

Index

- Abrams, Philip, 34
 Adebawale, Wale, 12
 adult suffrage, 9, 10, 57, 82, 110–111
 state-building through, 4
 voter education and, 206
 Afari-Gyan, Kwadwo, 139
 Africa. *See* elections; *specific countries*
 African Union (AU), 152
 Akabway, Stephen, 121, 131
 Ake, Claude, 10
 Akufo-Addo, Nana, 250–251
 The Alliance Party (TNA) (Kenya), 101
 Allimadi, Otema, 79
 alternance, 23
 Amin, Idi, 76–77
 political coup by, 78–79
 Apter, David, 9
 AU. *See* African Union
 Austen, Ralph, 36
 Ayah, Ndolo, 92, 95
- ballot boxes, 114–115
 multiple, 114
 secret ballot, 4, 9, 30, 31, 57, 68, 82, 95,
 114, 206, 256, 289–290
 single, 114–115
 Banégas, Richard, 36, 298
 Benin, 298–299
 Berman, Bruce, 37
 Bernasko, Frank, 67
 Besigye, Kizza, 52–53, 83, 259–260
 Bierschenk, Thomas, 35
 Biya, Paul, 299
 Boni, Yayi, 298–299
 Boone, Catherine, 34
 Buganda. *See* Uganda
 Busia, Kofi, 65
- Cameroon, 299
 campaign funding, through Constituency
 Development Fund, 260–261, 284
- campaigns, election, 224–235. *See also*
 gift giving
 communications in, 231–235
 through social media, 231–233
 cultivation of virtues in, 225–230
 decampaigning, 230–231
 personalization of, 230–231
 electoral viability of candidates, 224–225
 party affiliation as factor in, 225
 ethnic identification as element of,
 242–245
 funding of, through Constituency
 Development Fund, 260–261, 284
 overview of, 247–249
 political rallies, 232–233
 populist style of, 229–230
 productive ambiguity in, 225–233
 small-scale meetings, 233–234
 candidates, political. *See also* campaigns;
 gift giving
 characteristics of, variation in political
 trajectories and, 240–247
 gender factors, 240–241
 civic virtue in, 211–215
 through campaign strategies,
 effectiveness of, 218, 219
 through constituent representation and
 contact, 219–220
 motivations for, 27–28, 221–224
 public pressure for, 215–220
 in urban and rural areas, 219–220
 electoral viability of, 224–225
 party affiliation as factor in, 225
 ethnic identity as factor for, 242–245
 overview of, 247–249
 patrimonial virtue in, 216–218
 motivations for, 221–224
 capitalism, moral economy and, 35–36
 Carlson, Elizabeth, 261, 274–275
 Carter, Jimmy, 151–152. *See also* election
 observers

Index

349

- Cash, Alan. *See* Kwadwo Kyeremanten, Alan
- Chege, Michael, 92–94
- choiceless elections, 10
- citizens, expert, 203
- citizenship, 18, 94. *See also* civic register of virtue
- expert citizens, in civil society, 203
- Kenya elections and, 94
- national, Africa elections and, 112–113
- civic culture, 49
- civic register of virtue, 19–20, 48–50, 294–300
- in election campaigns. *See* campaigns
- electoral fallacy and, 291
- impartiality and, 49, 112
- in leadership, 211–215
- Lonsdale on, 36
- meritocracy through, 49, 50
- moral economy and, 18, 19–20, 32–34, 36
- patrimonial virtue balanced with, 212–213
- patron–client relationships and, 213–214
- in political candidates. *See* candidates
- promotion of, by election observers, 172–174
- through voter education, 192–198, 206
- civil society, 26–27
- democratization and, 175–180
- in Ghana, 176
- in Kenya, 176
- in Uganda, 175–176
- voter education in, 179–180, 203–206
- expert citizens as element of, 203
- civil society organizations (CSOs). *See also specific organizations*
- democratization through, 176–177
- voter education through, 186–192
- bias in, 204–205
- as national imperative, 180
- popular attitudes towards, 190–191
- popular support for, 191
- quality of elections influenced by, 190
- claims-making, moral. *See also* moral economy
- in elections, 2–3
- in Africa, 13
- electoral participation and, 5–6
- in Kenya elections, 102–103
- virtue, logic of appropriateness and, 39–40, 41
- Cloward, Karisa, 189, 204
- coercion, electoral participation and, 5–6
- Cold War politics, international election observers and, 150
- Coles, Kimberley, 111
- collective rights, 10
- colonialism
- Ghana and, state-making influenced by, 58
- Kenya and
- elections influenced by, 89
- state-making influenced by, 58
- Uganda and
- elections influenced by, 77
- state-making influenced by, 58
- common good, voter education for, 198
- commonality, patrimonial virtue and, 46
- community. *See* moral community
- constituencies
- boundaries for, 133
- in election case studies, 66, 80–81, 93
- through representation and contact, 219–220
- scope of, 1
- Constituency Development Fund
- in Ghana, 260–261
- in Kenya, 260–261, 284
- Convention People's Party (CPP) (Ghana), 62–65
- Nkrumah and, 63–64
- credibility, of international election observers, 146, 154–163
- cross-national variations in, 160–163
- through minimum standards and principles, 155–157
- CSOs. *See* civil society organizations
- cultural identity, African elections and, 8–9, 10–11
- affect and emotion as element of, 10–11
- in expressive voting, 11
- Danquah, J. B., 64
- decampaigning, 230–231
- personalization of, 230–231
- decentralization, of electoral systems, in Ghana, 68–69
- Democratic Party (DP) (Kenya), 96–99
- Democratic Party (DP) (Uganda), 77–78
- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 149
- democratization. *See also* liberal democracy
- civil society and, 175–180
- through civil society organizations, 176–177
- through elections, 7–8, 30–31
- patrimonial networks and, 8

350 Index

- democratization (cont.)
 through nongovernmental organizations, 177
 promotion of, by international election observers, 144–145
 in multiparty systems, 150
 ‘third wave’ of, 177
 electoral fallacy and, 289
 through voter education, 175–180
 development/developmentalism, 58, 103–104
 domestic observers, as election observers, 163–172
 civic virtue promotion by, 172–174
 credibility issues for, 165–172
 internal conflicts between, 166–167
 public support for, 164–165
 quality of elections influenced by, 171
 virtue of, 165–172
 DP. *See* Democratic Party; *specific country*
 DRC. *See* Democratic Republic of Congo
 Dunn, John, 11, 104
 EC. *See* Electoral Commission
 ECK. *See* Electoral Commission of Kenya
 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 152, 154
 education and training
 for electoral system officials, 119, 124–125
 for voters. *See* voter education
 election campaigns. *See* campaigns
 election observers, 25–27
 domestic observers, 163–172
 civic virtue promotion by, 172–174
 credibility issues for, 165–172
 internal conflicts between, 166–167
 public support for, 164–165
 quality of elections influenced by, 171
 virtue of, 165–172
 international
 African Union and, 152
 autonomy of, 163–172
 civic virtue promotion by, 172–174
 Cold War politics as influence on, 150
 conservatism of, 146
 democracy promotion by, 144–145, 150
 in Democratic Republic of Congo, 149
 domestic agendas influenced by, 147
 Economic Community of West African States and, 152, 154
 by EU organizations, 144, 152–153, 156–157
 funding of, 144, 151
 in Ghana, 150, 160–163
 goals of, 142–143
 history of, 148–154
 human rights issues and, 153–154
 impartiality of, 143
 in Kenya, 142–143, 147–148, 149–150, 158–159, 160–163
 limitations of, 142–143, 145–146
 media oversight of, 146, 151
 multiparty elections and, 150, 161
 in Nigeria, 149
 Organization of African Unity and, 152
 parallel vote tabulations approach, 167–172
 public support for, 160
 quality of elections influenced by, 162, 171
 in Uganda, 150, 158–159, 160–163
 U.S. involvement in, 159, 161
 Western actors as, 146
 international, credibility of, 146, 154–163
 cross-national variations in, 160–163
 for domestic observers, 165–172
 through minimum standards and principles, 155–157
 interviews, use of, 305
 elections. *See also specific countries*
 ballot boxes and, 114–115
 choiceless, 10
 confidence in, 135–141
 in electoral commissions, 138, 139, 140
 national trust in electoral management bodies, 137
 constituency boundaries for, 133
 contestation of, 57
 cultural identity expressed through, 8–9, 10–11
 affect and emotion in, 10–11
 in expressive voting, 11
 decentralization of, in Ghana, 68–69
 democratic consolidation through, 7–8
 patrimonial networks and, 8
 democratization process influenced by, 30–31
 electoral management
 autonomy of, 120–121
 demographics for, 123
 education and training of, 119, 124–125
 in Ghana, 120
 impartiality of, 122
 in Kenya, 119–120
 officials in, 118–127

Index

351

- overview of, 17–23
- professionalization of, 127
- recruitment processes for, 123–124
- voter education and, 125–126
- electoral management bodies, 111–112
 - expansion of, 113
- electoral officials
 - autonomy of, 120–121
 - education and training for, 119, 124–125
 - impartiality of, 122
 - self-image of, 2
 - voter education by, 125–126
- expressive voting, 11
- in Ghana
 - decentralization of, 68–69
 - officials in, 120
 - production of order through, 114
- illiteracy and, 114
- impartiality of, 127–132
 - in Ghana, 129, 132
 - in Kenya, 127–129, 132
 - lack of resources as influence on, 130
 - of officials, 122
 - in Uganda, 122, 129
- individual transformation through, 30
- institutional transfer through, 9
- institutional transformation through, 30
- international involvement in, 12
- in Kenya
 - impartiality of officials in, 127–129
 - officials in, 119–120
- as laboratories, 111
- malpractice in, 133–135
 - multiple voting, 134
 - voter identification issues, 134–135
- manipulation of, 235–239. *See also* vote buying
 - disruption of national elections, 237
 - personal experiences of, 265
 - through rigging of elections, 238–239, 252
 - through violence against opponents, 85, 235–238, 252
 - through voter intimidation, 235–238
- methodological approach to, 14–17
 - authority systems as variables, 15
 - quantitative analysis in, 16
- moral claims-making in, 2–3
- moral economy of. *See* moral economy
- morals claims-making in, 13
- multiparty systems and
 - African elections, 10
 - collective rights and, 10
 - international election observers and, 150, 161
 - in Uganda, rejection of, 83–86
 - vote buying in, 260–262
- multiple voting in, as electoral malpractice, 134
- national citizenship and, 112–113
- as national exercise, 111
 - overview of, 17–23
- production of order through, 113–118
- registration of voters and, 116
- state-building through, 8–10, 17, 109
 - secret ballots and, 4
- stateness as result of, 17
- techne* in, 111–112
- theoretical approach to, 8–14
 - democratization in, 8–9
 - as project of state authority, 8–10
- in Uganda, 121–122
 - impartiality of, 122
 - officials in, 121–122
 - production of order through, 114–115
- understanding of, 5–8
 - regional interests in conflict with national interests, 6–7
 - unpredictability as element of, 7
 - vigour of, 5–6
 - vote buying, 6
- virtue during, competing conceptions of, 3
- voter registration and identification, 116
 - malpractice in, 134–135
 - production of order through, 115–117
- Electoral Commission (EC) (Ghana), 110
- Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), 111, 120–121
- electoral commissions
 - confidence in, 138, 139, 140
- in Ghana, 110
 - Chair of, 60–61
- in Kenya, 111, 120–121
 - Chair of, 120–121
- in Uganda, 59, 120–121
 - Chair of, 131
- electoral fallacy
 - civic register of virtue and, 291
 - limited capacity of elections and, 292
 - patrimonial register of virtue and, 291
 - during ‘third wave’ of democratization, 289
 - transfers of power and, 292–293
- electoral malpractice, 133–135
 - bribery, 91–92, 129, 184, 195–196, 235, 259–260, 267, 270, 295
 - multiple voting as, 134

352 Index

- electoral malpractice (cont.)
 - rigging of elections, 238–239, 252
 - violence against opponents, 235–238, 252
 - voter identification issues, 134–135
 - voter intimidation as, 235–238
- electoral management bodies (EMBs), 111–112
 - confidence in, 137
 - credibility of, 26, 145, 146, 154–163, 165–172
 - expansion of, 113
 - national trust in, 137
 - voter education through, 189
- electoral manipulation, 235–239
 - bribery, 91–92, 129, 184, 195–196, 235, 259–260, 267, 270, 295
 - disruption of national elections, 237
 - personal experiences of, 265
 - through rigging of elections, 238–239, 252
 - through violence against opponents, 235–238, 252
 - through voter intimidation, 235–238
- electoral officials
 - autonomy of, 120–121
 - education and training for, 119, 124–125
 - impartiality of, 122
 - self-image of, 2
 - voter education by, 125–126
- electoral participation. *See also* voting
 - claims-making and, 5–6
 - coercion and, 5–6
- electoral systems
 - confidence in, 135–141
 - in electoral commissions, 138, 139, 140
 - national trust in electoral management bodies, 137
 - elite bargaining, in Uganda elections, 87–88
 - EMBs. *See* electoral management bodies
 - ethnic identity. *See also* cultural identity
 - class and, 23
 - in election campaigns, 242–245
 - in Kenya, elections influenced by, 90–91
 - moral economy and, 20
 - moral ethnicity, 274
 - patrimonial virtue and, 214–215
 - in Uganda elections, 75
 - European Union (EU), international
 - election observers from, 144, 152–153, 156–157
 - evaluative voting, in Ghana elections, 74
 - Ewe ethnicity, in Ghana, 62
 - Fassin, Didier, 37
 - FDC Party. *See* Forum for Democratic Change Party
 - FORD. *See* Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
 - Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) Party (Uganda), 52–53, 85
 - Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) (Kenya), 95–96
 - Freeden, Michael, 44
 - Garrigou, Alain, 30
 - Gbedemah, Komla, 65
 - gender, of political candidates, 240–241
 - genocide, registers of virtue as justification for, 43
 - Ghana, elections in, 60–74
 - in Asante Akim region, 62
 - Convention People's Party in, 62–65
 - candidates in, virtues of. *See* candidates in Cape Coast region, 62
 - Convention People's Party in, 62–65
 - colonial state-making and, 58
 - Constituency Development Fund, 260–261
 - constituency winners in, 66
 - Convention People's Party, 62–65
 - Nkrumah and, 63–64
 - decentralization of, 68–69
 - developmentalism in, 58
 - election campaigns. *See* campaigns
 - Electoral Commission, 110
 - Ewe ethnicity and, 62
 - gift giving in. *See* gift giving
 - Ho region, 62
 - Convention People's Party in, 62–65
 - international election observers for. *See* election observers
 - Kenya elections compared to, 103–106
 - key political features, 59
 - Kwadwo Kyeremanten in, 250–251
 - moral economy in, 53
 - National Alliance of Liberals, 65
 - National Democratic Congress, 69–71, 72–73, 241–242
 - national economy as factor in, 58
 - National Liberation Council, 64
 - National Liberation Movement, 63
 - New Patriotic Party, 69–71, 72–73, 241–242, 250
 - Nkrumah, Kwame, and, 61
 - Convention People's Party and, 63–64
 - National Democratic Congress influenced by, 69–71
 - political overthrow of, 64

Index

353

- patrimonial virtue and, 46
 patrimonialism in, 73
 People's National Party, 67
 Popular Front Party, 67
 Progress Party, 65–67
 Provisional National Defence Council, 67–68
 public perception of, as liberal democracy, 60–61
 rationality of voter choice in, 11
 re-formed political parties and, 69–71
 socio-economic development and, 61
 transfers of power after, 57–58
 two-party system in, 72–73
 Uganda elections compared to, 103–106
 United Gold Coast Congress, 62–63
 United Party, 64
 village sovereignty and, 62
 violence as result of, decreases in, 71–72
 vote buying in, 258–265
 gift giving and, 262
 voter education and. *See* voter education
 voter turnout in, 70
 for presidential elections, 105
 voting in, as evaluative, 74
 gift giving, as campaign method, 254, 264
 in Ghana elections, 262
 in Kenya elections, 262
 legitimacy of, 272–276
 moral ethnicity and, 274
 patrimonial register and, investors in, 276–282
 political identity and, 282–286
 public attitudes towards, 283
 public attitudes towards, 266–273, 277–278
 by education level, 278–279
 by geographical location, 280–281
 by income level, 279, 280
 by political partisan identity, 283
 racial factors in, 268
 symbolic capital and, 274
 in Uganda elections, 275–276
 Gitari, David, 202
 Gyimah-Boadi, E., 162

 Hermet, Guy, 9
 human rights issues, international election observers and, 153–154
 hybrid regimes
 registers of virtue in, 41–42
 Uganda as, 75

 identification. *See* voters; voting
 identity. *See* cultural identity; ethnic identity
 IEBC. *See* Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
 illiteracy, 114
 electoral systems and, 114
 voter education and, 193–194
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
 impartiality
 civic virtue and, 49, 112
 of electoral systems, 127–132
 in Ghana, 129, 132
 in Kenya, 127–129, 132
 lack of resources as influence on, 130
 of officials, 122
 in Uganda, 122, 129
 of international election observers, 143
 Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), 113
 institutions, 20–22, 41, 60
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 144
 international observers. *See* election observers
 'issue-fication', of political platforms, 185, 188, 194–195

 Kabogo, William, 251
 Kaboyo, Patrick, 79
 KADU. *See* Kenya African Democratic Union
 KANU. *See* Kenya African National Union
 Kenya, elections in, 88–103
 The Alliance Party, 101
 annulment of, 101
 candidates in, virtues of. *See* candidates
 citizenship and, 94
 claims-making and, 102–103
 colonial history as influence on, 89
 colonial state-making and, 58
 Constituency Development Fund, 260–261, 284
 constituency winners in, 93
 Democratic Party, 96–99
 developmentalism in, 58
 as disciplinary tool, 90
 election campaigns. *See* campaigns
 Electoral Commission of Kenya, 111, 120–121
 ethnic loyalties as element of, 90–91
 Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, 95–96
 Ghana elections compared to, 103–106
 gift giving in. *See* gift giving

354 Index

- Kenya, elections in (cont.)
 Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, 113
 international election observers for. *See* election observers
 Kalenjin ethnic group and, 88–89, 94–95
 Kenya African Democratic Union, 90–92, 128–129
 Kenya African National Union, 90–92, 99–100, 128–129
 Kenya People's Union, 91–92, 128
 key political features, 59
 Kikuyu ethnic group and, 88–90
 limited political parties in, 90
 Luo ethnic group and, 89–90, 91–92, 100
 Masai land rights in, 227–228
 Mau Mau rebellion and, 89
 moral economy in, 53–54
 National Development Party, 99
 national economy as factor in, 58
 National Rainbow Coalition, 99–100
 National Super Alliance, 211–212
 Olympic Primary and, 143, 147–148
 Orange Democratic Movement, 100
 Party of National Unity, 101
 patrimonial virtue and, 46
 transfers of power after, 57–58
 Uganda elections compared to, 103–106
 vote buying in, 258–265
 gift giving and, 262
 voter choice in, 256–257
 voter education and. *See* voter education
 voter turnout in, for presidential elections, 97–98, 105
 Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), 90–92, 128–129
 Kenya African National Union (KANU), 90–92, 99–100, 128–129
 Kenya People's Union (KPU), 91–92, 128
 Kenyatta, Jomo, 89, 91, 92–94
 Kenyatta, Uhuru, 99–100, 101–102, 245
 Kerry, John, 159, 161
 Kibaki, Mwai, 96–99, 100, 204
 Kibuule, Ronald, 88
 Kiggundu, Badru, 131–132
 kings, in Uganda, regional authority of, 76
 KPU. *See* Kenya People's Union
 Kramon, Eric, 42, 253
 Kufuor, John, 69–71, 250–251
 Kwadwo Kyeremanten, Alan (Alan Cash), 250–251
 laboratory games, use of, 16, 268
 Larin, Stephen, 37
 leadership, through voter education, 198–203
 LeBas, Adrienne, 237
 liberal democracy, Ghana as, 60–61
 Limann, Hilla, 67
 Lindberg, Staffan, 7–8, 22
 on African elections, 30–31
 Lockwood, Peter, 251
 logic of appropriateness, 38–44
 morals claims-making and, 39–40, 41
 Lonsdale, John, 11, 36, 274
 on civic virtue, 36
 Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (Uganda), 76–77, 246–247
 Mackenzie, William, 9, 57
 Mahama, John, 242
 manipulation of electoral systems. *See* electoral manipulation
 March, James, 30
 Mau Mau rebellion, 89
 Mboya, Tom, 92
 McFaul, Michael, 143
 media. *See also* social media
 international election observers in, 146, 151
 meritocracy, through civic virtue, 49, 50
 Miller, Billie (Dame), 155
 Mills, John Atta, 69–71, 242
 Mitchell, Timothy, 34
 mobilization, of voters, 182–183, 197
 Moehler, Devra, 22
 Moi, Daniel arap, 94–95, 273–274
 money, elections and. *See* gift giving; vote buying
 moral claims-making. *See* claims-making
 moral community, rationality and, 11
 moral economy, 17–23, 51–56, 276
 capitalism and, 35–36
 definition and scope of, 18
 ethnic identity and, 20
 in Ghana elections. *See* Ghana
 of gift giving. *See* gift giving
 individual agency and, 22
 in decision-making by leaders, 22–23
 in Kenya elections. *See* Kenya
 long-term implications of, 300–303
 methodological approach to, 3–4, 33, 304
 data archives in, 304
 field research, 305
 interviews, 305
 surveys, 305–307
 multiple moralities, 286–288. *See also* gift giving; vote buying
 productive, 55–56

- revolt as resistance and, 35
 scope of, 294–300
 socioeconomic context for, 20
 state–society relations and, 34–38
 ‘two publics’ and, 18–19
 in Uganda elections. *See* Uganda
 as values, 35
 virtue and
 civic, 18, 19–20, 32–34, 36
 historical precedent and, 21–22
 particularistic, 18
 patrimonial, 18, 19–20, 32–34
 of vote buying. *See* vote buying
 moral ethnicity, 274
 Muite, Paul, 100
 multiple voting, as electoral malpractice, 134
 Museveni, Yoweri, 52–53, 79, 82–88
 constitution-making under, 82
 electoral abuses and malpractice under, 86–87
 National Resistance Army and, 82
 National Resistance Movement and, 75, 76–77, 83–88, 245–247
 removal of term limits under, 84–85
 Mushemeza, Elijah, 75
 Muwanga, Paulo, 79–82
 Mwesige, Adolf, 87

 NAL. *See* National Alliance of Liberals
 Namboze, Betty, 227–228
 NARC. *See* National Rainbow Coalition
 NASA. *See* National Super Alliance
 National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) (Ghana), 65
 National Democratic Congress (NDC) (Ghana), 69–71, 72–73, 241–242
 National Development Party (NDP) (Kenya), 99
 National Liberation Council (NLC) (Ghana), 64
 National Liberation Movement (NLM) (Ghana), 63
 National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) (Kenya), 99–100
 National Resistance Army (NRA), (Uganda), 82
 National Resistance Movement (NRM) (Uganda), 75, 76–77, 83–88, 245–247
 National Super Alliance (NASA) (Kenya), 211–212
 NDC. *See* National Democratic Congress
 NDP. *See* National Development Party

 neopatrimonialism, neo-patrimonial virtue, 47–48
 New Patriotic Party (NPP) (Ghana), 69–71, 72–73, 241–242, 250
 newspapers. *See* media
 NGOs. *See* nongovernmental organizations
 Nigeria, international election observers in, 149
 Njonjo, Charles, 95
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 61, 261
 Convention People’s Party and, 63–64
 National Democratic Congress influenced by, 69–71
 political overthrow of, 64
 NLC. *See* National Liberation Council
 NLM. *See* National Liberation Movement
 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).
 See also specific organizations
 democratization through, 177
 no-party democracy, Uganda as, 257
 norms, relationship to registers of virtue and, 18, 24, 26
 NPP. *See* New Patriotic Party
 NRA. *See* National Resistance Army
 NRM. *See* National Resistance Movement
 Nugent, Paul, 74, 252
 Nyong’o, Peter Anyang’, 100

 OAU. *See* Organization of African Unity
 Obadare, Ebenezer, 12
 Obote, Milton, 77–78, 79
 observers. *See* election observers
 Odhiambo, Atieno, 149–150
 Odinga, Oginga, 91–92, 95–96, 99, 100, 258
 Odinga, Raila, 99–102, 142, 202, 211
 Olympic Primary case and, 143, 147–148
 ODM. *See* Orange Democratic Movement
 Okumu, John, 256–257
 Okumu, Ronald Reagan, 87–88, 226
 Ole Ntimama, William, 95, 226
 Ole Tipis, Justus, 92, 95
 Olsen, Jonah, 30
 Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) (Kenya), 100
 Organization of African Unity (OAU), 152
 Osei, Charlotte, 139

 Paget, Dan, 295–296
 parallel vote tabulations (PVT) approach,
 to election observation, 167–172
 electoral integrity of, 169
 expansion of, 168–169
 limited information about elections through, 169–170

356 Index

- particularistic virtue, 18
 Party of National Unity (Kenya), 101
 party organizers. *See* political party organizers
 patrimonial register of virtue, 45–48, 294–300
 commonality as component of, 46
 contestation of, 47
 in election campaigns. *See* campaigns
 electoral fallacy and, 291
 ethnic identity and, 214–215
 in Ghana elections, 46
 gift giving and, 276–282
 in Kenya elections, 46
 moral economy and, 18, 19–20, 32–34
 patron–client relationships and, 46, 213–214
 in political candidates. *See* candidates
 preference component of, 46–47
 reciprocity as component of, 45–46
 in Uganda elections, 46
 voter education and, 199–200, 202–203, 207
 patrimonialism. *See also* neopatrimonialism
 democratic consolidation and, 8
 in Ghana elections, 73
 patron–client relationships
 civic virtue and, 213–214
 patrimonial virtue and, 46, 213–214
 Pels, Peter, 10–11
 People's National Party (PNP) (Ghana), 67
 PFP. *See* Popular Front Party
 the Philippines
 electoral choice in, 300
 vote buying in, 276–277
 PNDC. *See* Provisional National Defence Council
 PNP. *See* People's National Party
 political candidates. *See* candidates
 political party organizers, self-image of, 2
 political rallies, 232–233
 political tribalism, 255
 politicians. *See* candidates
 Popular Front Party (PFP) (Ghana), 67
 populist campaign style, 229–230
 Porter, Theodore, 110–111
 PP. *See* Progress Party
 productive moral economy, 55–56
 Progress Party (PP) (Ghana), 65–67
 proportional representation, in South Africa
 Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) (Ghana), 67–68
 PVT approach. *See* parallel vote tabulations approach
 quality of elections
 domestic observers as influence on, 171
 international election observers as influence on, 162
 voter education as influence on, 190
 radio. *See* media
 Rathbone, Richard, 74
 rationality
 in Ghana elections, 11
 moral community and, 11
 virtue and, 11
 Rawlings, Jerry, 61, 67–71, 242, 261
 reciprocity, patrimonial virtue and, 45–46
 registers of virtue, 38–51. *See also* civic register of virtue; patrimonial register of virtue
 alternative, 50–51
 religious beliefs and, 50–51
 genocide justified through, 43
 in hybrid regimes, 41–42
 neo-patrimonial virtue, 47–48
 registration. *See* voters; voting
 religious beliefs, as register of virtue, 50–51
 revolt as resistance, 35
 Reyes-Foster, Beatriz M., 48
 rights. *See* collective rights; human rights issues
 Rogan, Tim, 35
 Rokkan, Stein, 30
 Ruto, William, 100–101, 245
 Sardan, Jean-Pierre Olivier de, 35
 Schaffer, Frederick, 11, 42, 300
 secret ballot, 256–265. *See also* adult suffrage
 in Ghana, 256
 indirect voting and, 256
 state-building through, 4
 Senyonga, Andrew, 227
 separatist movements, in Uganda, 77–78
 Smith, Rogers, 38
 social media, election campaigns and, 231–233
 Socpa, Antoine, 299–300
 South Africa, proportional representation in, arguments against, 13
 Ssemogerere, Paul, 83
 state-building
 through adult suffrage, 4
 colonial influences on, in Africa, 58. *See also specific countries*

- through elections, in Africa, 8–10, 17, 109
 - secret ballots in, 4
- state–society relations, moral economy and, 34–38
- suffrage. *See* adult suffrage
- survey data, use of, 14, 17, 139, 159, 160, 171, 190, 216, 254–255, 263–264
- symbolic capital, 274
- Tanzania, 295–296
- Tapscott, Rebecca, 237–238
- technology, use of, in Africa elections, 111–112
 - ballot boxes, 114–115
 - multiple, 114
 - secret ballot, 4, 9, 30, 31, 57, 68, 82, 95, 114, 206, 256, 289–290
 - single, 114–115
 - electoral commissions
 - confidence in, 138, 139, 140
 - in Ghana, 110
 - in Kenya, 111, 120–121
 - electoral management bodies, 111–112
 - expansion of, 113
 - national trust in, 137
- television. *See* media
- ‘third wave’ of democratization, 177
 - electoral fallacy and, 289
- Thompson, E. P., 35
- TNA. *See* The Alliance Party
- trade unionism, in Zambia, 21
- training. *See* education and training
- transfers of power, 21–22
 - electoral fallacy and, 292–293
 - in Ghana. *See* Ghana
 - in Kenya. *See* Kenya
 - in Uganda. *See* Uganda
- Tripp, Aili Mari, 75
- Tripp, Charles, 35
- turnover. *See* transfers of power
- ‘two publics’, moral economy and, 18–19
- Uganda, elections in, 75–88
 - Amin and, 76–77
 - political coup by, 78–79
 - Buganda Kingdom, 75–77
 - constituency winners in, 80–81
 - candidates in, virtues of. *See* candidates
 - colonial state-making and, 58
 - colonialist history as influence on, 77
 - constituency winners in, 80–81
 - Democratic Party, 77–78
 - developmentalism in, 58
 - election campaigns. *See* campaigns
 - elite bargaining in, 87–88
 - ethnic politics in, 75
 - Forum for Democratic Change Party, 52–53, 85
 - Ghana elections compared to, 103–106
 - gift giving in. *See* gift giving
 - Gulu region, 76–77, 87–88
 - constituency winners in, 80–81
 - as hybrid regime, 75
 - international election observers for. *See* election observers
 - Kenya elections compared to, 103–106
 - key political features, 59
 - kings in, regional authority of, 76
 - Lord’s Resistance Army, 76–77, 246–247
 - as military autocracy, 75
 - moral economy in, 52–53
 - Mukono region, 75–77, 87–88
 - constituency winners in, 80–81
 - multiparty system in, rejection of, 83–86
 - Museveni and. *See* Museveni, Yoweri
 - national economy as factor in, 58
 - National Resistance Army, 82
 - National Resistance Movement, 75, 76–77, 83–88, 245–247
 - as no-party democracy, 257
 - no-party parliamentary elections in, 79
 - Obote and, 77–78, 79
 - patrimonial virtue and, 46
 - separatist movements in, 77–78
 - Tooro Kingdom, 76, 87–88
 - constituency winners in, 80–81
 - transfers of power after, 57–58
 - Uganda National Liberation Front, 79
 - Uganda Patriotic Movement, 79
 - Uganda People’s Congress, 77–78
 - vote buying in, 85
 - gift giving and, 275–276
 - voter education and. *See* voter education
 - voter turnout in, for presidential elections, 84, 105
 - Westminster model of, 57
- Uganda National Liberation Front, 79
- Uganda Patriotic Movement, 79
- Uganda People’s Congress (UPC), 77–78
- United Gold Coast Congress (UGCC) (Ghana), 62–63
- United Party (UP) (Ghana), 64
- United States (U.S.), international election observers and, 159, 161
- United States Agency for International Aid (USAID), 151, 177
- UP. *See* United Party
- UPC. *See* Uganda People’s Congress

358 Index

- U.S. *See* United States
 USAID. *See* United States Agency for International Aid
- Vernon, James, 30
- violence
 Ghana elections and, decreases in, 71–72
 against political opponents, 235–238
 voter condemnation of, 252
- virtue, conceptions of. *See also* civic register of virtue; patrimonial register of virtue; registers of virtue
 of domestic observers, 165–172
 in election campaigns, cultivation of, 225–230
 during elections, 3
 logic of appropriateness and, 38–44
 morals claims-making and, 39–40, 41
 moral economy and
 historical precedent and, 21–22
 particularistic virtue, 18
 neo-patrimonial, 47–48
 particularistic, 18
 political peoplehood and, 38
 rationality and, 11
- vote buying, 6, 42, 252–254. *See also* gift giving
 in Ghana elections, 258–265
 gift giving and, 262
 in Kenya elections, 258–265
 gift giving and, 262
 localization of politics and, 263
 moral force of, 254
 in multiparty systems, 260–262
 national context as factor for, 254–255
 local socio-economic factors as influence on, 255
 personal experience of, 265
 in the Philippines, 276–277
 political tribalism and, 255
 in Uganda elections, 85
 gift giving and, 275–276
 voter education and, 200
- voter education, 27
 adult suffrage and, 206
 through candidate information, 183
 civic virtue through, 192–198, 206
 in civil society, 179–180, 203–206
 expert citizens as element of, 203
 through civil society organizations, 186–192. *See also specific organizations*
 bias in, 204–205
 as national imperative, 180
 popular attitudes towards, 190–191
 popular support for, 191
 quality of elections influenced by, 190
 for common good, 198
 contradictions of, 197–198, 201–202
 democratization through, 175–180
 through donor fund dependency, 188, 189
 through electoral management bodies, 189
 by electoral system officials, 125–126
 goals and purpose of, 181
 illiteracy and, 193–194
 individual behavior and, 195
 through information, 181–182
 intra-country differences in, 187–188
 through ‘issue-fication’ of political platforms, 185, 188, 194–195
 leadership as result of, 198–203
 long-term impact of, 206–208
 national context for, common agendas influenced by, 186–192
 as national imperative, 180–186
 through civil society organizations, 180
 partisanship as influence on, 187, 193
 patrimonial register of virtue and, 199–200, 202–203, 207
 programmes for, 192–193, 196
 vote buying and, 200
 through voter comportment, 183–184
 through voter mobilization, 182–183, 197
 voter turnout influenced by, 195–196
 voter vigilance and, 184–185, 196–197
- voter identification, 115–117, 134–135
 voter mobilization. *See* mobilization
 voter turnout
 in Ghana elections, 70
 for presidential elections, 105
 in Kenya elections, 97–98, 105
 in Uganda elections, 84, 105
 voter education and, 195–196
- voters
 comportment of, 183–184
 experience at polling stations, 118
 identification for, malpractice and, 134–135
 intimidation of, 235–238
 mobilisation of, 182–183, 197
 registration of, production of order through, 116
 vigilance of, 184–185, 196–197

voting	Westminster model
expressive, 11	for Ghana elections, 57
in Ghana elections	for Kenya elections,
evaluative, 74	57
mature, 74	for Uganda elections,
voting rights. <i>See</i> adult suffrage	57
Weber, Max, 45	Wetang’ula, Moses, 211
Weghorst, Keith, 204	Zambia, trade unionism in, 21