

POLS 227

Africa in World Politics

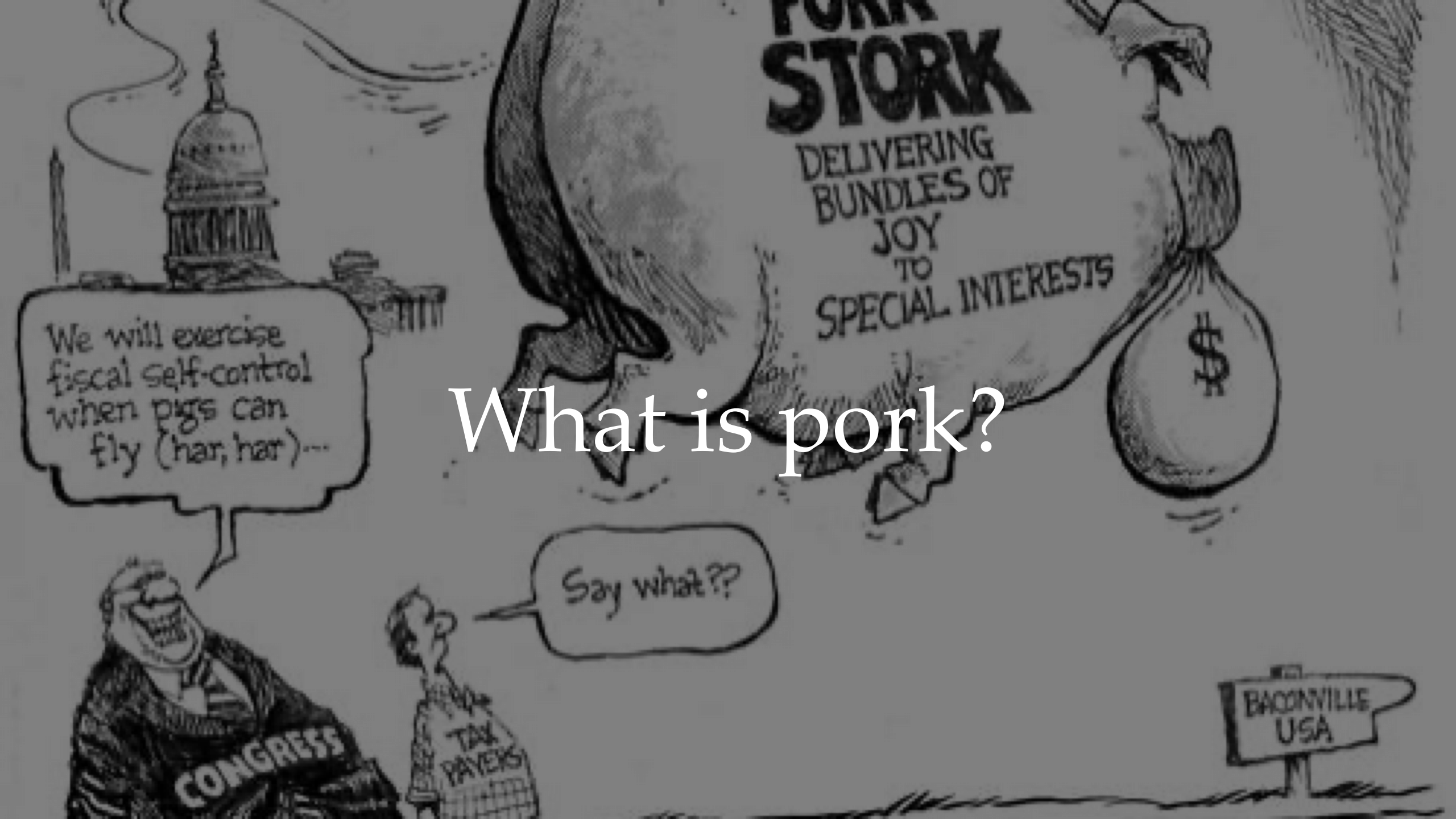
Classes 11 & 12:
Politics of pork

PSA

- Research project:
 - Research proposal: October 23
 - Research essay:
 - Initial draft: November 13
 - Final draft: December 10

Plan for this week

- Politics of pork
- Clientelism
- Patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism
- Neopatrimonialism in Africa
- Neopatrimonialism in the United States?



PORK STORK

DELIVERING BUNDLES OF JOY TO SPECIAL INTERESTS

We will exercise fiscal self-control when pigs can fly (har, har)---

Say what??

CONGRESS

TAXPAYERS

BACONVILLE USA

What is pork?

Pork

- Divisible goods
- One person's consumption reduces the amount available for others
- Almost everyone prefers having more rather than less
 - Fearon, James D. 1999. "Why Ethnic Politics and 'Pork' Tend to Go Together." Palo Alto.

Who are the recipients of
pork?

Recipients of pork

- Constituents
- Kin and friends
- → Clients

Clientelism according to Fukuyama



<https://youtu.be/GLMXSWobiHM>

State and society according to Fukuyama

- Modern states require impersonal institutions
- However, the natural form of social relationships is patrimonialism:
 - “The natural human propensity to favor family and friends”
- Difficulty of depatrimonialization (and possibility of inside capture and repatrimonialization)
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Patrimonial states

- Weber:
 - “We shall speak of a *patrimonial state* when the prince organizes his political power over extra-patrimonial areas and political subjects— which is not discretionary and not enforced by physical coercion—just like the exercise of his patriarchal power. The majority of all great continental empires had a fairly strong patrimonial character until and even after the beginning of modern times.”
 - Weber, Max. 1968. *Economy and Society*. New York: Bedminster Press.
- Fukuyama:
 - “Governments staffed by the family and friends of the ruler, and run for their benefit”
(In contrast, ‘modern governments’ are “staffed by officials chosen on the basis of merit and expertise, and run for the sake of a broad public interest”)
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Patrimonialism in the contemporary world

- “Today, not even the most corrupt dictators would argue, like some early kings or sultans, that they literally “owned” their countries and could do with them what they liked. Everyone pays lip service to the distinction between public and private interest. Hence patrimonialism has evolved into what is called ‘*neopatrimonialism*.’”

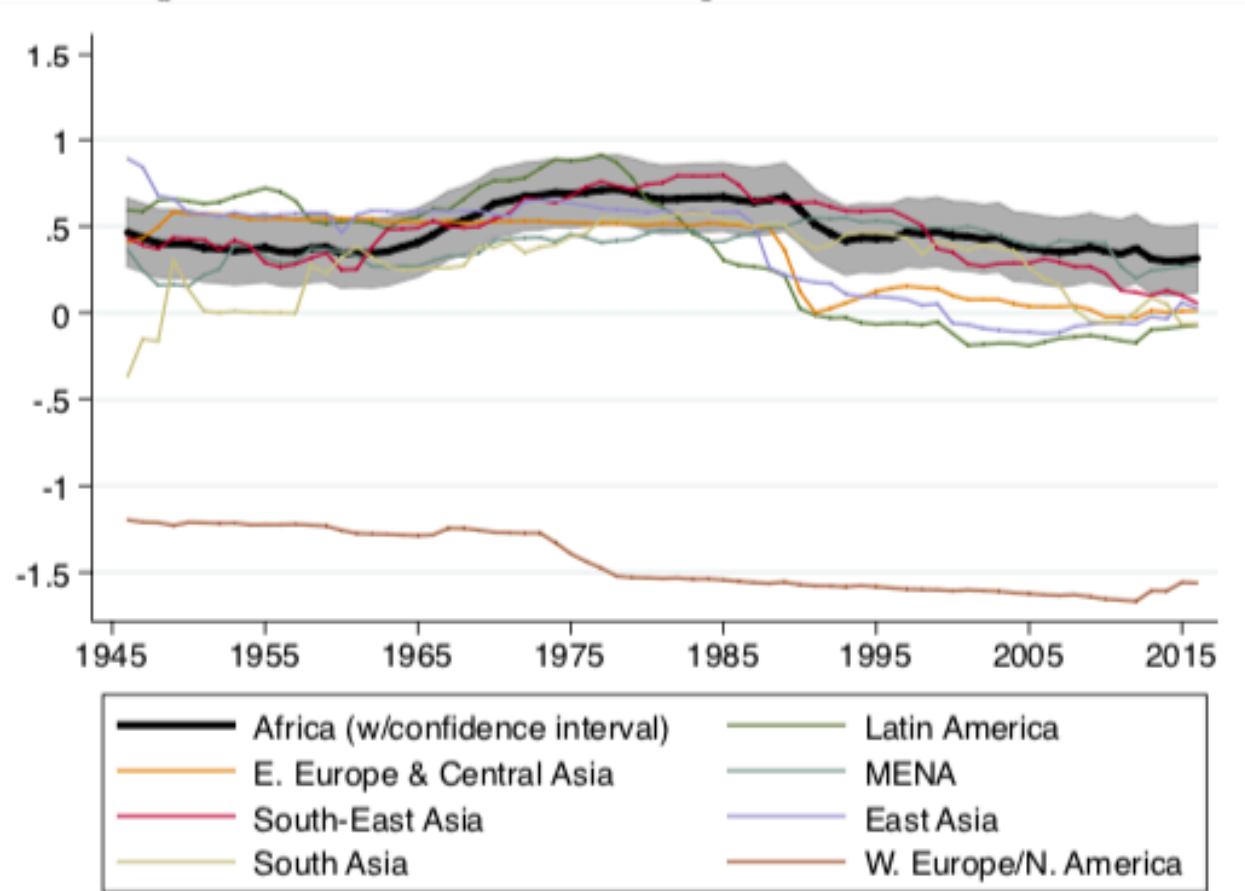
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Neopatrimonial states

- Outward form of a modern state:
 - Constitution
 - Office holders
 - Legal system
 - Pretensions of impersonality
- Actual operation of the government centered on sharing state resources with friends and family
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

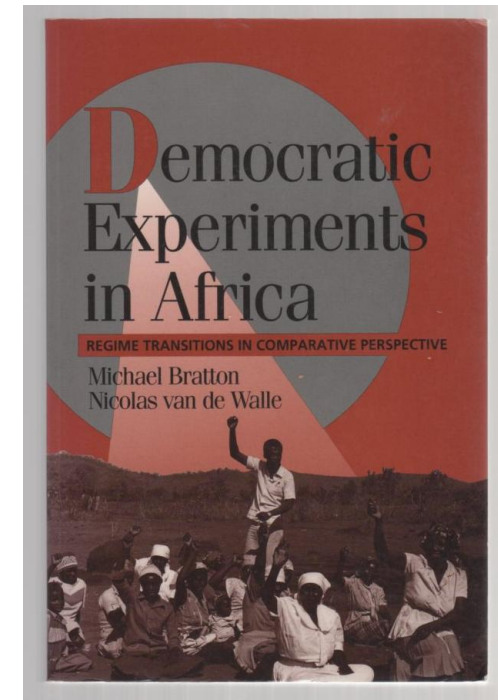
Neopatrimonialism across the world

Figure 1: Global Trends in Neopatrimonialism Index



Neopatrimonialism in Africa

- Bratton and Van de Walle:
 - Neopatrimonialism as “the core feature of politics in Africa”
 - Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1997. “Neopatrimonial Rule” in *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, pp. 61-96.



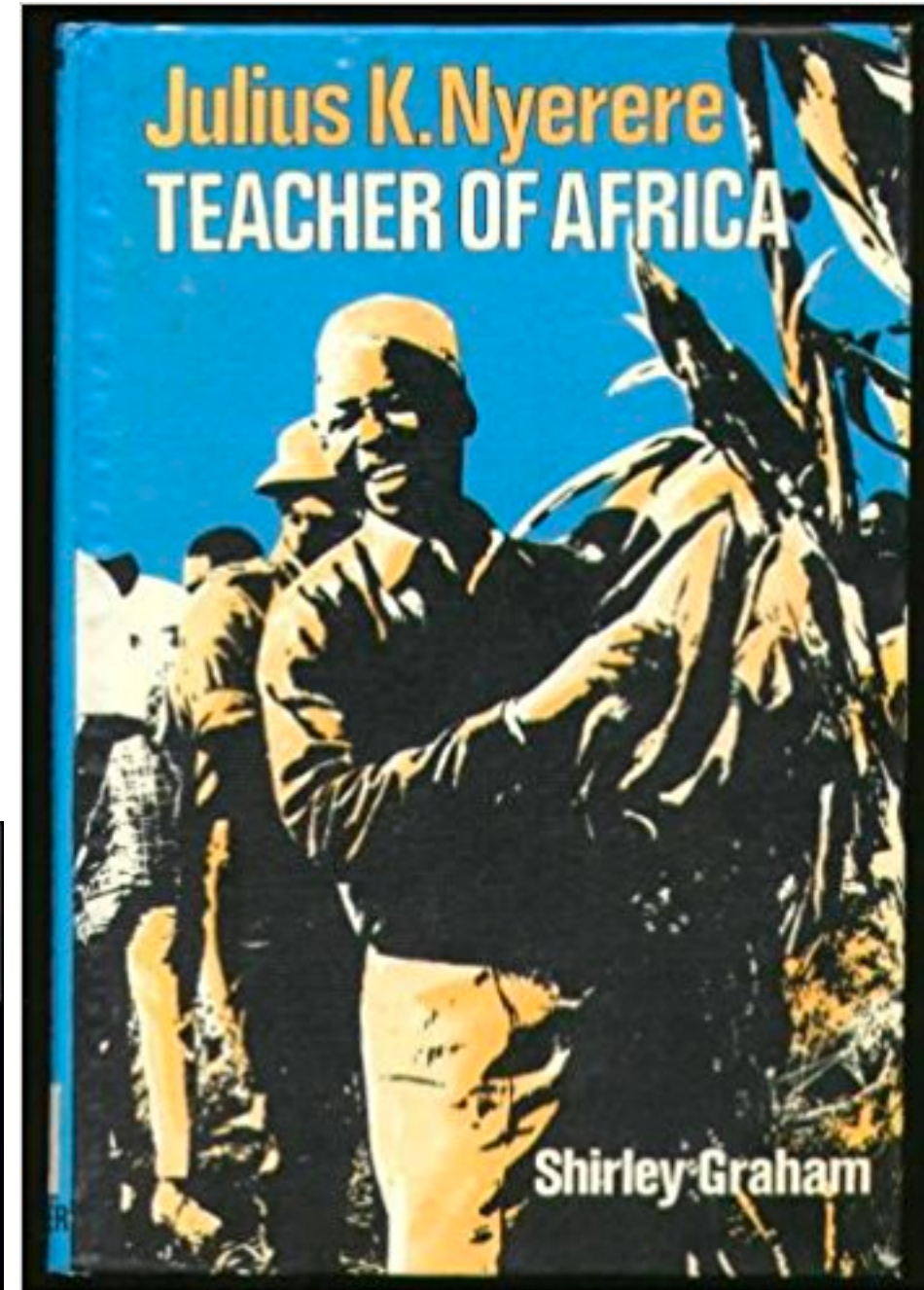
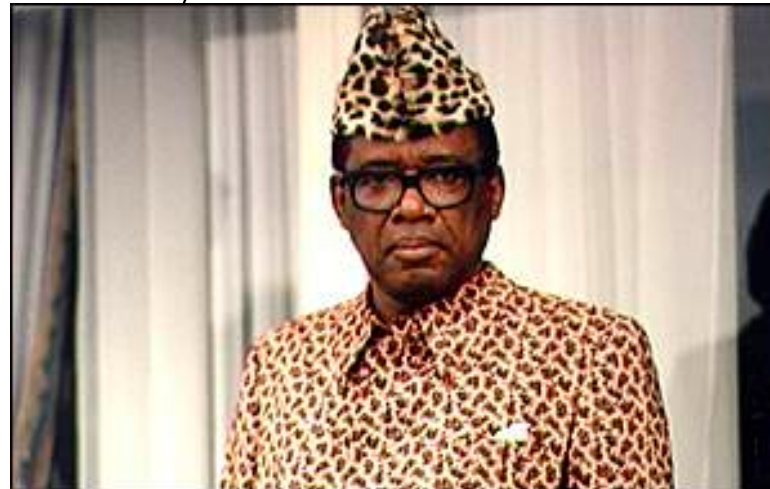
What are the characteristics of African neopatrimonialism according to Bratton and Van de Walle?

Characteristics of African neopatrimonialism

- Presidentialism
- Appropriation and use of state resources to cultivate political support and systematic clientelism
 - Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1997. "Neopatrimonial Rule" in *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, pp. 61-96.
- Low state capacity
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- State autonomy
- Weak civil society
- Hybridity
 - Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Presidentialism

- Big Man politics
- Personalization of loyalty to the state / nation
- Cult of personality
- Centralization of political power
 - Presidential political systems
- Lack of checks and balances
- Lack of term limits



Clientelism

- Patron-client relationships
- Appropriation of public resources and distribution of offices and favors to supporters
- Corruption
- Prebendalism

Clientelism

Table 2.7. *African Government Cabinet Size, 1979–1996*

	1979	1986	1996
Average Number of Members	19.1	20.9	22.6
– excluding microstates*	20.3	22.0	23.9
Smallest Cabinets*	Ghana (11) Gambia (11)	Namibia (8) Gambia (13)	Gambia (13) Lesotho (13)
Largest Cabinets	Gabon (35) Côte d’Ivoire (31)	Gabon (54) Cameroon (34)	Cameroon (42) Sudan (38)

Sources:


Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/ghana-president-nana-akufo-addo-appointment-110-ministers-government-a7636921.html>

News > World > Africa

Ghana's President defends appointing 'elephant-size' government of 110 ministers

Nana Akufo-Addo hit back at his opponents saying it is 'a necessary investment' and that 'it is not going to be a holiday' for ministers

Chloe Farand | Saturday 18 March 2017 15:27 GMT | 

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Clientelism: evidence from Benin

- Random assignment of villages to clientelist and public policy platforms (+ control group) before 2001 presidential election in Benin
- [T]he first ever nationwide experimental study of voter behavior involving *real candidates* using experimental platforms.”

- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. “Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin.” *World Politics* 55: 399–422.



Clientelism: evidence from Benin

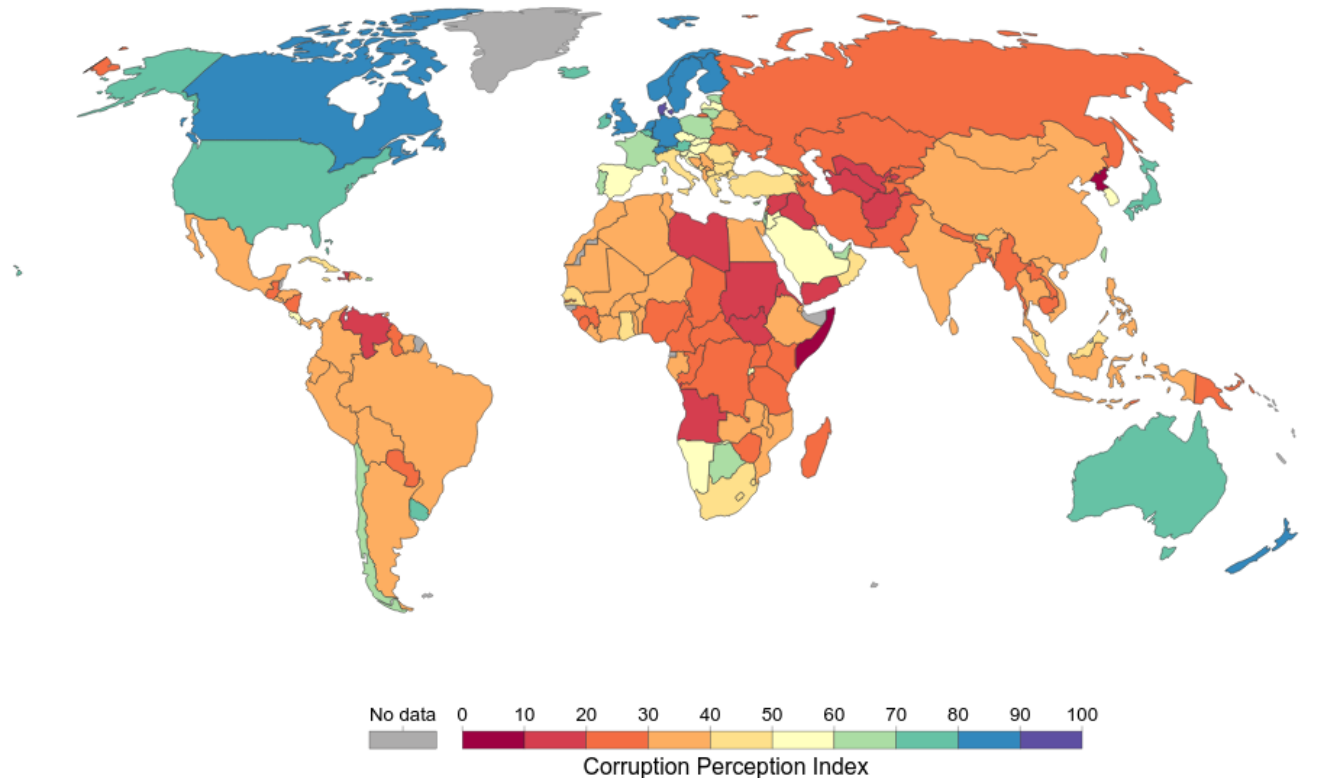
TABLE 3
DIFFERENCE IN MEANS BETWEEN TREATMENT AND CONTROL
VILLAGES FOR EACH TYPE OF CANDIDATE^a

<i>Type of Candidate^b</i>	<i>Public</i>	<i>Clientelist</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Public- Control</i>	<i>Clientelist- Control</i>
Northern	.322 (.032) 208	.674 (.032) 218	.565 (.035) 200	-.243 (.048)***	.109 (.047)**
Southern	.840 (.025) 219	.890 (.021) 228	.741 (.029) 224	.099 (.039)***	.149 (.036)***
Incumbent	.693 (.032) 202	.897 (.021) 214	.835 (.027) 194	-.141 (.042)***	.062 (.033)*
Opposition	.493 (.033) 225	.681 (.033) 232	.509 (.031) 230	-.015 (.047)	.172 (.045)***
Local	.385 (.032) 226	.603 (.033) 224	.509 (.033) 230	-.124 (.046)***	.094 (.047)**
National	.816 (.027) 201	.968 (.012) 222	.835 (.027) 194	-.019 (.038)	.133 (.028)***

Clientelism: corruption

Corruption Perception Index, 2015

Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index. Scores are on a scale of 0-100, where 0 means that a country is perceived as highly corrupt.



Weak state capacity



Hybridity

- Coexistence of informal institutions with the formal trappings of the modern state
- Bratton and Van de Walle:
 - “[W]hen patrimonial logic is internalized in the formal institutions of neopatrimonial regimes, it provides essential operating codes for politics that are valued, recurring, and reproduced over time.”

State autonomy and weak civil society



How do rulers benefit from
the politics of pork?

Presidentialism outside Africa

DAILY BEAST

CHEAT SHEET POLITICS ENTERTAINMENT WORLD NEWS HALF FULL CULTURE U.S. NEWS INNOVATION SCOUTED TRAVEL

KISS THE RING

Report: Trump Demands Loyalty Oath From Job Seekers Who Criticized Him During Election

Updated 04.30.18 8:12AM ET / Published 04.29.18 8:42PM ET



Carlos Barria/Reuters

Lexington

The Obama cult

If Barack Obama disappoints his supporters, they will have only themselves to blame



The New York Times

Opinion

The G.O.P. Is Now a Personality Cult

The party no longer stands for much of anything.



By Nicholas Kristof
Opinion Columnist

July 20, 2019



Clientelism outside Africa



Corruption outside Africa



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OPINION

Trump has built a pyramid scheme of public fraud. It's a taxpayer-backed cash grab.

Mindy Finn, Opinion contributor Published 10:49 a.m. ET Aug. 3, 2018 | Updated 8:08 p.m. ET Aug. 6, 2018

Donald Trump is pulling off a taxpayer-backed cash grab. It's an orchestrated, unprecedented scheme to enrich a president, his family and his friends.

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SEP 27, 2019

Sarah Chayes

Author of *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens National Security*



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The New York Times

Joe Kennedy to Announce Bid for U.S. Senate

The Massachusetts congressman will officially announce on Saturday his plans to challenge the incumbent Senator Edward Markey.



Is the United States
a neopatrimonial state?

What explains America's
repatrimonialization
according to Fukuyama?