

### Coups, Rivals, and the Modern State

State development in Africa is risky, even life-threatening. Heads of state must weigh the advantage of promoting political and economic development against the risk of fortifying dangerous political rivals. This book takes a novel approach to the study of neopatrimonial rule by placing security concerns at the center of state-building. Using quantitative evidence from 44 African countries and in-depth case studies of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, Beth S. Rabinowitz demonstrates that the insecurities of the African state make strategically aligning with rural leaders critical to political success. Leaders who cultivate the goodwill of the countryside are better able to endure sporadic urban unrest, subdue political challengers, minimize ethnic and regional discord, and prevent a military uprising. Such regimes are more likely to build infrastructure needed for economic and political development. In so doing, Rabinowitz upends the long-held assumption that African leaders must cater to urban constituents to secure their rule.

Beth S. Rabinowitz is Assistant Professor at Rutgers, State University of New Jersey. Her research focuses on political leadership and state development in sub-Saharan Africa.



# Coups, Rivals, and the Modern State

Why Rural Coalitions Matter in Sub-Saharan Africa

Beth S. Rabinowitz

Rutgers, State University of New Jersey





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108420464 DOI: 10.1017/9781108333740

© Beth S. Rabinowitz 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Rabinowitz, Beth, author.

Title: Coups, rivals, and the modern state: why rural coalitions matter in sub-Saharan Africa / Beth Rabinowitz.

Description: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2018.  $\mid$  Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017053785 | ISBN 9781108420464

Subjects: LCSH: Political stability – Africa, Sub-Saharan. | Coalitions – Africa, Sub-Saharan. | Coups d'etat – Africa, Sub-Saharan. | Africa, Sub-Saharan – Politics and government. | Côte d'Ivoire – Politics and government. | Ghana – Politics and government. | Presidents – Côte d'Ivoire. | Presidents – Ghana. | Houphouët-Boigny, Félix, 1905–1993. | Nkrumah, Kwame, 1909–1972. Classification: LCC JQ1879.A15 R33 2017 | DDC 320.96–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017053785

ISBN 978-1-108-42046-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For my mother, Barbara Cowen, my ever devoted champion



## Contents

	List of Figures	page 1X
	List of Tables	X
	List of Plates	xi
	Acknowledgements	xii
	Introduction	1
Part	I Setting the Stage	7
1	A New Theory of Coalition Politics	9
2	Patterns of Rule in Africa	32
3	Rural Alliances and Coup Risk: Testing the Theory	52
Part l	II Forging Coalitions	73
4	Alienating Rural Allies – Kwame Nkrumah 1947–1957	75
5	Aligning with Regional Foes – Félix Houphouët-Boigny 1945–1960	95
Part II	II Consolidating Power	111
6	An Urban Strategy Unravels – Kwame Nkrumah 1957–1966	113
7	A Rural Strategy Builds a Nation – Félix Houphouët-Boigny 1960–1980	140
Part I	V Reversal of Fortune	167
8	Reviving the State – J. J. Rawlings 1979–1999	169
		vii



viii		Contents	
	9	Losing the Periphery – Henri Konan Bédié 1980–1999	197
	10	Structure Not Strategy? Examining Alternative Explanations	223
		Conclusion	236
		Bibliography Index	246 297

Plates are to be found between pp. 116 and 117.



## Figures

1	Forms of neopatrimonialism	page 10
2	Rural/urban strategies in relation to forms	
	of patrimonialism	13
3	Population density in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana	25
4	Topography in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana	27
5	Economic base in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, CIA World	
	Factbooks	29
6	Population size in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, CIA World	
	Factbooks	29
7	Unfavorable agricultural policies and coup risk	53
8	Unfavorable rural political policies and coup risk	56
9	Distribution of RPS scores on 0–7 scale	59
10	Survivor function by category of RPS	65
11	Effect of RPS on regime duration (with indication	
	of type of exit)	65
12	Life expectancy at birth, Ghana 1977–2000	192
13	Mortality rate, infant, both sexes (per 1,000 live births)	192
14	Immunization of DPT and measles, Ghana 1981-1995	193
15	Crude birth rate, Ghana 1975–2000 (per 1,000 population)	193
16	Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire net ODA and official aid	
	received (current US\$), 1980-2000	230

ix



## Tables

1	Ideal-typical rural strategy	page 19
2	Ideal-typical urban strategy	20
3	Case study comparisons	23
4	Ethnic fractionalization in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana	24
5	Examples of successful and unsuccessful leaders	34
6	Examples of successful and unsuccessful SAP leaders	41
7	Protocol for coding Rural Political Score (RPS)	58
8	Probability of surviving coup risk	67
9	Probability of surviving coup risk and civil war onset	69
10	Probability of surviving coup risk with relatively	
	autonomous monarchy	71
11	Expelled and defecting CPP leaders, 1951–1962	82
12	Political parties in Lower Côte 1945–1957	99
13	June 1951 elections	104
14	Opposition leaders in 1961 cabinet	107
15	CPP government investment in 32 state-owned corporations	125
16	Ethnic breakdown of Nkrumah's cabinet	131
17	Ethnicity of anti-Nkrumah conspirators	137
18	Fêtes nationales held outside Abidjan	146
19	Coopted urban opposition leaders, 1959	152
20	Changes in the value of production (in millions of F. CFA)	157
21	Composition of government expenditure on economic	
	services, 1985–1991 (percentages)	186
22	Percentage of non-Ivoirians in Côte d'Ivoire by	
	sub-prefecture, from 1988 census	199



#### Plates

- 1 Félix Houphouët-Boigny campaigning in 1945 in Treichville, Abidjan
- 2 The Moro Naba, powerful Mossi king and Houphouët ally, pictured with French President Vincent Auriol, June 26, 1953
- 3 President De Gaulle receives President Félix Houphouët-Boigny at the Elysée, June 26, 1965
- 4 Kwame Nkrumah, wearing 'prison graduate' cap with Kojo Botsio (left) and Komla Agbeli Gbedemah (right), c. 1959
- 5 Nkrumah's arch-nemesis, King of Ashanti, Prempeh II, sitting at a meeting of the Ashanti House of Chiefs, c. 1959
- 6 Premier of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah standing on reviewing platform during CPP rally, c. 1959
- 7 Revolutionary PNDC billboard, c. 1985
- 8 Deportation of Ghanaians from Nigeria, February 1983
- 9 Rawlings and Gaddafi, the 18th anniversary of the Libyan Revolution in Tripoli, Libya, August 1987
- 10 Ivory Coast National Assembly President Henri Konan Bédié (left) sits next to Ivory Coast Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara during a ceremony in Abidjan, January, 14, 1993
- 11 Young demonstrator beaten by police in Abidjan during antigovernment protests in the lead up to 1995 Ivoirian presidential elections



## Acknowledgements

So many people have helped this book come to fruition. First and foremost, Steven K. Vogel and Catherine Boone who have stayed with me throughout. Catherine Boone has been my indispensable role model and guide. Her willingness to read every draft and provide trenchant feedback has been of vital importance to me. I also want to thank Steve Vogel who believed in me from the first. His sage advice, insightful critiques, and general support made publication of this book possible. There have been countless others who offered me feedback or help along the way, among them my colleagues, Richard Harris, Paul Jargowsky, and Marie Chevrier, as well as those whose advice I sought, Michael Watts, Tim Kelsall, Ralph Austin, Lauren MacLean, and Nicolas van de Walle.

Above all, I am indebted to the people in Ghana and Abidjan, who extended their aid and hospitality to me, even when they stridently disagreed with the positions propounded in this book. Those to whom I am particularly grateful are Elvis Kosi, Esther Ewool, Hayford Kofi, Honorable Alidu Addrisu, Isaac Epaaennir, Desmond Neketia and Josiah Okyere, Claude Médard Gombleu Kouadi, Aboudoulaye Touré, Lanciné Gon Coulibaly, Tiho Tagouelbe, Bazin Yao, Joachim Boguhe and the Elleingand family, Eric, Grace, Edgar and Noa, who provided me with a home away from home.

xii