Elections and Perceived Land Tenure in Zambia

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Background

Background

Baseline Data Collection	2015 Election	2016 Election	Endline Data Collection
2014	2015	2016	2017

Zambian Context

Zambian Context -> Land

- Majority of land is under customary tenure
- At local level, land is administered by unelected Chiefs

- ▶ 2015 Election
  - ▶ Snap election after unexpected passing of president, Michael Sata
  - ▶ No new voter registration ⇒ used 2011 voter rolls
- ▶ 2016 Election
  - ▶ Widespread voter registration ⇒ updated voter rolls

- Hichilema Hakainde for the United Party for National Development (UPND)
- **Edgar Lungu** for the Patriotic Front (PF)

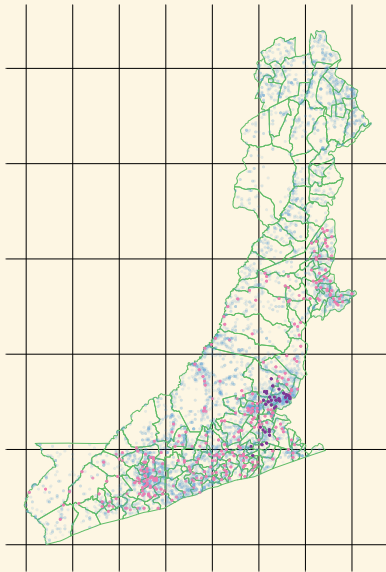# Zambian Context -> Eastern Province

- Where the data is from

Data

Data -> Election Data

- Polling station level vote tallies
- No exact polling station location

Data -> GIS Data

- ▶ Compiled locations from many GIS datasets
- ▶ Matched location names to polling station names
  - ▶ 2015 Election: 306
    - ▶ Avg Turnout: 0.211252
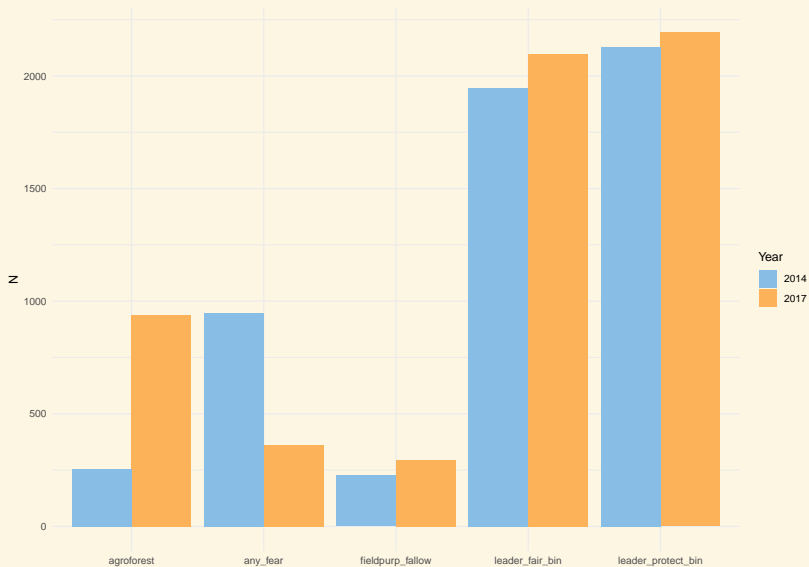 - ▶ 2016 Election: 321
    - ▶ Avg Turnout: 0.534372

Data -> GIS Data -> Map

Data -> Survey Data

- TGCC RCT
- Baseline: 2014
- Endline: 2017
- N Panel Observations: 2355
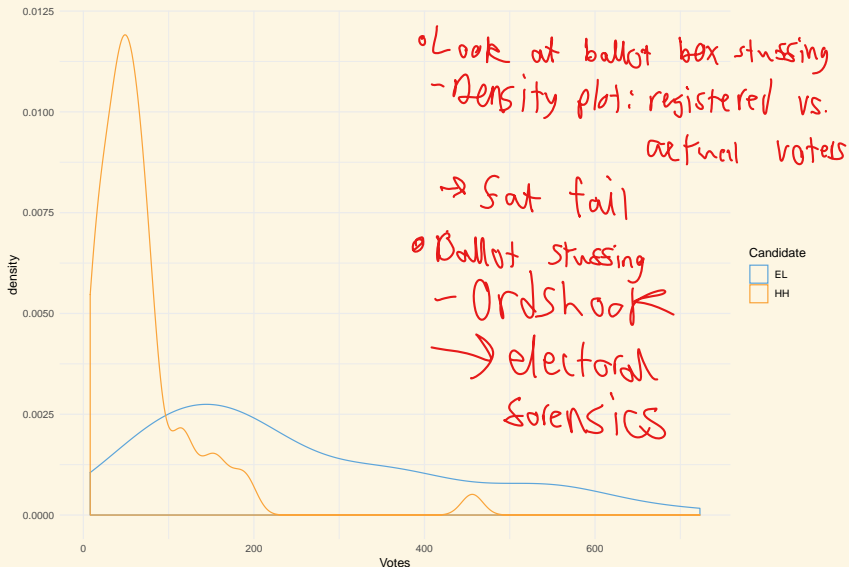- Tenure security, land investment, land governance indicators
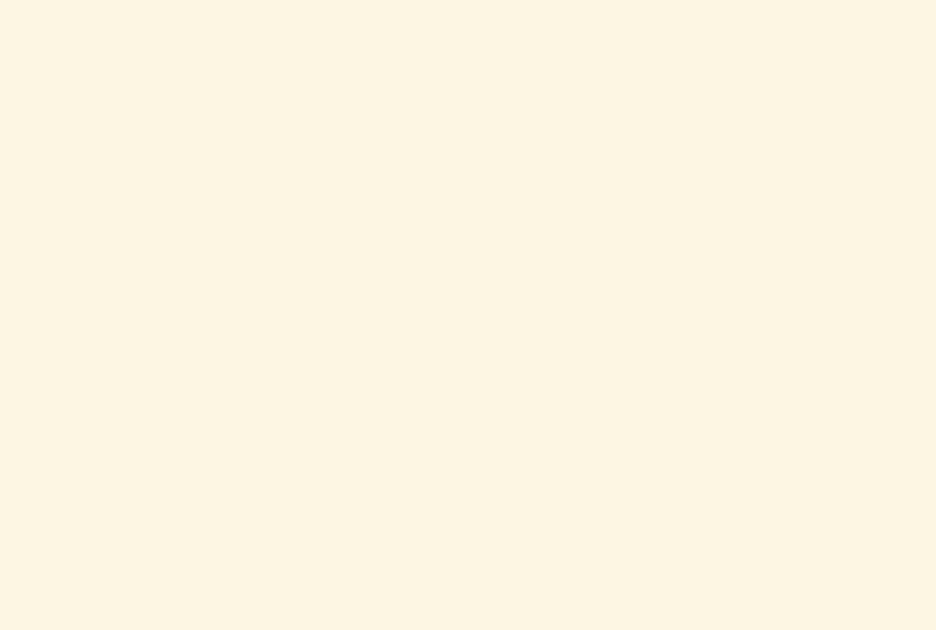
Data -> Survey Data -> Primary Outcomes

Data -> All Together Now

- Matched each village to nearest polling station
    - 2016 Election:
        - N polling stations: 32
        - N registered voters: 30519
        - N votes: 15219
        - EL: Mean: 0.755 SD: 0.081
        - HH: Mean: 0.17 SD: 0.093

- Look at ballot box stuffing
  - Density plot: registered vs. actual voters

→ fat tail

- Ballot stuffing
  - Ordshook

→ electoral forensics
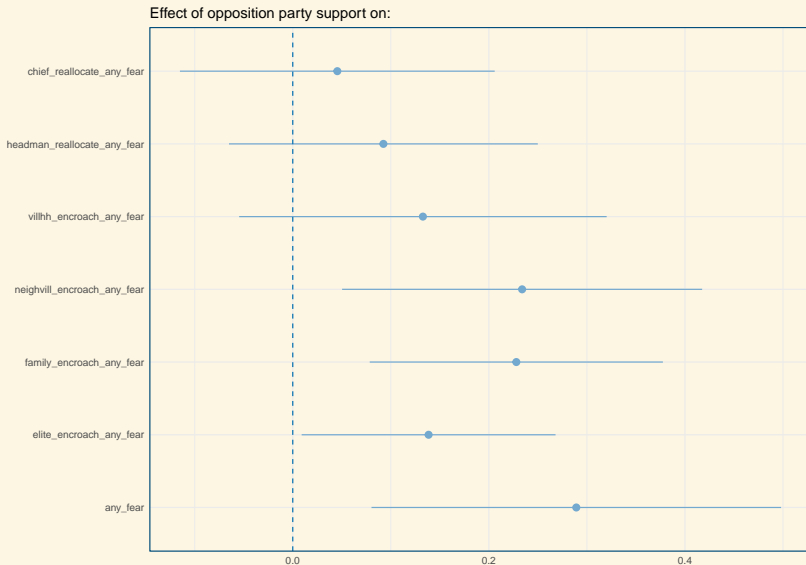
Results

Results -> Model

Handwritten annotations (top right):
- Look at non-linearity
- Confounding with conflict
- Fractionalization vs. Voting difference

Base model:

$$y_{2016} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{2015} + \beta_2 tAnyTenure + \beta_3 pollPropHH2016$$

Paper document interaction model:

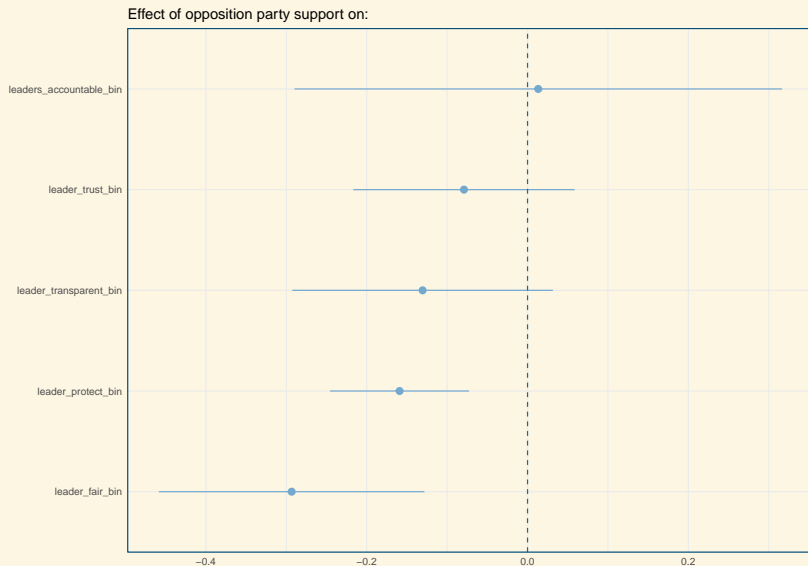$$y_{2016} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{2015} + \beta_2 elPaperdocAny + \beta_3 pollPropHH2016 + \beta_4(elPaperdocAny * pollPropHH2016)$$

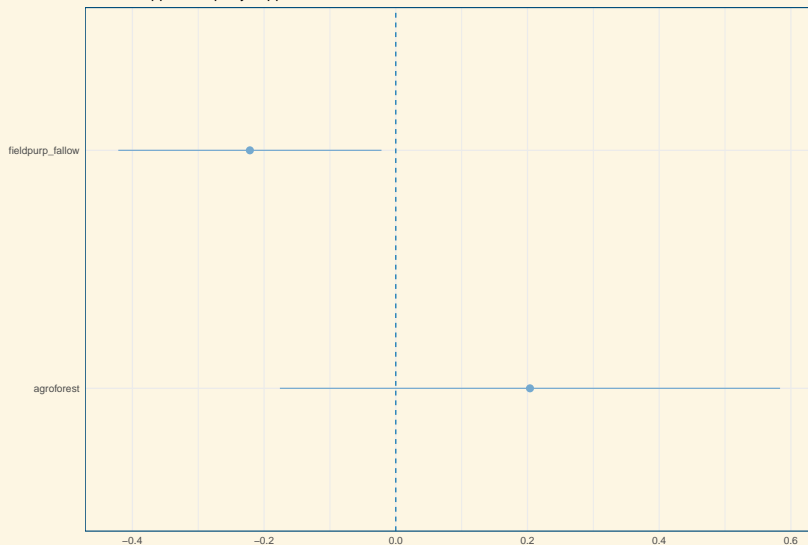SEs clustered at polling station level

Results -> Tenure Security

Effect of opposition party support on:

Results -> Land Governance

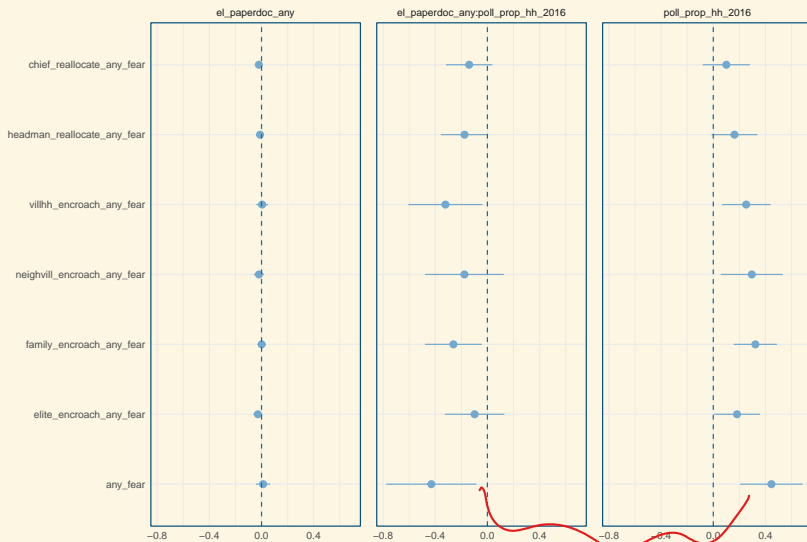Effect of opposition party support on:

Results -> Land Investment

Effect of opposition party support on:

Results -> Paper Documentation Interaction Models

Effect of opposition party support and land documentation on:

Future Work

▶ Better modeling approach
  ▶ Using 2015 and 2016 election data
  ▶ Within chiefdom models
▶ Locate more polling stations

- Did the treatment change response
  to the election?

☆ Car data
  ⟹ Bad loans?