Contests for State Power: An Examination of the Consequences of Variations in Electoral Systems in Contemporary Africa

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The choice of electoral system determines how the entire electoral process will be run. It can affect not only the size of electoral districts and the ballot structures but also who can vote and how their votes can be counted (Reynolds, 2009; Reynolds, Reilly, & Ellis, 2008). Conflicts are more likely to arise if an electoral system is perceived as a system of “pick and choose”. Some electoral systems may be less prone to post-election conflicts than others; and to some extent such electoral systems may also be more helpful in promoting democracy than others. In addition, studies have shown that many African countries that hold elections inherited their political systems from their former European colonial powers (Reynolds, 2009; Blanton, Mason, & Athow, 2001; Young, 1986). Such systems are less likely to work on African terrains. Therefore, designing an electoral system that can help minimize frequent occurrences of political conflict requires not only an in-depth knowledge of party systems in Africa but also a deep understanding of electoral rules of the game. This paper covers two interrelated topics: African models of electoral systems with a particular emphasis on electoral rules and democracy promotion, and elections and party systems.

Keywords: elections, electoral systems, electoral rules, ballot structures, electoral conflicts, democracy, Africa

Electoral Systems in Democratizing Countries: Examining African Models

The electoral system, or how the votes cast are actually translated into seats, has a huge impact not just on inclusion and exclusion but also on the tone of the entire political system. The system will also craft the space for corruption and vote rigging—it will not eliminate the space for malfeasance, but it can limit it. For these reasons, the crafting of appropriate electoral systems is one of the key factors shaping democratization and political conflict on the continent (Reynolds, 2009).

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requires not only an in-depth knowledge of party systems in Africa but also a deep understanding of electoral rules of the game. The paper covers two interrelated topics: African models of electoral systems with a particular emphasis on electoral rules and democracy promotion, and elections and party systems.

In this section, the author discusses the main electoral rules and formulas used in allocating elected seats in African countries. The author also identifies and discusses potential effects of electoral systems: plurality/majority, block vote, list proportional representation, and mixed-member majoritarian and mixed-member proportional systems.

**Electoral Rules and Democracy Promotion**

An electoral rule determines how many representatives or members of parliament (MPs) are elected from one electoral district or constituency. If only one MP is elected to a parliament from a district, that district will be called a single-member district. However, if more than one MP is elected to a parliament from a district, the district will be referred to as a multi-member district.¹ The plurality/majority systems use single-member districts. These systems are the plurality/single-member district or the First Past The Post (FPTP), the majority single-member district or the Two-Round System (TRS), and Block Vote (BV). The multi-member districts are used by both the proportional representation systems (LIST-PR) and mixed systems (MMP and MMM). In Africa, the variations in electoral systems indicate that there are also variations in electoral rules that are used to translate votes into elected seats and, therefore, into policy preferences. Table 1 summarizes the variation in electoral rules used in contemporary Africa.

Table 1

| Variation in Electoral Rules in Contemporary African States |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| **FPTP** | **TRS** | **BV** | **List-PR** | **MMP** | **MMM** |
| Botswana, Ethiopia, Gambia, Gabon (1996-2010), Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar*, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe | Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo Republic, Egypt, Gabon (1990), Mali, Mauritania, and Togo | Mauritius | Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar (1993), Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger (2010), Rwanda, Sao Tome Principe, South Africa, Tunisia | Djibouti, Lesotho, Cameroon, Chad, DRC, Egypt, Guinea, Madagascar (1998 and 2002), Niger*, Senegal, Seychelles, and Sudan |

Sources: IDEA, African Elections Database, Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

An analysis of Table 1 reveals that 15 African states, including Botswana, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Gabon (1996-2010), Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe use FPTP and that most of these countries were once colonized by the United Kingdom, the founding country of FPTP systems (Reynolds, Reilly, & Ellis, 2008). While only one African state (Mauritius) uses BV systems, eight countries including Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo Republic, Egypt, Gabon (1990), Mali, Mauritania, and Togo use TRS. Contrary to FPTP systems, which are mostly used by former British colonies, TRS systems have been adopted by overwhelming majority of former French colonies in Africa.

Table 1 also suggests that apart from Niger, which recently switched from MMM systems in 2010 to List-PR, and Madagascar, which used List-PR in 1993 before switching to MMM in 1998 and 2002 and to

¹ For a detailed discussion on single-member district and multi-member district see Reynolds, Reilly, & Ellis, 2008 and Farrell, 2011.
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FPTP in subsequent legislative elections, 15 other African states such as Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Sao Tome Principe, South Africa and Tunisia, used List-PR systems between 1990 and 2010. Among the 10 African countries that steadily use mixed electoral systems, eight of them—Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Egypt, Guinea, Senegal, Seychelles, and Sudan—use MMM systems, and only two of them (Djibouti and Lesotho) use MMP systems.

Another important point to note is that between 1990 and 2010, while Liberia switched from FPTP to List-PR in 1997 and back to FPTP since 2005, other African countries switched to a “more proportional system” as a result of post-conflict agreements (Reynolds, 2009). For instance, Lesotho switched from FPTP to MMP in 2002, Rwanda from FPTP to List-PR after the 1994 Rwandan genocide (African Elections Database 2011), and South Africa and Sierra Leone from FPTP to List-PR in 1994 and 1996, respectively (African Elections Database, 2012; Reynolds, 2009). MMP systems tend to be more proportional than MMM systems. In general, each electoral rule has its advantages and disadvantages.

Effects of Electoral Systems in Contemporary Africa

Effects of Plurality/Majority Systems. According to Reynolds, Reilly, & Ellis (2008), “First Past The Post is the simplest form of plurality/majority electoral system. The winning candidate is the one who gains more votes than any other candidates, even if this is not an absolute majority of valid votes” (p. 35). Because FPTP is simple and easy to understand by political actors in general and voters in particular, it is often recommended to less developed countries where, in most cases, illiteracy rate remains high. Such a recommendation fails to take into account the existence of multiple sociopolitical cleavages in these developing countries given that FPTP favors only strong parties or minority groups that are located in a concentrated geographical area.

In a country where FPTP method or other single-member district systems are used, candidates are the focus of voters, who cast their ballots for them instead of voting for political parties. The FPTP system is often believed to strengthen the relationship that must exist between representatives and their constituents. Because these representatives are directly elected by voters, the latter can hold them accountable for any decisions they made by either re-electing them or voting them out in future elections. This is what Strom (2000) refers to as “accountability for candidates”. This accountability can be discussed at two levels. First, under single-member district systems, MPs are required to maintain permanent communication or contact with people they represent. Second, because of the existence of strong party discipline under FPTP and other single-member district systems, MPs must demonstrate strong support for their parties’ policies and platforms to earn re-nomination in subsequent elections. But under multi-member district systems, such as List-PR, MMM and MMP, voters cannot hold candidates accountable. Instead, political parties are often punished for their actions.

Specific to TRS is that a legislative/parliamentary election is run in two rounds if no candidate wins the majority of vote (i.e. over 50%) in the first round. Generally, only two candidates with the highest vote in the first round are allowed to compete in the second round. In that case, the system is called “majority run-off TRS” (Reynolds et al., 2008, p. 52). The majority run-off TRS is commonly used in many states that use majoritarian electoral systems in contemporary Africa. As illustrated by Table 2, these countries include Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo Republic, and Mali.
Table 2

Variations in Electoral Formula in Contemporary African States

| Single-Member district plurality | Two-round plurality-majority | Two-round majority runoff | Party block vote | Hare quota |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Botswana, Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe | Gabon, Swaziland, Togo | Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo Republic, Mali | Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Senegal, Tunisia | Madagascar (2007) |
| Hare Quota (HQ) with Largest Remainders or HQ with Highest Average | Remainers | Block Vote | Droop Largest Remainders | Droop Largest Remainders |
| Algeria, Benin (1991), Burkina Faso, Egypt, Madagascar (1993) | Madagascar (1998, 2002), Niger (2004, 2009), Benin 1995, 1996, 2003, 2007, Madagascar (1998, 2002) | Mauritius | South Africa | Angola, Burundi, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome Principe |

Sources: African Elections Database, IDEA, and IPU.

However, it is also important to point out a variation in TRS method as it is used in France and other places around the globe (Reynolds et al., 2008). While the United Kingdom is known for creating FPTP method, France is always referenced when it comes to the use of TRS method. Rather than using a majority run-off TRS method, France sets a magic number of 12.5% of the vote as a minimum quota that any candidates must win in the first round of a legislative in order to contest the second round if no one wins a majority of vote in the first round (Reynolds, et al., 2008). In doing so, the system allows more than two candidates in the second round of a legislative election. Such a system is simply called “majority-plurality TRS” (Reynolds et al., 2008, p. 52). In contemporary Africa, this system is used by countries such as Gabon, Swaziland, and Togo.

Without distinguishing the type of TRS, the TRS method is often praised not only for allowing voters a second chance to select their representatives, but also for minimizing vote-splitting by allowing coalition formation among candidates who have similar policy agendas but are in the competition to win over the same electorate. However, there is a high likelihood for party systems to be more fragmented in countries where TRS has been used than in countries where other single-member district systems are used.

Talking of party systems, Erdmann and Basedau (2008) note “Party system stability and competitiveness are positively associated with democracy in Africa” (p. 242) (Kuenzi & Lambright, 2001). For example, since 1992, Ghana, which has been using the FPTP method to translate votes into elected seats, is currently cited as a model of Africa’s democracy. Compared to its neighboring state, Togo, which not only uses TRS, but it is also classified as a country with restricted democratic practices by Freedom House, Ghana’s democratic status can be credited to the stability of its party system as a result of its reliance on FPTP system for votes allocation of the country’s parliamentary elections.

Effects of Block Vote Systems. Party fragmentation and vote-buying are usually associated with the use of BV systems in legislative elections (Nabki, 2012; UNAMI, 2008; Reynolds et al., 2008). By definition,

Block vote is a plurality/majority system used in multi-member districts. Electors have as many votes as there are candidates to be elected. The candidates with the highest vote totals win the seats. Usually voters vote for candidates rather than parties and in most systems may use as many, or as few, of their votes as they wish. (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [International IDEA], 2013)
Because voters can cast as many votes as there are seats to be directly elected, in countries where BV systems are used, candidates of the same political party are allowed to compete against one another (Reynolds et al., 2008). In addition, as Reynolds et al. (2008) note it, the system allows voters to vote in many parties within their electoral district. This situation may result not only in massive corruption but also in internal party fragmentation and/or the fragmentation of the entire political system of countries where BV systems are used.

As identified by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [International IDEA] (2012), in the world, there are 10 countries that use BV systems for the legislative/parliamentary elections. These countries include Cayman Islands with 15 elected seats in the national assembly, Falkland Islands or Malvinas (eight seats), Guernsey (45 seats), Kuwait (50 seats), Lao People’s Democratic Republic (132 seats), Lebanon (128 seats), Mauritius (62 seats), Montserrat (nine seats), Syrian Arab Republic (250 seats), and Tuvalu (15 seats) (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [International IDEA], 2012). Apart from Syrian Arab Republic, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, and Lebanon, an analysis of the total number of seats directly elected to the legislatures in these countries shows that BV systems are usually adopted in countries that choose to have a small number of seats.

Because the BV systems are basically plurality/majority systems in multi-member constituencies, an absolute majority of seats is more likely to be won by bigger parties at the expense of smaller parties and minority groups. For instance, since 1990 in Mauritius, the only country in contemporary Africa that uses the Block Vote system for translating votes into seats, despite its reliance on what Reynolds et al. call “best loser” seats, suffered a problem of representation of minorities and smaller parties in the legislature.

According to African Elections Database (2012), in the 1991 Legislative Assembly elections, the ruling coalition called the Mauritian Militant Movement-Mauritian Socialist Movement (MMM-MSM) won 59 seats against three seats for its political opposition coalition, the Mauritian Labor Party-Mauritian Social-Democratic Party (MLP-PMSD), which was compensated with four best loser seats. The BV system allowed the ruling coalition to continue winning an absolute majority of seats (60 seats) in the 1995 National Assembly elections versus two seats for the opposition, and in the 2000 legislative elections, it won 54 seats against eight seats for the coalition of the opposition parties. Although the number of the best loser seats was increased from four to eight in the country’s subsequent legislative elections, it did not help smaller parties, such as the Organization of the People of Rodrigues (OPR) and the Rodrigues Movement (RM) to play any significant role in the country’s National Assembly since the Third Wave of Democratization.

In spite of their inefficacy in ensuring that smaller political parties and minority groups are fairly represented in parliaments, voter turnouts seem to be very high in countries where the BV systems are used with the exception of Lebanon and Syrian Arab Republic (International Institute for Democracy and Assistance [International IDEA], 2011). Table 3 shows voter turnouts in legislative/parliamentary elections in BV countries in the world during the last two decades. It also highlights whether voting is compulsory in each of these countries. A critical analysis of Table 3 reveals that compulsory voting has no effect on voters’ decisions to turn out to vote. Political instability may have contributed to the low voter turnout in Lebanon and Syrian Arab Republic. As discussed earlier, a higher voter turnout indicates a high degree of political participation. Additionally, the lack of opportunity to participate in the political process has significant effects in the occurrences of post-election conflicts in contemporary Africa. According to African Elections Database,

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2 The best loser seats, according to Reynolds, et al. (2008), are seats that are guaranteed for the candidates who were front-runners in the exit poll but failed to gather enough vote to win seats in the actual legislative election.
Mauritius is one of the rare democratic countries in Africa with a political rights score of 1 and a civil liberties score of 2. These democratic scores indicate that Mauritius is less prone to socio-political conflicts in general and electoral conflict in particular.

Table 3

| Year  | Voter turnouts | Compulsory voting |
|-------|----------------|-------------------|
| **Cayman Islands** |                 |                   |
| 2005  | 80.25%         | No                |
| 2006  | 99.69%         | No                |
| 2002  | 99.90%         | No                |
| 1997  | 99.37%         | No                |
| 1992  | 99.26%         | No                |
| **Lao People’s Democratic Republic** |                 |                   |
| 2002  | 99.90%         | No                |
| 1997  | 99.37%         | No                |
| 1992  | 99.26%         | No                |
| **Lebanon** |                 |                   |
| 2009  | 53.98%         | Yes               |
| 2005  | 46.47%         | Yes               |
| 2000  | 44.97%         | Yes               |
| 1996  | 43.14%         | Yes               |
| 1992  | 30.35%         | Yes               |
| **Mauritius** |                 |                   |
| 2010  | 77.82%         | No                |
| 2005  | 81.25%         | No                |
| 1995  | 79.69%         | No                |
| 1991  | 84.08%         | No                |
| **Montserrat** |                 |                   |
| 2009  | 66.75%         | No                |
| 2006  | 74.63%         | No                |
| 2001  | 77.48%         | No                |
| **Syrian Arab Republic** |                 |                   |
| 2007  | 56.00%         | No                |
| 2003  | 63.45%         | No                |
| 1998  | 82.22%         | No                |
| 1994  | 61.17%         | No                |
| **Tuvalu** |                 |                   |
| 2002  | 79.99%         | No                |

Source: Retrieved from http://www.idea.int/esd/type.cfm?electoralSystem=BV

**Effects of List Proportional Representation (List-PR).** In a proportional representation system, “all groups influence a decision in proportion to their numerical strength” (Steiner, 1971, p. 63; Lijphart, 1977, p. 39). This system is just a complete opposite of the majority/plurality electoral system where only stronger parties dictate their decisions to smaller parties. To allow parties to be represented in the legislature, countries can choose between closed List-PR systems and open List-PR systems (Reynolds et al., 2008). Under a closed List-PR system, voters have no choice than to vote for candidates at the top of their parties’ lists or simply vote for the parties. In contrast, under an open List-PR system, “voters can influence the order of the candidates by making individual preferences (Reynolds et al., 2008, p. 60). In contemporary Africa, countries that have used PR systems adopted closed List-PR (African Elections Database, 2011; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013a). This may have unintended consequences on the political representation of women and minority groups or parties in parliaments or national assemblies if candidates of these groups do not make the top of the ballot lists.
Table 1 provides a comprehensive list of African countries that have used closed List-PR systems. In many of these countries, voters have not been given any incentives to select their representatives. They only vote political parties. In South Africa, for example, the PR system has opposite effect of what it is initially aimed for. Because of its vivid memories of apartheid, the majority black population has been mandating the African National Congress (ANC) to rule the country since 1994. This situation has resulted in one-party domination of the South Africa’s Parliament. As an illustration, the ANC alone won 252 seats out of 400 seats in 1994, 266 seats in 1999, 279 seats in 2004, and 264 seats in 2009. This observation shows that PR systems may not always eliminate the winner-take-all or the majority rule over the minority groups. Despite an anomaly observed with the use of a PR system in South Africa, the system generally reduces disproportionality between percentages of votes and the actual percentages of seats won by parties.

As members of minority groups, women are often denied opportunities to fully participate in politics in many countries in the world. According to the United Nations, Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. Societies in which traditional or patriarchal values remain strong may frown on women entering politics. In addition to dealing with unfavorable cultural predilections, women are often more likely than men to face practical barriers to entering politics, including a paucity of financial resources, lower levels of education, less access to information, greater family responsibilities, and a deprivation of rights that has left them with fewer opportunities to acquire political experience. With the exception of the close relatives of male politicians, women generally lack the political networks necessary for electoral success.

In many African countries, the use of closed List-PR systems has helped women to break down some of these barriers that have prevented them from entering politics. Therefore, the closed List-PR system has been praised for allowing a high degree of representation of women in the National Assemblies or Parliaments if female candidates are placed at the top on the winning party lists (Reynolds et al., 2008). For instance, South Africa has 42.25% of women serving as MPs since 2009 (IPU, 2014). In the recent legislative elections in Rwanda, 63.75% (that is 51 out of 80 seats won by women) of women were elected to the Chambre des Députés or Chamber of Deputies (IPU, 2014).

The next section presents and discusses Africa’s mixed-member electoral systems and how the use of such systems affects voters and other political actors.

**Effects of Mixed-Member Majoritarian (MMM) and Mixed-Member Proportional (MMP) Systems.** By definition a mixed-member electoral system is a mixture of a single-member plurality (SMP) system and a PR system. Consequently, if a country uses a mixed-member electoral system, it has to provide two types of elections: SMP and PR elections (Farrell, 2011). These elections can be either dependent (MMP) or independent (MMM). Because of their linkage in MMP elections, the List-PR seats help to reduce the disproportionality of the SMP seats. Because of the results MMP elections produce, Massicotte and Blais (1999) call MMP systems the “corrective” systems while Farrell (2011) describes them as the systems that “provided the ideal compromise between the proportional virtues of the list electoral system and the district-orientation of SMP” (p. 117) (Kostadinova, 2002). According to Massicotte and Blais (1999), the MMP systems are called differently in different countries. For example, in Japan they are referred to as “superposition”, “correction” in Germany, “coexistence” or “fusion” in France, and “conditional” in Italy (p. 341).

Between 1990 and 2010, in Djibouti, where an MMP system had been used in legislative elections, no opposition candidates had been elected to serve in the National Assembly despite the fact that the country
embraced a multi-party system since 1992 (African Elections Database, 2011; IPU, 2013b). The 1992 Constitutional Referendum in Djibouti limited the number of political parties to four, including the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) and National Democratic Party (PND), the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), and the People’s Rally for Progress (PRP), the sole political party legally recognized by the state since the country’s independence from France in 1977 (African Elections Database, 2011; CIA World Factbook, 2014).

The Union for a Democratic Alternative (UDA) is a coalition of two opposition political parties (Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) and National Democratic Party (PND)). Because of the UDA, which won no seat in the 2003 legislative elections and boycotted the legislative elections in 2008, the Union for a Presidential Majority (UPM), which is a coalition of the ruling PRP and the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), had maintained its monopoly of the country’s national Assembly by winning all the 65 elected seats. The question one has to ask is that if the MMP system is praised for offering the best of both the SMP and PR systems (Shugart & Wattenberg, 2001), why had Djibouti’s political system been monopolized by a single party over the last two decades? As it becomes a routine for the opposition to boycott the elections in Djibouti, it will be extremely difficult for scholars and researchers in the field of comparative study of electoral systems to really evaluate the impact of the MMP system on the allocation of votes and seats in the country’s National Assembly. One can simply argue that the use of the MMP system in Djibouti has produced unintended consequences given that the country’s legislative elections held since 1992 produced results that would be similar to election results under the winner-take-all systems or majority/plurality systems.

Unlike Djibouti, where political parties and their candidates not only fight for legislative seats but also to win over the presidency, Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy, where only members of the National Assembly are elected by voters. Therefore, the focus of each political party has always been on how to win a majority of seats in the National Assembly and thereby nominate the leader of the party as the country’s Prime Minister. Following the military coup in 1986, a military regime was established in Lesotho from 1986 to 1993. In the first democratic legislative elections held in March 1993, the ruling Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), with only 74.78% of the vote, won 100% of seats or 65 seats against none for more than 10 political opposition parties and independents. In May 1998, the ruling party—at this time under the umbrella of Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)—won 79 out of 80 seats with 60.72% of the vote. Its immediate challenger, the Basotho National Party (BNP), won only one seat with 24.47% of the vote (African Elections Database, 2012).

Both the 1993 and 1998 National Assembly elections were held under the FPTP system. The frustration of opposition parties, especially the BNP, for not being represented in the parliament after the 1993 elections, carried over the 1998 National Assembly election results that they qualified as fraudulent. Elklit (2008) wrote,

> A discrepancy of this kind should not come as a surprise—it had happened before—but it was followed by the losing parties, especially the main opposition party, the Basotho National Party (BNP), crying “Foul”. This was also nothing new, but it was a sad surprise that the accusations about the overall correctness of the 1998 election results (which were never seriously challenged) sometime after they were published, incensed the public to such a degree that they started rioting in the streets of the capital, Maseru, setting fire to and demolishing public as well as private buildings. (p. 92)

The turmoil created in the aftermath of the publication of the 1998 election results was met with the intervention of the South African troops in Lesotho in the name of maintaining regional peace and security, protecting the interests of South Africa (Neethling, 1999), and “[creating] a safe environment in which Lesotho’s problems could be negotiated” (Sutton-Pryce, Baudin, & Allie, 1998, p. 26; Neethling, 2000, p. 5;
Neethling, 1999). According to Kent and Malan (2003), “on 22 September 1998, a 600-strong South African military task force entered Lesotho to assist the government in restoring law and order following election-related unrest” (p. 3). The decision to adopt an MMP system in Lesotho was not something that came in a vacuum. It was a fruit of a series of negotiations between the opposition parties and the government under the auspices of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Elklit, 2008; Santho, 2000).

The outcome of SADC’s mediation of good offices between the protagonists of the 1998 Lesotho’s post-election conflict was the creation of an Interim Political Authority (IPA) (Elklit, 2008; UN Peacemaker 1999; EISA, n. d.). The IPA, whose main duties and responsibilities were “to review the constitution, the IEC, the Lesotho electoral system and the Electoral Code of Conduct and to make appropriate recommendations to the relevant public institutions on its structures and functions with a view to making it more democratic and representative of the people of Lesotho” (EISA, n.d.), was composed of 12 political parties that equally represented with two representative each (UN Peacemaker, 1999).

The IPA was able to reach a political compromise with the government, which accepted an MMP electoral system with 80 SMP seats and 40 PR seats. This MMP system helped ease the political tension that prevailed in the aftermath of the 1998 National Assembly elections in Lesotho. Although the LCD was able to win 77 SMP seats in the May 2002 elections with 54.89% of the votes and the two vacant seats in the October 2002 elections, the opposition parties came out stronger than ever before by taking not only all the 40 PR seats but also the one remaining SMP seat, thanks to the MMP system used to translate votes into elected seats in the 2002 National Assembly elections in Lesotho (African Election Database, 2012).

The degree of representativeness of the opposition parties increased in both the 2007 and 2012 National Assembly elections when these opposition parties tried to close the disproportionality gap with the LCD by winning 58 seats in 2007, and took over the National Assembly with 94 out of 120 seats. With this extraordinary change in the political landscape in Lesotho, one can argue that the adoption of an MMP system helped facilitate the democratization process in the country. Therefore, since 2002, Lesotho has been propelled to the democratic status with a Freedom House political rights score of 3, and civil liberties score of 3 (African Elections Database, 2012).

Unlike the MMP systems, where the SMP election and PR elections are linked, under the MMM electoral systems, SMP and PR elections are independently held. The independence of these SMP and PR elections means that under the MMM systems, there are no compensatory seats. Because of the lack of connection between the two systems (SMP and PR) in MMM systems, MMM systems tend to be less proportional than MMP systems. In contemporary Africa, countries that have consistently used the MMM systems include Cameroon, Chad, DRC, Egypt, Guinea, Senegal, and Seychelles (see Table 1).

**Elections and Party Systems**

The literature on party systems in Africa not only started late (Erdmann & Basedau, 2008; Manning, 2005; Erdmann, 2004; 1999), but also is still at its early stages (Van de Walle, 2003; Scarritt & Mozaffar, 1999). However, Erdmann and Basedau (2008) argue that “While systematic research on political parties as organizations is still lacking, there has been increasing focus on the new emerging party systems and their relation to democratic consolidation” (p. 241). As successful and repetitive free and fair elections may give rise to democratic consolidation (Powell, 2000), party systems also remain one of the drivers of democratic survival and sustainability.
By sustainable democracy, I mean a democratic polity that it is able not only to address the needs and concerns of its current populations, but also to address such needs without compromising the needs of future generations. So far in contemporary Africa, countries such as Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Mauritius, Namibia, Sao Tomé Principe, and South Africa can be cited as African states that are moving in the direction of sustainable democracy because of their continuous efforts to strengthen their democratic institutions.

By contrast, Mali was a palpable example of what a sustainable democracy may not look like. Indeed, between 1992 and 2012, Mali was hailed as a model of Africa’s democracy for its relatively peaceful elections that established two different democratic regimes (one under President Alpha Oumar Conaré, and the other one under President Amadou Toumani Touré) (African Elections Database, 2012). However, the country was not able to address many underlying grievances including, but not limited to, “poor governance, the corrosive impact of drug trafficking and other illicit commerce, military fragmentation and collapse, limited implementation of previous peace accords with Tuareg rebel groups” (Arieff, 2013, p. 6). The failure by the Malian government to seriously tackle those issues may have contributed to the public support for the military coup that ousted President Touré and led to a near collapse of the state of Mali in 2012.

How do party systems help sustain Africa’s democratic regimes? A simple answer, according to Lindberg (2007), is that democratic sustainability requires both “stability and fluidity among legislative parties in Africa’s democracies” (p. 215). When a political party is able to ensure its continuity not only by increasing its membership with vibrant members, but also by providing policy options that respond to the needs and interests of its constituents, such a party can be referred to as a stable and fluid party (Lindberg, 2007). In addition, Lindberg (2007) joins his predecessors Sartori (1976), Mainwaring and Scully (1995) when he stresses the importance of institutionalization of political parties as a prerequisite of democratic consolidation. Indeed, to find out whether institutionalization of party systems occurs in Africa, Lindberg (2007) conducts an interesting study on 21 African countries that he refers to at the time as either electoral democracies or emerging electoral democracies based on their Freedom House score of political rights and civil liberties of (4, 4) or below after “at least two successful elections” (p. 228). These countries include Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Sao Tomé Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia. As expected, he finds that in these countries, party systems had not been institutionalized. Rather, they were either fluid (Benin, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Mali, Sao Tomé Principe, Seychelles, and Zambia) or de-stabilized (Kenya and Senegal) or stable (Botswana, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Ghana, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Tanzania) (Lindberg, 2007, pp. 231-233).

Equally important, the period of Lindberg’s study covered only 14 years that stretch “from 1989 to June 2003” (p. 230), and was published in 2007. Erdmann and Basedau (2008) use a stricter criterion than Lindberg by including in their analysis of African party systems countries that held “at least three consecutive elections”

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3 According to Lindberg, “stability” and “interaction” are key elements of institutionalization of party systems. The author identifies eight indicators of institutionalization as follows: The number of parties in the legislature, the number of new parties in the legislature, the share of new parties in the legislature, the number of parties voted out of the legislature, the share of parties voted out as compared to the total number of parties that compete in the election, the share of seats in the legislature held by the largest party, and the share of seats held by the runner-up. The higher the number on these indicators over time, the more fluid the party systems. The party systems become stable if parties that contest elections and winning seats are almost the same during every election. One talks of de-stabilized party systems if the dominant parties lost power. See Lindberg, S. I. (2007). Institutionalization of Party Systems? Stability and Fluidity among Legislative Parties in Africa’s Democracy. Government and opposition, 42(2), pp. 215-241, for a detailed discussion of measuring institutionalization of party systems.
The rationale behind the “three consecutive elections” criterion is to determine how consistent interactions among legislative parties in these countries are. Like Lindberg (2007), these authors are not only inspired by Sartori’s (1976) work on the classification of party systems in terms of “dominant” and ‘predominant’ party” (Erdmann & Basedau, 2008, p. 242), but they also build on the work of scholars, such as Hartmann (2007), Mozaffar and Scarritt (2005), Lindberg (2005), Bogaards (2004), Mozaffar, Scarritt and Galaich (2003), Nohlen, Krennerich and Thibaut (1999), Scarritt and Mozaffar (1999), Van de Walle and Buttler (1999), who have tremendous expertise in the study of African party systems.

In their investigation, Erdmann and Basedau (2008) find that countries such as Botswana, Burkina Faso (1992-1997 and 2002), Cameroon, Chad (1997 and 2002), Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Lesotho (1993-1998, and 2002), Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sierra Leone (2002), South Africa, Tanzania, and Togo have dominant party systems; Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, and Senegal have two-party systems; Central African Republic, Comoros, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Niger, Sao Tomé and Principe, Sierra Leone (1996), and Zambia have moderate pluralism party systems; and Benin (1991, 1995-2003) and Republic of Congo have extreme pluralism party systems (p. 248).

With regard to the relationship between electoral systems and party systems in Africa, Erdmann and Basedau (2008) find that 50% of one-party dominance can be found in countries (i.e. Djibouti and Mauritius) that use plurality systems in multi-member constituencies (MMCs); 58% in countries [Botswana, Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho (1993-1998), Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe] where plurality systems in single-member constituencies (SMCs) have been used; 56% in countries [Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad (1997), Comoros, Gabon, Mali, Mauritania, and Togo] where absolute majority in SMC or MMC have been used; 57% in MMM and MMP countries [Chad (2002), Guinea, Lesotho (2002), Madagascar, Niger, Senegal, Seychelles]; 25% in PR countries [Benin (1995-2003), Burkina Faso (1992-1997), Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau with small MMC; 80% in PR countries [Benin (1991), Burkina Faso (2002), Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone (2002)] with medium and large MMC; and 67% of one-party dominance in pure PR countries [Namibia, Sierra Leone (1996) and South Africa] (p. 248). An analysis of these findings demonstrates that despite the existence of highly fractionalized ethnic cleavages in many African states (Mozaffar & Vengroff, 2002; Vengroff, 1994, 1993), and in spite of the variations in African electoral systems, the continent is still experiencing the preponderance of dominant party systems (Erdmann & Basedau, 2008).

Building on previous literature on African party systems and Erdmann and Basedau’s (2008) theoretical contributions to the study of electoral systems and party systems, this paper looks beyond 2003, expands the discussion on elections and party systems in Africa, and provides a comprehensive overview of how such party systems affect the promotion of democracy across the continent during the time span of 1990 and 2010. The effects of the variations of party systems coupled with the impact of the variations of electoral systems on the democratization process in contemporary Africa are summarized in Table 4 (see Appendix). In future studies, the author will provide a detailed account on the roles of the political institutions, the civil society, and the traditional authorities in shaping the democratization processes in these six African states: Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Togo, in comparative perspective. The selection of these cases is based on two critically intervening variables, including the level of electoral conflict and types of electoral rules used by each of these countries.
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## Appendix

### Table 4

**African Models of Electoral Systems and Party Systems**

| Countries     | Years of legislative elections | Electoral systems | # of Parties/ coalitions at the polls | # of parties in the legislature | Names of party with most or coalition | # of Majority Seats | Party systems | Democratic/ freedom status |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Algeria       | 1997                           | PR                 | pro-governme nt parties & indpts 9 & indpts 24 & indpts | 10 & 11 indpts 9 & 30 indpts 23 | RND FLN                               | 156/380 199/381 136 | Dominant (Dom.) Moderate (M) Pluralism (pl.) | Not free Not free |
|               | 2002                           | PR                 |                                        |                                |                                       |                     |               |                             |
|               | 2007                           | PR                 |                                        |                                |                                       |                     |               |                             |
| Angola        | 1992                           | PR                 | 18                                    | 12                              | MPLA                                  | 129/220 191/220     | Dominant Dominant Not Free Not Free |
|               | 2008                           | PR                 | 14                                    | 6                               | MPLA                                  |                     |               |                             |
| Benin         | 1991                           | PR                 | 14                                    | 12                              | UTRD                                  | 12/64               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 1995                           | PR                 | 18                                    | 18                              | PRB                                   | 21/83               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 1999                           | PR                 | 16                                    | 16                              | RB                                    | 27/83               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 2003                           | PR                 | 12                                    | 12                              | MP*                                   | 52/83               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 2007                           | PR                 | 12                                    | 12                              | FDB                                   | 35/83               | Free Free Free Free |
| Botswana      | 1994                           | MA                 | 5 & others                            | 2                               | BDP                                   | 27/40               | Dom. Free Free Free |
|               | 1999                           | MA                 | 5 & indpts                           | 3                               | BDP                                   | 33/40               | Dom. Free Free Free |
|               | 2004                           | MA                 | 7 & indpts                           | 3                               | BDP                                   | 44/57               | Dom. Free Free Free |
|               | 2009                           | MA                 | 7 & indpts                           | 5                               | BDP                                   | 45/57               | Dom. Free Free Free |
| Burkina Faso  | 1992                           | PR                 | 10                                    | 10                              | ODP-MT                                 | 78/107              | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 1997                           | PR                 | 4 & others                           | 4                               | CDP                                   | 101/111             | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 2002                           | PR                 | 13                                    | 13                              | CDP                                   | 57/111              | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 2007                           | PR                 | 13                                    | 13                              | CDP                                   | 73/111              | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
| Burundi       | 1993                           | PR                 | 7                                     | 2                               | FRODEBU                                | 65/81               | Dom. Dom. Partly free Partly free |
|               | 2005                           | PR                 | 7                                     | 5                               | CNDD-FDD                              | 59/100              | Dom. Dom. Partly free Partly free |
|               | 2010                           | PR                 | 4                                     | 3                               |                                       | 80/100              | Dom. Dom. Partly free Partly free |
| Cameroon      | 1992                           | MMM                | 4                                     | 4                               | RDPC                                  | 88/180              | Not free Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 1997                           | MMM                | 8                                     | 8                               | RDPC                                  | 109/180             | Dom. Not free Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 2002                           | MMM                | 5                                     | 5                               | RDPC                                  | 149/180             | Dom. Not free Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 2007                           | MMM                | 5                                     | 5                               | RDPC                                  | 153/180             | Dom. Not free Not free Not free Not free |
| Cape Verde    | 1991                           | PR                 | 2                                     | 2                               | MpD                                   | 56/79               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 1995                           | PR                 | 5                                     | 3                               | MpD                                   | 50/72               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 2001                           | PR                 | 5                                     | 3                               | MpD                                   | 40/72               | Free Free Free Free |
|               | 2006                           | PR                 | 5                                     | 3                               | MpD                                   | 41/72               | Free Free Free Free |
| Central African Rep. | 1993 | MA/TRS | 13 | 13 | MLPC | 34/85 | M. pl. *Two-party E. pl. Partly free Partly free Partly free |
|               | 1998                           | MA/TRS             | 13                                     | 13                              | UFAP                                  | 55/109              | Partly free Partly free Partly free Partly free |
|               | 2005                           | MA/TRS             | 9                                      | 9                               | KNK                                   | 42/105              | Partly free Partly free Partly free Partly free |
| Chad          | 1997                           | MMM                | 10                                     | 10                              | MPS                                   | 65/125              | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
|               | 2002                           | MMM                | 15                                     | 15                              | MPS                                   | 113/155             | Dom. Not free Not free Not free |
| Comoros       | 1992                           | MA/TRS             | 6 & others                            | 7                               | UDD                                   | 7/42                | E. pl. M. pl. M. pl. M. pl. |
|               | 1993                           | MA/TRS             | 9 & indpts                           | 9                               | RDR                                   | 28/42               | M. pl. M. pl. M. pl. M. pl. |
|               | 1996                           | MA/TRS             | 2 & indpts                           | 2                               | RND                                   | 36/43               | Dom. Dom. Not free Not free |
|               | 2004                           | MA/TRS             | 2 & indpts                           | 2                               | CDIA                                  | 12/18               | Partly free Partly free Partly free Partly free |
|               | 2009                           | MA/TRS             | 3 & indpts                           | 3                               | Baobab Movement                       | 17/24               | Dom. Dom. Partly free Partly free |
| Congo Rep.    | 1992                           | TRS                | 19 & indpts                           | 19 & indpts 19 & indpts 19 & indpts | UPADS PCT UPADS PCT UPADS PCT | 39/125 47/125 53/137 46/137 | E. pl. M. pl. M. pl. M. pl. |
|               | 1993                           | TRS                | 14 & 1 indpt                          | 14 & 1 indpt 14 & 1 indpt 14 & 1 indpt | | | |
|               | 2002                           | TRS                | 6                                       | 6                               | | | |
|               | 2007                           | TRS                | 18 & indpts                           | 18                              | | | |
(table 4 continued)

| Countries   | Years of legislative elections | Electoral systems | # of Parties/coalitions at the polls | # of Parties in the legislature | Names of party with Most or coalition | # of majority seats | Party systems | Democratic/ freedom status |
|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Cote d’Ivoire | 1990, 1995, 2000 | FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 3 & others & indpts, 6 & 6 indpts | 3 & indpts, 3 & 6 indpts | PDCI-RDA, PDCI-RDA, FPI | 163/175, 148/175, 96/225 | M. pl., M. pl., M. pl. | Not free, Not free, Not free |
| Democratic Rep. of Congo | 2006 | MMM | Over 80 & indpts, Over 80 & indpts | | PPRD | 111/500 | M. pl. | Not free |
| Djibouti | 1992, 1997, 2002 | MMP, MMP, MMP | 2, 1, 2 | 1, 2, 2 | RPP, RPP, UMP | 65/65, 54/65, 65/65 | Dom., Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free, Partly free |
| Egypt | 1993, 2004, 2008 | PR, PR, PR | 83 & others, 3 & others, 3 | 4, 3, 3 | PDGE, PDGE, PDGE | 68/80, 75/80, 89/10 | Dom., Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free, Not free |
| Equatorial Guinea | 1994, 2000, 2005, 2010 | FPTP, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 1 & others, 1, others & indpts, 6, others & indpts, 11 & 1 indpt | 1 & others, 1, others & indpts, 6, others & indpts, 11 & 1 indpt | EPRDF, EPRDF, EPRDF, EPRDF | 484/547, 483/548, 481/547, 327/547 | Dom., Dom., Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free, Not free, Partly free |
| Gabon | 1990, 1996, 2001, 2006 | TRS, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 8, 12 & indpts, 10 & indpts, 13 & indpts | 8, 12 & indpts, 10 & indpts, 13 & indpts | PDG | 63/120, 85/120, 82/120 | M. Pl., Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free, Partly free |
| Gambia | 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007 | FPTP, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 5 & indpts, 4 & indpts, 3 & indpts, 3 & indpts | 4 & indpts, 3 & indpts, 3 & 1 indpt | PPP, APRC, APRC, APRC | 25/36, 45/48, 42/48 | Dom., Dom., Dom. | Free, Not free, Partly free |
| Ghana | 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 | FPTP, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 3 & indpts, 4 & indpts, 4 & indpts, 3 & indpts, 4 & indpts | 3 & indpts, 4 & indpts, 4 & indpts, 3 & indpts, 4 & indpts | NDC, NDC, NPP, NDC, ODM & Allies | 189/200, 133/200, 99/200, 114/230, 67/100 | Two-party, Two-party, Two-party, Two-party, Partly free |
| Guinea | 1995, 2002 | MMM, MMM | 9, 9 | 9, 9 | PUP, PUP | 41/76, 47/76 | Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free |
| Guinea-Bissau | 1994, 1999, 2004, 2008 | PR, PR, PR, PR | 8, 8, 15, 21 | 6, 8, 5, 5 | PAIGC, PAIGC, PAIGC, PAIGC | 62/100, 38/100, 45/100, 67/100 | M. pl., M. pl., M. pl., M. pl. | Partly free, Partly free, Partly free, Partly free |
| Kenya | 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007 | FPTP, FPTP, FPTP, FPTP | 7, 10, 10, 23 | 7, 10, 10, 23 | KANU, KANU, NARC, ODM & Allies | 100/188, 107/210, 125/210, 65/65 | Dom., Dom., Dom., Dom. | Not free, Not free, Not free, Partly free |
| Lesotho | 1993, 1998, 2002, 2007 | FPTP, MMP, FPTP, MMP | 12 & indpts, 15, 12 & indpts | 1, 2, 3 | BCP, LCD, LCP, CDC | 65/65, 78/80, 79/80, 49/64 | Dom., Dom., Dom., Dom. | Partly free, Partly free, Partly free, Partly free |
| Liberia | 1997, 2005 | FPTP, FPTP | 13, 21 & indpts | 6, 11 | NPP, CDC | 49/64, 15 | Dom., M.pl. | Partly free, Partly free |
### CONTESTS FOR STATE POWER: AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES

| Countries | Years of Legislative Elections | Electoral Systems | # of Parties/Coalitions at the Polls | # of Parties in the Legislature | Names of Party with Most or Coalition | # of Majority Seats | Party Systems | Democratic/ Freedom Status |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Madagascar | 1993 | PR | 14 & others 9 & others 2 & others | 14 & others 9 & others 5, others & indpts 2 & others | CFV AREMA TIM | 47/138 63/150 | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 1998 | MMM | | | | | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 2002 | MMM | | | | | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2007 | FPTP | 8 & indpts 10 & indpts 9, others & indpts 6 & indpts | 3 3 & indpts 9, others & indpts 6 & 33 indpts | UDUF MCP DPP | 84/177 93/193 113/193 | M. pl. | Free |
| | | | | | | | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | | | | | | | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | | | | | | | MI. Pl. | Partly free |
| Malawi | 1994 | FPTP | 10 | 10 | ADEMA ADEMA | 76/116 128/147 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 1999 | FPTP | 8 | 8 | S & indpts 9 & indpts 16 & 15 indpts | 67/79 15/95 | Dom. | Not free |
| | 2004 | FPTP | 3 & indpts 3 & indpts | 7 | PRDS PRDS PRDS | Dom. | Not free |
| | 2009 | FPTP | 7 | 7 | RFD | Dom. | Not free |
| Mali | 1992 | TRS | 5 | 5 | MMM-MSM MMM-MSM MMM-MSM AS | 59/62 54/62 38/62 | M.pl | Free |
| | 1996 | TRS | 6 | 6 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2001 | TRS | 4 | 4 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2006 | TRS | 4 | 4 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| Mauritania | 1991 | BV | 14 | 3 | FRELIMO | 129/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 1995 | BV | 12 | 2 | FRELIMO | 133/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2000 | BV | 21 | 2 | FRELIMO | 160/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2005 | BV | 19 | 3 | FRELIMO | 191/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| Mauritius | 1991 | BV | 5 | 5 | MMM-MSM* MMM-MSM MMM-MSM MMM-MSM | 59/62 60/62 54/62 38/62 | M.pl | Free |
| | 1995 | BV | 6 | 6 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2000 | BV | 4 | 4 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2005 | BV | 4 | 4 | | | M. pl. | Free |
| Morocco | 1994 | PR | 14 | 3 | FRELIMO | 129/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 1999 | PR | 12 | 2 | FRELIMO | 133/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2004 | PR | 21 | 2 | FRELIMO | 160/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2009 | PR | 19 | 3 | FRELIMO | 191/250 | Dom. | Partly free |
| Namibia | 1994 | PR | 8 | 5 | SWAPO | 53/72 | Dom. | Free |
| | 1995 | PR | 8 | 5 | SWAPO | 55/72 | Dom. | Free |
| | 2004 | PR | 9 | 7 | SWAPO | 55/72 | Dom. | Free |
| | 2009 | PR | 14 | 9 | SWAPO | 54/72 | Dom. | Free |
| Niger | 1993 | M | 9 | 9 | AFC* MNSD-Nassara UNIRD | 50/83 29/83 56/83 | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 1995 | MMM | 9 | 9 | MNSD-Nassara UNIRD | 38/83 | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 1996 | MMM | 9 | 9 | MNSD-Nassara UNIRD | 48/83 | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 1999 | MMM | 5 | 5 | MNSD-Nassara MNSD-Nassara MNSD-Nassara | 76/113 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2004 | MMM | 10 & others | 10 | MNSD-Nassara | | M. pl. | Partly free |
| | 2009 | MMM | 7 & indpts 7 & 10 indpts | | | | M. pl. | Partly free |
| Nigeria | 1992 | FPTP | 2 | 2 | SDP | 314/593 | Dom. | Not free |
| | 1998 | FPTP | 5 | 5 | UNCP | 229/282 | Dom. | Not free |
| | 1999 | FPTP | 3 | 3 | PDP | 206/360 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2003 | FPTP | 7 & others | 7 | PDP | 223/360 | Dom. | Partly free |
| | 2007 | FPTP | 6 | 5 | PDP | 263/360 | Dom. | Not free |
| Rwanda | 2003 | PR | 8 & indpts | 7 | FPR-led coalition | 40/50 | Dom. | Not free |
| | 2008 | PR | 9 & indpts | 8 | FPR-led coalition | 42/53 | Dom. | Not free |
| Sao Tomé & Principe | 1991 | PR | 4 & others | 3 | PCD-GR | 33/55 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 1994 | PR | 6 | 3 | MLSTP-PSD | 27/55 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 1998 | PR | 4 & others | 3 | MLSTP-PSD | 31/55 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2002 | PR | 5 | 3 | MLSTP-PSD | 24/55 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2006 | PR | 10 | 4 | MLSTP-PSD | 23/55 | M. pl. | Free |
| | 2010 | PR | 10 | 4 | ADI | 26/55 | M. pl. | Free |
## CONTESTS FOR STATE POWER: AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES

### Table 4 (continued)

| Countries | Years of Legislative Elections | Electoral Systems | # of Parties/Coalitions at the Polls | # of Parties in the Legislature | Names of Party with Most or Coalition | # of Majority Seats | Party Systems | Democratic/ Freedom Status |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Senegal   | 1993 MMM                      | 6                 | 6                                   | PS                              | 84/120                                | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 1998 MMM                      | 18                | 11                                  | PS                              | 93/140                                | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2001 MMM 10 & others          | 10                | 10                                  | Sopi coalition                  | 89/120                                | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2007 MMM                      | 14                | 13                                  | Sopi 2007                            | 131/150                               | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
| Seychelles| 1993 MMM                      | 3                 | 2                                   | SPPF                            | 21/22                                 | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 1998 MMM 3 & 1 indpt          | 2                 | 2                                   | SPPF                            | 24/25                                 | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2002 MMM 4 & indpts           | 2                 | 2                                   | SPPF                            | 18/25                                 | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2007 MMM                      | 2                 | 2                                   | SPPF                            | 28/25                                 | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
| Sierra Leone| 1996 PR                      | 13                | 6                                   | SLPP                            | 27/68                                 | M. pl.              | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2002 PR 7                     | 7                 | 3                                   | SLPP                            | 83/112                                | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2007 PR 7 & indpts            | 3                 | 3                                   | APC                             | 59                                     | M. pl.              | Partly free   |                          |
| South Africa| 1994 PR                      | 19                | 7                                   | ANC                             | 252/400                               | Dom.                | Free          |                          |
|           | 1999 PR 16                    | 13                | 12                                  | ANC                             | 266/400                               | Dom.                | Free          |                          |
|           | 2004 PR 21                    | 12                | 13                                  | ANC                             | 279/400                               | Dom.                | Free          |                          |
|           | 2009 PR 26                    | 13                | 13                                  | ANC                             | 264/400                               | Dom.                | Free          |                          |
| Sudan     | 2000 MMM 1 & indpts 8, others & indpts | & 5 indpts 8, others & 3 indpts | NCP     | 355/360                                                                           | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2010 MMM                       | N/A               | N/A                                 | N/A                             | 55 Seats are indirectly elected and 10 seats appointed by the King |
| Swaziland | 1993-2010 N/A                      | N/A               | N/A                                 | N/A                             | N/A                                   | Not free            | |
| Tanzania  | 1995 FPTP                      | 13                | 5                                   | CCM                             | 186/232                               | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2000 FPTP                      | 13                | 6                                   | CCM                             | 202/231                               | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2005 FPTP                      | 18                | 5                                   | CCM                             | 206/232                               | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
|           | 2010 FPTP                      | 6 & others        | 6                                   | CCM                             | 186/239                               | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
| Togo      | 1994 TRS                      | 5                 | 5                                   | CAR                             | 36/81                                 | M. pl.              | Not free      |                          |
|           | 1999 TRS                      | 5 & indpts 5 & indpts | 5 & 1 indpt 5 & 1 indpt | RPT                             | 79/81                                 | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2002 TRS                      | Over 20 & indpts | Over 20 & indpts | RPT                             | 72/81                                 | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2007 TRS                      | 3                 | 3                                   | RPT                             | 50/81                                 | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
| Tunisia   |                                  |                   |                                     |                                  | N/A                                   | Not free            | |
| Uganda    | 2006 FPTP                      | 6 & indpts        | 6 & 36 indpts | NRM                             | 191/284                               | Dom.                | Partly free   |                          |
| Zambia    | 1991 FPTP                      | 2                 | 2                                   | MMD                             | 125/150                               | Dom.                | Free          |                          |
|           | 1996 FPTP                      | 5 & others        | 5                                   | MMD                             | 131/150                               | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2001 FPTP                      | 8, others & indpts | 7 & 1 indpt 5 & 2 indpts | MMD                             | 69/150                               | M. pl.              | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2006 FPTP                      | 5 & indpts        | 5                                   | MMD                             | 74/150                               | M. pl.              | Partly free   |                          |
| Zimbabwe | 1990 FPTP                      | 5 & indpts        | 3                                   | ZANU-PF                          | 117/120                               | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 1995 FPTP                      | 7 & indpts        | 2                                   | ZANU-PF                          | 118/120                               | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2000 FPTP                      | 3 & others        | 3                                   | ZANU-PF                          | 62/120                                | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |
|           | 2005 FPTP                      | 5 & indpts        | 2 & 1 indpt | ZANU-PF                          | 78/120                                | Dom.                | Not free      |                          |

Sources: African Elections Database, supplemented with IDEA Database, and IPU Database; MPLA = Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; [http://africanelections.tripod.com/electoral démocracies.html](http://africanelections.tripod.com/electoral_démocracies.html)