

Controlling Territory, Controlling Voters

*The Electoral Geography of African
Campaign Violence*

MICHAEL WAHMAN

Michigan State University

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Michael Wahman 2023

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

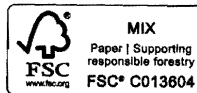
Library of Congress Control Number: 2023937955

ISBN 9780198872825

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198872825.001.0001

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.



Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	xiv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xvi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Defining Campaign Violence: Not Always Lethal, Always Devastating	3
1.2 Existing Approaches to the Study of Campaign Violence	5
1.3 The Argument in Brief	8
1.4 Case Selection and Scope Conditions	13
1.5 Data	18
1.6 The Organization of the Book	19
2. An Electoral Geography Theory of Campaign Violence	22
2.1 The Origin of Geographically Polarized Electoral Systems	23
2.1.1 Social Cleavages, Regionalism, Clientelism, and Electoral Institutions	26
2.1.2 From Regionalism to Political Mobilization: The Importance of Localism	32
2.2 Campaign Violence as a Form of Strategic Electoral Manipulation	35
2.2.1 The Limits of the Micro-Level Behavioralist Approach to Election Violence	38
2.3 An Electoral Geography Theory of Campaign Violence in Geographically Polarized Electoral Systems	41
2.3.1 Violence as a Tool to Enforce Territoriality	43
2.3.2 Violence as a Tool to Contest Territoriality	45
2.4 Conclusion	48
3. Democracy, Elections, and Electoral Geography in Zambia	50
3.1 The Origin of Zambian Political Cleavages: More than Ethnicity	51
3.2 The Institutional Underpinning of Geographic Polarization	53
3.3 From a Hegemonic to a Geographically Polarized Electoral System	54
3.4 Electoral Competition in the PF Regime	61
3.5 Analyzing the History of Geographic Polarization in Zambia	64
3.5.1 Local Party Volatility	68
3.5.2 Local Dominance and Turnout	70
3.6 Conclusion	73

4. Campaign Violence in Zambia	75
4.1 Background to Election Violence in Zambia	76
4.2 The Electoral Geography of Violence in the Zambian 2016 Election	83
4.2.1 Qualitative Data	83
4.2.2 General Characteristics and Spatial Distribution of Violence	84
4.2.3 No-Go Zones and Watermelons: Election Violence to Enforce Territoriality	89
4.2.4 Teargas and Busses of Cadres: Campaign Violence to Contest Territoriality	92
4.3 Statistical Analysis of Subnational Variations in Election Violence	95
4.3.1 Using ZEMS to Measure Constituency-Level Campaign Violence	95
4.3.2 Independent Variables and Controls	98
4.3.3 Model Specification	99
4.3.4 Results	100
4.4 Conclusion	107
5. Individual-Level Fear, Electoral Geography, and Political Participation in Zambia	108
5.1 Fear of Violence among Local Minority and Majority Voters	110
5.2 What Are Voters Afraid Of?	114
5.2.1 New Data on Fear of Campaign Violence and Different Forms of Participation	115
5.2.2 Local Political Context and Fear of Different Forms of Participation	119
5.3 Conclusion	122
6. Democracy, Elections, and Electoral Geography in Malawi	124
6.1 The Origins of Regional Competition in Malawi	125
6.2 Institutions Favoring Regional Politics	127
6.3 The 1994 Election: Regional (Not Ethnic) Cleavages Prevail	128
6.4 Malawian Elections 1999–2004: Regionalism is the Name of the Game	130
6.5 The 2014 Election: Political Turmoil and Executive Weakness	134
6.5.1 The Results and Conduct of the 2014 Election	138
6.6 Analyzing the History of Polarization in Malawi	141
6.6.1 Party Volatility and Mobilization of Regional Cleavages	144
6.7 Conclusion	146
7. Campaign Violence in Malawi	148
7.1 Election Violence in Malawi's Multiparty History	149
7.1.1 Comparing Election Violence in Malawi over Time 1994–2014	152

7.2 Election Violence in the Malawi 2014 Election	154
7.2.1 The Thyolo Incident	158
7.2.2 No-Go Zones	159
7.2.3 Incumbent and Opposition Violence	162
7.3 Measuring and Analyzing Subnational Variations in Malawian Election Violence	163
7.3.1 Results	165
7.4 Conclusion	169
8. Extending the Argument	171
8.1 Cross-Country Evidence	172
8.2 Kenya and Zimbabwe	175
8.2.1 Political Geography of Kenya	176
8.2.2 Campaign Violence in Kenya	178
8.2.3 Zoning: Enforcing Territoriality	180
8.2.4 State Repression and Vigilante Groups: Contesting Territoriality	183
8.2.5 Zimbabwe	184
8.2.6 Zimbabwe's Political Geography, 2002–2013	187
8.2.7 Campaign Violence in Zimbabwe, 2002–2013	191
8.2.8 The No-Go-Zone Politics of ZANU–PF	192
8.2.9 Contesting Territoriality in Urban MDC Strongholds	194
8.3 Comparing Malawi and Zambia with Zimbabwe and Kenya	195
8.4 Conclusion	197
9. Conclusion	198
9.1 Implications for Research on Election Violence	198
9.2 Implications for Research on Electoral Geography	201
9.3 Implications for Research on Sub-national Authoritarianism	202
9.4 Implications for Policy	203
<i>Appendix</i>	206
<i>References</i>	215
<i>Subject Index</i>	236