

Index

Action Committee for Renewal, 251 Ahidjo, Ahmadou, 54, 98-100, 107, 108, 109. See also Cameroon; CNU aid dependency, 16, 203, 221, 270 All-Muslim National Union, 96 Amadou, Ali, 154 Anembom, Beatrice, 182 Anglophones, 107, 110-11, 119, 130, 135, 178, 180, 183, 184, 188-89, 232 Angola, 79, 82 Aptidon, Hassan Gouled, 244, 271 Asonganyi, Tazoacha, 188, 201 Assoute, Pierre Mila, 143 Atangana, Michel, 142 authoritarian durability, 23, 31, 261, 271, 275, 277 authoritarian institutions, 3, 12, 18, 20, 21, 89, 93, 262, 263 horizontal vs. vertical threats, 17 role of elections, 5, 261 role of ruling parties, 21, 34, 37-39 authoritarian patronage. See international patronage authoritarian resilience, 23, 260, 261, 262, 269, 272, 277 authoritarian uncertainty, 18, 21, 34, 35-37, 73, 77, 90, 125, 159, 261 Awori, Moody, 147, 157 Ayah, Paul Abine, 146, 154 Ayissi-Mvodo, Victor, 141, 142

187, 188 Baregu, Mwesiga, 160 Barkan, Joel, 45, 104, 113, 211, 220 Bashenge, Joran, 176, 177 Bayart, Jean-François, 119 Beti, 53, 58, 98, 119, 141, 154, 183, 184, 186, 188 Bienen, Henry, 91, 96 Biya, Paul, 2, 58, 59, 94, 109, 115, 118-19, 140-41, 142, 148, 154-55, 186, 188, 221, 222, 225, 228. See also Cameroon; CPDM black knight, 245 Blair, Tony, 221 Blaydes, Lisa, 39 Bogaards, Matthijs, 73 Bongo, Ali, 271 Bongo, Omar, 242-43, 271 Bozizé, François, 71 Branch, Daniel, 100 Bratton, Michael, 92, 272 Brazeal, Aurelia, 219 Brown, Stephen, 211, 215 Brownlee, Jason, 7, 38, 39 Bunce, Valerie, 13 Burkina Faso, 24, 82, 84, 87 2014 uprising, 71 Burundi, 75, 82, 84 Bush, George HW, 210 Bush, George W, 220, 221, 228, 231 Bushnell, Prudence, 219

Bamileké, 98, 131, 154, 179, 183, 186,



328 Index

cabinet size, 222, 247 Cameron, Sir Donald, 95 Cameroon. See also CNU; CPDM absence of public sector reform, 59, authoritarian patronage, 4, 59, 203-7, 221-22, 223, 226, 230 challenges of state building, 97-99 change to presidential term limits, 2, 20, 58, 59, 148, 154, 230 clientelism/patronage politics, 179, 184, 222 coercive apparatus/institutions, 53, 99, 108, 118, 222, 223, 224 diplomatic engagement, 230-33 economic crisis in the 1980s, 129, 226 economic performance, 55-56, 227, 253-55 election observation, 59, 225-26 elite defection/dissent, 57, 128, 133-35, 141, 142, 140-46, 154-56 ethnic coalition making/mobilization, 57, 58, 162, 179, 184, 186-90 ethnic divisions, 26, 53, 98, 183 foreign aid/aid conditionality, 226-30 ghost towns campaign, 130, 223, 226 narrow social incorporation/ distributional bias, 53, 58, 110-11, opposition parties, 55, 130-31, 134, 138, 232, 250 participant perspectives of social incorporation, 162, 188 patterns of electoral mobilization, 161, 177-79 political centralization under Ahidjo, 107-8, 109 predictors of electoral support, 161, 183-86 regime vulnerability, 128-29, 130-31, 137, 148, 149, 221 repressive hegemony, 2, 11, 51, 82, 84 ruling party credibility/presidential power, 53, 57, 99, 119 transition from Ahidjo to Biya, 53, 109, transition to multiparty elections, 54, use of repression/manipulation, 2, 142, 155, 223-25

Cameroon National Union (CNU). See also Cameroon; CPDM decisional autonomy, 109 legislative selection, 109 mass mobilizing institutions, 109 narrow social incorporation, 110-11 origins, 107 physical organization, 108 Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). See also Cameroon; CNU attempts at party reform, 134, 143, 268 Bamenda Congress, 118 decisional autonomy, 118 factionalism in the multiparty era, 143 legislative selection, 58, 118, 135, 145, narrow social incorporation, 119 physical organization, 58, 179-82 presidential selection, 140, 155 use of *investiture*, 144, 145, 155-56 Cameroon People's National Convention (CPNC), 98 Cameroonian Union (UC), 98, 100, 108, Carothers, Thomas, 47 censorship, 2, 63, 78, 79, 224. See also manipulation/repression Central African Republic, 75, 82, 272 2012 civil war, 71, 75, 85 Central Organization of Trade Unions, II2 Centre National de Documentation (CND), 108, 118 Chabal, Patrick, 272 Chad, 9, 75, 79, 82, 84 Chagga, 171, 172 Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), 148, 172, 249, 252, 276 Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). See also TANU; Tanzania 10-house cell structure, 57, 117, 168-71 Chimwaga Congress/party reform, 116, 117-18 creation of ethics committee, 150, 151 factionalism in the multiparty era, 56, 129, 148, 151 incorporation of business interests, 116, legislative selection, 56, 132, 139-40, 149-50, 153

Cameroon Democratic Union (UDC),

223, 250



Index 329

mass mobilizing institutions, 117 presidential selection, 57, 105, 131-32, 138-39, 148, 150-53 Cheeseman, Nic, 22, 100 Cheney, Dick, 220 China, 18, 48 Chirac, Jacques, 230, 246 Civic United Front (CUF), 130, 137, 169, 249, 252 civil liberties, 51, 66, 67, 69, 78, 274 civil society, 13, 78, 129, 212, 271 civil war, 58, 71, 85, 86, 245, 246, 255, 269 clientelism/patronage politics, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 37, 92, 162, 207, 217, 262. See also individual countries closed authoritarianism, 64, 69, 263 coercion. See manipulation/repression coercive apparatus/institutions, 14. See also individual countries Cold War, end of era, 4, 5, 17, 18, 19, 22, 46, 48, 49, 244, 263 Collier, Ruth, 92 Color Revolutions, 13 Compaoré, Blaise, 71 competitiveness, 6, 63, 260 conditionality. See foreign aid/aid conditoinality conflicting foreign policy goals, 48 Congo-DRC, 75, 82, 85, 86 Congo-RoC, 75, 79, 82, 85 Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Act, 213 constitutional reform, 54, 148, 212, 214 Cooperative Union of Tanzania (CUT), 103, 117 cooptation, 36, 38, 262, 263 corruption, 15, 54, 56, 116, 118, 129, 148, 150, 155, 218, 228, 247 Côte d'Ivoire, 81, 82, 238, 271 1999 military coup, 71 economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 245, 247 opposition parties, 251 repressive hegmeony, 82 ruling party credibility, 243 typological outcome, 257 Cotonou Agreement, 248 coups, 36, 37, 53, 71, 84, 85, 86, 91, 96, 115, 120, 241, 244, 257 credible commitments in authoritarian regimes, 12, 21, 22, 34, 38

credible ruling parties, 3, 18, 20, 23, 32, 39, 236, 255, 261, 262. See also individual countries and parties definition/measurement, 32, 41 distribution in Africa, 18, 238 impact on electoral mobilization and support, 44 impact on elite competition, 43, 264 impact on opposition contestation, 44 narrow vs. wide social incorporation, 41-42, 160, 161, 240 potential origins, 26, 46 role of candidate selection, 41 role of decisional autonomy, 40 role of physical organization, 40, 160 critical junctures, 20, 93, 262, 273 Daloz, Jean-Pascal, 272 DeLancey, Mark, 119 DeLancey, Virginia, 110 democracy assistance, 12, 47. See also international patronage in Cameroon, Kenya, and Tanzania, 204-5 democratic backsliding, 24 Democratic Party (DP), 136, 219 Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), Democratic Party of Gabon (PDG), 242-43, 271 democratic patronage. See international patronage Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), 251 democratization, 35, 45, 46, 49, 67, 75, 84, 92, 219, 269, 274-76 democratization by elections, 274-75 Diamond, Larry, 74 dictator's dilemma, 36 diplomatic engagement, 12, 47. See also individual countries, international patronage Direction Général d'Etudes et de la Documentation, 118 Djibouti, 79, 82, 238, 269 economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 49, 245, 246 opposition parties, 251

repressive hegemony, 82 ruling party credibility, 244

typological outcome, 257

dominant-party democracy, 64



330

Donors for Development and Democracy Group, 214 Doumba, Joseph Charles, 109, 144, 180 Dzongang, Albert, 144

Eboua, Samuel, 134, 250 Economic Community of West Africa, 248 economic performance, 54, 236, 237, 238, 253-55, 255, 257. See also individual countries impact on electoral authoritarian competition, 17 record in Africa, 17-18 Edzoa, Titus, 141-42 Ekindi, Jean-Jacques, 134-35, 160 election boycotts, 13, 51, 55, 75, 126, 127, 134, 138, 212, 219, 223, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 258, 266, 275. See also opposition parties election fraud, 2, 3, 15, 19, 50, 51, 63, 78, 79, 81, 201, 231. See also manipulation/repression election observation, 12, 46-47, 68, 205. See also individual countries; international patronage election violence, 7, 275 Elections Cameroon (ELECAM), 226, 232 electoral authoritarian competition repressive hegemonies, 88 electoral authoritarian competition, 2, 1-3, 6-8, 10, 12, 19, 20, 23, 63, 262 in African countries, 10, 65, 82-85, 82-85 repressive hegemonies, 11, 64, 82-84, 85, 237, 255, 271, 275. See also Cameroon; Côte d'Ivoire; Djibouti; Gabon; Togo

repressive non-hegemonies, 11, 64, 84, 85. See also Kenya; Togo role of former regime-type, 65, 85–89 tolerant hegemonies, 11, 64, 84, 85, 236, 259, 261, 271, 275, 277. See also Mozambique; Senegal; Seychelles; Tanzania

tolerant non-hegemonies, 11, 64, 85. See also Mozambique electoral authoritarianism, 1 competitive vs. hegemonic, 5

definition/measurement, 66, 69-71 distinction from minimal democracy, 69

distribution in Africa, 8, 71

Index

electoral hegemony, 63 definition/measurement, 73–75 in African countries, 75–77

role in electoral authoritarian regimes,

electoral integrity. See election fraud electoral toleration, 63, 207. See also

manipulation/repression definition/measurement, 81-82

in African countries, 82 elite cohesion, 12

elite defection/dissent, 40, 43, 122,

124, 125, 264. See also individual countries

Ethiopia, 75, 79, 82

ethnic coalition making/mobilization, 16, 18, 41, 162, 268. See also individual countries

ethnic violence, 3, 50, 193, 211, 215, 219

European Union (EU), 47, 226, 248

Ewondo, 141, 183

exclusion, 15, 63, 78, 79. See also manipulation/repression

Eyadéma, Gnassingbé, 82, 244, 246, 248

fallacy of electoralism, 4, 63

Fang, 156, 183, 243

Foncha, John Ngu, 133–34

FORD-A, 198, 251

FORD-K, 198, 251

foreign aid/aid conditionality, 12, 35, 47, 202, 205, 247. *See also individual*

countries; international patronage Forum for the Restoration of Democracy

(FORD), 131, 198, 219, 251

foundational elections, 24, 57, 58, 84, 126, 127, 128–37

France, 48, 221, 232, 247

authoritarian patronage in Cameroon, 18, 19, 59, 221–22, 226, 228

colonial legacy, 97-98, 99

support of authoritarian regimes, 48, 245, 246

Freedom House, 67, 70

Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), 244, 251, 269

Fru Ndi, John, 130, 223, 231, 232, 250

Fulani, 53, 98, 99, 131, 180, 183, 186, 187

,



Index

33I

Gabon, 75, 81, 82, 238, 262, 268, 271 economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 48, 245-46 opposition parties, 251 repressive hegemony, 82, 84 ruling party credibility, 242-43 typological outcome, 257 Gambia, 75, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86 Gandhi, Jennifer, 21, 37 Garvey, Janet, 148, 154, 229, 231-32, 232-33 Geddes, Barbara, 86 General Service Unit, 215 Germany colonial legacy, 95, 96 Ghana, 7, 11, 75, 82, 84, 85 2000 electoral defeat, 71 Gnassingbé, Faure, 248, 257, 271 Grassfield identity, 183, 188 Guinea, 24, 75, 79, 82 2008 military coup, 71, 82, 85

Hadji, Garga Haman, 134 harambee, 113, 114, 122 Hartlyn, Jonathan, 68 Haya, 171, 172 Hempstone, Smith, 210-11, 218-19 Hogbe-Nlend, Henri, 134, 250 Holmquist, Frank, 45 Hophouët-Boigny, Félix, 243, 246, 272 Hornsby, Charles, 192, 214, 216 Howard, Marc Morjé, 6, 69, 74 human development, 18, 254–55. See also economic performance Huntington, Samuel, 91 hybrid regimes, 65-66, 72 Hyde, Susan, 47, 68 Hyden, Goran, 105, 106

ideology, 21, 36, 263, 269
informal institutions, 22, 91, 193, 273
Inoni, Ephraim, 145, 155
Institute for Education in Democracy,
147, 214
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI),
34, 39, 255, 277
institutionalization, 39, 243, 273, 274, 276
international leverage, 11, 12, 47, 202
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 205,
206, 213, 216, 217, 218, 226, 227,
228

international patronage, 4, 35, 202, 265. See also individual countries authoritarian patronage, 19. See also autocratic patronage, 49 definition/measurement, 19, 49-50 democratic patronage, 19, 49, 237, 257, 258. See also Kenya distribution in Africa, 48 impact on access to economic resources, impact on access to manipulative resources, 50 impact on opposition empowerment, 50-51 International Republican Institute (IRI), 47, 214 Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG), 213-14, 219 Ivorian Popular Front, 251

Jammeh, Yahya, 86

Kabila, Joseph, 75, 86

Kabwe, Zitto, 170, 252 Kaggia, Bildad, 101 Kalenjin, 42, 53, 101, 120, 121, 146, 157, 161, 194, 196, 199, 215, 276 Kamalize, Michael, 97 Kamba, 157, 199, 251 Kambona, Oscar, 97 Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), 98 Karl, Terry, 4 Keefer, Philip, 39 Keen, John, 136 Kelley, Judith, 68 Kenya. See also KANU 2002 electoral defeat, 71, 75 2007-08 crisis and violence, 276 challenges of state building, 101 clientelism/patronage politics, 113 coercive appratus/institutions, 112, 199, democratic patronage, 4, 19, 59, 203-7, 209-11, 212, 214, 216, 218 diplomatic engagement, 59, 221 donor support of IPPG process, 212 economic crisis in the 1980s, 129 economic performance, 55-56, 253-55 election observation, 59, 214-15



332

Index

Kenya (cont.) elite defection/dissent, 14, 40, 57, 135-37, 147, 157, 158, 191, 217 ethnic coalition making/mobilization, 57, 58, 162, 190, 197, 199 ethnic divisions, 26, 194 foreign aid/aid conditionality, 213, 215, Moi's succession, 58, 146, 156-57, 199, 220-21 narrow social incorporation/ distributional bias, 53, 58, 114-15, opposition parties, 14, 55, 131, 138, 149, 198, 218-19, 251, 259 participant perspectives of social incorporation, 162, 197-99 patterns of electoral mobilization, 161, predictors of electoral support, 161, 194-98 public sector reform, 216-18 regime vulnerability, 128-29, 131, 137, 138, 146, 149 repressive non-hegemony, 3, 51 role of civil administration, 53, 100, 101,111 ruling party credibility/presidential power, 53, 57 saba saba protests, 131, 210, 212, 217, transition from Kenyatta to Moi, 53, 114 transition to multiparty elections, 54, use of civil administration, 121 use of repression/manipulation, 3, 59, 121, 197, 211, 212, 215 Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU), 53, 101, 111, 196 Kenyan African National Union (KANU). See also Kenya attempts at party reform, 112, 146, 157 creation of 'New KANU', 149, 157 decisional autonomy, 112 factionalism in the multiparty era, 146 legislative selection, 58, 113, 121, 136, mass mobilizing institutions, 112 Moi's party reforms, 120-21 narrow social incorporation, 114-15, 121-22

origins, 101, 111 physical organization, 58, 112, 192-93 presidential selection, 157 Kenyan Domestic Observation Program, Kenyan Human Rights Council, 214 Kenyan People's Coalition, 149 Kenyatta, Jomo, 53, 54, 101-2, 111, 112, 113, 114, 113-14, 157, 263, 273. See also KANU; Kenya Kenyatta, Uhuru, 58, 157, 192, 199, 264, 276 Khalif, Al Haji Ahmed, 146 Kibaki, Mwai, 136, 220, 275, 276 Kigoda, Abdallah, 138 Kikuyu, 42, 53, 58, 101, 102, 114-15, 120, 136, 146, 157, 194, 198, 199, 251,276 Kikwete, Jakaya, 131, 132, 138, 139, 150, 151, 154 Kirdi, 183 Kisii, 146, 157, 198, 199 Kituyi, Mukhisa, 198 Knack, Stephen, 35 Kodock, Augustin, 187 Kolimba, Horace, 116, 117, 132 Krieger, Milton, 135 Kuo, François Sengat, 134 Latin America, 24, 48 LeBas, Adrienne, 45, 112 Levitsky, Steven, 6, 11–12, 37, 47, 68, 202, 245 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 158 liberalized autocracy, 66 Linz, Juan, 5, 36, 269 Lipumba, Ibrahim, 130, 137, 252 Lofchie, Michael, 107, 122 Lowassa, Edward, 57, 132, 148, 150–52, 153, 154, 252 Luhya, 120, 146, 157, 198 Luo, 53, 101, 146, 157, 194, 198, 199, 25I

Magaloni, Beatriz, 21, 39

Makamba, January, 151

Makamba, Yusuf, 148

Maigari, Bello Bouba, 131, 250

Malecela, John, 132, 138, 149

Mageni, Musobi, 130 Magufuli, John, 152, 153, 274



Index

333

manipulation/repression, 20, 21, 22, 35, 36, 37, 77-78, 202, 262, 263. See also electoral toleration Manning, Carrie, 240 Mapalala, James, 130, 252 Marquardt, Niels, 229, 231, 232 Matiba, Kenneth, 121, 131, 251 Mau Mau Emergency, 101 Mauritania, 9, 82 2005 military coup, 71, 82 Mbowe, Freemon, 177 Mboya, Tom, 101 McCoy, Jennifer, 68 Membe, Bernard, 151, 152, 153, 154 Mencham, James, 241 menu of manipulation, 77, 78, 79, 202. See also manipulation/repression in African countries, 79-81 Messmer, Pierre, 99 Migot-Adholla, Shem, 114 military regimes, 24, 85, 86, 87 minimal democracy, 6, 64, 66, 69 Ministry of Territorial Administration (MINAT), 225 Mitterand, François, 230 Mkapa, Benjamin, 131, 132, 138, 139, 151 Mohammed, Bibi Titi, 97 Moi, Daniel arap, 53, 58, 101, 114, 115, 119-22, 131, 136, 146, 156-57, 190, 192, 198, 199, 210-11, 213, 216, 217, 219-21, 264. See also KANU; Kenva Movement for National Renweal, 251 Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), 240-41, 246, 256 Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), 246, 252, 256, 258 Mozambique, 10, 75, 82, 238, 266 economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 245, 246, opposition parties, 252, 258 ruling party credibility, 240-41 tolerant hegemony, 84 tolerant non hegemony, 85 typological outcome, 255, 258 Mrema, Augustin, 130, 133, 137, 152, 252 Msuya, Cleopa, 131, 132 Mtei, Edwin, 130

Mudavadi, Musalia, 146, 157, 160, 198, Mugabe, Robert, 86 Muite, Paul, 193, 198, 251 Munck, Gerardo, 67 Musyoka, Kalonzo, 146, 157 Mwandosya, Mark, 138, 139, 151 Mwinyi, Ali Hassan, 53, 105, 115, 116, 129, 132 National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK), 149, 158 National Coalition for Reconciliation and Reconstruction, 143 National Convention Executive Council (NCEC), 212-213 National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-M), 34, 130, 133, 152, 170, 252 National Democratic Congress (NDC), 7 National Democratic Institute (NDI), 47, 221, 226, 230, 231 National Democratic Party (NDP)-Kenya, 149, 198, 251 National Democratic Party-Djibouti, 251 National Election Monitoring Unit, National Election Observatory, 226 National Elections Across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA), 79 National Fund for Rural Development (FONADER), 110 National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), 14, 158, 249, 259, 275 National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP), 130, 138, 143, 186, 250 National Woodcutter's Rally (RNB), 25I Ndegwa, Stephen, 214 neo-patrimonialism, 16, 17, 36, 272, 273, 274. See also clientelism/patronage politics Nguini, Matthias Owona, 181 Niger, 75, 85 2010 military coup, 71, 75, 85 Nigeria, 81, 82, 84, 131, 229 2015 electoral defeat, 71, 75, 85 Njoya, Ndam, 135 Nkolo, John, 177 Nyachae, Simeon, 146, 157, 198



334

Nyamwezi-Sukuma, 171, 172 Nyerere, Julius, 52–53, 53, 95, 96–97, 103, 104, 105, 106, 115, 131, 132, 263, 273. See also CCM; TANU; Tanzania

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 5 Odinga, Oginga, 101, 131, 251 Odinga, Raila, 149, 157, 198, 275 Ojiambo, Julia, 147, 219 Oloo-Aringo, Peter, 136 operation "Sangara", 276 opposition coalitions, 3, 13, 54, 249, 258. See also opposition parties opposition coordination. See opposition coalitions opposition parties, 236. See also individual countries performance in Africa, 14, 16 role in electoral authoritarian competition, 12-13, 14, 237, 249, Organization of Tanzanian Trade Unions (OTTU), 117 organizational power, 11-12 Osih, Joshua, 182, 189, 232

Ouko, Robert, 131, 136
Oumarou, Sanda, 143
Owona, Gregoire, 144
Paris Club, 129, 210, 216, 217, 218, 227

party based authoritarianism, 86 party institutionalization, 13, 31, 40, 264, 273, 276 party splits, 187, 198, 251, 252, 258,

party splits, 187, 198, 251, 252, 258, 266

party system institutionalization, 8, 13, 249, 276 patronage. *See* clientelism/patronage

patronage. See clientelism/patronage politics

People's Rally for Progress (RPP), 244, 269

People's Democratic Party-Cameroon,

154
People's Democratic Party-Nigeria, 75

People's Democratic Party-Nigeria, 75 personalism/personalist regimes, 36–37, 86

physical violence, 2, 3, 15, 17, 19, 50, 51, 59, 63, 78, 79, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215, 219, 223, 246, 276. *See also* manipulation/repression

Index

Pinda, Mizengo, 151
pluralism by default, 24
political instability, 37, 75, 272
political rights, 9, 66, 67, 69
Polity IV, 67, 70
Popular Development Party, 144
populsim, 162
post communism, 24, 48
Powell, Colin, 220
preference falsification in authoritarian
regimes, 42
presidential power, 15, 17, 18, 240
Progressive Movement, 135

qualitative methodology, 26 Quality of Elections Data (QED), 79

Rally of Republicans, 251 Rally of Togolese People (RPT), 243-44 Ramkalawan, Wavel, 253 Rapid Response Brigade (BIR), 222, 224-25, 229 regime vulnerability, 125, 126-27, 127. See also individual countries repression. See manipulation/repression repressive hegemonies. See electoral authoritarian competition repressive non-hegemonies. See electoral authoritarian competition Riedl, Rachel Beatty, 22, 45, 92 Roessler, Philip, 6, 69, 74 Rubia, Charles, 121, 131 Ruhuza, Samweli, 34 ruling party credibility. See credible ruling parties Russia, 48 Rwanda, 75, 79, 82, 86 Rwandan Patriotic Front, 86

Sadi, René, 144, 145, 180, 181
Salim, Ahmed Salim, 138, 139
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 230
Sartori, Giovanni, 6
Schedler, Andreas, 5, 7, 66, 73, 74, 77, 78
Schmitter, Philippe, 5
security services. See coercive apparatus/
institutions
Seko, Mobutu Sésé, 37
selectorate theories, 36
Senegal, 10, 82, 238, 267
2000/01 electoral defeat, 71, 84



Index

335

economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 245, 246, 247 opposition parties, 252-53, 258, 259 role of marabouts, 242, 256 ruling party credibility, 241-42 tolerant hegmeony, 84 typological outcome, 256 Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), 253, 259 Senegalese Socialist Party (PS), 241-42 September 11, 2001 terrorist attack, 19, 246 Service des Etudes et la Documentation, 99, 108 Seychelles, 75, 82, 238 economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 245 opposition parties, 253, 258, 275 ruling party credibility, 241 tolerant hegemony, 84 Seychelles Democratic Party, 253 Seychelles National Party, 253 Seychelles People Progressive Front (SPPF), 241 Shibuda, John, 150 Shikuku, Martin, 121, 131, 218, 251 single party regimes, 5, 24, 27, 91-92, 262 Sitta, Samuel, 148, 151, 153 Slaa, Wilibrod, 148, 177, 252 Social Democratic Front (SDF), 130, 135, 138, 188, 189, 223, 232, 250 Somali, 269 Sopi Coalition, 253, 256, 259 South Cameroonian National Council (SCNC), 134, 223 state capacity, 54 in Cameroon, Kenya, Tanzania, 55-56 role in electoral authoritarian competition, 14-15 weakness in Africa, 15, 16 Steeves, Jeffrey, 146 Sumaye, Frederick, 138, 139, 151, 152 Svolik, Milan, 38 Takougang, Joseph, 135 takrima, 139, 140

Takougang, Joseph, 135

takrima, 139, 140

Tanganyika African Association (TAA), 95

Tanganyika African National Union

(TANU). See also CCM; Tanzania

10-house cell structure, 40, 104

decisional autonomy, 104

legislative selection, 105 mass mobilizing institutions, 103 origins, 95, 96 physical organization, 103 ujamaa and wide social incorporation, TANU Youth League (TYL), 103, 106 Tanzania. See also CCM; TANU challenges of state building, 95, 96 clientelism/patronage politics, 105, 139, coercive apparatus/institutions, 95 economic crisis in the 1980s, 116, 129 economic performance, 55-56, 253-55 elite defection/dissent, 56, 132, 133, 139, 140, 149, 152, 153 ethnic divisions, 26, 96, 171-72 international patronage, 203-7 leadership code, 105, 116 opposition parties, 55, 129-30, 137, 148, 175, 252, 258 participant perspectives of social incorporation, 162, 177 patterns of electoral mobilization, 57, 161, 166-68 predictors of electoral support, 161, 172-75 regime vulnerability, 128-29, 137, 148, 150 ruling party credibility, 103-7 tolerant hegemony, 2, 51, 84 transition from Nyerere to Mwinyi, 53 transition to multiparty elections, 54, 129 wide social incorporation, 57 Togo, 75, 81, 82, 238, 257, 258, 259, 266, economic performance, 253-55 international patronage, 245, 246, 247-48 opposition parties, 251-52 repressive hegemony, 82 repressive non-hegemony, 82 ruling party credibility, 243-44 typological outcome, 257 tolerant hegemonies. See electoral authoritarian competition tolerant non-hegemonies. See electoral authoritarian competition typological theorizing, 27, 236, 237



336

Index

Uganda, 79, 82 *Ujamaa*, 97, 103, 105, 161, 176 coercive phase, 106-7 rhetorical phase, 106 use of material inducements, 106 Union Générale des Travailleurs du Cameroun, 109 Union of Forces for Change, 25I Union of Peoples of Cameroon (UPC), 99, 134, 138, 179, 183, 184, 187–88, 223, 224, 250 Union of Tanzanian Workers (JUWATA), 103, 117 United Kingdom colonial legacy, 95, 97-98, 100 policy toward Cameroon, 228, 232 policy toward Kenya, 210 United States authoritarian patronage in Cameroon, 59, 222, 228, 229, 231-32, 232-33 conflicting foreign policy goals, 19, 48 democratic patronage in Kenya, 59, 210-11, 220, 219-20 policy toward Cameroon in the 1990s, 221, 227 United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 204

van de Walle, Nicolas, 92, 272 Varieties of Democracy (V-DEM), 78-79 vote buying, 36, 78, 139, 149, 153, 162 voter mobilization, 44, 165, 166 voter motivation, 42, 162, 163 voter preferences. See voter motivation voter registration, 2, 78, 219 Wade, Abdoulaye, 252 Wallerstein, Immanuel, 91 Wamalwa, Michael, 198 war on terror, 48, 221, 222 Way, Lucan, 6, 11-12, 24, 37, 47, 68, 202, 245 Western linkage, 24 Wintrobe, Ronald, 36 Wolchik, Sharon, 13 Women of Cameroon National Union, World Bank, 217, 226, 227 Yaya, Marafa, 155 Youths Cameroon National Union, 109

Zambia, 75, 82, 88 2011 electoral defeat, 71, 75, 85 Zimbabwe, 75, 79, 86, 88