Electoral Conflict in Kawe: Perceptions of Constituents

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Guiding Question
This study seeks to understand why perceptions of electoral conflict vary within locations that experienced electoral conflict.

Context
Tanzania's multiparty elections first took place in the mid-1990's, with 2015's makring the strongest challenge to ruling-party dominance.

Kawe Constituency was one of four constituencies where the results were challenged by the incumbent party (The Citizen 2015).

Candidate Halima Mdee of CHADEMA, an opposition party, won by a margin of 7.4% over Kippi Warioba of CCM, the incumbent party

The conflicts were reported from local radio and television stations, election reports, and interviews. (The Citizen 2015; Mawenya Forthcoming; LHRC & TACCEO 2016; TEMCO 2016).

Theory
Americanist partisan bias theory predicts response bias that favors the political party a voter feels close to for low-salience topics. For example (Bartels 2002; Bullock et al 2013; Wlezien, Franklin & Twiggs 1997; Fiorina 1981; Lewis-Beck Nadeau, & Elllias 2008).

This theory supposes that partisan bias happens because voters seek to present the party they support in a positive way (Bartels 2002; Brennan and Lomasky 1997).

In existing work, long-term affiliation with a party was a key assumption for respondents to display partisan bias (Fiorina 1981; Bartels 2002).

It is not clear from existing work whether these findings translate to newer democracies (LeBas 2011; Carlson 2016; Brader & Tucker 2002; Mainwaring & Zoco 2007; Dalton & Weldon 2007) or to more salient issues such as violence (Kalyvas 2003; Bratton 2011).

Other than partisan bias, respondent censoring may occur on a politically salient survey with the presence of a guide from the incumbent party (Afrobarometer 2014). To address this, I control for the presence of a guide and add an interaction between the presence of a guide and support of the opposition.

Hypotheses
H1. Voters supporting the opposition coalition to perceive more electoral conflict than voters supporting the incumbent party.

H2. Older voters will perceive more electoral conflict than younger voters.

Methodology and Data
A survey of security provision during the election and community relations of 152 respondents in Kawe.

The survey was conducted in Swahili or English at respondents' homes by two University of Dar es Salaam graduate students. The enumerators conducted four surveys per each enumeration area simultaneously.

The dichotomous dependent variable in the logistic analysis is respondents' perception of conflict in the community during the election. The independent variables, which correspond to the hypotheses are: respondents' self-reported partisan affiliation and self-reported age. Controls include education, wealth, gender, and religion. I also control for the enumerator who conducted the survey and the presence of a guide from the incumbent party being present.

United Republic of Tanzania
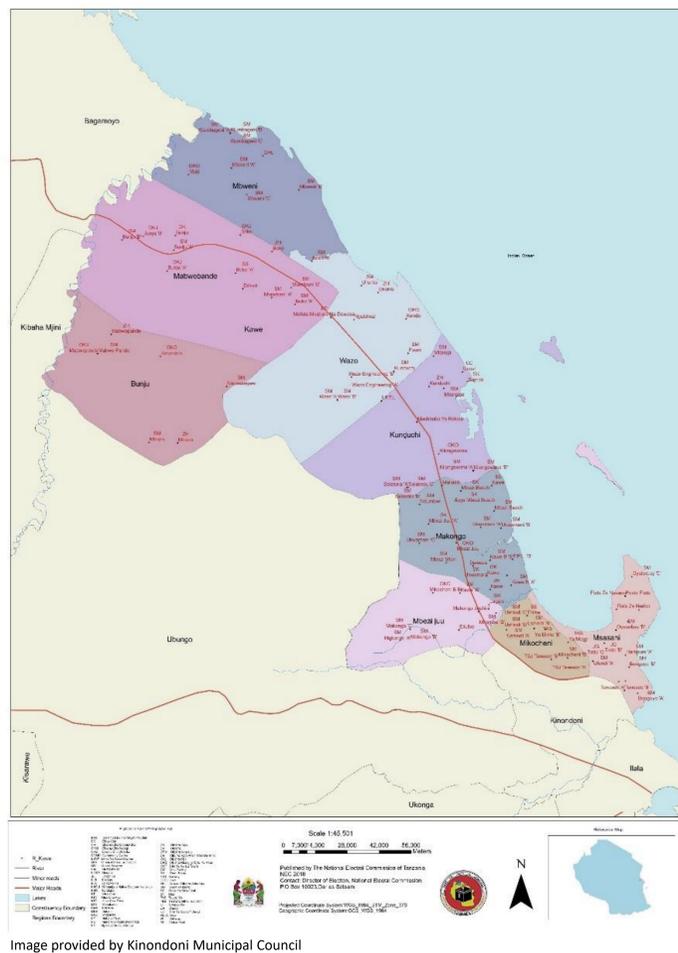**Kawe Constituency, Wards and Registration Centres**

Image provided by Kinondoni Municipal Council

Table 1: Logistic Regression on Perceptions of Conflict

	Model 1 (S.D.)	P-value	Model 2 (S.D.)	P-value
Opposition	1.08* (.49)	.028	1.8* (.75)	.017
Age	-.00 (.02)	.949	-.00 (.02)	.941
Gender	-.12 (.41)	.763	-.14 (.41)	.737
Religion	-.31 (.43)	.462	-.36 (.43)	.404
Education	-.40 (.47)	.399	-.39 (.47)	.414
Wealth	.39 (.28)	.159	.40 (.27)	.143
Guide	.95* (.45)	.035	1.50* (.65)	.021
Enumerator	1.57* (.45)	.001	1.60** (.46)	.000
Partisanship*Guide			-1.17 (.91)	.198
Constant	-4.50** (1.18)	.000	-4.90** (1.24)	.000
N	135		135	
Log-likelihood	-73.60		-72.73	
χ^2	26.03		27.74	
Probability > χ^2	.00		.00	
Pseudo R^2	.15		0.16	

17 observations dropped from the model due to missing data.
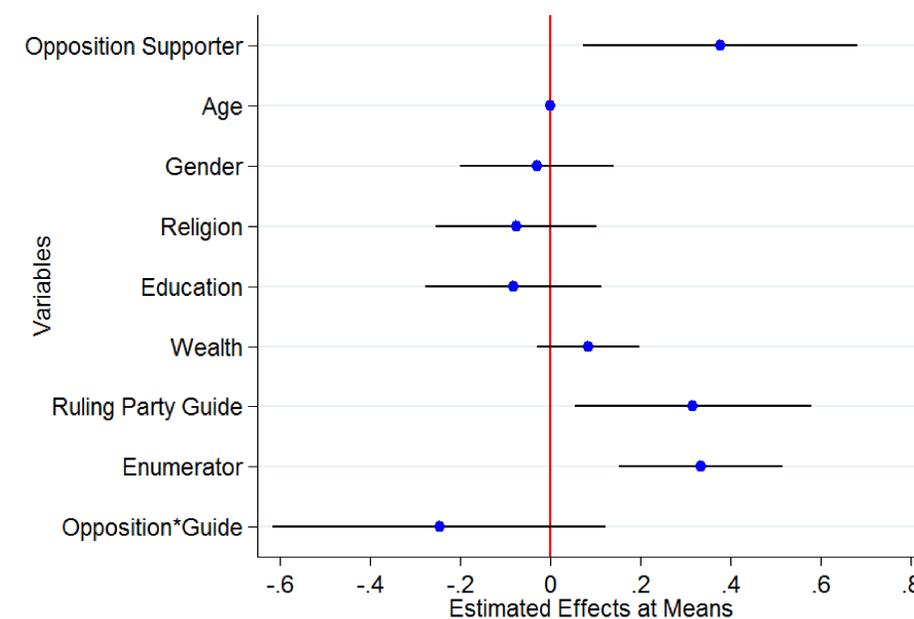Significance levels: *p < .05, **p < .01.

Findings
In table 1, both models are identical except for the addition of an interaction between partisan affiliation and presence of a ruling party guide.

Figure 2 presents the estimated marginal effects of Model 2. The red line represents an effect of 0. The black bars are confidence intervals at 95%, and the blue dots are the estimated marginal effect of each variable with all others held at means.

I found evidence to support a partisan bias explanation of perceptions of conflict. Those who support the opposition are 38 percentage points more likely to say there was violence in their constituency, significant at the 5% level. Age is not significantly correlated with perceptions of violence, refuting hypothesis two.

Other effects, particularly those of enumerator and guide are not part of the original theory but I interpret to mean that an unknown factor about one of the enumerators primed respondents to report or not to report conflict. Moreover, I interpret the sign of guide present to indicate that the incumbent party wanted conflict to be seen, but only as a product of opposition discontent and thus legitimizing the actions of the security forces.

Figure 1: Estimated Marginal Effects on Perceptions of Conflict

Future Research
With additional evidence supporting a partisan bias story, future research should address where these partisan effects come from: different experiences, different media consumption, motivated reasoning, partisan cheerleading, or willing negligence.

Significant differences in perceptions of conflict during the most contested elections in Tanzanian history present a cause for concern. Particularly over the representation and perception of violent political events associated with the ruling party.

Findings provide additional support for a growing body of work on partisan bias in new or weak African democracies.