

Adrienne LeBas

American University
Department of Government
School of Public Affairs
4400 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, DC 20016

lebas@american.edu
Phone: +1 202 885 6229

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor of Government, School of Public Affairs, American University (September 2015 to the present). Assistant Professor (2008-2015).

Post-doctoral Prize Research Fellow, Nuffield College, University of Oxford. September 2005 – July 2009.

Assistant Professor of Political Science and African Studies, Michigan State University. August 2005 – August 2008.

EDUCATION

Columbia University. Ph.D., M.Phil., M.A. Political Science. May 2006.

University of Florida. B.A. in Political Science and Economics with Honors. December 1997.

SELECTED ADDITIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 2024 | Visiting fellow, Centre de Recherche Internationale (CERI), Sciences Po, Paris. |
| 2017-2019 | Research Fellow, Centre for Public Policy Alternatives, Lagos, Nigeria. |
| 2015-2016 | Residential Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC. |
| 2008-2015 | Research associate, iiG (Improving Institutions for Pro-Poor Growth) initiative, Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford. |
| 2002-2004 | Research associate, Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe. |

BOOK

From Protest to Parties: Party-Building and Democratization in Africa. Oxford University Press. 2011 (2013 paperback). 300 pages.

- Best Book Award from the African Politics Conference Group, an organized section of the American Political Science Association and the African Studies Association. November 2012.
- Reviews: *African Affairs*, *African Studies Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Commonwealth and Comparative Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *Mobilization*, *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*

EDITED VOLUME

Co-editor (with Adam Auerbach, Alison Post, and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro), "The Politics of Urban Informality: Innovations in Theory and Research Design from the City's Margins," special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development* 53:3 (2018).

ARTICLES

- Forthcoming. With Jessica Gottlieb and Janica Magat. "Taxation and Social Intermediaries: Experimental Evidence from Lagos, Nigeria." *British Journal of Political Science*. Accepted March 2024.
- 2024 With Lauren Young. "Repression and Dissent under Authoritarianism: Panel Data Evidence in Zimbabwe." *American Political Science Review* 118:2 (May), 584-601.
- 2021 With Kyle Gray. "Authoritarian experience and electoral success: the fate of authoritarian diasporans in Kenya." *Democratization* 28:3, 502-520.
- 2020 "Who trusts? Ethnicity, integration, and attitudes toward elected officials in urban Nigeria." *Comparative Political Studies* 53:10-11, 1738-1766. Earlier version published as UNU-WIDER Working Paper 126/2017 (June 2017).
- 2020 With Roxana Gutierrez-Romero. "Does Electoral Violence affect vote choice and willingness to vote? Conjoint analysis of a vignette experiment." *Journal of Peace Research* 57:1, 77-92. Earlier version published as CSAE Working Paper Series, no 2016-35 (2016).
- 2019 With Ngonidzashe Munemo. "Elite Conflict, Compromise, and Enduring Authoritarianism: Polarization in Zimbabwe, 1980-2008." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681, 209-226.
- 2018 With Adam Auerbach, Alison Post, and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. "State, Society, and Informality in Cities of the Global South." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 53:3, 261-280.
- 2018 "Can Polarization be Positive? Conflict and Institutional Development in Africa." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62:1, 59-74.
- 2016 With Cristina Bodea. "The Origins of Voluntary Compliance: Attitudes toward Taxation in Urban Nigeria." *British Journal of Political Science* 46:1, 215-238. Previously published as CSAE Working Paper Series, no. 2013-2 (January 2013). Reprinted in Nic Cheeseman, ed., *African Politics* (Routledge, 2016).
- 2014 "A New Twilight in Zimbabwe? The Perils of Power-sharing." *Journal of Democracy* 25:2, 52-66.
- 2013 "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya, and Lagos, Nigeria," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48:3, 240-262.
- 2006 "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe." *Comparative Politics* 38:4, 419-438. Honorable mention (sole), African Politics Conference Group Best Article Award, 2007.
- 2004 "Une alliance qui se délite? Contrôle partisan et dynamiques internes dans le Zanu-PF," *Politique Africaine* 93, 105-124.

BOOK CHAPTERS AND POLICY REPORTS

- 2021 With Jessica Gottlieb. "Taxing the Informal Sector: Market Vendors and Tax Appeals in Lagos State, Nigeria." Policy report for LIRS and Lagos State Government partners. 53 pages.
- 2020 "Opposition Parties and Political Change in Zimbabwe." In Jocelyn Alexander and Blessing-Miles Tendi, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Zimbabwean Politics* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming). Published online November 2020 (oxfordhandbooks.com).
- 2020 With Jessica Gottlieb (and edited by Jaclyn Leaver). "Formalization, Tax Appeals, and Voluntary Compliance: Lessons from Nigeria." EGAP Stories of Change Series, August 2020. 7 pages.
2020. With Jessica Gottlieb and Janica Magat. "Resilience and Risk in the Informal Sector: Responses to Economic and Security Risks of COVID-19 in Lagos, Nigeria." Policy Report (July 2020). 32 pages.
- 2020 "Political Parties and Regime Outcomes in Multiparty Africa." In Nic Cheeseman, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (Oxford University Press). Published online October 2019.
- 2018 "The Survival of Authoritarian Successor Parties in Africa: Organizational Legacies or Competitive Landscapes?" In James Loxton and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Life after Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide* (Cambridge University Press).
- 2018 "Innovations in Tax Compliance: Property Tax in Kaduna State" (with Anna Custers and Fariya Mohiuddin). Draft Mission Findings, World Bank Mission for Kaduna State Economic Transformation Program for Results (P161998). August 2018.
- 2007 "The Politics of Institutional Subversion: Organized Labour and Resistance in Zambia." In John Chalcraft and Yaseen Noorani, eds., *Counterhegemony in the Colony and Postcolony* (Palgrave Macmillan), 228-251.

CURRENT MAJOR PROJECTS

Book project: "The Organizational Roots of Persistent Electoral Violence in Africa."

- Supported by a residential fellowship from Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2016-2017), a Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation grant (2017-2019), and other smaller grants.
- Qualitative fieldwork in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Senegal. Ongoing.

Book project (with Jessica Gottlieb): "Can Social Intermediaries Build the State? Taxation and Clientelism in Lagos, Nigeria."

- Supported by grants from EGAP, ICTD, and J-PAL. Part of the EGAP Metaketa II on Taxation.
- Mixed methods research, including qualitative fieldwork, survey data collection, and a randomized control trial. 2017-2022. The field experiment's interventions were conducted in partnership with Lagos Internal Revenue Service and with the Lagos Market Women & Men Association.

RESEARCH GRANTS

With Jessica Gottlieb. "Resilience & Risk in the Informal Sector: Responses to Economic & Security Risks of COVID-19 in Lagos, Nigeria." Jameel Latif Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL). 2020. \$32,748.

COVID Rapid Response Grant, American University School of Public Affairs. Additional funding to support "Resilience and Risk." 2020. \$9,266.

Principal Investigator (on behalf of AU Ph.D. student Natalie Chwalisz), National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research in Sociology for "Cooperation in Uncertainty: Human smuggling and violence in West Africa's irregular migration routes." 2020-2021. \$16,000.

With Jessica Gottlieb and Janica Magat. "Disentangling the Effects of Ethnicity and Social Intermediaries on Informal Sector Tax in Lagos, Nigeria." International Centre for Tax and Development (UK). 2019. £17,888.

With Lauren Young and Alexander Noyes. "The Impact of Crisis Events on Public Opinion in Authoritarian Regimes: Tracking Citizen Response in Zimbabwe." International Republican Institute. 2018. \$90,000.

With Ryan Moore. "Tax Appeals and Social Intermediaries in Lagos, Nigeria." Evidence in Governance & Politics (EGAP) Metaketa Initiative. 2017-2019. \$176,479.

- With Jessica Gottlieb and Nonso Obikili. Additional funding from the EGAP Metaketa Initiative to support this project. 2019-2020. \$47,580.

Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation grant for "The Local Organization of Violence in Nigeria." 2017-2019 (competitive renewal): \$26,743 and \$12,000.

Team Co-Principal Investigator (for Nigeria). £120,000 from the Department for International Development (DfID, UK). With Etannibi Alemika (University of Jos) and Nic Cheeseman (Oxford University). 2009-2012.

- Primary authority for all survey design and implementation. Pilot survey in Lagos (600 respondents), urban survey in eleven cities (2750 respondents).
- Capacity-building programs with CLEEN, a Nigerian NGO dedicated to justice sector reform and oversight.

American University International Travel Grant. \$3000. Summer 2012.

Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University. Small grant for survey 'Political Competition and Violence in Kenya,' 600 respondents in Nairobi slums. May 2009. £2500.

John Fell Research Fund, Small Award. Grant for "Electoral Competition and the Organization of Violence in Kenya," 2008-2009. £5000.

Faculty Research Initiative Award, College of Social Sciences, Michigan State University. Grant for research on violence in Kenya, 2007-2008. \$6000.

Smith Richardson Travel Grant, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University. Summer 2003. \$2500.

SELECTED WORKING PAPERS

With Ana de la O, Donald Green, Peter John, Rafael Goldszmidt, Anna-Katharina Lenz, Martin Valdivia, Cesar Zucco, Darin Christensen, Francisco Garfias, Pablo Balán, Augustin Bergeron, Gabriel Tourek, Jonathan Weigel, Jessica Gottlieb, Janica Magat, Nonso Obikili, Jake Bowers, Nuole Chen, Christopher Grady, Matthew Winters, Nikhar Gaikwad, Gareth Nellis, Anjali Thomas, and Susan Hyde. "Fiscal Contracts? A Six-country Randomized Experiment on Transaction Costs, Public Services, and Taxation in Developing Countries." *Under review*.

With Jessica Gottlieb. "Urban brokers and clientelistic mobilization: Evidence from an Experiment in Lagos, Nigeria."

With Austin Jang, Nonso Obikili, and Dan Steiman. "Before Formalization: Attitudes toward Government, Taxation, and Governance Alternatives in Lagos's Informal Sector."

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

"How the coronavirus pandemic is fueling ethnic hatred," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), September 18, 2020. With Jessica Gottlieb.

Book review of Ken Ochieng' Opalo, *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies*. *Perspectives on Politics* 18:2 (June 2020), 644-666.

"After Mugabe, can ZANU-PF still rule Zimbabwe?" *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), December 14, 2017.

"Term Limits and Beyond: Africa's Democratic Hurdles," *Current History* 115:781 (May 2016), 169-174.

"A year ago, most Zimbabweans trusted Mugabe. Here are why so many are now protesting in the street," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), September 23, 2016.

"This research on Nigeria shows how a country can build a tax base," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), April 15, 2016.

"Briefing on Current Zimbabwe Socio-Political Relations," prepared for the Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, National Intelligence University. March 2016. Available online.

"Using Film to Teach African Politics," *African Politics Conference Group Newsletter* 10:1 (February 2014).

Book review of Anne Pitcher, *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies*. *Perspectives on Politics* 11:4 (December 2013), 1223-1224.

Book review of Timothy Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964*. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 51:1 (March 2013), 191-192.

"Ethnicity and the Willingness to Sanction Violence Politicians," Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 125. December 2010.

Co-author (anonymous), Prospects for Non-Violent Change in Zimbabwe, *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, no. 109. August 2003. Available at www.usip.org.

Under a Shadow: Civil and Political Rights in Zimbabwe, Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, June 6, 2003. Available at www.hrw.org.

Review article, "Children's Rights," *Journal of International Affairs* 55:1 (Fall 2001), 217-222.

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Visiting professor, Centre de Recherche International, Sciences Po. Spring-Summer 2024.

Visiting fellow, joint with V-Dem & Quality of Governance Institute, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. May 2015.

African Politics Conference Group, 2011 Best Book in African Politics. November 2012.

New Voice in the Social Sciences, Social Science Research Council (SSRC). May 2012.

African Politics Conference Group, 2006 Best Article Honorable Mention. November 2007.

Dissertation nominated for the Juan Linz Prize, APSA Comparative Democratization section. March 2007.

Prize Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Nuffield College, University of Oxford. 2005-2009.

Graduate fellow of the Institute for Social and Economic Policy Research (ISERP), Columbia University. 2004-2005.

Alternate, Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship, United States Institute of Peace. 2004-2005.

Cordier Fellow (declined), SIPA, Columbia University. 2004-2005.

Travel grant, International Political Science Association. 2003.

Pre-Doctoral Fellow, Institute of African Studies, Columbia University. 2002-2003.

Mellon Fellow of the Sawyer Seminar on Democracy and Inequality, Institute for Historical Social Science, Columbia University. 2001-2002.

Young Africanist Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Washington, D.C. Summer 2001.

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) award in Swahili. Summer 2000.

Presidential Fellow, GSAS, Columbia University, 1999-2005 academic years.

University of Florida CLAS 1996-97 Undergraduate Research Award; National Merit Scholar at University of Florida 1993-1997; Florida Undergraduate Scholar 1993-1997.

RECENT CONFERENCES & INVITED TALKS

"Rethinking the role of the state in uncertain times," invited keynote address, World Bank Governance Practice Forum 2022. December 5, 2022.

"Do developing democracies need developmental states?" Roundtable at Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies, University of Michigan. October 27, 2022.

"Criminality and Organizational Evolution: Election-related Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa,"

- "Illicit Economies and Informal Actors Workshop," University of California – San Diego. October 13-14, 2022.
- African Studies Seminar Series, University of Cambridge. February 10, 2020.

"Repression and Dissent in Moments of Uncertainty: Panel data from Zimbabwe's 2018 Elections."

- Working Group on African Political Economy Annual Meeting. April 9, 2021.
- Empirical Studies of Conflict (ESOC) Annual Meeting. May 28, 2020.

“Formalization, Tax Appeals, and Social Intermediaries: a Field Experiment in Lagos, Nigeria.”

- 2nd Annual World Bank Tax Conference. September 25, 2020.
- London School of Economics African Political Economy series. March 14, 2019.
- Program on Governance and Local Development (GLD), University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden. May 11-12, 2017.
- 2016 World Bank / Working Group on African Political Economy (WGAPE) workshop. World Bank, Washington, DC. April 29-30, 2016.

Invited discussant, book conference for Steven Rosenzweig’s *Voter Backlash, Elite Misperception, and the Logic of Violence in Electoral Competition*. November 13, 2020.

Invited discussant, book conference for Niloufer Siddiqui’s *Under the Gun: Political Parties and Violence in Pakistan*. November 6, 2020.

Invited participant, workshop “Authoritarian Diasporas: Causes and Consequences of Authoritarian Elite Dispersion.” October 25, 2019.

Invited discussant, Workshop on “Cities and dominance: Urban strategies for political settlement maintenance and change.” University of Manchester. January 29-30, 2019.

Invited participant, workshop on “Comparative Perspectives on Polarization.” Budapest, Hungary on March 12-14, 2017 and Atlanta, Georgia, on March 14-15, 2017.

Invited participant, workshop “Political Implications of Group-based Inequalities,” United Nations University, Helsinki, Finland. September 9-10, 2016.

Invited discussant, book workshop for Jeffrey Paller’s *Accountability in Unexpected Places: Democratic Politics in African Slums*. Columbia University, May 6, 2016.

Invited discussant, book workshop for Yonatan Morse’s *Parties and Patrons: The Sources of Competitiveness in Multiparty Africa*. Georgetown University, April 16, 2016.

Invited participant, workshop “Polarized Parties” prior to 2016 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association. Atlanta, Georgia. March 14-15, 2016.

“The Organizational Roots of Persistent Election Violence.” Talks at Williams College (February 16, 2016) and Temple University (October 10, 2016).

“The Limits of Elite Manipulation: Explaining Persistent Electoral Violence in Africa,” invited talk, George Mason University. November 11, 2015.

Invited speaker, closing panel, “After the Dust Settles: Social Media in Political Transitions,” United States Institute of Peace. September 29, 2015.

Invited senior mentor for post-doctoral scholar Aditi Malik, African Studies Center of The Pennsylvania State University. Also delivered public seminar “When do Voters Sanction Violence?” September 17-18, 2015.

“Managing Opposition: Extra-Regime Sources of Authoritarian Regime Durability,” invited talk, University of Bergen, Norway. June 2, 2015.

“Opposition Party Formation in Hybrid Regimes,” invited talk, Korea University, Seoul, Korea. May 7, 2015.

Invited participant, workshop “Authoritarian Successor Parties and Democracy: Causes and Consequences.” Notre Dame University. April 17-18, 2015.

Invited discussant, POMEPS Book Workshop for Dina Bishara’s *Contesting Authoritarianism: Challenges to State Corporatism in Egypt*. Yale University, October 24-25, 2014.

Invited discussant, book incubator workshop for Celeste Arrington’s *Accidental Activists: Victim Redress Movements in Japan and South Korea*. September 26, 2014.

Invited panelist, APSA Short Course “Urbanization and Local Politics in the Developing World,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. August 27, 2014.

“The Sources of Dominant Party Survival and Defeat in Africa,” presented at conference “Dominant Party Systems” (invited), University of Michigan, May 9-10, 2014.

Invited discussant, book incubator for Lucan Way’s *Pluralism by Default*. May 1, 2014.

Invited participant, workshop on taxation in Nigeria, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, April 29, 2014.

“The Origins of Social Contracts: Attitudes toward Taxation in Urban Nigeria.” Talks at Wesleyan, Northwestern, the International Food Policy Research Institute, the 2013 Annual Congress of the International Centre for Taxation and Development, the University of Florida, the US Naval Academy, and McGill University.

Invited discussant, conference “Challenges of Party Building in Latin America.” Harvard University. November 14, 2012.

Invited participant, Workshop on the findings and policy recommendations of the Global Commission on Elections, Democracy & Security. Yale University. March 2, 2012.

“The Persistence of Political Violence in Kenya.” Invited talks at Yale University (2011) and at the conference “Elections, Accountability and Democratic Government in Africa” (invited), at Cornell University (2012).

Invited discussant, book workshop for Ato Onoma’s *The Politics of Encounters*, Yale, May 2011.

“Violence and Community Order in Nairobi and Lagos,” presented at conference “Violent Cities: Challenges of Democracy and Governance in the Urban Global South” (invited), Brown University, April 27-29, 2011.

“Ethnicity and the Willingness to Sanction Violent Politicians,” presented at “Workshop on Ethnic Politics” (invited), George Washington University, October 15-16, 2010.

“Party Organization and the Evolution of Party Systems in Africa,” presented at “Political Parties in the Developing World” conference (invited), Princeton University. April 30 – May 1, 2010.

American Political Science Association (APSA) presenter: 2004, 2005 (awarded graduate travel grant), 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022. Discussant: 2006, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022.

African Studies Association (ASA) presenter: 2001, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020. Discussant: 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020.

Centre for the Study of African Economies Annual Conference: 2012, 2013. Discussant: 2009.

European Political Science Association (EPSA) presenter: 2012, 2013, 2018, 2020, 2022.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Consultant, United States Government, various agencies, various events. 2012 to the present.

Consultant, Freedom House, Africa expert for *Freedom in the World*, 2012-present.

Consultant (lead), World Bank Global Tax Team. Project on property tax formalization in Kaduna, Nigeria (P11968). March 2018.

Coordinator, Africa Leg of Wharton Global MBA Immersion program. Lauder Institute of Management & International Studies, University of Pennsylvania. Summer 2019.
Consultant to the Lagos State Panel Survey. 2013-2015 panel survey funded by the Lagos State Government on the links between public goods delivery, attitudes toward taxation, and tax compliance in Lagos, Nigeria. April 2013 – October 2013.
Consultant and Writer, Human Rights Watch. New York. Appointment to coordinate and conduct research, write reports, and provide general guidance on conditions in Zimbabwe. March to November 2003.

TEACHING

Undergraduate

Introduction to Comparative Politics (Hunter College 2005; American 2011-2023)
Dynamics of Political Change (American University 2010, 2011)
Political Violence and Civil Wars (American University 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020-21)
Honors Seminar: Power and Protest (American University 2010, 2013, 2022)
Contemporary African Politics (400-level: MSU 2007, Lehigh 2005, AU 2016, 2018, 2021, 2023)
International Relations of Africa (Lehigh University 2005)

Graduate

Comparative Politics Subfield Survey (American University 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022)
Social and Political Movements (American University 2010, 2012)
Political Violence in Comparative Perspective (American University 2010, 2014, 2020, 2022)
Contemporary African Politics (MA-level course: American 2009, 2011, 2014, 2018, 2021)
Problems in the Study of Democratization (MSU 2006, AU 2019)
Comparative Qualitative Research Methods (contributing lecturer, Oxford 2006)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

University service: AU Educational Policy Committee 2013-14, AU School of Public Affairs Steering Committee 2013, AU Department of Government By-Laws Revision Committee 2010-11, American University Student Conduct Council Member, MSU Comparative Politics Field Committee, Nuffield College Strategy & Resources Committee 2007-2008, Nuffield College Governing Body 2007-2009, Nuffield College Art Committee 2005-2009.

Disciplinary service: APSA Democracy & Autocracy Best Article Committee, 2020; APSA Urban Politics Best Article Committee, 2019; APSA Comparative Democratization Best Fieldwork Committee, 2017; Treasurer, African Politics Conference Group, 2015-present; 2015 Midwest Political Science Association conference section chair (African Politics), APCG Best Article Committee 2010, APSA Comparative Democratization Best Article Committee 2008, APCG ASA Panel Committee 2006, APCG Best Book Award Committee 2007.

Reviewer for: *African Affairs*, *Africa Today*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Electoral Studies*, *Feminist Review*,

International Studies Quarterly, Journal of East African Studies, Journal of Modern African Studies, Journal of International Relations and Development, Journal of Peace-building and Development, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Studies in Comparative International Development, Theory and Society, and World Politics. Presses: Continuum, Lynne Rienner, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press. Grant-making bodies: Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, European Social Research Council (ESRC), International Centre for Tax and Development (UK), American Political Science Association DDRIG.

FIELDWORK

Fieldwork of greater than one month: Zimbabwe (1999, 2002-2006, 2008, 2012, 2018), Kenya (2006-2010, 2012, 2022), Zambia (2002-2004), Nigeria (2010, 2013, 2017, 2018), Senegal (2016), Ghana (2019).