Pre-Colonial Kingdoms and the Coup-Civil War Nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Abstract

Rulers of weakly institutionalized states constantly fear coup attempts. The risk of coups may lead rulers to exclude certain ethnic groups from power—despite creating incentives for excluded groups to rebel against the government. But under what conditions do leaders perceive strong threats? Focusing on post-independence Sub-Saharan Africa, this paper argues that leaders of countries containing one or multiple large pre-colonial kingdoms (PCKs) perceived greater hazards from members of other ethnic groups. A formal model examines conditions under which (1) a coup-civil war nexus will arise and (2) a strategic ruler will pursue ethnic exclusion. Empirically, PCK groups undermined possibilities for developing strong inter-ethnic institutional ties, which undermined commitment ability after independence. Statistical evidence at the country and ethnic group level, alongside case evidence, shows PCKs are an important explanation for ethnic exclusion, coups, and civil wars in Sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War era.

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1 Introduction

It is nearly a truism that weak institutions, broadly defined, create conditions ripe for civil war. One prominent mechanism from existing research that connects weak institutions to fighting focuses on commitment ability.[1] When political actors cannot commit to future promises, they may choose to use force rather than risk being undermined in the future. Because fighting is a costly activity, we may expect leaders in weakly institutionalized environments to desire stronger institutional ties to eliminate commitment problems.

However, this intuition about taking actions to eliminate commitment problems sits uneasily with empirical findings from an equally prominent strand of the civil war literature that focuses on horizontal ethnic inequalities, that is, political and economic inequalities across ethnic groups within a country. Scholars involved with the Ethnic Power Relations project have contributed one of the most important recent findings in the expansive literature on civil war initiation: ethnic groups systematically excluded from power at the center are more likely to fight civil wars.[2]

This finding is intriguing from the perspective of commitment problem theories, which frames the first main inquiry in this paper: (1) Why would a government *purposely* undermine institutionalized ties with other ethnic groups by systematically excluding them from power, hence raising civil war risk? Furthermore, both across and within countries there exists considerable variability in ethnic representation choices. This leads to a second key question: (2) What underlying factors can explain why rulers choose to exclude some ethnic groups but not others?

These questions are particularly pertinent for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Because few

[1] Fearon (1995), Powell (2006), Walter (2009, 251), Blattman and Miguel (2010, 13).
[2] Wimmer et al. (2009), Cederman et al. (2010), Cederman et al. (2013).

ethnic groups compose a majority of their respective population, we may expect rulers to build inclusive inter-ethnic coalitions to stabilize their regime. In contrast, puzzlingly, we often observe ethnic exclusion and violent rebellion in this region. Furthermore, the active historically oriented research agenda on institutional weakness in SSA can perhaps provide insights into deep-rooted factors that explain variability in ethnic exclusion choices—and, consequently, patterns of political violence.[3]

This paper provides two main contributions. First, it presents a theoretical framework that bridges two prominent but previously disparate strands of the civil war literature by incorporating horizontal ethnic inequality hypotheses into a commitment problem framework. The formal model addresses the first key question posed above by analyzing internal security constraints, and focuses attention on which ethnic groups pose the greatest internal threats to the ruler. The second main contribution addresses the second key question posed above by empirically examining the long-term effects of pre-colonial kingdoms (PCKs) in SSA, which I argue exacerbated ethnically rooted commitment problems and triggered spirals of military coups and civil wars.

The paper first extends formal commitment problem models in Section 2 to allow a government to choose whether to include or exclude a rival ethnic group—i.e., challenger—in the ruling coalition. Providing the key tension in the model, although by assumption political inclusion increases the government's ability to commit to future payments to the challenger, inclusion also enhances the challenger's ability to *launch a military coup*. Thus, an internal security dilemma may cause the ruler to practice ethnic exclusion and risk civil wars, which formalizes an argument from Roessler (2011). Rather than focusing on a generic weakly institutionalized environment that induces fear of all ethnic "others," however, the

[3]Englebert et al. (2002), Gennaioli and Rainer (2007), Nunn (2008), Nunn and Wantchekon (2011), Michalopoulos and Papaiannou (2013), Besley and Reynal-Querol (2014), Akyeampong et al. (2014).

analysis focuses on the *differential* ability of ethnic groups to commit to future promises to each other. It demonstrates why a coup-civil war nexus may arise when inter-ethnic institutional quality is low, whereas political coalitions will be stable when institutional quality is higher. Parameterizing ethnic differences in terms of commitment ability builds on Fearon's (1998) theory of ethnic fighting and allows us to focus on *which types* of ethnic interactions trigger this internal security constraint.

The remainder of the paper provides evidence that variability in pre-colonial political organization can help explain why we observe ethnic exclusion and a coup-civil war nexus in some SSA countries but not others. Section 3 provides qualitative historical evidence to substantively ground the argument that colonies in which at least one large ethnic group was organized as a PCK faced considerable obstacles to creating inter-ethnic institutional ties prior to independence. It focuses on how PCK groups created regional schisms and salient ethnic differences during the pre-colonial, early colonial, and decolonization periods. After independence, the pressing commitment problems faced by different ethnic groups in countries with a large PCK group created frequent crises—which resulted in coups that aimed to exclude other ethnic groups and, as a result, civil wars.

Statistical evidence shows PCKs can explain variance in patterns of military coups, civil wars, and ethnic representation at both the country- and ethnic group-level. After Section 4 describes the process for coding PCKs and discusses the other variables, Section 5 provides country-level statistical evidence, ethnic group-level statistical evidence, and qualitative evidence that PCK groups raised coup and civil war risk and also contributed to ethnic exclusion—even after controlling for many combinations of a large number of historically and geographically rooted alternative explanations. Section 6 concludes.

2 Modeling the Tradeoff Between Ethnic Inclusion and Exclusion

The formal model serves two main purposes. First, it bridges two influential strands of the civil war literature. Horizontal inequalities research focuses almost exclusively on cultural arguments related to modernization and nationalist mobilization to explain why governments exclude ethnic groups (Cederman et al. 2013, ch. 2). Despite the usefulness of these considerations, it is quite striking that with the exception of Roessler (2011) there has been little attempt to understand the strategic calculations that undergird ethnic representation choices. Furthermore, existing theories have difficulty explaining *variance* in ethnic exclusion choices because they focus on generic factors that cause nationalist tension or a fear of ethnic outsiders. Incorporating ethnic representation choices into formal commitment problem models addresses these considerations.

Second, the model elucidates the mechanism argued below to link PCKs to political violence. In particular, the model shows why coup-civil war spirals may arise when inter-ethnic institutional ties are weak, but how greater commitment ability can facilitate peaceful bargaining.

2.1 Setup

I consider an infinite horizon environment in which a challenger, C, bargains with a government, G, over the distribution of state revenues. Future consumption is discounted exponentially by an amount $\delta \in (0, 1)$. The sequence of moves within each period unfolds as follows. Nature moves first, deciding whether C is strong (probability σ) or weak (probability $1 - \sigma$), in the period, terms that will defined below. G then makes an offer to C, and C responds by either accepting or fighting. If C accepts, each side consumes its share

of the agreed division and the game moves to the next period. If C rejects G's offer by fighting, no consumption occurs in the current period. The winner gains (or remains) in power and the loser becomes (or remains) the challenger. Therefore, G and C refer to an actor's position in a particular period. Finally, if a fight has occurred, as the last move in the period the winner decides whether to "include" or "exclude" the loser in the ruling coalition for their future interaction.[4]

Inclusionary and exclusionary ruling coalitions are distinguished by (1) C's probability of winning a fight and (2) G's ability to commit to future payments to C. On the one hand, exclusion may be more desirable for G than the alternative of including C because C is more likely to win a fight when included. Specifically, in periods C is strong, if C is included C wins a coup attempt with probability p and loses with complementary probability. If C is excluded, C wins a civil war—or rebellion—with probability αp in a period it is strong, for $\alpha \in [0, 1)$.[5] This assumption reflects that coup attempts pose a more direct threat to the ruler than rebellions because they carry a higher probability of leading to government turnover.

On the other hand, political inclusion enhances a government's ability to credibly commit to higher payments, which the following assumptions capture. If C is included, G makes an offer $x_t \in [0, 1-\theta]$ and C consumes a total of $\theta + x_t$. This captures the assumptions that there is a budget normalized to size 1 and that C consumes θ percent of the per-period revenues regardless of G's choice. Furthermore, G can additionally choose to offer C up to the remaining $1 - \theta$ per-period revenues. The parameter θ represents the extent to which G can credibly commit to pay C a certain amount regardless of C's probability of

[4]Below I discuss how inclusion/exclusion is chosen at the outset of the game.

[5]Of course, empirically, it is *possible* for an excluded group to stage a coup or for an included group to launch a civil war. This setup instead implicitly assumes that coups are the optimal fighting technology for included groups and rebellions for excluded groups, meaning that providing a richer set of fighting options would not affect the results.

winning in a particular period (which, as discussed below, fluctuates over time). Although there are many possible substantive interpretations for θ, in the current context it is most useful to think of θ as reduced form for C's perception of G's ability to commit to future promises. As one example, an inter-ethnic party provides a vehicle for a ruler to commit to lucrative future payments to party members (Magaloni 2008, Svolik 2012), whereas a history of ethnic divisions would diminish perceptions about G's commitment ability.[6] The next section argues that PCKs created low values of θ.

In contrast, G has no ability to commit to future promises when C is excluded. Instead, G chooses an offer $x_t \in [0, 1]$ that composes C's entire consumption if C accepts. That is, even if G made promises in the past, there is no constraint on its current period choice.

C's probability of winning a fight also depends on the Nature move. As discussed above, C wins with positive probability in the σ percentage of periods it is strong. In contrast, C wins with probability 0 in a period it is weak, regardless of whether it is included or excluded from power. One plausible microfoundation for this assumption is that political actors are only occasionally able to solve collective action problems and mount an effective challenge against the government (Acemoglu and Robinson 2006, 123-128). The next section provides examples of power shifting in PCK countries. Furthermore, because the goal of this model is to integrate horizontal inequality hypotheses into a formal commitment problem framework, it is useful to build on existing prominent formal theories of civil wars that also model stochastic shifts in the distribution of power (Fearon 2004, Powell 2012).

[6] Focusing on a different substantive setting, Paine (2014a) conceptualizes a parameter similar to θ as the percentage of oil fields located in an ethnic group's historical homeland that the government relinquishes territorial control over. In that interpretation, θ represents a tangible object the government gives to the challenger.

The parameter θ is also related to an eponymous parameter from Besley and Persson (2011, 48), which they refer to as the "cohesiveness" of institutions.

Finally, we must define how inclusion/exclusion is determined at the outset of the game. It is assumed that Nature makes this choice, although the exact probability of choosing inclusion or exclusion has no impact on the analysis below. The importance of this Nature move is that it allows us to observe behavior that would be off-the-equilibrium path were G allowed to strategically choose the coalition in all periods. For example, even if the winner of a fight always prefers exclusion in equilibrium, it may inherit an inclusive coalition at the outset of the game. Substantively, this corresponds with colonial influence on the initial post-independence ruling coalition.

The equilibrium concept is Markov Perfect Equilibrium, which requires actors to make optimal choices based only on the current state of the world and on previous moves within the current period.

2.2 Model Analysis

The model analysis focuses on three questions.[7] First, under what conditions will C initiate civil wars when excluded from power? Second, under what conditions will C launch coup attempts when included in power? Third, under what conditions will G choose exclusion? Throughout the focus is on how θ affects equilibrium choices and outcomes.

The possibility that fighting will occur in equilibrium arises because (a) C's ability to threaten G fluctuates over time and (b) G either has no or limited ability to commit to future payments. I will first analyze the subgame in which G has no commitment ability because C is *excluded* from power. C will only consume a positive amount in the strong periods it can threaten the government. Otherwise, because C does not pose a credible threat, G has no incentive to make a spoils offer. The less frequent that C is powerful,

[7] Appendix A presents a more formal analysis of the model and proves all the results from the text.

the lower is C's stream of expected future benefits to remaining as challenger from the perspective of any period. As a result, when σ is low enough, C may demand an offer in a strong period that exceeds G's per-period revenue stream. Because G has no commitment ability, it cannot alleviate C's concern—that C will frequently be weak in the future—by promising to offer positive payments when C is weak. Therefore, when σ is low enough, C will launch a civil war in response to any offer in a strong period in a subgame featuring exclusion.

Lemma 1. When $\sigma < \underline{\sigma}$, for $\underline{\sigma}$ defined in Appendix A, civil wars will occur in every period C is strong if C is excluded from power.

For most of the following analysis I focus on the case with $\sigma < \underline{\sigma}$. That is, the model analysis *assumes* rather than derives as an *implication* that civil wars occur when C is excluded. This ensures the model focuses on the cases that fit the scope conditions of horizontal inequality theories. Footnote 9 below raises several issues that arise when relaxing this assumption.

Assumption 1. $\sigma < \underline{\sigma}$.

The second key question is whether C will launch coup attempts in subgames C is *included* in power. C's generic dilemma is the same as for the exclusion case: when σ is low, C will only infrequently be able to coerce G into high payments. However, what distinguishes the inclusion and exclusion subgames is that when C is included it consumes at least θ in every period—as opposed to the exclusion subgame in which C consumes 0 in periods it is weak.

The core issue that determines whether coups will occur under inclusion is whether θ is high enough to compensate for a low σ. When θ is low enough, the same tension that causes civil wars when C is excluded will also trigger coups when C is included: in a period

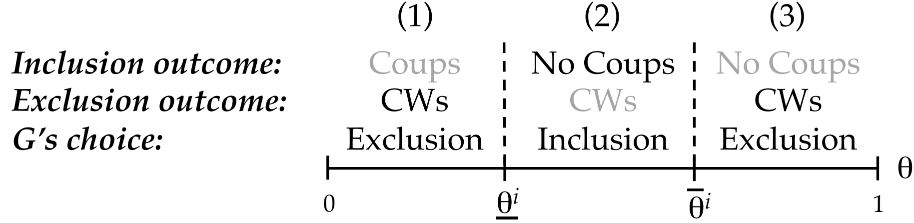
C is temporarily strong, G will be unable to offer a large enough amount to prevent C from fighting. In contrast, when θ is high enough, G no longer faces a commitment "problem"—in the sense of commitment inability triggering fighting. The higher is θ, the less C loses from being weak in future periods. When θ is sufficiently high, G will be able to buy C off in an inclusionary subgame—that is, C will prefer to accept an offer $x_t \leq 1 - \theta$ rather than to launch a coup.

Lemma 2. When $\theta > \underline{\theta}^i$, for $\underline{\theta}^i$ defined in Appendix A, coup attempts will never occur if C is included in power.

The final question concerns whether the winner of a fight will choose inclusion or exclusion. Figure 1 provides insight into this decision. When θ is low, G knows it will face coups if it includes C. When Assumption 1 and $\theta < \underline{\theta}^i$ are true, G's inclusion/exclusion decision determines whether it will face coup attempts or civil wars—demonstrating how weak institutions can cause a coup-civil war nexus. In this case, G will always choose exclusion, as shown with Case 1 in Figure 1. If fighting will occur anyway, inclusion is worse for G for two distinct reasons. First, it has to give θ to C in every period. The only possible benefit to G from $\theta > 0$ arises from the possibility that $\theta > 0$ prevents fighting that otherwise would have occurred if $\theta = 0$. Second, C wins with a higher probability when it is included.[8]

[8]Implicitly, this model only captures center-seeking civil wars in which a rebel group fights to overthrow the government in the capital, rather than separatist civil wars in which a rebel group fights to create an autonomous region or its own state. However, introducing separatist civil wars into the model would not alter the implication that G prefers to face civil wars than coup attempts. Separatist civil wars do not create a direct threat for the current government to lose power.

Figure 1. How θ Affects Equilibrium Outcomes



Notes: For different ranges of θ, Figure 1 lists the equilibrium fighting outcomes that would occur under either inclusion or exclusion, and G's optimal inclusion/exclusion choice. Black text represents the on-the-equilibrium path observed outcome, whereas gray represents the counterfactual off-the-equilibrium path fighting outcome that would have been observed had G deviated from its optimal ethnic representation choice.

If instead $\theta > \underline{\theta}^i$, G faces a different tradeoff. On the one hand, inclusion will prevent fighting in this parameter range, i.e., civil wars will occur if G chooses exclusion but coups will not occur if G chooses inclusion. On the other hand, inclusion also increases the average amount that G has to pay C—both because C gets at least θ in every period, and C wins with a higher probability and therefore can demand more in a period it is strong. When θ is above $\underline{\theta}^i$ but not too large, G prefers to give C more but save surplus by preventing fighting, as shown with Case 2 in Figure 1.

The key implication here is that stronger institutions can prevent a coup-civil war nexus. Even though, by assumption, civil wars would occur under exclusion for any value of θ, when θ is high enough it can prevent coup attempts from occurring under inclusion—implying that G may choose inclusion to prevent fighting from destroying surplus. Thus, institutional quality carries stark implications for which countries we should expect to see horizontal inequalities emerge, and for where we should expect to see political violence.

However, when θ is too large, G would prefer to exclude C and face civil wars rather than to include C and make high payments. Case 3 in Figure 1 highlights this possibility. This highlights a distinct path to exclusion from the internal security dilemma that G faces in Case 1. Although theoretically possible, however, this parameter range of the model appears empirically implausible. The generic problem that scholars have argued to cause civil wars is too *little* commitment ability, not too much. Alternatively, a high θ could be conceived of as the inability of C to commit to take less. Either way, although intriguing, this range of the parameter space does not appear most useful for understanding either (1) how commitment problems models can inform horizontal inequality hypotheses nor (2) how PCKs created a coup-civil war spiral in SSA.[9]

Lemma 3. Suppose Assumption 1 holds. When $\theta < \underline{\theta}^i$ or $\theta > \overline{\theta}^i$, for $\theta > \overline{\theta}^i$ defined in Appendix A, G will exclude C. When $\theta \in (\underline{\theta}^i, \overline{\theta}^i)$, G will include C.

Carefully observing Figure 1 shows that if governments can *always* choose ethnic representation, we will never observe coups along the equilibrium path of play. However, empirically, it is reasonable to believe that a government will sometimes inherit a coalitions it would not have selected given the choice. For the particular substantive setting of interest for this paper, legacies from colonial elections decisively shaped ruling coalitions at independence—which corresponds to the initial Nature move in the model. Of course, it would also be possible to introduce assumptions in the model that either (a) constrain the ruler's ethnic representation choice at later points in the game or (b) in which coups in

[9]This second path to exclusion is conceptually similar to another parameter range for the model. When Assumption 1 does not hold—i.e., σ is high enough that civil wars do not occur when C is excluded—G no longer faces a dilemma regarding ethnic representation for any value of other parameters. The only potential benefit G receives from inclusion is to prevent fighting that would have occurred if G excluded C. However, if civil wars do not occur under exclusion, G certainly does not want to credibly promise more spoils to C nor to increase C's probability of winning a fight. An important area for future research is understanding variance in factors that cause excluded groups to rebel. This would provide insight into why governments exclude some groups because they *do* create an *internal* security dilemma—but exclude other groups because they *do not* cause an *external* security dilemma.

one period raise coup risk in future periods even when the government practices exclusion. The model does not address these possibilities for parsimony reasons rather than because they are unimportant.

This discussion explains the equilibrium path of play that Table 1 summarizes.

Table 1. Equilibrium Path of Play

Institutional quality	**Nature's choice at outset of game**	
	Inclusion	**Exclusion**
	Exclusion to Prevent Coups	
$\theta < \underline{\theta}^i$	• First C attempts a coup • Winner of the coup chooses exclusion • Subsequent C's launch CWs • All winners of CWs choose exclusion	• All C's launch CWs • All winners of CWs choose exclusion
	Inclusion to Prevent Civil Wars	
$\theta \in (\underline{\theta}^i, \overline{\theta}^i)$	• Permanent inclusion, no fights	• First C launches a CW • All winners of CWs choose exclusion • Permanent inclusion, no additional fights
	Exclusion to Prevent High Payments	
$\theta > \overline{\theta}^i$	• First G lowballs C to trigger a coup attempt • Winner of the coup chooses exclusion • Subsequent C's launch CWs • All winners of CWs choose exclusion	• All C's launch CWs • All winners of CWs choose exclusion

3 How Pre-Colonial Kingdoms Caused Weak Institutions and a Coup-Civil War Nexus

The model's implication about institutional quality can help explain why one form of pre-colonial political organization in SSA should generate ethnic exclusion and a coup-civil war nexus, but not others. Specifically, this section provides qualitative historical evidence to substantively ground the argument that colonies in which at least one large ethnic group was organized as a PCK faced considerable obstacles to creating inter-ethnic institutional ties prior to independence. It focuses on how PCK groups created regional schisms and salient ethnic differences during the pre-colonial, early colonial, and decolonization periods. After independence, the inability of different ethnic groups in countries with a large PCK group to solve commitment problems created frequent crises—which resulted in coups that aimed to exclude other ethnic groups and, as a result, civil wars. Combining the general theoretical logic from the previous section with the specific historical context discussed in this section also demonstrates why studying the long-term effects of PCKs greatly inform the causes and consequences of horizontal ethnic inequalities.

3.1 How PCK Groups Caused Regional Schisms and Undermined Inter-Ethnic Institutions

PCK groups contributed to regional schisms in three distinct pre-independence periods: pre-colonial, colonization and early colonial, and post-1945 decolonization. The following analysis treats these effects as reinforcing, rather than trying to isolate the effect of PCK on political instability in each distinct epoch.[10] To avoid confusion, all countries are referred to by their contemporary rather than colonial or other historical names.

[10] In this sense, focusing on a pre-colonial legacy very much does not obviate the importance of the colonial period, which is instead theorized to be a crucial mediating factor.

First, many SSA countries are artificial in the sense that European colonizers grouped previously disparate groups into a shared political entity. There is, however, great variance across the region with regard to the extent and type of pre-colonial relationships among different ethnic groups later placed into the same colony. PCK groups often experienced acrimonious relationships with their neighbors. Some cases featured warfare between competing kingdoms. In Benin, "the two traditionally hostile kingdoms of Danhome and Porto Novo ... had been locked in a state of semipermanent warfare that only ended with the final invasion of French troops in 1892" (Decalo 1990, 91). Buganda and Bunyoro fought continuously throughout the 19th century in Uganda (Tripp 2009, 44). In other cases PCK groups used their superior political organization to raid less developed groups for slaves. Examples include Muslim slave raids of southern animists in Chad (Decalo, 1980, 483) and Sudan that created "a deep hatred for northerners" (Ofcansky 1992), Merina raids of coastal peoples in Madagascar (Minorities at Risk "Merina" 2006), and Bambara raids of Berbers and Arabs in Mali (Krings 1995, 58).

Second, pre-colonial kingdoms also influenced colonial governance patterns. A handful of kingdoms gained their own colony or avoided colonization entirely— Burundi, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Rwanda, and Swaziland (Griffiths 1986, 206)—but more typically kingdoms were merged into colonies with other sizable ethnic groups. Colonizers often ruled indirectly through leaders from PCK groups, which either created or reinforced regional divisions. Britain frequently pursued this strategy, including with Ashanti in Ghana (Boone 2003, 144-77), Buganda in Uganda (Rothchild and Rogin 1966, 341-51), Hausa and Fulani in Nigeria (Sklar and Whitaker 1966, 19), Lozi in Zambia (Caplan 1970), and riverine Arabs in Sudan (Sharkey 2008, 28-33). In many cases these groups were granted a de facto autonomous colony. France also ruled indirectly through PCK groups in certain colonies, such as Benin (Thompson 1963, 169) and Chad (Nolutshungu 1996, 28-9).

In addition to empowering PCK groups in ways that would carry ramifications during the decolonization period, ruling through PCK elites sometimes created hostilities between PCK groups and other groups that were not hierarchically organized prior to colonization. For example, France used educated residents of southern kingdoms in Benin to staff administrative positions in the less developed north, which created "deep animosities" among different groups that had experienced minimal pre-colonial interaction (Decalo 1990, 92).

Finally, PCK groups also undermined creating nationwide inter-ethnic parties during the post-1945 decolonization era. In some cases, a PCK group attempted to separate from the rest of its colony. The Baganda in Uganda cited their distinct status in the Uganda Agreement of 1900 when trying to gain their own state, stemming from a desire to "safeguard the traditions, Kabakaship [kingship], and the customs of Buganda in an independent Uganda" (Kyeyune and Nsibambi 1962). As a result, "the power of traditional groups . . . precluded the success of a centralized, ideological mass party" (Rothchild and Rogin 1966, 389). Instead, supporters of Buganda's king created the Kabaka Yekka (KY; meaning "king only") party after the king led a highly successful boycott of the 1961 Legislative Council elections in which less than 2% of eligible Baganda voted. KY provided "a practical avenue through which Buganda could enter national politics and yet preserve its own autonomy and unity" (358). The ethnically rooted party received 38% of the total votes in the final pre-independence parliamentary elections (Schmidt 1999).

Outside Uganda, the Sanwi (Agni) monarchy in Cote d'Ivoire and Barotse (Lozi) king in Zambia also attempted to gain an independent state by referencing their original treaty arrangements (Boone 2003, 205; Caplan 1970, 178). However, the small population shares of Agni and Lozi prevented them from exerting the same seismic impact as the Baganda. Similarly, Bakongo in Angola sought to recreate the Kongo Kingdom in the early 1960s

(Le Billon 2007, 102). The Mossi provide the only example of successful separation, when France granted their demands to be ruled by "sons of the soil" by re-separating Burkina Faso from Cote d'Ivoire after World War II (Boone 2003, 199-200).

Even in cases a PCK group did not attempt to gain its own state, locally oriented parties often resulted directly from regional schisms that had emerged during the pre-colonial or early colonial eras. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) in Nigeria was led by an aspiring sultan of Sokoto, and the party's platform emphasized "the integrity of the north [and] its traditions" whereas "support for broad Nigerian concerns occupied a clear second place" (Lovejoy 1992). Benin's three hegemonic regional parties spilt among Danhome kingdom, Porto Novo kingdom, and the north (Decalo 1973), and a north/south divide pervaded politics in Chad (Nolutshungu 1996) and Sudan (Ofcansky 1992). In Madagascar, "Since the 1950s political development has been influenced by conflict structures that trace back to the 19th century but were reinforced by colonial politics of 'divide and rule.' Already before independence the cleavage between the Merina living in the highlands in the interior of the island and the inhabitants of the coastal regions translated itself into the political system" (Thibaut 1999).

Even in colonies with a large PCK group where a dominant party did emerge, PCK groups often formed the major opposition. Whereas Ashanti chiefs formed one component of the "triple ruling elite" in Ghana prior to 1948 (Boone 2003, 159), afterwards in response to being "robbed of their previous power" (Apter 1964, 277) Ashanti created the most successful opposition party to eventual President Nkrumah's CPP. The National Liberation Movement (NLM)—i.e., *Ashanti* national—gained 21% of the total colony-wide vote in the final pre-independence legislative elections. This included 53% of the vote in the Ashanti region, the only region in which the CPP did not gain a majority (Krennerich 1999). In Guinea, chiefs from the Fula Empire supported opposition parties during decolonization

(Cowan 1960, 201), although they were unable to prevent future President Toure's PDG party from eventually becoming hegemonic through elections.

In some colonies violence rather than electoral competition determined the path to post-colonial power. Once again PCK groups contributed to regional schisms. In Angola, an armed struggle between Africans and Portugal broke out in 1961. Contrary to patterns of "unity and pragmatism" in non-PCK Guinea-Bissau's and "pragmatism and precarious unity" in non-PCK Mozambique's respective anti-Portuguese struggles, "fragmentation" plagued Angola's movement throughout its independence struggle (Reno 2011; 41, 51, 64).[11] Angola's three major organizations each had well-defined ethnic bases: Mbundu (PCK) for MPLA, Bakongo (PCK) for FNLA, and Ovimbundu for UNITA (Le Billon 2007, 101-2). Similarly, in Zimbabwe's struggle against white rule, the two major rebel groups ZANU and ZAPU split along ethnic lines, with ZAPU reliant on the support of the (PCK) Ndebele people (Wilson 1994, 191).

In yet another set of countries—Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Burundi[12]—the monarchy *was* the state. Ethiopia avoided colonization except for a brief period of Italian rule, whereas Rwanda and Burundi were ruled as appendages of the German and then Belgian empires in Africa. In these countries, the monarchy versus other groups naturally provided the main political cleavage. Belgium hardened distinctions between the ruling class Tutsi and majority Hutu in Rwanda and Burundi by mandating ethnic designation in the census and requiring identity cards for all subjects (Young 2006, 309). Unlike in most other cases the Tutsi-Hutu rivalry was not primarily regionally based, but stark nonetheless.

[11] Reno uses these three phrases for his respective section headers.

[12] Lesotho and Swaziland are not included in the sample for reasons discussed below.

3.2 Empirical Examples of PCKs Causing Weak Institutions and Political Violence

Weak inter-ethnic institutional ties caused by PCKs implied that normal political events such as referenda or census counts that shifted the distribution of power caused political crises because the government had low ability to commit to future promises. In other words, because the challenger knows its ability to coerce the government is closely related to its share of power, portended future power shifts increase the likelihood of political violence. Examples from Uganda and Nigeria illustrate how weak institutions can undermine peaceful bargaining.

Uganda exhibited weak inter-ethnic institutional ties at independence. As described in more detail above, through reinforcing historical epochs that included Baganda unwillingness to join a nationally oriented party, at independence in 1963 an "alliance of complete opposites" (Decalo 1990, 152) between Buganda's KY and Milton Obote's (a Langi, non-PCK group) UPC party governed the country. "It is hard to determine at what stage Prime Minister Obote made up his mind to confront the Kabaka and the Kingdom of Buganda . . . but it is tempting, from the small amount of evidence available and his careful preparing of the ground, to think that he had intended it all along" (Dinwiddy 1981, 514). These are the type of machinations we would expect in a country with low θ but in which the ruler, because of outside circumstances, inherits an ethnically inclusionary ruling coalition.

Three key events occurred in 1964 that—at least temporarily—shifted power in favor of Obote (Young 1977, 226).[13] First, UPC gained an absolute majority in parliament. Sec-

[13]The model assumes shifts in the distribution of power are exogenous. When examining empirical cases, however, very few events that shift the distribution of power contain *no* element of choice. Instead, it may be useful to think about *opportunities* to shift power as arising exogenously, followed by an actor's choice regarding whether to seize the opportunity to shift power in their favor. Based on the analysis above, we would expect actors to seize these exogenous opportunities when institutions are weak—because payments will be more closely tied to each actors' share of power.

ond, a short-lived military mutiny that Britain helped to quell enabled Obote to strengthen his control over the security forces. The third event was related to historical inter-kingdom disputes. To provide background, in 1900 Buganda became the first group in contemporary Uganda to sign a treaty with Britain. This treaty awarded territory to Buganda that a British-Baganda alliance had recently captured from rival kingdom Bunyoro (also incorporated into Uganda). Britain's contentious decision to strip Bunyoro of its culturally and historically significant "Lost Counties" provided an opportunity for Obote to undermine Buganda by allowing a referendum to occur. Residents of the Lost Counties voted to join Bunyoro. This vote portended a shift in the distribution of power—similar to any election or referendum—but the depth of weak inter-ethnic institutional ties raised the stakes. "As *President*, the Kabaka should have ratified the transfer; as *Kabaka* [i.e., king], such an act was an impossibility" [emphasis in original] (Dinwiddy 1981, 514) because the transfer would erode the king's support from his main constituency. The "Lost Counties" referendum soon "shifted the balance of power back from Buganda to the central government" (155). Capitalizing on his improved bargaining position, Obote (G) arrested key Baganda ministers (C) before they could appeal for British military assistance. The crisis culminated in 1966 when Obote militarily suppressed a Baganda secession attempt and unilaterally terminated the Baganda monarchy (Tripp 2009, 45).

Nigeria also inherited an ethnically inclusive coalition at independence despite weak inter-ethnic institutional ties, and experienced a similarly volatile pattern.[14] Nigeria's federal formula—a legacy of Frederick Lugard's invention of the Native Authority System for the Sokoto Caliphate in the north—dictated that each of the country's three regions would be apportioned seats in the national legislature based on population share. As a result, the constitutionally mandated dicennial census in 1962 carried huge consequences for the

[14]The references in this paragraph come from Lovejoy (1992).

distribution of power.[15] Despite conducting the census twice, experts estimated the total count was wildly inflated and Igbo (non-PCK group, C) leaders publicly charged the northern government (G) with fraud. Consistent with actions to prevent adverse power shifts in weak institutional environments, a successful coup in 1966 led primarily by Igbo officers followed these events and sought to create a unitary government. But deep-seated regional cleavages caused northern leaders to perceive the coup "not so much as an effort to impose a unitary government as a plot by the Igbo to dominate Nigeria." This led to a northern-dominated countercoup in 1966, followed by political exclusion of Igbo and an Igbo secession attempt in 1967.

3.3 Hypotheses

This section translates the theoretical and historical discussion into concrete hypotheses. Four arise unambiguously from the above analysis:

> **H1a.** Countries with at least one large PCK group, i.e., "PCK countries," should experience military coups *or* civil wars more frequently than non-PCK countries.
>
> **H1b.** The probability that any particular ethnic group is included in the ruling coalition should be lower in a PCK country than a non-PCK country.
>
> **H2a.** PCK groups should participate in military coups *or* civil wars more frequently than groups in non-PCK countries.
>
> **H2b.** PCK groups should be more likely to either be (a) an ethnocratic ruling group[16] or (b) systematically excluded from power than groups in non-PCK countries.

[15] Supporting this claim, "The Northern Region's political strength, marshaled by the NPC, had arisen in large measure from the results of the 1952-53 census, which had identified 54 percent of the country's population in that area."

[16] One ethnic group dominates all others in an ethnocratic government.

H1a and H1b carry country-level implications whereas H2a and H2b deliver corresponding ethnic group-level implications. H1a and H2a focus on political violence, whereas H1b and H2b consider ethnic representation. One difficulty for the group-level predictions is that the presence of a PCK group potentially affects the political dynamics of *all* groups in the country. Thus, the set of all non-PCK groups may not provide a relevant counterfactual for PCK groups because of spillover effects that PCK groups exerted on non-PCK groups that resided in PCK countries. Hence, the more plausible counterfactual comparison for PCK groups is to non-PCK groups in non-PCK countries.

A subtle but important aspect of H1a and H2a is the phrase "military coups *or* civil wars." That is, the units of analysis should be more likely to experience events classified as *either* a military coup or a civil war. However, the model delivers ambiguous predictions regarding whether PCK groups, or countries with at least one large PCK group, should be more likely to experience *either* coups or civil wars—considered individually. Even if PCK groups do trigger a coup-civil war nexus, the exact expectation about how many coups or civil wars we should expect to see depends on (a) the Nature move that determines ethnic representation at the outset of the game and (b) subsequent Nature moves that determine who controls the state after a fight. That is, ethnic representation choices provide a crucial mediating variable.

This caveat should be less important at the country level. Whether the PCK group is the one that controls the state or not, *someone* is expected to be more likely to attempt coups or to launch civil wars when measured at the country level.

> **H1c.** PCK countries should experience military coups more frequently than non-PCK countries.

> **H1d.** PCK countries should experience civil wars more frequently than non-PCK countries.

In contrast, even if H2b is correct, if PCK groups tend to succeed at creating ethnocratic governments we should not expect them to participate in civil wars at higher rates than non-PCK groups; or, if PCK groups tend to be completely excluded from power at higher rates than others, we should not expect them to participate coups at higher rates than non-PCK groups. Thus, with regard to distinguishing coups and civil wars, the predictions are ambiguous at the ethnic group level.

Instead, the model's implications for which type of political violence PCK groups will participate in is conditional on whether they are included or excluded from power. Unambiguously, PCK groups should be more likely to participate in coups when they are included in power because they are hypothesized to be a destabilizing political force.

> **H2c.** Included PCK groups should be more likely than included groups in non-PCK countries to participate in military coups.

However, revealing additional subtleties, the considerations are more complicated regarding whether PCK groups should be more likely to participate in civil wars when they are excluded from power. On the one hand, excluded PCK groups may not be more likely than excluded non-PCK groups to participate in civil wars because, conditional on being excluded, any excluded group should have an elevated desire to rebel. On the other hand, PCK groups may be more likely than non-PCK groups to be excluded because they pose an internal security dilemma, as opposed to being excluded because they do not pose an external security dilemma (see footnote 9). Assuming the second effect dominates generates a final, albeit tentative, hypothesis.

> **H2d.** Excluded PCK groups should be more likely than excluded groups in non-PCK countries to participate in civil wars.

4 Case Selection and Data

The remainder of the paper empirically assesses these hypotheses. This section presents the sample and data, followed by results in the next section.

4.1 Case Selection

The cases include all SSA countries that (a) had an indigenous population prior to colonization, (b) more than one effective ethnic group, (c) were not dominated politically by foreign settlers after independence, and (d) gained independence prior to 1990. Criterion a is obvious given the focus on pre-colonial political organization, and excludes Cape Verde, Mauritius, Sao Tome and Principe, and Seychelles. Criterion b is important because the main theoretic focus is on how PCK affected *inter*-ethnic political interactions. This criterion excludes Botswana, Comoros, Lesotho, Somalia, and Swaziland. Criterion c eliminates countries for which intra-indigenous African dynamics were swamped by the settler-indigenous African cleavage, which excludes Liberia (ruled by Americo-Liberians until 1980) and South Africa. Criterion d is obvious based on the next paragraph, and excludes Eritrea, Namibia, and South Sudan. The included countries are listed in Section 4.2. Additionally, the ethnic-group level data contains all politically relevant ethnic groups (as coded by EPR) from these countries.

Outcomes are measured in each country from independence until 1989. Most SSA countries experienced independence for about three decades prior to the end of the Cold War. Pre-colonial legacies should exert their strongest effects during this initial post-independence period because of tighter temporal proximity to the cause and because political dynamics changed considerably in SSA after 1989 in at least two important ways. First, the end of superpower ideological competition after the Cold War implied that international actors

gained increased leverage over governments heavily dependent on their foreign aid (Levitsky and Way 2010). Among other effects, international actors have heavily discouraged military rule, which has affected incentives to stage coups.[17] Second, Benin's national conference in 1990 initiated a trend across the region of elections that are at least semi-competitive. Although this pattern resembles SSA's immediate post-independence political situation, the important difference is that PCK groups heavily influenced cleavages during the decolonization era whereas three decades of independence—often accompanied by predatory rule and economic mismanagement in both PCK and non-PCK countries—engendered new cleavages during SSA's post-Cold War wave of liberalization.

4.2 Main Independent Variable: Pre-Colonial Kingdoms

Measuring the key independent variable poses considerable difficulties. Reading individual country histories reveals a myriad of pre-colonial political organizations that historians have codified as "kingdoms." To provide an adequate test of the theory proposed above, the kingdom had to be able to influence calculus of colonial officials. To proxy for this, I examine whether members of a large African kingdom organized a mass rebellion during the process of colonization. The core idea is that the ability to resist colonization—even though almost all these attempts ultimately failed—distinguishes political hierarchies that were strong enough to project power at the onset of colonization from those organized as a "kingdom" in name only. I use Clodfelter's (2002) encyclopedia on historical conflicts to code all countries where violent resistance to colonization occurred, and consult secondary sources to code which revolting groups were organized as kingdoms. Appendix B provides details. This leads the following countries to be coded as PCK=1: Angola,

[17] Marinov and Goemans (2013) report that 72% of successful coups since 1991 have been followed by elections within the next five years, compared to 27% prior to 1991.

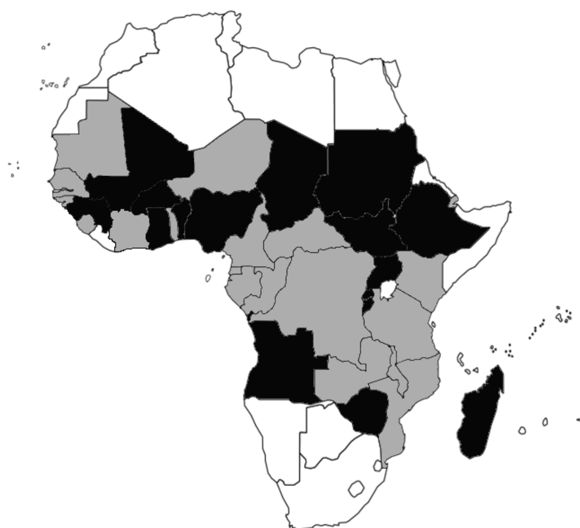
Benin, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.

Three cases fall outside the purview of these criteria but still score PCK=1 in the dataset: Rwanda, Burundi, and Burkina Faso. Tutsi in both Rwanda and Burundi gained their own states precisely because they had established a historical monarchy. The Mossi monarchy in Burkina Faso similarly influenced France's creation of an Upper Volta colony, and then France's decision to end the temporary merger of Upper Volta and Cote d'Ivoire after World War II. Despite the absence of colonization warfare, these monarchies clearly capture the concept of influencing colonial decisions.

One potential concern is that a handful of disruptive kingdoms that each span multiple modern countries might drive the results. However, as can be discerned from the group-level PCK coding discussed in Appendix B, no kingdom is responsible for generating a coding of PCK=1 in more than one country.

This leaves the following countries coded as PCK=0: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Togo, and Zambia. Figure 2 depicts the country-by-country scores.

Figure 2. Map of Pre-Colonial Kingdoms in Sub-Saharan Africa



Notes: Black indicates PCK=1. Gray indicates PCK=0. White indicates the country is not included in the sample.

Despite the imperfections with this measure, it improves upon possible alternatives. Using anthropologist George Murdock's (1969) *Ethnographic Atlas* as the primary basis for coding kingdoms provides one possible alternative. He codified African ethnic groups as their society existed right before the Scramble for Africa. His "jurisdictional hierarchy" variable captures a group's extent of political centralization and has been aggregated in different ways in numerous existing studies on historical legacies (Englebert et al. 2002, see pg. 1107 for the coding discussion; Gennaioli and Rainer 2007, 192-3; Nunn 2008, 165; Gerring et al. 2011, 92-3; Michalopoulos and Papaioannou 2013, 118-120). Although this variable is useful for gauging rough differences in groups' hierarchical political organization—which is exactly what these studies try to capture—it does not neatly divide groups into kingdoms and non-kingdoms. In particular, from consulting secondary sources, there appears to be no clear distinction between groups given the highest score of "large state" and the next-highest score of "larger paramount chiefdoms." Furthermore, many groups scored as

either a large state or a larger paramount chiefdom lacked clear political hierarchies on the eve of colonization. One important source of measurement error is that if an ethnic group was partitioned into multiple colonies, that group receives the same score in all countries.[18]

Similarly, Louis Putterman has coded a state antiquity variable at the country level. This variable scores countries in 50 year intervals from 0 CE to the present and codes whether a government existed above the tribal level. More current periods are given greater weight. Although useful for many purposes, this variable also provides little relevant information regarding whether a large kingdom existed on the eve of independence that could influence colonial policies.

Another notable decision is to measure PCK dichotomously. It would be possible, for example, to use the criteria proposed above to instead code the percentage of a country's population that belonged to a PCK group. Although this choice may appear appealing in one sense, it is not clear why categorizing the variable on this dimension would tie the measure more closely to the underlying concept. Hausa-Fulani, for example, contain roughly double the population share in Nigeria than Baganda do in Uganda. But, as the anecdotes above suggest, even the Baganda controlled a large enough population share that their presence at the center of politics caused political crises.

Instead, more ideal dimensions for categorizing the PCK variable would correspond to the extent of political hierarchy at the eve of independence. As the discussion above shows, however, this is very difficult to code given the data available.

[18] As one example of how this can be problematic, Britain and France drew the border between Nigeria and Niger specifically to demarcate the upper limit of the Sokoto Caliphate. Hausa-Fulani, however, live on either side of the border and receive the same score in both Nigeria and Niger in Murdock's dataset.

4.3 Dependent Variables

There are four dependent variables that correspond to A through D of Hypotheses 1 and 2: coup or civil war, ethnic representation, coup, and civil war. Successful coup attempts at both the country- and ethnic-group level are coded using Roessler's (2011) data, who draws his ethnic units from EPR. I focus on successful coups because of the known difficulty of measuring failed coups (Kebschull 1994). Furthermore, Roessler's appendix demonstrates full data coverage of the ethnicity of groups that participated in successful coups but exhibits considerable missing data for failed coups, which is presumably why his analysis also examines only successful coup attempts.

Country-level civil war onset is coded from the PRIO/UCDP dataset using the criteria for onset outlined in Paine (2014b), and ethnic group participation in civil wars is coded using Roessler's appendix. Notably, PRIO "civil wars" that are in fact coup attempts with large death tolls are not counted for the civil war onset variable.

Ethnic representation data is drawn from the EPR database. A group-year is coded as 1 on the political inclusion variable if it scores any of the following on EPR's political status variable: monopoly, dominant, senior partner, junior partner; and 0 otherwise. A group-year is coded as 1 on the ethnocratic ruling group variable if it scores either monopoly or dominant, and 0 otherwise. A group-year is coded as 1 on the ethnocratic or exclusion variable if it scores 1 on the ethnocratic ruling variable or 0 on the political inclusion variable, and 0 otherwise.

For the country-level variables, the dependent variable is the percentage of years between independence and 1989 in which the event occurred (Table 3 Panels A, C, and D). For the ethnic-group level variables, the dependent variable is whether or not at least one instance of the event occurred in a particular ethnic-group year (Table 3 Panel B; Table 4). I do

not average over years for the ethnic-group level data because the set of politically relevant ethnic groups changes over time in the EPR dataset.

4.4 Control Variables

What could instead drive the associations shown below between PCKs and (1) successful coup attempts and (2) civil wars, and (3) ethnic representation—if not PCKs? The most important feature of PCKs for causal identification purposes is that kingdoms formed temporally prior to many alternative posited causes of post-colonial outcomes. Most of the discussion in this section focuses on civil wars and coups because there is little work on the causes of ethnic representation. After discussing alternative explanations that the research design rules against, I group the covariates used into four categories: pre-colonial, identity of the colonizer, demographic, and geographic.

Implausible alternative explanations. Many alternative explanations for coups and civil wars can be ruled out because the factor is assigned after pre-colonial kingdoms formed, and therefore may be endogenous to PCK. Every regressor from a recent statistical paper on coups can be ruled out on these grounds: expenditures per soldier, the number of military personnel, the number of effective state coercive organizations, the ratio of paramilitary personnel to regular army personnel, (post-independence) GDP per capita, non-coup measures of instability, years since the last coup attempt, and a dummy for each of military regimes, full democracies, and fully non-democratic regimes (J. Powell 2013). Londregan and Poole (1990) focus on income, world region, and previous coups. Many regressors from Fearon and Laitin's (2003) civil war research can also be eliminated: prior civil war (but post-1945), post-independence per capita income, new state, political instability, democracy, and anocracy.

Pre-colonial variables. Higher economic development is the most robust correlate of lower coup propensity (Londregan and Poole 1990) and fewer civil wars (Hegre and Sambanis 2006). Unfortunately, all available pre-colonial development measures exhibit measurement reliability problems. The timing of a territory's transition to agricultural production provides one possible proxy (Putterman 2008). Focusing on an Africa-specific historical legacy, Nunn (2008) presents evidence of the adverse consequences of slave exports on current development and governance institutions. Besley and Reynal-Querol (2014) show that countries whose territories experienced more frequent warfare from 1400 and 1700 also tend to have higher levels of post-colonial civil war.

Identity of colonizer. The identity of the colonizer—in particular, British versus French colonial rule—has been suggested as a possible cause for both outcomes. Although, by definition, colonization occurred after pre-colonial kingdoms had formed, controlling for this variable should not introduce sizable endogeneity bias under the reasonable premise that presence or not of a kingdom in a particular area did not strongly affect the identity of the colonizer.

One important difference between British and French colonies that could have affected coup propensity was France's greater willingness provide support or even to intervene militarily to support friendly regimes (Fearon and Laitin 2003, 86). Gabon in 1964 provides a salient example because France sent in troops to reverse a coup attempt. Blanton, Mason, and Athow (2001) argue British decentralized rule—as opposed to centralized French rule—made civil wars more likely. In one of the few statistical studies on causes of ethnic representation, Wucherpfennig, Hunziker, and Cederman (2012) argue Britain's and France's differential ruling strategies affected which types of ethnic groups tended to be politically included at independence. A Portuguese colonial fixed effect is also important to control for. Portugal's intransigent stance toward African independence engendered

lengthy decolonization fights in all three of its mainland colonies, which existing scholarship has linked to post-independence civil wars in Angola and Mozambique (Reno 2011) and coups in Guinea-Bissau (Forrest 1987).

Demographics. Pre-colonial kingdoms may simply proxy for other forms of ethnic divisions that might instead exert the stronger causal effect. I therefore control for ethnic fractionalization—despite consistent evidence that income inequality measured at the country level tends to only weakly predict civil war (Fearon and Laitin 2003; Cederman et al. 2013). It is also possible that large ethnic groups are destabilizing regardless of whether they were governed by a king. This suggests the importance of controlling for the population share of a country's largest ethnic group (Jackman 1978). Additionally, population size is a strong correlate of civil wars. Regressions that control for demographics include a control for log population size in 1950. It should be noted, however, that there are also concerns about endogeneity bias with these variables because some PCK groups absorbed less powerful ethnic groups and therefore affected both the amount of ethnic fractionalization and the size of the largest ethnic group.

The ethnic-group level regressions also include a control for the log of the group's share of the national population.

Geographic. The final control variables capture geographical factors suggested to affect civil wars. Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue mountainous terrain provides sanctuary for rebels. Herbst (2000) codes the difficulty of broadcasting power over each African state based on the country's land area and population dispersion, which may affect the state's ability to prevent insurgencies. The regressions below that control for geographic factors include the log of a country's percentage of territory that is mountainous, and a four-tiered ordinal variable for Herbst's four classifications.

5 Empirical Evidence

The statistical models strongly support all but one of the eight hypotheses derived above, and provide moderate support for the other. Each hypothesis is subjected to 16 specifications that permute controlling or not for all 16 combinations of the four sets of covariates just presented (historical, colonizer, demographic, geographic). Although the country-level results are the most relevant for assessing the effects of PCKs because of spillover effects on country-level political dynamics, the ethnic-group level results and qualitative analysis provide evidence that PCKs were indeed prominent in violent political events. The null hypothesis that PCKs exerted no effect on post-colonial political outcomes is particularly difficult to sustain because a coherent alternative account would have to explain away the effect of PCKs on each outcome.

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for the country-level dependent variables and covariates, and provides difference-in-means tests and assesses covariate balance between PCK=1 and PCK=0 countries. As the first two rows show, PCK correlates with a higher risk of successful coups by 2.84 times, and 5.75 for civil war onset. Whether using the p-value for the difference in means or standardized mean difference as the metric for comparison, the differences on the outcomes are more substantial than the differences on any of the covariates. There is notable imbalance, however, on historical warfare, ethnic fractionalization, population in 1950, and mountains—although the expected bias from imbalance on ethnic fractionalization goes against the direction of the estimated effects presented below.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Covariate Balance

Variable	Whole sample		Subset means		Comparisons	
	Mean	s.d.	PCK=1	PCK=0	pval diff means	St. mean diff
1. % yrs succ coup	0.055	0.060	0.088	0.031	0.004	0.950
2. % yrs CW onset	0.024	0.039	0.046	0.008	0.003	0.974
3. Historical wars	6.657	17.916	15.000	0.400	0.015	0.815
4. Slaves	1.712	1.426	1.910	1.564	0.462	0.243
5. Development	2954	784	2953	2955	0.995	-0.003
6. Britain	0.314	0.471	0.333	0.300	0.839	0.070
7. France	0.457	0.505	0.400	0.500	0.570	-0.198
8. Portugal	0.086	0.284	0.067	0.100	0.737	-0.116
9. Largest ethnic	40.532	20.471	43.567	38.257	0.456	0.259
10. Ethnic frac	0.734	0.179	0.671	0.781	0.071	-0.615
11. Pop 1950	7.816	1.266	8.433	7.354	0.010	0.852
12. Herbst geo	1.142	1.216	1.267	1.050	0.609	0.178
13. Mountains	1.436	1.414	1.984	1.025	0.045	0.678

Notes: Table 2 reports descriptive statistics and comparison statistics for the two country-level dependent variables and 11 control variables: mean and standard deviation for the entire sample, mean for PCK=1 countries, mean for PCK=0 countries, p-value for the difference in means between PCK=1 and PCK=0 countries, and the standardized mean difference between PCK=1 and PCK=0 countries.

Table 3 adjusts for these country-level imbalances either using OLS or logit. Panels A through D assess Hypotheses 1A through 1D, respectively. Across all the specifications, the coefficients remain large in magnitude and almost all are statistically significant at conventional levels.

Table 3. Effects of PCK at the Country Level

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Panel A. Dependent variable: % of years with successful coup or CW onset							
Pre-Colonial	0.094	0.089	0.084	0.098	0.097	0.092	0.098	0.098
Kingdom	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Panel B. Dependent variable: Binary political inclusion							
Pre-Colonial	-1.187	-1.190	-0.719	-0.745	-0.677	-0.915	-0.844	-0.826
Kingdom	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.056)	(0.021)	(0.064)	(0.028)	(0.010)	(0.033)
Log group % of pop?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group years	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608
	Panel C. Dependent variable: % of years with successful coup							
Pre-Colonial	0.057	0.056	0.060	0.070	0.064	0.061	0.069	0.063
Kingdom	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.019)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Panel D. Dependent variable: % of years with civil war onset							
Pre-Colonial	0.038	0.033	0.023	0.028	0.032	0.031	0.029	0.035
Kingdom	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.102)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.003)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Control variables used in all panels:							
Colonizer controls?	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic controls?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Geographic controls?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Historical controls?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes

Table 3, continued

	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	Panel A. Dependent variable: % of years with successful coup or CW onset							
Pre-Colonial	0.083	0.084	0.103	0.098	0.101	0.109	0.085	0.114
Kingdom	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.000)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Panel B. Dependent variable: Binary political inclusion							
Pre-Colonial	-0.788	-0.638	-0.681	-0.946	-0.858	-0.830	-0.789	-0.976
Kingdom	(0.035)	(0.098)	(0.072)	(0.023)	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.050)	(0.026)
Log group % of pop?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group years	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608	4608
	Panel C. Dependent variable: % of years with successful coup							
Pre-Colonial	0.058	0.059	0.071	0.066	0.062	0.073	0.055	0.068
Kingdom	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.019)	(0.001)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Panel D. Dependent variable: % of years with civil war onset							
Pre-Colonial	0.025	0.025	0.032	0.032	0.039	0.037	0.030	0.046
Kingdom	(0.073)	(0.093)	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.059)	(0.003)
Countries	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
	Control variables used in all panels:							
Colonizer controls?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Demographic controls?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Geographic controls?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Historical controls?	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Panels A, C, and D of Table 3 reports the coefficient estimate, and p-value calculated using conventional OLS standard errors in parentheses, for a series of OLS regressions. Panel B reports the coefficient estimate, and p-value calculated by clustering standard errors at the group level in parentheses, for a series of logit regressions. The different sets of covariates correspond to the variables described in the previous section. Coefficient estimates are suppressed for all regressors except PCK.

One important consideration when attempting to draw causal inferences from these results is that a coherent alternative explanation would have to explain away the effect of PCK on each outcome. This is notable because many existing explanations for coups and civil wars treat them as *substitutes* rather than complements—i.e., conditions that raise the probability of one should *decrease* the probability of the other. For example, Rossler

(2011) shows that ethnic groups in SSA included in the ruling coalition are simultaneously more likely to attempt coups and less likely to initiate a civil war.

Although the main implications of the theory focus on country-level political dynamics, the country-level results cannot address a major issue. If the data—whether examined from a statistical or qualitative perspective—provided no evidence that PCK groups tended to be central actors in political violence events, there would be grounds to question whether the country-level findings indeed plausibly represent causal effects. Panels A through D of Table 4 therefore analyze Hypotheses 2A through 2D, respectively, about ethnic group-level effects. In these regressions, only the *group* coded as a PCK is listed as PCK=1, and all other groups are PCK=0. Non-PCK groups in PCK countries are not included for reasons discussed in Section 3.3.

Table 4. Effects of PCK at Ethnic-Group Level

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Panel A. Dependent variable: Binary successful coup or CW onset							
Pre-Colonial	1.175	1.751	1.722	1.816	1.744	1.757	1.815	1.753
Kingdom	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Group years	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630
	Panel B. Dependent variable: Binary ethnocratic or excluded							
Pre-Colonial	1.226	1.014	0.902	0.945	0.867	1.070	0.883	0.995
Kingdom	(0.022)	(0.057)	(0.102)	(0.060)	(0.140)	(0.048)	(0.100)	(0.147)
Group years	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626
	Panel C. Dependent variable: Binary successful coup							
Pre-Colonial	2.014	1.949	1.707	2.030	1.702	1.916	1.961	1.622
Kingdom	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.014)
Group years	1832	1759	1832	1832	1832	1759	1759	1759
	Panel D. Dependent variable: Binary civil war onset							
Pre-Colonial	3.608	3.300	3.538	3.986	3.434	-	3.641	8.651
Kingdom	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.000)	-	(0.016)	(0.000)
Group years	777	777	777	777	777	-	777	777
	Control variables used in all panels:							
Log group % of pop?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colonizer controls?	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic controls?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Geographic controls?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Historical controls?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes

Table 4, continued

	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	Panel A. Dependent variable: Binary successful coup or CW onset							
Pre-Colonial	1.814	1.664	1.822	1.782	1.656	1.895	1.742	1.727
Kingdom	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Group years	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630
	Panel B. Dependent variable: Binary ethnocratic or excluded							
Pre-Colonial	0.962	0.818	0.925	0.959	1.260	0.971	0.997	1.229
Kingdom	(0.127)	(0.154)	(0.125)	(0.122)	(0.050)	(0.215)	(0.125)	(0.159)
Group years	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626	2626
	Panel C. Dependent variable: Binary successful coup							
Pre-Colonial	1.634	1.300	1.939	1.722	1.487	1.844	0.982	0.975
Kingdom	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.003)	(0.020)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.100)	(0.137)
Group years	1832	1832	1832	1759	1759	1759	1832	1759
	Panel D. Dependent variable: Binary civil war onset							
Pre-Colonial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Group years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Control variables used in all panels:							
Log group % of pop?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colonizer controls?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Demographic controls?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Geographic controls?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Historical controls?	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Table 4 reports the coefficient estimate, and p-value calculated by clustering standard errors at the group level in parentheses, for a series of logit regressions. The different sets of covariates correspond to the variables described in the previous section. Coefficient estimates are suppressed for all regressors except PCK.

Taken as a whole, the results support these hypotheses, although H2b receives only weak support. Notably, not belonging to a PCK country is such a strong predictor of not experiencing a civil war that the logit model perfectly predicts the outcome for most of the cases in many of the Panel D regressions (because the only non-PCK groups in the sample are in non-PCK countries). Rebellions by the Lunda-Yeke (1960, 1977) and Luba Kasai

(1960) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Shona-Nadu (1976) in Mozambique, and Diola (1989) in Senegal provide the only rebellions in non-PCK countries between independence and 1989, as opposed to 30 in PCK countries.

Analyzing PCK cases individually provides another way to demonstrate that PCK groups played a central role in causing political violence. Table 5 organizes the cases into three modal patterns of political inclusion/exclusion and violence: (1) one ethnic group ruled ethnocratically at independence, (2) the country gained independence with an ethnically inclusive ruling coalition but transitioned to ethnic exclusion, and (3) the country permanently maintained political inclusion. A PCK group has an asterisk next to its name the first time it appears in the table.

Table 5. Modal Paths of Political Violence in PCK Countries

Country	Year(s)	Description
		Ethnic exclusion at independence
Angola	1975	Mbundu* gain power after a long decolonization struggle that fractured along ethnic lines; systematically excluded Ovimbundu and Bakongo* fight against government
Chad	1965	Systematically excluded Muslim Sahel* and Arab* groups fight to overthrow the southern-dominated government
Ethiopia	Ancient	Head of state is Amhara* monarch
	1962	Seccession attempt by Eritreans
	1974	Successful coup terminates monarchy
	1976	Civil war widens to include additional ethnic groups, Amhara dominance ended when Tigray rebels capture the capital in 1991
Madagascar	1960	Merina* excluded from political offices but influential in military
	1972	Successful coup led by Merina
Mali	1968	Military overthrows civilian government, Bambara* remain in power
	1989	Tuaregs and Arabs, excluded from power since independence, revolt
Rwanda	1959	Hutu rebellion destabilizes historical Tutsi* monarchy
	1962	Monarchy terminated by popular referendum, Tutsi are systematically excluded from power and fight Hutu government
Sudan	1955	Mutiny by southern officers during integration into riverine Arab*-dominated army
	1958	First of four successful coups; although the coups rotate power among riverine Arabs, latter three are linked to the civil war against the south
	1963	First civil war by southerners begins
	1983	Second civil war by southerners begins

Table 5, cont.

Country	Year(s)	Description
		Ethnic inclusion followed by exclusion
Burundi	1962	Tutsi* monarch is head of state at independence, shares power with Hutu
	1965	Failed coup attempt by Hutu
	1966	Tutsi officers overthrow the monarchy, repress Hutu
	1972	Violence against Hutu
	1988	Violence against Hutu
Nigeria	1960	Head of state is Hausa-Fulani*
	1966	Successful coup led by Igbo, countercoup led by Hausa-Fulani
	1967	Secession attempt by Igbo
Uganda	1963	King of Buganda* is President
	1966	Successful coup engenders systematic exclusion of Baganda and terminates Buganda monarchy
	1978	Baganda participate in anti-Idi Amin civil war
	1981	Baganda participate in anti-Milton Obote civil war
Zimbabwe	1980	Shona-dominated ZANU controlled the presidency but shared power with Ndebele*-dominated ZAPU
	1982	Failed coup attempt led by Ndebele leads to their exclusion and discrimination
	1983	Civil war initiated by Ndebele
		Permanent inclusion
Benin	1960-1972	Fon*, Yoruba*, and northern groups rotate in power, period includes six successful coup attempts
Burkina Faso	1960-1987	Six successful coups, head of state is periodically a Mossi*, exact relationship to PCK is unclear
Ghana	1957-1981	Five successful coups, Ashanti* participate in several coups
Guinea	1960-1983	Stable authoritarian rule
	1984	Successful coup that includes Fulani* participation

Eleven of the 15 countries clearly match theoretical expectations and highlight the central destabilizing role of PCK groups. In seven cases, one ethnic group had monopolized power by independence. Six out of the seven cases experienced at least one civil war by an excluded group. In the seventh, Madagascar, the politically excluded Merina (as coded by EPR) maintained a key presence in the military (Schraeder 1995, section "Independence,

the First Republic, and the Military Transition, 1960-75"), which may explain why Merina generals staged coups rather than initiated a civil war. Importantly, the PCK group was a central actor in the violence in all these cases, with conflicts in Ethiopia and Rwanda revolving specifically around the monarchy.

In another four cases, ethnic tensions within an ethnically inclusionary coalition bred coup attempts and purges that were followed by systematic ethnic exclusion and civil war. Once again PCK groups were key actors in the violence, and conflicts in Uganda and Burundi revolved specifically around the monarchy.

An additional four cases either defy the general pattern and/or raise important questions about the role of PCK groups. Benin and Ghana both experienced a spiral of military coups. The role of PCK groups causing political instability in Benin is quite direct (e.g., Decalo 1973, 1990), and the leader of Ghana's first coup explicitly denounced Nkrumah's attempts to undermine traditional Ashanti institutions (Owusu 1989, 381)—a rivalry that began during the colonial era after Nkrumah attempted to undermine Ashanti planter-chiefs (Boone 2003, 159-63). However, these countries raise the puzzle of why subsequent governments tended not to attempt systematic political exclusion. Burkina Faso resembles these countries in its spiral of coups, although EPR codes ethnicity as not politically relevant in this country. Finally, in contrast to all the other cases in Table 4, Guinea experienced a long period of stable authoritarian rule before eventually falling prey to political violence.

6 Conclusion

Rulers of weakly institutionalized states constantly fear coup attempts. The risk of coups may lead rulers to exclude certain ethnic groups from power—despite creating incentives

for excluded groups to rebel against the government. But under what conditions do leaders perceive strong threats? Focusing on post-independence Sub-Saharan Africa, this paper argued that leaders of countries containing one or multiple large pre-colonial kingdoms (PCK) perceived greater hazards from members of other ethnic groups. PCK groups frequently created crises by causing regional schisms and ethnically aligned responses from non-PCK groups. Statistical and qualitative evidence showed PCK is an important explanation for coups, civil wars, and ethnic exclusion in Sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War era.

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A Formal Model Analysis

[In progress]

B Coding PCK Groups/Countries

Appendix B presents the country- and group-level PCK coding justifications. All the countries listed are coded as PCK=1. Each entry describes the conflict listed in Clodfelter (2002) and the corresponding EPR ethnic group that composed the rebelling kingdom. To account for all the 19th century through pre-World War II conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa that Clodfelter discusses, the end of the section justifies why some wars did not yield a score of PCK=1 for any group or country. Longer discussions accompany the less obvious cases. Each ethnic group's share of the national population at independence is listed in parentheses, and is cited from EPR unless otherwise noted.

Angola

Clodfelter discusses Portugal's wars with the Kingdom of Ndongo and the Kongo Kingdom (229). Ndongo was the historical kingdom of the **Mbundu-Mestico** (26%) people (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014a). The **Bakongo** (13%) are descendants of the Kongo Kingdom.

Benin

Clodfelter discusses France's wars to conquer the kingdom of Dahomey (234), to which **South/Central (Fon)** (33%) belonged. France's campaigns to end the monarchies in southern Benin also involved the Porto Novo kingdom (which "had been locked in a state of semipermanent warfare [with the kingdom of Dahomey] that only ended with the final invasion of French troops in 1892", Decalo 1990, 91) which consisted of **Southeastern (Yoruba/Nagot and Goun)** (19%).

Burkina Faso

The **Mossi** (48%, Alesina et al. 2003) gained their own state because of their monarchy. EPR does not code ethnic differences as politically relevant in Burkina Faso.

Burundi

The **Tutsi** (15%) gained their own state because of their monarchy.

Chad

Clodfelter discusses slaver Rabih Zubayr's conquest of "a wide area southeast of Lake Chad known as Bagarmi," and then discusses Rabih's battles with France (229). The area that Rabih defeated in warfare from 1883 to 1893 contained the kingdoms of Wadai, Bagirmi, and Kanem-Bornu (Lye et al. 2002, 138). These kingdoms created a wide gulf between themselves and neighboring stateless societies. "The nearly stateless societies of the South, smaller and less well armed, could not simply be absorbed by the great states of the Sahel that emerged at various points in the thousand years preceding colonization. One principal reason was that they served as hunting grounds for slaves, a role they could not fulfill if, by incorporation into the Sahelian states of Ouaddai, Baruirmi, and Kanem, they became a part of Dar-el-Islam" (Nolutshungu 1996, 27-8). Similarly, Decalo (1980, 28-9) argues "the recorded history of the country is very much the story of the tug-of-war between the Muslim slave-kingdoms of the Sahel (Baguirmi, Ouadai, and Kanem-Bornu) and their deep razzias in the animist and disorganised Sara south." These kingdoms had experienced varying levels of decline by the onset of colonial rule and exhibited mixed reactions toward French hegemony (Collier 1990, "Introduction"; Decalo 1980). "To the Maba and allied groups of Ouadai, however, France was an 'infidel' colonial power imposing its arbitrary and alien rule over a proud and hitherto undefeated Muslim kingdom with roots in the seventeenth century" (Decalo 1980, 29), which sparked resistance to French rule (Collier 1990, "Introduction").

Both **Arab groups** (14%) and **Muslim Sahelian** (27%) groups were associated with the "great states of the Sahel" in Chad (Nolutshungu 1996, 28). "The Arabs were not state builders in Chad, a role played instead by the Maba in Wadai, the Barma in Bagirmi, and the Kanembu in Kanem-Borno [all Muslim Sahelian groups]. The Arabs exercised great influence over all three empires, however, either by conquest (in the case of Wadai) or by converting their rulers to Islam (in the cases of Bagirmi and Kanem)" (Cordell 1990, "Arabs: Semisedentary Peoples of the Sahel").

Ethiopia

Clodfelter discusses wars between Abyssinia and Britain (224), Egypt (224), Mahdist Sudan (227), and Italy (227-8, 399). The **Amhara** (25%) controlled the monarchy.

Ghana

Clodfelter discusses wars between Britain and the Ashanti kingdom (231, 232, 394), to which the **Asante (Akan)** (15%) belonged.

Guinea

Clodfelter discusses the Mandingo Wars from 1882 to 1898 (233-4) in which the Mandingo religious chief Samory Toure conquered a large amount of territory in western Africa. This resulted in warfare with the expanding French empire (see below for a discussion of Cote d'Ivoire). Toure's empire included parts of Guinea, which included the Imamate of Futa Jallon to which the **Peul** (40%) belonged. Although the *Alimamies* of the Futa Jallon did not come into direct military conflict with France, they did aid Samory Toure (McGowan 1981, 247). Furthermore, France specifically pursued a pacific policy toward Futa Jallon in part because of its desire to avoid fighting another conflict alongside Toure's, and because the "idea of war with this extensive, woody, mountainous country with its scattered, loosely constructed villages and its large population, reputed to be courageous warriors, was not a welcome prospect to most French military leaders" (253).

Madagascar

Clodfelter discusses a war between France and the Imerina kingdom (235), to which **Highlanders** (40%) belonged.

Mali

Clodfelter discusses wars between France and the Tukulor empire (226-7), located primarily in modern Mali. Amidst the wider jihads in Western Sudan in the 19th century, al-Hajj Umar created the brief Tukulor empire in part through conquering the Bambara (Mande) kingdoms of Segu and Kaarta and the Fulani (Peul) state of Masina (Oliver and Atmore 2005, 67-8), to which **Blacks (Mande, Peul, Voltaic etc.)** (90%) belonged.

Nigeria

Clodfelter discusses a war between Britain and the Sokoto Caliphate (394-5, 396), to which **Hausa-Fulani and Muslim Middle Belt** (29%) belonged.

Clodfelter also discusses a war between Britain and the Kingdom of Benin (236). Its ethnic group, Edo (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014b), is not coded as politically relevant by EPR.

Furthermore, the modern Edo State has only several million people, a small fraction of the population.

Rwanda

The **Tutsi** (15%) gained their own state because of their monarchy.

Sudan

Clodfelter discusses wars (a) between Britain/Egypt and slave kings (224-5), and (2) multiple wars involving the Mahdist state (227-9). The Funj Sultanate of Sinnar, located along the Nile, was the dominant state in the region from 1500 to 1800 (O'Fahey 1996, 259). An Egyptian invasion in 1821 ended the Funj sultanate, after which slave raiding increased precipitously. In particular, for the first time northerners were able to conduct large-scale slave raids of southerners (Ofcansky 1992, "The Turkiyah, 1821-85"). In reaction to Egyptian rule and a growing British presence, the Mahdist caliphate fought a series of wars to gain control of much of modern Sudan between 1881 and 1898, which provided an interlude of indigenous centralized rule prior to British colonization. Despite this turmoil, riverine Arab groups consistently dominated northern Sudanese society (O'Fahey 1996, 261). EPR labels riverine Arabs as **Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin, and Danagla (Arab)** (15%) (Pekkinen 2009, 2).

Clodfelter also has an entry for the Sudanese Mutiny in 1924, which mentions a rebellion in Darfur in 1916 (398-9). However, at only 2% of the population, the Fur are too small to be coded as PCK.

Uganda

Clodfelter discusses Britain's war with Buganda (234), to which the **Baganda** (16%) people belonged.

Zimbabwe

Clodfelter discusses wars between British settlers and the Ndebele kingdom (235, 236), to which the **Ndebele-Kalanga-(Tonga)** (20%) people belonged.

Non-PCK wars

"Arab" War. Clodfelter discusses several wars between the Congo Free State (Belgium) and natives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. None of these, however, involved a kingdom. Although many kingdoms existed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Lunda, Luba, Kazembe, remnants of the Kongo Kingdom) on the eve of colonization (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014c), none of the kingdoms engaged in a war recorded by Clodfelter (however, Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014d mentions guerrilla warfare between the Lunda empire and the Congo Free State until 1909).

Brassman Rebellion. Clodfelter discusses a war between Britain and the Ijaw "city-state" of Brass (Encyclopaedia Britannica "Nigeria," Section "Kingdoms and empires of precolonial Nigeria").

Chilembwe's Revolt. Clodfelter discusses a brief revolt in 1915 by an American-educated minister that was discontent with British colonial rule in Nyasaland. There is no connection to kingdoms.

Maji Maji Rebellion. Clodfelter discusses numerous uprisings that occurred during Germany's colonization of German East Africa. Consulting secondary sources shows, however, no evidence of any sizable pre-colonial kingdoms in Tanzania.

Mandingo Wars. Clodfelter discusses the Mandingo Wars from 1882 to 1898 (233-4) in which the Mandingo religious chief Samory Toure conquered a large amount of territory in western Africa, which resulted in warfare with the expanding French empire (see above for Guinea). He expanded into the upper Cote d'Ivoire colony in the mid- and late 1890s (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014e).

Minor kingdoms existed in pre-colonial Cote d'Ivoire. Encyclopaedia Britannica (2014f) mentions the trading kingdom of Kong (which Toure destroyed in 1897) in the east, and eastern kingdoms (Gyaman, Ndenye, Sanwi, Baule). The eastern kingdoms were related to the Ashanti empire in contemporary Ghana either because they were formed by migrants from Ashanti or because the kingdoms were tributaries to Ashanti. Oliver and Atmore (2005, 70) also label Kong as a tributary to Ashanti.

However, none of the kingdoms were large or appeared to have strong centralized organization. Boone (2003, 181-2) cites different historical sources claiming, "the absence of an Ashanti-type [as in Ghana] federal monarchy with a supreme chief anywhere in the Ivory Coast" and "at the time of colonial contact, 'there were no large-scale political entities in the Ivory Coast ... comparable with the Ashanti in Ghana, Mossi in Upper Volta, or with the resurgent Muslim states of Mali and Senegal."' Furthermore, "Samory's empire in what is now Cote d'Ivoire 'achieved a degree of administrative linkage on a larger scale than any other precolonial polity in the history of Ivory Coast"' (248), i.e., despite only controlling

territory in Cote d'Ivoire for a few years, he was able to create more hierarchically polities than had existed.

Zanzibar War. Clodfelter discusses a war between Britain and the Sultanate of Zanzibar (235-6). The Zanzibar kingdom was ruled as a distinct colony by Germany and then Britain prior to being merged with Tanganyika to create Tanzania after independence. In addition to Zanzibar's post-colonial merger in Tanzania, they only composed 0.5% of the country's total population in the 1960s.

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