

African History through the lens of Economics

A course by the Wheeler Institute for Business and Development at London Business School

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An Initiative by the Wheeler institute for Business and Development

Objective.

The Wheler Institute for Business and Development at the London Business School (LBS), is offering a virtual online course in African economic history.

This masterclass aims to familiarize students with insights of the recent, burgeoning literature on the impact of Africa's history on contemporary development. Despite Africa's recent growth miracle, there are vast regional -as well as ethnic and religiousinequalities that are linked to Africa's dark past: slavery, colonial extraction, violence, cold-war-fueled conflict. This masterclass will cover recent contributions in economic history that using geospatial data from anthropological maps, colonial archives, secondary sources, and other sources uncover the legacies of these phenomena. The course will be inter-disciplinary aiming to provide a forum of dialogue between economics, history, political science, cultural anthropology, even psychology.

There will be ten 90 minutes main lectures (with a small break), spread over 11 weeks, every Tuesday and Wednesday from 10am ET / 3pm GMT [with minor variations - please see course schedule below for more details), covering precolonial social and political organization, Africa's slave trades, the Scramble for Africa, colonization, independence movements, the Cold War, and the Third Wave of Democratization.

The lectures will be accompanied by ten supplementary special lectures (75 minutes), where guests will present inter-disciplinary research. The special session will zoom on issues, like prison labor, the role of private concessionary companies during colonization, Christian Missions, colonial tax policies, and delve into some country-cases.

There will also be plenary sessions, where guests will join the teaching team discussing the controversy regarding foreign aid's impact, the psychology of Africans in comparison to other continents, and the future of Africa.

Teaching Team

- <u>Elias Papaioannou</u> is Professor of Economics at the London Business School, where he serves at the Academic Co-Director of the Wheeler Institute for Business and Development. Elias is a CEPR Research Fellow and a Managing Co-Editor of the Review of Economic Studies. His research covers political economy, international finance, and economic history.
- <u>Stelios Michalopoulos</u> is Professor of Economics at Brown University, an NBER Faculty Research Fellow and a CEPR Research Fellow. His research covers growth, macro development, political economy, and cultural economics.
- <u>Nathan Nunn</u> is the Frederic E. Abbe Professor of Economics at Harvard University. Nathan is an NBER Faculty Research Fellow, a Research Fellow at BREAD, and an Editor of the Quarterly Journal of Economics. His research covers political economy, economic history, development, cultural economics, and international trade.
- <u>Leonard Wantchekon</u> is a Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University and an Associated Faculty in the Department of Economics. Leonard is the Founder and President of the African School of Economics. His research studies economic history, pollical institutions, governance, and development mostly in Africa.

Support.

The Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) and the Structural Transformation and Economic Growth Initiative (STEG) are supporting the online course. The course is part of European Research Council Consolidator Grant, whose financial support is gratefully acknowledged.

Our partners:



Audience.

Advanced undergraduate, master's and doctoral students in economics, political science, history, and sociology, interested in Africa's history, development, and political economy.

The online course is also well-suited for professionals in international organizations, development agencies, non-governmental organization, and development finance institutions interested in how history shapes domestic policies, foreign aid, development finance, and international investment.

Cost/Registration.

This is an open access course. All lectures and sessions will take place on zoom. All interested to participate need to register by the day the classes commence.

Participation.

We recommend that those registered will attend all lectures and special and plenary sessions; however, they are free to attend the sessions as they please. We look forward to a discussion and encourage active participation.

Course Material.

The main and guest lecturers will post their slides, notes, and supplementary material in a dedicated course website: https://www.wheelerafricacourse.org/

Dates and times.

The course will run from February 1 till April 13 [11 weeks]. Each week there will be a main lecture, delivered by the core teaching team, and one supplementary special lecture zooming on core issues. In the end of the course (in late March and early April), there will be some plenary sessions.

- All the main lectures will take place on Tuesdays at 10.00-11.40 (EDT) / 15.00-16.40 (GMT through March dates, and then GMT+1 for April dates)
- All supplementary special lectures, including plenary sessions, will take place on Wednesdays at 10.00-11.15 (EDT) / 15.00-16.15 (GMT through March dates, and then GMT+1 for April dates)

Logistics.

LBS Wheeler Institute for Business and Development will provide administrative and teaching support.

- Course Administration:
 - o Trias Kolokitha-Schmitz: <u>tkolokitha@london.edu</u>
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- Course Management: Professor Elias Papaioannou (London Business School)





Tentative Course Schedule

| | Lecture | Faculty Lead | Additional Session |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Introduction. African Development and History February 1, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Christopher Ehret <i>Moderator: Awa Ambra Seck</i> | Long-run trends of development in Africa February 2, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Morten Jerven Ewout Frankema Marlous van Waijenburg Moderator: Ibrahim Al-Bakri Nyei |
| 2 | Precolonial Africa. Political Organization February 8, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Stelios Michalopoulos Warren Whatley <i>Moderator: Alfred Tembo</i> | On Origins of African States February 9, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT James Fenske Marcella Alsan Moderator: Mamello Selamolela Mapping Contemporary African Development February 10, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Tanner Regan Elias Papaioannou |
| 3 | Social Structure [kinship, family, social relations] February 15, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Nathan Nunn | A Long-Run View of African History February 16, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Amma Panin Awa Seck |
| 4 | The Slave Trades February 22, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Nathan Nunn | The Slave Trades' Impact on Population and Africans February 23, 11 am ET / 4 pm GMT Patrick Manning Ugo Nwokeji |
| 5 | The Scramble for Africa March 1, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Stelios Michalopoulos | A Closer Look at South Africa and Nigeria from Colonization March 2, 10 am ET/3 pm GMT <u>Nigeria</u> : Nonso Obikili <u>South Africa</u> : Johan Fourie |
| 6 | Colonization I. Introduction. Human Capital and Infrastructure March 8, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Elias Papaioannou and Leonard Wantchekon | On the Legacy of Christian Missions March 9, 10 am ET/3 pm GMT Etienne Le Rossignol Catherine Guirkinger |
| 7 | Colonization II. Infrastructure and Extraction March 15, 10 am ET/3 pm GMT | Elias Papaioannou | Colonial Infrastructure and Repression March 16, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT • Roland Pongou • Belinda Archibong |
| 8 | Colonization III. Decolonization and Early Independence March 22, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Leonard Wantchekon | Colonial Taxation. Origins, Structure, and Implications. March 23, 10 am ET/3 pm GMT Local state capacity. Jutta Bolt Taxation. Leigh Gardner |
| 9 | Cold War, Third Wave of Democratization, and Recent Progress March 31, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Leonard Wantchekon [Simon Kuznetz Lecture, Yale Economic Growth Center] | Colonial Concessions March 30, 12 pm ET / 5 pm GMT Giorgio Chiovelli Sara Lowes |
| 10 | Conclusion. Persistence and Opportunity. April 5, 10 am ET/3 pm GMT | Full teaching team | Plenary Session 1 April 6, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Foreign Aid Bill Easterly Celestin Monga |
| | Farewell: Looking Forward April 12, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT | Plenary Session 2. Africa's Latent Assets and the Future April 12, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Chima J. Korieh James Robinson | Plenary Session 3 April 13, 10 am ET / 3 pm GMT Africa; WEIRD or Not? Joe Henrich |





General Readings [Non-Africa Focused].

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. (2012). Why Nations Fail? The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty, Crown Business.
- Bisin, Alberto and Giovanni Federico. (2021). The Handbook of Historical Economics. Elsevier, North Holland. Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Michalopoulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou, Eds. VOXEU E-Book on Historical Legacies in Political and Economic Development.
 - Volume 1 (Global)
 - Volume 2 (Africa and Asia)
 - Volume 3 (Europe and the Americas)
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Melanie Meng Xue. (2021). Folklore. Quarterly Journal of Economics. 136(4):1993-2046
- North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. (2009). Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press
- Nunn, Nathan, (2009). "The Importance of History for Economic Development," Annual Review of Economics, 1(1): 65-92.
- Nunn, Nathan, (2014). "Historical Development" in The Handbook of Economic Growth, Philippe Aghion and Steven N.
 Durlauf (Eds), North Holland
- Nunn, Nathan. (2020). History as Evolution. In The Handbook of Historical Economics, Eds A. Bisin and G. Federico.
- Spolaore, Enrico and Romain Wacziarg. "How Deep Are the Roots of Economic Development?" Journal of Economic Literature, 51(2): 325-369.

General Readings. Africa-Focused.

- Bates, Robert H., States and Markets in Africa, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981.
- Bates Robert H, Emmanuel Akyeampong, Nathan Nunn, and James A. Robinson. Africa's Development in Historical Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2014.
- Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning. (1999). "Explaining African Economic Performance." Journal of Economic Literature, 37(1): 64-111.
- Ehret, Christopher. The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800. Second Edition. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016.
- Englebert, Pierre. Africa: Unity, Sovereignty and Sorrow. Lynne Rienner, 2009
- Herbst, Jeffrey, State and Power in Africa, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Fourie, Johan. (2020). Our Long Walk to Economic Freedom.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. (2020). "Historical Legacies and African Development." Journal of Economic Literature, 58(1): 53-128.
- Robinson, James A. (2002): "States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control by Jeffrey I. Herbst: A Review Essay," Journal of Economic Literature, 40(2): 510-51.





Week 1. African Development. Contemporary and Historical

- Main Patterns. Development and Inequities. Country, Regional and Ethnic differences
- Main Contemporary Datasets
 - o Satellite Imagery Luminosity
 - Census [IPUMS]
 - Demographic and Health Surveys [DHS]
 - o Afrobarometer
 - Conflict [UCDP-GED, ACLED]
- Measuring historical development. Approaches and Data

Background Readings

- Alesina, Alberto, Stelios Michalopoulos, and Elias Papaioannou. (2014). "<u>Ethnic Inequality</u>." Journal of Political Economy, 124(2): 1-35.
- Fourie, Johan, and Nonso Obikili. (2019). <u>Decolonizing with data: The cliometric turn in African economic history</u>. The Handbook of Cliometrics
- Frankema, Ewout and Marlous Van Waijenburg (2019). <u>The Great Convergence. Skill Accumulation and Mass Education in</u> <u>Africa and Asia, 1870-2010</u>. CEPR DP 14150
- Jerven, Morten. *The Wealth and Poverty of Africa States*. Cambridge University Press. 2022
- Henderson, Vernon, J.; Tim Squires; Adam Storeygard, and David N. Weil. (2018). <u>The Global Distribution of Economic</u> <u>Activity: Nature, History, and the Role of Trade</u> *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *133*(1): 357–406.
- Hillbom, Ellen, Jutta Bolt, Michiel de Haas and Federico Tadei (2021). <u>Measuring historical inequality in Africa: What can</u> we learn from social tables? African Economic History Network Paper 63/2021.
- Young, Alwyn. (2012). <u>The African Growth Miracle</u>. *Journal of Political Economy*, *120*(4): 696-739.





Week 2. Precolonial Africa. Political Organization and Mode of Subsistence Economy

- Overview
- Ethnographic and anthropological approaches
- Political Organization
- Mode of Subsistence Economy
- Geography, Ecology

Background Papers

- Alsan, Marcella (2015). "<u>The Effect of the Tse-Tse Fly on African Development</u>" American Economic Review. 105(1): 382-410.
- Besley, Timothy and Marta Reynal-Querol. (2014). "<u>The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa</u>". American Political Science Review, 108 (2): 319-336.
- Fenske, James. (2013). "Does Land Abundance Explain African Institutions? *Economic Journal*. *123*(573): 1363-1390.
- Fenske, James. (2014). "Ecology, Trade, and States in Pre-colonial Africa." Journal of the European Economic Association, 12(3): 612-640.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou, (2013), "<u>Pre-colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African</u> <u>Development</u>", *Econometrica*, 81(1): 113-152.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios; Luis Putterman, and David N. Weil. (2019). <u>The Influence of Ancestral Lifeways on Individual</u> <u>Economic Outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa</u>. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 17(4): 1186–1



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Week 3. Social Structure

- Clan and family structure
- Social organization

- Lowes, Sara; Nathan Nunn, James A. Robinson, and Jonathan Weigel. (2017). "<u>The Evolution of Culture and Institutions:</u> <u>Evidence from the Kuba Kingdom</u>. "*Econometrica*, 85(4): 1065-1091.
- Lowes, Sara; Etienne Le Rossignol, and Nathan Nunn. (2021). "Traditional Supernatural Beliefs and Prosocial Behavior," working paper, Harvard University.
- Lowes, Sara (2019). "<u>Matrilineal Kinship and Spousal Cooperation: Evidence from the Matrilineal Belt</u>" working paper, UC San Diego.
- Moscona, Jacob; Nathan Nunn, and James A. Robinson. (2020). <u>Segmentary Lineage Organization and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa</u>. *Econometrica*. 2020; 88(5): 1999-2036.
- Moscona, Jacob and Awa Seck (2020). "<u>Social Structure and Redistribution: Evidence from Age vs. Kin Based</u> <u>Organizations</u>." Working paper, MIT and Harvard University





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Week 4. The Slave Trades

- **Historical Overview**
- . Origins
- Legacy
- Mechanisms

- Fenske, James and Namrata Kala. (2017). "1807: Economic Shocks, Conflict, and the Slave Trade", Journal of Development Economics, 126(1): 66-76.
- Heywood, Linda. (2009). "Slavery and its Transformation in the Kingdom of Kongo: 1491-1800," Journal of African History, 50(1): 1-22.
- Inikori, Joseph. 2000. "African and the Trans-Atlantic Trade," In Toyin Falola (ed.) Africa: Volume I, African History Before 1885. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
- Manning, Patrick. (2014). "African Population, 1650-2000: Comparisons and Implications of New Estimates." In Emmanuel Akyeampong, Robert Bates, Nathan Nunn, and James Robinson, eds., Africa's Development in Historical Perspective, 131-152 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- 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(6): 3221-3252.
- Nunn, Nathan. Understanding the Long-Run Effects of Africa's Slave Trades. eBook: The Long Economic and Political Shadow of History, Volume 2
- Nwokeji Ugo G. (2010), The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: An African Society in the Atlantic World. Cambridge University Press.





Week 5. The Scramble for Africa

- Historical Overview
- Consequences
- Ethnic Partitioning
- Country Size, Shape
- Geographic and Ethnic Inequality

- Alesina, Alberto, William Easterly, and Janina Matuszeski, (2011), "<u>Artificial States</u>," Journal of the European Economic Association, 9(2): 246-277.
- Englebert, Pierre, Stacey Tarango, and Matthew Carter, (2002), "<u>Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the</u> <u>Debate on African Boundaries,</u>" *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10): 1093-1118.
- Frankema, Ewout; Jeffrey Williamson, and Pieter Woltjer. (2015). An Economic Rationale for the African Scramble: The Commercial Transition and the Commodity Price Boom of 1845-1885. NBER Working Paper 21213.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou, (2016), "<u>The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble of Africa</u>," American Economic Review, 106(7): 1802-1848.





Week 6. Colonization I. Introduction & Human Capital

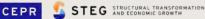
- Overview
- Classifications.
 - o Colonial Power Identity
 - o Structure of the Colonial Economy
 - o Other
- Phases of African Colonization
 - o Early. Pre WW-I
 - WWI and Recovery
 - o Great Depression and WWII
 - Decolonization
 - Unbundling Colonization
 - a. Infrastructure [railroads, roads, ports]
 - b. Education and Health. The Role of Christian Missions
 - c. Institutions

Background Readings. Colonization Introduction

- Heldring, Leander and James A. Robinson. (2012). <u>Colonialism and Economic Development in Africa</u>. in Carol Lancaster and Nicolas Van de Walle eds. *Handbook on the Politics of Development*, Oxford University Press
- Hobson, J.A. Imperialism. Spokesman. 2011 [1902]

Background Readings. Human Capital and Christian Missions

- Bergeron, Augustin. (2020). <u>Religion and the Scope of Morality: Evidence from Exposure to Missions in the D.R. Congo</u>, Mimeo Harvard University, Department of Economics
- Cage, Julia, and Valeria Rueda. (2016). <u>"The Long-Term Effects of the Printing Press in sub-Saharan Africa</u>" American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 8(3): 69-99.
- Lowes, Sara and Eduardo Montero. (2021). "<u>The Legacy of Colonial Medicine in Central Africa.</u>" American Economic Review. 111(4):1284-1314.
- Jedwab, Remi, Felix Meir zu Selhausen, and Alexander Moradi. (2022). <u>The Economics of Missionary Expansion: Evidence</u> <u>from Africa and Implications for Development</u>. *Journal of Economic Growth, forthcoming*
- Guirkinger, Catherine, and Villar, Paola (2021). Pro-birth policies, missions and fertility: historical evidence from Congo. University of Namur.
- Le Rossignol, Etienne, and Hirschi, Coralie (2021). Influence of Christian Missions and Educational Performance: Evidence from the Congolese Examen National d'Etat. London Business School.
- Nunn, Nathan. (2014). <u>Gender and Missionary Influence in Colonial Africa</u>. In: Akyeampong E, Bates R, Nunn N, Robinson JA. *Africa's Development in Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2014.
- Okoye, Dozie. (2021). <u>Things Fall Apart? Missions, Institutions, and Interpersonal Trust</u>, *Journal of Development* Economics 148
- Okoye, Dozie and Roland Pongou. (2017). <u>Sea Changes: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Missionary Activity in Africa</u>" mimeo University of Ottawa
- Wantchekon, Leonard; Marko Klasnja, and Natalia Novta. (2014). "Education and Human Capital Externalities: Evidence from Colonial Benin". Quarterly Journal of Economics. 130(2): 703-757.







Week 7. Colonization II. Infrastructure & Extractive Institutions

- Railroads and Roads. Local and aggregate effects
- Extractive Institutions. Prison Labor, Chiefs and Indirect Rule, and Colonial Taxation

Background Papers. Infrastructure

- Huillery, Elisse. (2009): "<u>History Matters: The Long Term Impact of Colonial Public Investments in French West Africa,</u>" American Economic Journal – Applied Economics, 1(2), 176–215.
- Jedwab, Remi, Edward Kerby7 and Alexandre Moradi. (2017). "<u>History, Path Dependence and Development: Evidence</u> <u>from Colonial Railways, Settlers and Cities in Kenya</u>". *Economic Journal*, 127(603):1467-1494.
- Jedwab, Remi and Alexander Moradi. (2016). "<u>The Permanent Effects of Transportation Revolutions in Poor Countries:</u> <u>Evidence from Africa</u>", *Review of Economics and Statistics, 98*(2): 268-284.
- Okoye, Dozie, Roland Pongou, and Tite Yokossi. (2019). <u>New technology, better Economy? The heterogeneous impact of colonial railroads in Nigeria</u>, *Journal of Development Economics*, 140(2): 320-354.

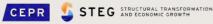
Background Papers. Colonial Institutions and Extraction

- Acemoglu, Daron, Tristan Reed, and James A. Robinson. (2014). "<u>Chiefs: Elite Control of Civil Society and Economic</u> <u>Development in Sierra Leone</u>," *Journal of Political Economy*, 122(2): 319-368.
- Archibong, Belinda and Nonso Obikili. (2020). <u>Prison Labor. The Price of Prisons and the Lasting Effects of Incarceration.</u> Mimeo Barnard College
- Lowes, Sarah, and Eduardo Monetro. (2021). <u>Concessions, Violence, and Indirect Rule: Evidence from the Congo Free</u> <u>State</u> <u>Quarterly Journal of Economics</u>, 136(4): 2047-2091
- Garcia-Ponce, Omar, and Leonard Wantchekon. (2018). <u>The Long-Term Effects of Colonial Repression in Madagascar</u>. Mimeo UC-Davis and Princeton University

Background Papers. Colonial Taxation

- Bolt, Jutta and Leigh Gardner. (2020). <u>How Africans Shaped British Colonial Institutions: Evidence from Local Taxation.</u> Journal of Economic History. 80(4):1189-1223.
- Gardner, Leigh. (2012). Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperial Rule, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Please Note - Reading list for Week 8 will be updated soon.







Week 9. Cold War, Third Wave of Democratization, and Recent Progress

- The Third Wave of Democratization
- African socialism
- Cold War

Background Readings

- Akyeampong Emmanuel (2017). <u>African Socialism</u>; or the Search for an Indigenous Model of Economic Development. African Economic History Network WP 36/2017.
- Bates Robert H. When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2011.
- Berger, Daniel, William Easterly, Nathan Nunn, and S. Satyanatha. <u>Commercial Imperialism? Political Influence and Trade</u> <u>during the Civil War</u>. *American Economic Review*, 103(2):863-896.
- Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. (2010). <u>Civil War.</u> Journal of Economic Literature 48(1): 3-57.
- Cheeseman, Nic (2015) Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nunn, Nathan, and Nancy Qian (2014) "US Food Aid and Civil Conflict," American Economic Review, 104(6): 1630-66.
- Wantchekon, Leonard, and Omar Garcia-Ponce. (2021). <u>Critical Junctures: Independence Movements and Democracy in</u> <u>Africa</u>. *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming





Week 10. Persistence, Challenges and Opportunity

- Mapping African Land of Opportunity?
- Educational Mobility
- Regional, Ethnic, and Religious Inequalities

- Alesina, Alberto; Sebastian Hohmann; Stelios Michalopoulos, and Elias Papaioannou. (2021). "Intergenerational Mobility in Africa." Econometrica, 89(1): 1-35.
- Alesina, Alberto; Sebastian Hohmann; Stelios Michalopoulos, and Elias Papaioannou. (2022). <u>Religion and Educational</u> <u>Mobility in Africa</u>, NBER WP 28270.
- Frankema, Ewout. (2021). Why Africa is Not that Poor? AEHN WP 61/2021.





Farewell and Conclusion. Looking Forward

Background Readings

- Henn Soeren and James A. Robinson. (2021) "<u>Africa's Latent Assets,"</u> NBER Working Paper
- Heinrich, Joseph. <u>WEIRD.</u> How the West Became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous
- Miguel, Edward. (2009). Africa's Turn. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

