicity:

- Region: north versus south
- Religion: Muslim (north) and Christian (south)
- Tribe / ethnicity: Over 250 but three main. Hausa-Fulani (north), Yoruba (SW), Ibo (SE)
- 4 Economic:

- Region: north versus south
- Religion: Muslim (north) and Christian (south)
- Tribe / ethnicity: Over 250 but three main. Hausa-Fulani (north), Yoruba (SW), Ibo (SE)
- Economic: Muslim north is also poorer and further behind on HDI indicators (health, literacy, unemployment, low school attendance) than south; Boko Haram violence contributes to further marginalization of the region
- Parties:

- Region: north versus south
- Religion: Muslim (north) and Christian (south)
- Tribe / ethnicity: Over 250 but three main. Hausa-Fulani (north), Yoruba (SW), Ibo (SE)
- Economic: Muslim north is also poorer and further behind on HDI indicators (health, literacy, unemployment, low school attendance) than south; Boko Haram violence contributes to further marginalization of the region
- Parties: follow ethnic cleavages. PDP (Christian), APC (Muslim)

Legacies of Colonialism

How did colonialism impact Nigerian society and identity?

- Two separate colonies: Colony of Lagos & Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and Protectorate of Northern Nigeria
- Two separate ruling systems:

Legacies of Colonialism

How did colonialism impact Nigerian society and identity?

- Two separate colonies: Colony of Lagos & Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and Protectorate of Northern Nigeria
- Two separate ruling systems: Direct rule in south, indirect rule in north
 - 1914 Merged two protectorates together
 - Colonial admin used existing power structures in the various regions to govern the country, thus reinforcing the power of the elites
- Early Federalism: in 1954, three regional govts (reinforced ethnic difference)

Legacies of Colonialism

How did colonialism impact Nigerian society and identity?

- Two separate colonies: Colony of Lagos & Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and Protectorate of Northern Nigeria
- Two separate ruling systems: Direct rule in south, indirect rule in north
 - 1914 Merged two protectorates together
 - Colonial admin used existing power structures in the various regions to govern the country, thus reinforcing the power of the elites
- Early Federalism: in 1954, three regional govts (reinforced ethnic difference)
- Coastal economy = more British interactions in south; marked differences in access to education
- When the British finally pulled out in 1960, political power was passed on to an already corrupt elite political class

- After first coups militarization of the economy
- Post-civil war we see ISI (in 1970s); focus on native industries and entrepreneurs

- After first coups militarization of the economy
- Post-civil war we see ISI (in 1970s); focus on native industries and entrepreneurs
- Resource Curse

- After first coups militarization of the economy
- Post-civil war we see ISI (in 1970s); focus on native industries and entrepreneurs
- Resource Curse (Poverty and underdevelopment amid great wealth)
 - oil revenues increasing GDP but that wealth is not distributed throughout society
 - 1956 Multinational Royal Dutch/Shell discovered the first commercially viable Nigerian oil field
 - 12th largest oil producer; 40% of GDP, 80% of govt revenue

- After first coups militarization of the economy
- Post-civil war we see ISI (in 1970s); focus on native industries and entrepreneurs
- Resource Curse (Poverty and underdevelopment amid great wealth)
 - oil revenues increasing GDP but that wealth is not distributed throughout society
 - 1956 Multinational Royal Dutch/Shell discovered the first commercially viable Nigerian oil field
 - 12th largest oil producer; 40% of GDP, 80% of govt revenue
- Intl oil companies do not invest in the communities where they drill for oil
- Consequences: oil spills and destroyed farmlands; air and water pollution
- Oil companies accused of human rights abuses; corruption: contracts to militants; pay criminal gangs to maintain order
- Result: High inequality; widespread poverty

Governance

- History of coups (1966 x2: coup and counter-coup), 1983, 1985, 1993
- Biafran civil war 2M killed
- Fourth Republic (starting in 1999) is longest-lasting electoral regime in Nigerian History
- But: democratization has done little to advance the rule of law, govt accountability, effective institutions or broad public welfare
- Pervasive corruption; lack of public goods provision; most Nigerians have an avg of 3 hrs of electricity daily

Security: Boko Haram

- Militant Islamist group in Muslim north where Sharia law is present; ironically Muslims bear the brunt of BHs violence
- Emerged in 2001
- Bombed UN, kidnapped foreigners, kidnapping of Chibok school girls
- Financed through kidnappings, bank robberies and other illegal activities
- Demands: create Islamic state; demands have remained largely local, fed on poverty, hopelessness and unemployment in northern Nigeria
- Buhari: progress on national security: Boko Haram, now splintered into two factions, no longer controls any big towns; but far from defeated
- Terrorist activity in Nigeria has more in common with the tactics of organized crime and gangs, focusing more on armed assaults using firearms and knives than on bombings

Challenges?

Challenges?

- Nigeria's unresolved national identity
- 2 Chronic, yet unpredictable violence
- Building a more diversified, resilient economy

Paper Assignment

THE ASSIGNMENT

Write an essay of 2000 words (+/- 200) **comparing** and **evaluating** (NOT merely describing) the experiences of two countries – chosen from among the five main case studies in Part II of the course (India, Algerial, Brazil, Nigerial, Iran) – in relation to <u>ONE</u> of the following outcomes:

- (1) managing social divisions (ethnic, religious, etc.) and building national unity
- (2) prospects for relatively stable democratic institutions
- (3) generating economic and/or human development
- (4) producing more/less social (in)equality over time
- (5) the rise of religious fundamentalism in politics

You need to begin by formulating YOUR OWN QUESTION about one of these five issues, in one of the following general forms:

- (i) how did a similar outcome emerge in the two countries in spite of diverse colonial and early post-colonial experiences? -- OR --
- (ii) how did two countries end up with divergent outcomes in spite of similar initial conditions shaped by similar colonial experiences?

Paper Assignment

- 2,000 words so only about 4 double-spaced pages
- Key will be not just to summarize readings but to use the readings/lecture to make an argument (remember we talked about what an argument is)
- No right or wrong arguments; but make sure to back up with evidence
- We can generally discuss your comparison but I can only give so much feedback/guidance

Country Comparisons

Some questions to think about

- What are the cleavages in society?
- How does it do on the human development index (HDI)?
- How does it fare on level of democracy?
- Has it been consistently democratic? Why or why not?
- Has it resolved problems of national identity? (nation versus state debate)
- Are cleavages cross-cutting or reinforcing?

Thesis statements

To recap

- they are not statements of fact
- reasonable people should be able to disagree with you
- to be explicit, could precede statement with "I argue that..."
- don't shy away from using the first person
- can re-work a thesis statement indefinitely and can almost always find something at fault with it. The point is that you must be sure that your thesis statement indicates to your reader that you have an argument to make