

## Index

ACT-Wazalendo, 91, 95, 98-99, 173, 186, 212, 222 activist candidates, see civic activism African Great Lakes region, 146 African Legislatures Project (ALP), 33, 247-251, 256, 287 analysis of, 260-262, 264, 271-272, 278-280 candidacy benefits, measures of, 251, 257-258 candidacy benefits, measures of, 247 data, 247-251, 259, 263, 269, 274, 287 described, 247 African Legislatures Project (ALP), 28n9 African National Congress (ANC), 265 Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), 93, see also CCM Revolutionary Council, 96 Shirazi, meaning of, 92 Afrobarometer survey, 192 Akyoo, Samwel Kisanga, 139 Algeria, 62 Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), 102 altruism, 73 ambitious politics, 40-41, 55, 294, see also strategic candidacy framework Amour, Salmin, 242 Angola, 62 Arriola, Leonardo, 57-58, 63-64 Arusha, 105, 139, 150, 230 Askew, Kelly M., 121

civic activism and career partisanship, 237-243 non-legislator respondents, 237 overview of, 228 repression, 229-232 violence, 229-232 Axios Foundation, 154 Aziz, Rostam, 211 Baraza la Wawakilishi - Zanzibar (BLW), 4, 28, 83, 90-91, 98, 108, 110-112, 115, 147, 149, 165, 172, 177–178, 185-186, 205, 213, 219, 288, 297 Barber, James David, 60 Barkan, Joel, 248, see also African Legislatures Project Barrow, Adama, 7 Basotho Congress Party, 265 Bayart, Jean-Francois, 234 Beck, Thorsten, 73

authoritarian elections, 206, 228-243

Beck, Thorsten, 73
benefits of losing elections, 66–67,
217–223, 326–332
analysis of, 217–223
measurement of, 322, 327
benefits of losing nominations, 218, 326,
329–331
benefits of office-holding
heterogeneity in party provision of,
214–217



372 Index

ideological/policy benefits, 14, 25, 27, in CHADEMA, 173 in Chadema, 173, 177 64, 68-69, 208-214, 224, 250-251, 257-259, 267-269, 274-275, in CUF, 172-173 290-291 in electoral authoritarian regimes, impact of career partisanship on, 168-170 Cape Verde, 102 224-226 impact of civic activism on, 226-236 career partisanship, 4, 16-18, 30, 53-54, in advanced democracies, 60-61 149-153, 156-160, 237-243 in sub-Saharan Africa, 61-64 African Legislature Project measures, material benefits, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 26, 257-259 40, 68, 75, 211, 216, 217, 225 benefits to ruling parties, 53-54, 131 measurement of, 116-119 concept of, 18, 53-54, 131 under electoral authoritarianism, 64-66, impact on benefits preferences, 225-226 impact on candidacy, 131-135, 149-164 263-264 Benin, 274, 277 impact on legislative representation, 262, Benstead, Lindsay J., 42n7 272, 339 Berker, Kavasoglu, 43 impact on risk attitudes, 237-241 Bernhard, Rachel, 108n21 in competitive democracies, 275-277 Besigye, Kissa, 253 in dominant party democracies, 265-271 Bimani, Salim, 229 in electoral authoritarian regimes, Black, Gordon S., 10, 37-40, 293, see also 259-262 strategic candidacy framework measurement of, 114-116 Bleck, Jaimie, 51, 263 party positions, 128, 156, 158, 166, Bobi Wine, 254 171-172, 261, 270, 315, 338 Botswana, 6, 62, 79, 103, 268, 280 career partisanship sequences, see also Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), 170, sequence analysis 265 alternative specifications and robustness, Brownlee, Jason, 73 319-320 Bulgaria, 102 duration, 160 Bunge (Parliament of Tanzania), 1, 83, 89, extensiveness, 160 94, 104, 109, 112, 127, 146, 158, optimal matching, 161, 163, 319 159, 161, 166, 288 reference sequence, 317 G55 group, 213 sequence similarity, 161-164 parliamentary committees, 212, 222 visualizing, 315-317 Burkina Faso, 79, 87, 251-253, 255, 260, Carlitz, Ruth, 27 280 Catholic church Burundi, 76, 119, 146 in Malawi, 49 in Tanzania, 140 Cameroon, 87 Chabal, Patrick, 13 campaign costs, see election campaigns; Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), 89-90, 93-95, 99-101, election costs; repression campaign expenditure, see election 105, 150, 140-152, 159, 174, 175, campaigns; election costs; repression 180, 192, 196, 288 campaigns, see election campaigns candidate selection in, 173, 177 candidacy benefits, see benefits of losing party institutionalization, 93, 101, 196 elections; benefits of losing Red Brigade, 232 nominations, benefits of office-holding Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), 1-4, 7, 17, candidacy implications, 293-294 30-31, 78, 82-83, 87-98, 102-105, candidate selection, see also party 112-113, 128-129, 132-135, nominations 145-147, 149-152, 170-172, 180, in CCM, 170-173, 180 186, 196, 253, 284



Index

as credible ruling party, 93 as longest-ruling party of Africa, 83 board of trustees of, 146 candidate selection in, 170-173, 180-181 career partisanship of defectors, 136-137 commemorate anniversaries of, 157 comparability to other authoritarian ruling parties, 102-104 defection under multipartyism, 94, 137 Ethics Committee of, 95 ideology, 159 in Bunge, 82 leadership structure, 155, 158, 166, 171-172, 315 legislators, 135, 137, 140, 149, 156, 158, 160, 162, 180, 208-210, 219, 222-223 Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) legislators, 175n7 origins of, 92-93 party branch structure, 92, 103, 193 qualitative interviewees, 106 Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), 82n5 Chatanda, Mary Pius, 155, 158, 160, 161 Chiligati, John, 152-153, 155 Christian Democracy (Italy), 5 civic activism, 16-18, 22, 44-52, 75-77, see also civil society organizations (CSOs); Tanzanian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) concept of, 45-50 ethnic voting vs., 51-52 impact on election campaigns, 197-204 impact on opposition nominations, impact on opposition victory, 199 impact on risk attitudes, 237-240 in African Legislature Project, 257-258 in competitive democracies, 45, 46, 275-278 in dominant party democracies, 266-271 in electoral authoritarian regimes, 48-50, 259-262 measurement of, 114-116, 307-310 civic activism index, 112, 114, 309-310 alternative measurements of, 309-312, Civic Movement of James Mapalala, 95, see also Civic United Front

373 Civic United Front (CUF), 1, 7, 83, 89-97, 99, 136, 140-143, 154, 160, 165, 189, 229-231, 261, 288 2010 election resulted in, 90 candidate selection in, 172-174, 177 connections with transnational religious organizations, 140 growth in Zanzibar, 91 ideology, 95 internal conflict, 96-97 migration to ACT-Wazalendo in Zanzibar, 96-98 National Executive Council, 172 origins of, 95-96 politics of, 2, 144 qualitative interviewees, 106 civil society (CS), 23-25, 259, see also civil society organization (CSO) single-party rule legacies, 15 civil society organization (CSO), 15, 31, 49-50, 138, 141, 149-152, 154, 156, 163, 202, 224, see also Tanzanian civil society organizations (CSOs) advocacy organizations, 49, 51 Civil society organizations in Tanzania, see Tanzanian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) Clement, Amina Andrew, 159, 161 clientelism, 21, 207 in elections, 38, 60, 204 in sub-Saharan Africa, 61 co-optation, 12-14, 38, 41-43, 100, 328 Collard, Michaela, 27, 211 Collectif des Organisations Democratiques de Masse et de Partis Politiques (CODMPP), 252 Compaoré, Blaise, 251, 252 competitive democracies, scope conditions, 273-279 benefits and costs, 275-279 career partisanship, 275-278 civic activism, 274-278 comparative study of, 337-340 overview of, 273-274 strategic candidacy decisions, 278-279 strategic candidacy framework, 275-279 Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (CDP), 252 Conservative Party (UK), 61 Constituency development funds (CDFs), 63, see also benefits of office-holding



> Index 374

constituency service, 69 election costs, 67-71, 188-189, 194-197, Constituency-Level Election Archive see also repression (CLEA), 8 impact on opposition victory, 200 costs, see election campaigns; election costs; repression Cote d'Ivoire, 62 251-264 COVID-19, 85, 295 Croke, Kevin, 27 culture expressions, see methali Daloz, Jean-Pascal, 13 external validity, 259 Dar es Salaam, 1-2, 16, 104-105, 139, 141, 152, 155, 220, 230, 302 Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 62, T46 democratization, contributions to "democratization by elections", 25 policy implications, 294-296 Denmark, 5 definition of, 36-37 Dewji, Mo, 211 Diamond, Larry, 47 Dionne, Kim Yi, 73 divisive primary hypothesis, see benefits of 38, 289 losing nominations Dodoma, 1-2, 104-105, 298 in Tanzania, 81-93 dominant party democracies, scope conditions, 263-273 benefits and costs, 267-273 48-49 career partisanship, 265-271 civic activism, 265-271 toleration, 85-88 comparative study, 337-340 overview of, 265 strategic candidacy decisions, 271-273 strategic candidacy framework, 267-273 East African Muslim Welfare Society, 140 election benefits, see benefits of office-holding 55-56 election campaigns, 185-204 repression, 67-71 risk tolerance, 71-73 campaign tactics, 194 canvassing, 193 door-to-door campaigning, 192 impact of civic activism on, 197-204 Yonatan L. opposition coordination, 192, 195-197, Ethiopia, 87, 102, 295 204 opposition strategies, 188-189, 192, ethnicity 194-197

total campaign expenses, 188 electoral authoritarian regimes, ALP, benefits and costs, 259-262 career partisanship, 257-258 civic activism, 257-258 comparative study, 337-340 strategic candidacy framework, 258-264 electoral authoritarianism accountability in, 22-23 candidate selection, 55-56, 168-170 characteristics of, 22, 38 civil society and, 23-25 competitive authoritarianism vs., 36 dominant party regimes vs., 36, 37 election competition in, 38 hyper-incumbency advantages, 6, 11, 36, in Africa, 25-28, 79-81 limitations of study for, 287-289 opposition candidacy rates, 3, 6-10 opposition party building, 23-25, 38, electoral authoritarianism, strategic candidacy framework benefits of losing, 66-67 benefits under electoral authoritarianism, costs of running for office, 67-71 probability of winning election, 56-60 probability of winning nomination, time perspectives, 73-74 electoral hegemony, 89-91, see also electoral authoritarianism; Morse, ethnic political parties, 13, 275 ethnic voting, 51-52, 275 event history calendars, see life history

calendars

resources, 188-189

transportation, 194

tactics, 194



Ewald, Jonas, 230

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-01151-8 — Activist Origins of Political Ambition Keith Weghorst Index More Information

Index 375

of losing elections

faith-based organizations (FBO), see Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Fereji, Fatma, 165, 185

Ferree, Karen E., 274

Filikunjombe, Deo, 222

Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), 253

Fowler, James, 73

Fox, Richard A., 29, 55

France, 7

Fredrich Ebert Foundation, 154

Fredrickson, George, 49

Freedom House, 6, 294

Freedom Riders (USA), 47, 76–77

Frete de Libertação de Moçambique

(FRELIMO), 256

expressive ambition, 294, see also benefits

Gambia, 7 Gandhi, Jennifer, 211 Gbagbo, Laurent, 7 Geddes, Barbara, 73 general elections, see election campaigns Germany, 5 Ghana, 62-63, 274, 277 Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar), 102 Government of National Unity (GNU), 90-91, 185-186, 211, 221-223 government vocational careers, 39, 115, 149-153 Great Britain, see United Kingdom Greene, Elliott D., 66 Greene, Kenneth F., 14, 19, 74, 208, 262, 268, 286 Guinea, 62

Haile Selassie, 142
Hamad, Juma Kombo, 144
Hamad, Seif Shariff, 91, 95–97, 159, 185, 230, 242, 261
Hassan, Abdallah Jihad, 222–223
Hazan, Reuven Y., 170
Himid, Mansoor, 169n<sup>1</sup>
House of Representatives, Zanzibar, see
Baraza la Wawakilishi - Zanzibar
(BLW)
Human Rights Watch, 229
Hyden, Goran, 170, 171n<sup>2</sup>

hyper-incumbency, 188–189, 207, see also election campaigns; Greene, Kenneth F.

ideological/policy benefits of candidacy, 14, 25, 27, 65, 68–70, 208–215, 224, 250–251, 257–258, 267–268, 275, 290–292, see also benefits of losing elections; benefits of office-holding; expressive ambition existing theories, 43 impact of civic activism on, 224 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 93 IPTL scandal, 212 Israeli Knesset, 5

Jamal, Amir, 180
Jammeh, Yahya, 7
Janda, Kenneth, 42n<sup>7</sup>
Japan, 58
Joseph, Richard, 83n<sup>6</sup>
Jussa, Ismail Ladhu, 1–4, 15–17, 30, 75, 85, 97–98, 106, 129, 136, 142–145, 156, 159, 161, 163–167, 177, 185–188, 193, 202, 205–206, 214, 219–222, 239–243, 250, 260

Kaaya, Jackson, 139

Kabwe, Zitto, 94, 98, 154, 156, 173, 212, 222 Kafulia, David, 212 Kagera War, 128, 152, 158 Kam, Cindy D., 73 Kamahuru, 95, see also Civic United Front Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania (KKKT), 139-140, 150 Karume, Amani Abeid, 93 Kenya, 28n10, 50, 63, 274, 277 Kenya African Nation Union (KANU), 50 Key, Vladmir O., 56 Kikwete, Jakaya Mrisho, 1-2, 17, 128, 146, 166, 168, 194, 211, 213-214, 328 Komba, John Damiano, 128-129, 147, 152-153, 155, 158-159, 161 Kosterina, Svetlana, 41-42 Kwayu, Aikande, 27

Latin American regimes, 80 Lawless, Jennifer L., 29, 55

Kweka, Dastan, 232n1



376 Index

Lawyer's Environmental Action Team

(LEAT), 127, 150-152, 159, 225 Le Balai Citoyen (The Citizen's Broom), Le Jah, Sams'K, 253 LeBas, Adrienne, 15, 44, 48, 52, 75, 100, 258 Lesotho, 265 Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Lesotho Congress Party, 265 Levitsky, Steven, 21, 274 Leys, Colin, 170n2, 171 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 5-6, 58 Liberia, 63 life history calendar, 112 Lindberg, Staffan, 234 Lipumba, Ibrahim, 96, 189, 230 Lissu, Tundu, 84, 90n15, 95, 98, 127-129, 147, 150, 156, 158-159, 161, 225 Loada, Augustin, 252n5 Local Development Funds, see Constituency Development Funds (CDFs) losing election benefits, see benefits of losing elections Lowassa, Edward, 94-96 Luhanga, Matthew, 141 Lust-Okar, Ellen, 64-66, 211 Lutheran Church, see Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanza-nia (KKKT) Machali, Moses Joseph, 189n2 Magaloni, Beatriz, 59 Magufuli, John Pombe, 84-85, 85n11, 226,

232 Mahita, Omary, 231 Majaliwa, Kassim, 85 Majoritarianism candidate selection under, 169 scope conditions, 267-268 Makamba, January, 2, 4, 17, 30, 91, 105, 129, 145-146, 160, 166-168, 177, 187, 193-194, 201, 205-206, 211, 216, 219, 222, 229, 240 Makamba, Yusuf, 2, 144, 166 Makerere University, 254 Malawi, 49, 63, 249, 277 Malaysia, 88, 102 Mapalala, James, 95-96 material benefits

impact of civic activism on, 224 material benefits of candidacy, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 26, 33, 40, 60-66, 68, 75, 117, 207-211, 216-217, 224-225, see also benefits of office-holding impact of career partisanship on, 224 Mattes, Robert, 248, see also African Legislatures Project Mazrui, Nassor Ahmed, 221 Mbabazi, Amama, 254 Mbatia, James, 2-4, 16, 30, 75, 97, 105, 129, 136, 141, 156, 159, 161, 163, 165-167, 177, 250 Mbilinyi, Joseph, 254 Mbowe, Freeman, 94 McLellan, Rachael, 27, 231 Membe, Bernard, 98 Meng, Anne, 21n7 message-seeking, 208, see also benefits of losing elections; ideological/policy benefits methali, 28, 117-122, 232-237 Mexico, 7, 56n11, 58, 102 Michael, Japhary, 196n7 Mishler, William, 56 Mkapa, Benjamin, 128, 146, 210, 213 Mloo, Shabaan Khamis, 95 Moi, Daniel Arap, 50 Morocco, 62 Morse, Yonatan L, 21, 27, 79, 83, 85-87, 102, 251, 256, 289 Morse, Yonatan L, 9n5, 22n8, 86n12 Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), 50, 87, 255-256, 291 Mozaffar, Shaheen, see African Legislatures Project, 248 Mozambique, 80, 87, 102, 251, 256, 260, 295 Mrema, Augustine, 97, 139 Mtei, Edwin, 93, 211, 230 Mugabe, Robert, 62, 255 Muhwanya, Mhonga Said, 154 Munishi, Siale, 220 Museveni, Yoweri, 253, 254 Mwinyi, Ali Hassan, 210, 213

Namibia, 63, 102, 265, 280 National Constitutional Assembly (NCA, Zimbabwe), 255 National Convention for Construction and Reform - Mageuzi's (NCCR-Mageuzi),



2, 16, 95, 97, 100-101, 139, 142,

Index 377

Organisation pour la Démocratie Populaire

- Mouvement du Travail (ODP/MT),

ruling party legislators, 133

159, 180, 189n<sup>2</sup>, 212-214 National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), 50 National Electoral Commission (NEC), 83, 90n<sup>16</sup>, 112, 172-174, see also Tanzanian Government Institutions National Executive Committee of CCM (NEC-CCM), 128, 158, 171n<sup>3</sup>, 171, 172, see also Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) National Resistance Movement (NRM), 253-254 National Unity Platform, 254 Natse, Israel, 150 Ndesamburo, Philemon, 196 nested game, Schedler's concept, 12, 36, 211, 264 Nicaragua, 102 Nigeria, 62-63, 87, 249 Nigeria's People's Democratic Party, 265 Nikolenyi, Csaba, 42n7 Nnauye, Nape, 159 nomination benefits, see benefits of losing nominations nominations, see party nominations nongovernmental organization (NGO), see Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) nonpolitical careers, 39, see also governmental vocational careers Norwegian Labour Party, 170 Nyerere, Julius K., 27, 82, 92-93, 95, 139-141, 144, 152, 196, 210, 213 O'Brien, Diana, 42n7 Okello, Tito, 253 opposition candidacy democratic elections, 4-6 electoral authoritarianism, 4-10 in sub-Saharan Africa, 244-247 ruling parties, 4-6 using CLEA, 8 opposition coordination, 192, see also election campaigns opposition party institutionalization, 101

opposition paths to candidacy, 44-52

opposition vs. ruling party candidacy

membership variables, 134-135

role of socio-electoral coalitions, 130

empirical approach, 132

party service, 131

organizational power, 274 original candidacy theories, see career partisanship; civic activism Orodha ya Mafisadi, 128, see also Lissu, Tindu Paget, Dan, 27, 191, 192n4, 194, 243 Pandu, Ali Haji, 95 Paraguay, 102 Parti Socialiste du Sénégal (PS), 7, 86-88 Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), 7, 56n<sup>11</sup>, 58, 102, 170, 268 Party nominations as a source of legislator turnover, 180 barriers to, 55-56, 175-177 candidate experiences with, 177-181 candidate perceptions of, 175-177 candidate selection, Tanzania, 170-174 competitiveness of, 176-177, 180-181 electoral authoritarian regimes, candidate selection, 168-170 impact of civic activism on, 181-184 path dependence, 16, 17, 20, 28, 45, 62, 77, 128–129, 149 Payne, James L., 65 Pempel, T. J., 265 People's Democratic Party (PDP), 170, 249 Pepinsky, Thomas, 42 Polepole, Humphrey, 172 political accountability, 22-23 political competition, 38 political party activism, 53-54, see also career partisanship political party careers, 149-153, 156-159, see also career partisanship political party employment, 150, see also career partisanship political party performance, 217 political party service, 52-54, 131, 161, see also career partisanship progressive ambition, 294, see also ambitious politics; strategic candidacy framework punishment regimes, 42, 70, 207, see also Magaloni, Beatriz; repression Rahat, Gideon, 170



Rakner, Lise, 21

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-01151-8 — Activist Origins of Political Ambition Keith Weghorst Index More Information

378 Index

Rashid, Muhene Said, 172n4, 177n8 rational office seeker, 10-11, see also strategic candidacy framework religious organizations, see Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) Resistência Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO), 257 repression, 39, 67-71, 84-85, 229-232, in Africa, 7-8, 79-81, 85-88, 247 in comparative perspective, 85-88, 252-256 in Tanzania, 81-88, 229-232 threat of, 87, 229 under electoral authoritarianism, 67-71 Republic of Congo (ROC), 62 Riedl, Rachel B., 15, 24, 291 rights-based organizations, see Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) risk attitudes, 70, 71, 76, 119-120, 232-237, 333, 336 impact of civic activism on, 237-243 risk tolerance, 70-73, 238 Rohde, David W., 10 Roop, Sterling, 288n1 Rosenzweig, Leah R., 27 ruling party candidacy, 18, 22 ruling party institutionalization, 102-104 ruling party legislators, 133, 279 ruling party paths, 53-54 Rwanda, 62, 87, 102, 120, 295 Said, "Simai" Mohammed, 185, 203 sample representativeness, see survey data Sankara, Thomas, 251 Santiso, Carlos, 252n5 Sarungi, Phillip, 180 Schedler, Andreas, 6, 12, 24, 36, 71, 101-102, 211, 273

Schedler, Andreas, 36n1, 72n19, 79n2

Seif, Maalim, see Hamad, Seif Shariff

Needleman-Wunsch algorithm, 317

sequence analysis, 149-153, 315

optimal matching, 116, 319

reference sequence, 162 substitution matrix, 319

Senegal, 80, 102, 277

components, 313 definition of, 148–149

measures, 115-116

Sozi Stori stra 4

ac
ac
ac
bc
bc
cc
lii
pc
pc
re
ri
ti

vocational career background analysis, 115 Seychelles, 80, 87, 102 Shames, Shauna, 108n21 Shefter, Martin, 74, 237 Shelukindo, William, 166-167 Shomer, Yael, 42n7 Simba, Iddi, 211 Slaa, Wilbord, 94-96, 152 Smiddy, Kimberly, 248, see also African Legislatures Project Socialdemokratiska Arbetarpartiet, 5 Socialist Party of Senegal, see Parti Socialiste du Sénégal (PS) Socialist Party of Serbia, 102 socialization, 223-226, see also civic socio-electoral coalitions, 18, 23, 48, 130, see also civic activism; Trejo, Guillermo Somoza, Anastazio, 187 South Africa, 62, 79, 103 South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), 265 Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, 5 Stone Town, see Zanzibar strategic candidacy framework, see also benefits of office-holding; benefits of losing elections; benefits of losing nominations; election campaigns; election costs, repression adapting to competitive democracies in Africa, 275-279 adapting to dominant party democracies in Africa, 267-273 adapting to electoral authoritarian regimes, 18-20 benefits in advanced democracies, 60-61, 275-279 benefits in sub-Saharan Africa, 61-64 benefits of losing, 66-67 benefits under electoral authoritarianism, 64-66, 263-264 costs of running for office, 67-71 linking activism, 20 probability of winning election, 56-60 probability of winning nomination, 54-56 repression, 67-71 risk tolerance, 71-73 time perspectives, 73-74



Index 379

strategic defection, 11-12, 43 Straus, Scott, 70n18 Sudan, 62-63 Suluhu, Samia, 85 survey bias, general, 122-124 recalling past attitudes and events, 121-122 social desirability bias, 124-126 survey bias, retrospective updating, 123-124 survey data candidate/noncandidate survey, 109, 110, 237, 302-303 legislator survey, 108, 109, 297-300 sample representativeness, 300-305 Swahili, 27, 104, 120-122 Sweden, 5

Syria, 76 Taiwan, 5, 103 Takrima, 193-194, see also clientelism Tanganyika, 82, 83, see also Tanzania Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU), 82, 92–93, 95, 152, 159, 170, 180, see also CCM Tanzania, 1-3, 16-18, 27-33, 49, 62-63, 72, 77, 149-154, 165-168, 170, 191-196, 201, 280, 295, 302-306, 309, 311, 328 candidate selection in, 170-174 civic activism and career partisanship in, 113-119 contextualizing results in, 137-147 electoral hegemony in, 89-91 external validity of, 98-99, 248-251 legislative turnover in, 180 legislator biographies, 111-112 main political parties in, 92-93 opposition party institutionalization, 99-101 parliamentary committees, 212, 222 qualitative interviews, 104-105 repression in, 81-84, 229-232 repression in comparative perspective, 85-88 ruling party institutionalization, 102-104 toleration in, 84-85 top-down democratization, 82

Tanzania Labour Party, 97

Tanzania One Theatre (TOT), 128, 152, see also Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM); Komba, John Damiano; Tanzanian Government Institutions Tanzanian Administrative Units Arusha, 105, 139, 150, 230 Dar es Salaam, 1-2, 16, 104-105, 139, 141, 143, 152, 155, 220, 230, 302 Dodoma, 1-2, 104-105, 298 Kilimanjaro, 94, 139, 150 Koani, 159 Manyoni Mashariki, 152 Moshi, 94 Tanzanian Administrative Units Newala Urban, 90n15 Ruvuma, 230 Singida West, 127 Tanga, 121 Tanzanian Administrative Units Tarime Urban, 90n15 Tanzanian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) Baraza Kuu la Waislamu Tanzania, 140 Dar es Salaam University Student Organization (DARUSO), 141, 143 HakiElimu, 141 International Rescue Committee (IRC), I 54 Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania (KKKT), 120 Lawyer's Environmental Action Team (LEAT), 127, 149–152, 159, 225 National Youth Forum (NYF), 154 Tanzania Centre for Democracy, 97 Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP), 154 Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA), 140 Tanzanian Government Institutions Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), 213 district commissioners (DC), 230 Inspector General of Police (IGP), 231 Jeshi la Wananchi Tanzania, 128 National Security Service, 231 regional commissioners (RC), 230 Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), 298 Tanzania People's Defense Forces (TPDF), 231



380 Index

Tanzanian Universities and Academic Institutions Chukwani College of Education, 143 Institute of Public Administration (IPA), Mwalimu Nyerere Academy Branch of Zanzibar, 143 State University of Zanzibar (SUZA), 143-145 University of Dar es Salaam, 2, 16, 141, 143, 153, 155 Tarrow, Sidney, 47 Tarrow, Sidney, 77n21 Taylor, Charles, 70n18 Teele, Dawn Langan, 108n21 Tibaijuka, Anna, 155 time attitudes, 73-74, 117-120, 232-238, 336-339 time horizons, proverbs, 339 tolerant hegemony, 80, 251, see also electoral authoritarianism; Morse, Yonatan L toleration (Morse), 84-85 Toleration index, 85-88, see also electoral authoritarianism; Morse, Yonatan L Trejo, Guillermo, 225 Tripp, Aili Mari, 253-254 Tsubura, Machico, 27 Tsvangirari, Morgan, 256 Uganda, 2, 33, 62-63, 87, 102, 128, 249, 251-256, 259, 295, 299 Ujamaa, 1, 92, 121, see also Nyerere, Julius K. Arusha Declaration, 92 Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA), 89, 94, 214-215, 221, see also Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA); Civic United Front (CUF); National Convention for Construction and Reform - Mageuzi's (NCCR-Mageuzi) Umoja wa Vijana wa CCM (UVCCM), 155, 158, 166, see also Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Umoja wa Wanawake-Tanzania (UWT), 158-159, see also Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) United Democratic Party, 230 United Kingdom, 16, 61, 82

United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 88, 102 United Nations, 7, 146, 155 United States, 5, 29, 76, 119, 146, 230 van de Walle, Nicolas, 21, 51, 263 Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), 86, 100-104, 307 violence, see repression vocational careers, 311, see also civic activism; career partisanship government employment, 149-153 impact on opposition candidacy, 155 political party employment, 149-152 sequence analysis, 148-149 statistical analysis, 153-156 Warioba, Joseph, 213-214 Way, Lucan A., 21, 274 Werema, Judge Frederick, 212 Wine, Bobi, 254 World Resources Institute (WRI), 150, 159, see also Lissu, Tindu; Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) Woshinsky, Oliver H., 65 Young Pioneers, 2, 145, see also Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Young, Lauren, 76n20 youth partisanship, 18, 53, 135-136, 144, 155-159, 166, 220 Zambia, 62-63, 274, 277 ZANU-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), 88, Zanzibar, 7, 16, 81-84, 87, 89-99, 104-109, 142-146, 165-167, 171-174, 178, 211, 213-215, 219-223, 229, 242, 261, 297 activism, 17 autonomy, 1-2, 142, 186 economic empowerment of, 75 Mji Mkongwe (Stone Town), 143, 165, 185-186 multiparty history of, 7 Pemba, 90, 91, 104 revolution, 96 role in Tanzanian state, 17 Toleration Index for, 88 Unguja, 91 Wete, 104

House of Commons, 61



Index 381

Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party
(ZPPP), 90, 92
Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), 7,
90–91, 186
Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC),
90n<sup>16</sup>
Zanzibar Institution of Financial
Administration (ZIFA), 144
Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), 90, 92
Zanzibar United Front, 95
Zanzibari Sultanate, 92, 96
Zeria, Yael, 113n<sup>24</sup>

Zimbabwe, 15, 63, 102, 251, 255–256, 295
national reserve bank of, 62
opposition party strength in, 49
primary opposition party of, 49–50
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), 255
Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), 255–256
Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU), 255
Zongo, Norbert, 252