

## Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Election-Related Violence	3
1.2 Existing Explanations	8
1.3 Violence as a Result of Elite Misperception	11
1.4 Empirical Strategy	14
1.5 Plan of the Book	18
2 Election-Related Violence in Kenya and around the World	21
2.1 Election-Related Violence around the World	22
2.1.1 Varieties of Violence in Electoral Competition	23
2.1.2 Motivations for Violence in Electoral Competition	28
2.2 Election-Related Violence in Kenya	30
2.2.1 A History of Election-Related Violence	31
2.2.2 Colonial and Early Independence Kenya and the Roots of Ethnic Conflict	33
2.2.3 Elections and Violence in the Multiparty Era	35
2.2.4 The Central Role of Political Elites	38
2.2.5 The Case of Kenya in Comparative Context	40
2.3 The Special Role of Ethnicity in Political Violence	41
3 Theorizing Election-Related Violence: Toward a Theory of Elite Misperception	44
3.1 Structural Explanations	46

3.2	Strategic, Microlevel Explanations	50
3.2.1	Violence as Coercion	50
3.2.2	Violence as Persuasion	56
3.3	Violence as a Result of Elite Misperception	58
4	Violence and Election Outcomes	75
4.1	Violence and Election Outcomes in Kenya in the 1990s	76
4.2	The 2007/08 Post-election Violence and 2013 Election Outcomes	80
4.3	Summary of Findings	84
5	How Violence Affects Voting: Coercion, Persuasion, and Backlash	86
5.1	Violence as Coercion	87
5.2	Violence, Persuasion, and Voter Backlash	91
5.2.1	The Effect of Violence on Vote Choice	93
5.2.2	Testing Potential Mechanisms of Persuasion	105
5.2.3	The Effects of Ethnic Rhetoric on Voting and Violence	109
5.2.4	Implications for Voting and Elections in the Real World	113
5.3	Summary of Findings	114
6	Elite Misperception and Election-Related Violence	115
6.1	Politicians' (Mis)Perceptions about the Effects of Violence and Ethnic Rhetoric on Vote Choice	115
6.1.1	Politicians' Perceptions about the Effect of Violence on Vote Choice	117
6.1.2	Politicians' Perceptions about the Effect of Ethnic Rhetoric on Vote Choice	119
6.2	Is It Actually "Misperception?" Addressing Alternative Explanations	121
6.3	Are Politicians' Misperceptions due to Lack of Information?	124
6.4	Summary of Findings	128
7	Voter Backlash, Elite Misperception, and Violence beyond Kenya	130
7.1	Elite Misperception, Founding Elections, and Cross-National Variation in Election-Related Violence	132
7.2	Case Studies of Elections and Violence beyond Kenya	135
7.2.1	Indonesia	137
7.2.2	Pakistan	140
7.2.3	Ghana	143
7.2.4	Nigeria	147
7.2.5	Brazil	151
8	Conclusion	156

*Contents* ix

<i>Appendix A Sampling Strategy for the Survey in Nakuru, Kisumu, and Narok</i>	165
<i>Appendix B Supplementary Analyses</i>	167
<i>Appendix C Candidate Vignettes and Outcome Questions</i>	175
<i>Appendix D Politician Information Experiment Memo and Contact Scripts</i>	181
<i>References</i>	185
<i>Index</i>	199