



ISSN 2336-3274 (Print) ISSN 2570-7558 (Online)

<https://edu.uhk.cz/africa>

**Review article: Political partisanship in Africa in the light of recent research. Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. Political Parties in Africa. Ethnicity and Party Formation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. University Press, 319 pages.**

**Author:**

Vlastimil Fiala – Philosophical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové, The Czech Republic

**Recommended citation:**

Fiala, V. (2014). Review article: Political partisanship in Africa in the light of recent research. Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. Political Parties in Africa. Ethnicity and Party Formation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. University Press, 319 pages. Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society, 2(1), 143–159. Retrieved from <https://edu.uhk.cz/africa/index.php/ModAfr/article/view/147>



University of Hradec Králové  
Philosophical Faculty

## REVIEWS

**Review article: Political Partisanship in Sub-Saharan Africa. Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. *Political Parties in Africa. Ethnicity and Party Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 319 pages.**

The issues concerning the theory of African political parties have managed to distinctively enter the awareness of professional public in the last decade. Provided that since the year 1961 when the pioneering work of Thomas Hodgkin titled *African Political Parties* was published there were only a few works devoted to African political parties (Morgenthau 1961; Sklar 1963; Coleman - Rosberg 1964; Zolberg 1964) then after the beginning of the process of democratization of the African continent at the beginning of the 1990s we can observe the gradual growth in the interest in these issues not only among the Africanists but also among political scientists and experts interested in the wider processes of transition, democratization and consolidation of democracy with which the establishment and activities of political parties are closely linked.

After being in existence for almost three decades, the one-party systems (one-party state), that de facto emerged in most of the African countries after they gained political independence, the establishment of multi-party political systems in the majority of African countries at the beginning of the 1990s served as a catalyst for their subsequent research.

Since the 1990s Africa has become a real laboratory of modern political science where both Western as well as African specialists study various phenomena of transition, democratization, elections and election campaigns, types of political regimes, processes of (un)fair governance, failed states, the institutionalization of political institutions including institutions of the modern African state and not in the least the political parties.

The current wave of theoretical literature about African political parties was first preceded by a large amount of case studies whose

authors analysed the establishment and development of a political partisanship in various African countries. Those were not always targeted empirical-analytical studies that aimed at capturing the whole (historical) development of a political partisanship. Attention of the authors was devoted to the selected political parties in power (or parliament), the creation of new political systems of evaluation and the political parties in individual elections.

It was only at the beginning of this century that the first attempts of theoretical summary on the establishment, development and character of African political parties from the previous decade have started to appear in specialized political science journals (*Party Politics, Comparative Politics, the Journal of Democracy, Democratization, the Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, etc.) and also in Africanist journals (*African Affairs, the Journal of African Elections, the Journal of Modern African Studies, African Studies, the Journal of Southern African Studies, Africa Spectrum, the South African Journal of International Affairs*, etc.).

Gero Erdmann, Matthias Basedau, Andreas Mehler, Alexander Stroh, Sebastian Elischer, Peter Burnell and many others try to verify some of the latest theories and concepts of political science using the example of African political parties. In connection with the attempt to create universalistic typology of political parties (Diamond - Günther 2001; Günther - Diamond 2003) several studies verifying the applicability of this theory using the example of African countries have since appeared (Erdmann 2004; Basedau - Erdmann - Mehler 2007; Fiala 2012b). The research of African party memberships has very clearly shown that the majority of types of political parties noted by L. Diamond and R. Günther was not much represented on the African continent.

On the top of that G. Erdmann in his research pointed at the necessity to clearly define the character of individual African political parties (e.g. clientelistic, honorary and ethnic parties), so that a misleading overlap of terms did not occur. These studies then opened the way for further discussion about the basic types of African political parties (Basedau at al. 2011; Basedau - Stroh 2012; Bogaards 2003; Bogaards - Basedau - Hartmann 2010) and the influence of ethnicity on political parties (e.g. Posner 2005).

The issue of political opposition is quite a popular topic among the current political scientists focusing on African political systems. This interest most probably arises from the situation that although one-party state has been more or less eliminated in Africa, it is a party system with one dominant or predominant political party (with a constitutional majority) that tends to be gaining ground in African countries (e.g. Olukoshi 1998; Hulterström – Kamete - Melber 2007). These topics are also dealt with in the latest publication by R. Dorenspleet, namely *One-Party Dominance in African Democracies* (2013).

If we carry out an analysis of all fundamental topics of research concerning political parties that have been looked into within the pages of scientific journals and publications then it is the issue of institutionalization of African political organizations that holds the priority.

This topic was opened in 1995 by a couple of researchers, Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, who in the introduction of their eminent publication called *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America* (1995) offered and innovated methodology for the institutionalization of political parties that they have applied to Latin American political parties. Their foundations were in older works of Huntington (1967) or Panebianca (1988) and some other authors.

It is mainly a group of German Africanist researchers based at the GIGA Institute in Hamburg that belong to this category of authors who have been lately engaged in the research of the process of institutionalization of African political parties both in particular countries as well as in larger regions (e.g. Western Africa – mainly Basedau – Stroh 2008, 2009). The issue of institutionalization of African political parties has also been investigated by a number of other authors (Lindberg 2007; Fiala 2012b).

The attention of Africanist political analysts has currently turned towards the issues concerning political membership such as the transformation of national liberation fronts/rebellion movements into political subjects participation in regular free and democratic elections ( such as MPLA, UNITA, FRELIMO, RENAMO, ANC, SWAPO, EPLF, etc.), or lately the discussion concerning ideologies of political parties based on the analysis of their political and election programme (van de Walle 2003, Erdmann - Engel 2007; Elischer 2012). The questions

of the relationship between African political parties, African elections and African party systems (Bogaards 2007) have also become a research.

Theoretical research into of individual African political parties and mainly the organization of regular free and democratic elections in many African countries (more than half of the sub-Saharan countries have arranged in the recent past three and more regular multipartite parliamentary and presidential elections in a row) have opened the way to analyse the process of formation and institutionalization of party systems (Bogaards 2004; Randall 2001; Engels 2005; Carbone 2013; Dorenspleet 2013).

Unfortunately other important aspects of the theory of political parties such as their functions, financing, organizational structure, the alternation of party leading elites, member base and other important questions connected with the existence of political parties and their functioning on the political scene currently lack the attention of the political scientists and Africanists. The main reason for this fact is the lack of a deeper knowledge of these issues or the inability of political scientists (and Africanists) to deal with the ideological range (pragmatism?) of African political parties, unclear financing of activities of political parties (this is not just a problem of the African political parties), a lack of knowledge of the practical mechanisms of selection and restoration of political elites and an independent chapter is formed by the (non)existence of political party structures and the lack of information about the member base.

Due to these gaps in research any new monograph that is devoted to the issues of African political partisanship is welcome. The above mentioned work that I would like to pay close attention to in my review article belongs to the latest contributions in the field of research on African political parties. The author is Sebastian Elischer, Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics in a not so widely known Leuphana University Lüneburg, who is also at the same time a research fellow at the above mentioned German Institute of Global and Area Studies in Hamburg. As it has already been stated, Sebastian Elischer started his academic career in the Africanist department at the institute of GIGA in Hamburg, where he completed his Ph.D. studies. A group of Africanists (members of which include apart from Elischer Alexan-

der Stroh, Matthias Basedau, Andreas Mehler and others) has been created by the late Gero Erdmann who was the pioneer in the field of African political parties. The reviewed publication is then one of many research outputs of this Hamburg based Africanist school of political partisanship.<sup>1</sup>

As the subtitle of the reviewed publication indicates, S. Elischer examines the effects of ethnicity on party politics in Sub-Saharan Africa, predominantly in Ghana, Kenya, Namibia and partly in Tanzania, Botswana, Senegal, Zambia, Malawi, Burkina Faso and Benin. Unfortunately the justification for the selection of these main three and other seven countries is missing from the introduction. The choice of Ghana, Kenya and Namibia, the three main case studies, covers three geographical areas: West Africa (Ghana), East Africa (Kenya) and South Africa (Namibia).

Also the selection of the other African countries is aimed more or less at these three regions. If we do not consider Botswana and Namibia that usually come under Southern African countries, then it would be the research of political partisanship primarily in the Republic of South Africa that would be worth attention. Central Africa and Horn of Africa (the political partisanship of the African islands would deserve individual attention)<sup>2</sup> is not covered at all.

The selection of African countries is clearly dominated by former British colonies (six countries) and French colonies (three countries). Namibia used to be under the trusteeship of United Nations that was carried out by the Republic of South Africa. Unfortunately any representative of Lusophone Africa is missing among the selected countries. From the point of view of the development of a party after political independence it is mainly the countries that have undergone the phase of one-party state but Botswana and Senegal represent countries with a multiparty system that has been in existence for a long time. In this selection it is Namibia that tends to stick out a bit because it is the only one that had to fight for its national liberation.

---

1 Here it is certainly necessary to point out that a similar line of research is also supported at the University of Hradec Králové, where several fundamental publications have come into existence in the last five years that are devoted to the origin and development of African party membership. (Fiala 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, Prouza 2010).

2 The first attempt of detailed analysis is represented by a publication by Fiala 2012c.

It is a speculative question whether the choice of the selected case studies has had somehow influenced the final theoretical findings of the reviewed publication. Nonetheless it has to be appreciated that no other current publications concerning African political parties deals with such a wide sample of countries.

The publication consists of seven main chapters. The first two are dedicated to the character of theoretical anchoring (“Comparative Politics and Political Parties in Africa” and “A New Framework of Comparison for Political Parties”). Three case studies (“Kenya: The Ubiquity of Ethnic Parties”, “Namibia: The Dominance of Non-ethnic Parties”, and “Ghana: The Ubiquity of Non-ethnic Parties”) are then connected to the two theoretical chapters. The sixth chapter called “The Diversity of African Party Politics” mainly tries to carry out a comparative analysis of political parties analysed in the previous case studies while the author widens his attention also to the most powerful political parties in Tanzania, Botswana, Senegal, Malawi, Burkina Faso, Zambia and Benin.

The last chapter “Explaining the Formation of Non-ethnic Parties” is mainly aimed at the verification of the hypothesis connected with the Ethnic Fractionalization Index (Scarritt and Mozaffar 1999), that means that countries which have ethnic core groups (Botswana, Senegal, and Burkina Faso) have a lower ethnic fractionalization index, thus according to the author non-ethnic parties can be expected to predominate in these countries. On the other hand, countries without the ethnic core groups (Zambia, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania), have a much higher ethnic fractionalization index, and therefore the ethnic core group parties can be expected to dominate the political partisanship. Nevertheless the research has shown that this hypothesis has been only partially verified (the leading Tanzanian CCM has a non-ethnic character, similarly the cases of Zambia and Malawi are ambiguous from the point of view of verification of the hypothesis ambiguous – p. 257).

The reviewed publication is completed by the Conclusion (“Political Parties in Africa”), in which S. Elischer sums up the fundamental findings of his publication. He also answers the research questions and hypothesis. Elischer comes to the most significant conclusion that the findings of this book shatter dominant assumptions about party

politics in ethnically segmented societies. Ethnic parties are neither inevitable nor ubiquitous. According to the author, “the African landscape is more diverse than conventionally assumed” (p. 261).

On the other hand Elischer does not deny the existence of the ethnic parties on the African continent (the case study of Kenya confirms this thesis), nevertheless he strongly believes that their transformation into a programmatic, catch-all party or other types of political parties is a question of further political development of African countries. In Elischer’s opinion the current “multiparty competition in ethnically segmented societies does not lead to ethnic polarization; rather, it causes parties to widen their social base.” (p. 263)

Further on Elischer denies the validity of the following argumentation that is often stated in literature that the formation of ethnic parties is frequently the lack of industrial revolutions and the ethnic diversity of nations. In his opinion “this proposition no longer holds, because in some countries, ethnic parties dominate, whereas in others, non-ethnic parties have become the norm.” (p. 263).

In the “Conclusion” Elischer devotes significant attention to the role of political parties in the process of democratization. Firstly he points out the cardinal changes in the role of European mass political parties after 1945, in order to come to define four basic features of African political parties in the process of democratization. Firstly he comments on the function of integration and comes to the conclusion that parties do not provide this representative function by incorporating “the people” at large, but by incorporating powerful individuals from the major communities that make up the state” (p. 266). Secondly Elischer claims (unlike many of the contemporary Africanists who have adopted a negative stance on the matter) that parties in Africa, even if programmatic ideas, do express the interests of their citizens (p. 266).

Thirdly Elischer proves by using empirical facts that African party politics is dominated by powerful individuals, not by ordinary party members and that informal elite arrangements are the key to who becomes the leader of a party (p. 266). But at the same time he also adds that the lack of truly democratic nomination procedures does not take away the fact that electorate structuration takes place in Africa



and that African parties provide their electorate with a choice between alternative sets of leaders (p. 267).

Fourthly in connection with ethnic parties Elischer comes to the conclusion that “no robust claim can be made about the relationship between ethnic party systems and democratic consolidation... More detailed research must verify whether ethnic parties are really that much more detrimental to democratization than other party types” (p. 267). Indeed it has begun to show that in some countries ethnic parties can play a positive role in the process of democratization, while in others their existence tends to lead more to the separation of the society. Probably the most significant is Elischer’s last conclusion according to which research on political parties requires a new and more global agenda (p. 267)

No doubt the theoretical anchoring of the reviewed publication is one of its very strong points. In the first introductory chapters the author very clearly deals with the specification of the issue (Comparative Politics and Political Parties in Africa) and the theoretical framework for the research (A New Framework of Comparison for Political Parties). The author’s leading thesis is the statement “that not all African parties are ethnic parties; instead, a wide variety of political party types shape the African political landscape.” (p. 1).

When looking at several hundred political parties and organizations (for example in the Democratic Republic of Congo which is not at all any extreme exception from the situation in other African countries), the above mentioned statement of the author cannot be agreed with. According to the author “a detailed assessment of political parties in several countries indicates that, over time, the political salience of ethnicity is decreasing.” (p. 1).

The author in the very first pages of his publication points out the basic reasons for insufficient scientific results of the research of African political parties. In his opinion scholars interested in African parties had no conceptual framework by which to identify and compare parties. The first phase of the research of African political parties consisted mainly of the research of political partisanship of individual countries that were grounded in the election results or survey data. A very big problem of the majority of the former (but also of some of the current)

research of political partisanship in African countries is the attempt to view them from the Euro-American point of view and by means of contemporary concepts of political parties that are based on the experience from the countries of the North. A major positive feature of the reviewed publication is the fact that the author is well aware of the downsides of the previous research and makes thorough effort to avoid such weaknesses. As far as logical structure it seems that the subchapter called “International party assistance and ethnic parties” does not fit very well. Personally I consider the international party assistance an interference of Euro-American donor structures into the inner political issues of individual African countries. Democracy (and the establishment of political parties) was exported and supported from abroad and by no means can it bring effective results and in the majority of African countries it tends to have a rather negative impact on political partisanship. In my opinion a large number of foreign donors try to play a civilizing role on the African continent though in good faith they do not take into consideration the local political situation, specificities of the African society and requirements for the establishment of democratic structures including political partisanship.

The result of their efforts (including the pressure of significant international organizations such as UN, EU, IMM, WB and leading powers) is the compulsion of African political elites to accept many of the principles of the functioning of a democratic society (political parties, elections, division of political power) without actually reaching the conditions allowing these to emerge in these countries. The last twenty five years in which the process of democratization on the African continent has been taking place provides testimonies of failures of these attempts while also countries that in the long run showed high indexes of success rates of this process (such as Mali) have afterwards totally collapsed.

The Euro-American world goes back to the times of the cold war when it tells the African political elites what to do and how to do it. I also do not know whether it is right that current political scientists speak highly about the successful fight with the ethnical character of African political parties (Elischer 2013: 4-5) and that extensive research, scientific studies and publications (e.g. Bogaards – Basedau - Hartmann 2010, 2012) are devoted to that issue. V.I. Lenin would no doubt be

happy with the current development and would in this context mention his thesis about the digression of some phases of social development.

It is mainly Elischer's sentence that "both Western donors and African governments are keen to create a political playing field in which ethnic parties are absent" (p. 5) that evokes my concern as the reviewer of the publication. Every researcher should ask the question what is the relationship between Western donors and African governments in the question of prohibition of African ethnical political parties. Are the African governments frank when accepting laws prohibiting ethnical political parties or are they only trying to fulfil some of the conditions allowing them to gain economic help or other advantages?

For a Euro-American researcher it is very difficult to gain really credible empirical data concerning African political partisanship that cannot be opposed. As some of the field research that has been carried out by the researchers of our Afro-Latin American department (University of Hradec Králové) in Togo, Ghana, Burundi or Zambia demonstrate it is often a very exacting task just to persuade the respondents to participate in the survey and very often the surveys are limited to in the participation of university educated or literate inhabitants. On top of that the respondents (particularly in the authoritarian regimes) clearly demonstrate anxiety about speaking openly and their answers often sound like the slogans used by political parties.

The three main case studies have similar structures. The chapters start by setting the historical background against which multiparty politics manifested itself from the early 1990s onward, which are divided into several observational periods by the author. With respect to the main goal of the research (the position and role of ethnic parties) the author in each of the three researched countries follows the total ethnical composition of the country and of individual provinces. Before the actual research of individual observation periods the author tries to determine the formation and the rise of the basic ethnic cleavage lines development of which he then follows in the following periods after the year 1990.

Within the research of individual observational periods the author then devotes special attention to legal acts that had an influence on ethnicity and he also examines the issue of factionalism within the

major political parties. The individual subchapters are then aimed at the development of these parties their election programmes, composition and restoration of party elites and internal conflicts for power.

The important empirical data that the author uses are mainly the results of individual parliament elections (referendums), the ethnical composition of the cabinet and data gained from the analysis of political party programmes and election programmes. The author's attempt to summarize the disaggregated results for all political parties where he gathers the information about the party goals, electoral strategy, organizational structure and social base from the point of view of the major political parties can be viewed as very interesting.

Probably the most fundamental question of reliability of the whole research is to answer the basic question of how to assess the "transition" of the originally ethnical political parties into catch-all parties. Mainly it is important to assess the character of the governing political parties that were originally established as ethnic (e.g. SWAPO, Kenyan FORD-K, NDP or SDP) or ethnic alliance parties (such as DTA, Ghana's NPP, Kenyan FORD-A) etc. some of which then transformed into catch-all parties (SWAPO, CoD, NPP, NDC).

In my opinion Elischer's findings concerning mainly SWAPO and partially Ghanaian NPP and NDC are strongly debatable. Generally the ethnic political parties display typically stable electoral and material support mainly in the core ethnic regions. If we really focus our attention to the electoral gains of SWAPO in the areas inhabited by Ovambo and non-Ovambo, then we find out that SWAPO gains almost the same electoral support within all observed periods.

Although SWAPO has been talking for almost 25 years about the countrywide character of its party and carries out so called Namibization of the society, it fails to increase its political gains in non-Ovambo regions. Also the data about ethnical composition of the Namibian cabinet clearly indicate a rising tendency towards Ovamboization (the rise of representation of Ovambo from 47% to 67%). On the top of that, not only in Namibia but also in other clearly ethnic party systems it can be witnessed that the (ethnic) governing political powers try to integrate into the executive also the representatives of other ethnic

groups, in order to “weaken” the ethnical origin of the government and make impression of the multi-ethnic character of the government.

“The countrywide character” of SWAPO is then enhanced by the fact that SWAPO was a national liberation front that led the country to independence and the fact that Ovambo represent 51% of the Namibian population. For these reasons it is not necessary for the leading political elites of SWAPO to overly emphasise their ethnic origin as it is completely obvious and understandable to all voters.

If we leave aside Kenya (in which the author confirmed the ethnical character of the governing political parties) then it is only Ghana that shows electoral gains of the most powerful political parties also in the areas that are not their ethnic core regions. Nevertheless these results could be questioned in Ghana as well when we consider the ethnic composition of individual provinces (a significant migration wave has influenced the multi ethnical character of the provinces).

My argumentation can then be also supported by the fact that the electoral support of neither the NPP nor the NDC in individual provinces has changed significantly. Of course it can be other than ethnic factors that play a role in the stable support of the NPP and the NDC but should for example programmatic values of the Ghanaian political parties play a more significant role than more significant fluctuations than +/- 2-3 per cent would have been registered.

Elischer supports his results with the analysis of political parties and electoral programmes but in the reality of politics it can often be witnessed that even clearly ethnic political parties suppress in their basic party documents their “ethnic origin” with the goal to gain as many electoral votes as possible and they speak for the whole national population.

Probably a more unbiased source for identification of “ethnicity” of (not only) SWAPO would be a research aimed at the ethnic composition of the lower state structures revealing who is the head of administration in non-Ovambo provinces and mainly how are the state resources divided between Ovambo and non-Ovambo regions. Another argument could be the finding how important are ministries occupied by non-Ovambo and how other departments of so called wider governments are allocated (including the position of vice-ministers, etc.).

Another problematic area of the research is the author's emphasis on only the most powerful political parties. Should he have incorporated in the research the majority of parliament (possibly also the non-parliament) political parties, then he would no doubt have reached the opposite conclusion that the ethnic and multi-ethnic political parties still play a very important role in the political process in Africa. In Namibia alone there are about 20 active parliament and non-parliament political parties from which the vast majority has undoubtedly an ethnic character without a shade of doubt (Fiala 2013b: 83-128).

Though having certain doubt about the overall credibility of some of the above mentioned conclusions, I have to state that the reviewed book it is one of the best and complex contemporary analyses of the political partisanship today. S. Elischer has chosen a very in-depth composed methodology for the research, he carried out a very detailed research of three selected countries (a less detailed one of some other ones) and he has presented some new daring conclusions that are based on the carried out analysis and comparisons of the gained data. It is very probable that his findings will be confirmed by the development of the political partisanship in future decades (the transformation of ethnic/multi-ethnic parties into catch-all, or programmatic parties) and that his work is going to be considered pioneering in the future. Nevertheless in my opinion we are at the beginning of the process of the transformation.

I strongly recommend the reviewed publication not only to the specialized Africanist academic community including students but to all interested in political partisanship not only in non-European areas, but mainly in the Euro-American areas. A long time of overlooking the African political partisanship has finished and world experts on political parties and party systems should focus their attention on this fast developing continent.

Vlastimil Fiala

## Literature on Political Partisanship

- Basedau, Matthias et al. 2011. "Ethnicity and Party Preference in sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 462-489.
- Basedau, Matthias – Stroh, Alexander. 2008. *Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties*. Hamburg: GIGA Working Paper 69.
- Basedau, Matthias – Stroh, Alexander. 2009. *Ethnicity and Party Systems in Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*. GIGA Working Paper 100.
- Basedau, Matthias – Stroh, Alexander. 2012. "How Ethnic Are African Parties Really? Evidence from Francophone Africa." *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 5-24.
- Basedau, Matthias – Erdmann, Gero – Mehler, Andreas. 2007. *Votes, Money and Violence. Political Parties and Elections in Subsaharan Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Basedau, Matthias – Erdmann, Gero. 2008. "Party Systems in Africa: Problem of Categorising and Explaining Party Systems." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 241-258.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2000. "Crafting Competitive Party Systems: Electoral Laws and the Opposition in Africa." *Democratization*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 163-190.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2003. "Electoral Choices for Divided Societies: Multi-Ethnic Parties and Constituency Pooling in Africa." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 59-80.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2004. "Counting parties and identifying dominant party systems in Africa." *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 43, 173-197
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2008. "Dominant Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Africa. A Comment on Mozaffar and Scarrit." *Party Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 113-130.
- Bogaards, Matthijs – Basedau, Matthias – Hartmann, Christof. 2010. "Ethnic Party Bans in Africa: An Introduction." *Democratization*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 599-617.
- Carbone, Giovanni M. 2007. "Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa: Themes and Research Perspectives." *World Political Science Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1-29.
- Coleman, James S. – Rosberg, Carl, eds. 1966. *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Dorenspleet, Ranske – Nijzik, Lia. 2013. *One-Party Dominance in African Democracies*. London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Elischer, Sebastian. 2012. "Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Nonindustrialized Societies. Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa." *Democratization*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 642-667.

- Engels, Jan Niklas. 2005. *Parteien und Parteiensystems in Afrika*. Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Erdmann, Gero. 2004. "Party Research: Western European Bias and the African Labyrinth." *Democratization*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 63-87.
- Erdmann, Gero – Engel, Ulf. 2007. "Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 95-119.
- Fiala, Vlastimil – Prouza, Jan – Záhořík, Jan. 2010b. *Politické stranictví v subsaharské Africe (Botswana, Malawi, Ghana, Etiopie a Eritrea)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2010a. *Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Ostrov sv. Tomáše a Princův ostrov)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2011a. *Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Mosambik)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2011b. *Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Angola)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2011c. *Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Guinea Bissau a Kapverďské ostrovy)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2012a. *Politické stranictví ve střední Africe (Demokratická republika Kongo, Konžská republika, Rwanda, Burundi a Středoafrická republika)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala Vlastimil a kol. 2012b. *Politické strany Afriky, Asie a Latinské Ameriky: Rysy politického stranictví*. Brno: CDK.
- Fiala Vlastimil a kol. 2012c. *Politické stranictví na afrických ostrovech v Indickém oceánu (Madagaskar, Komory, Mauritius a Seychely)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2013a. *Politické stranictví v zemích jižní Afriky (Lesotho, Namibie a Svazijsko)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2013b. *Strany a stranický systém Namibie*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2013c. *Politické stranictví ve východní Africe (Džibuti, Somálsko, Tanzanie a Uganda)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Fiala, Vlastimil. 2013d. *Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomuncense, o.p.s.
- Gunther, Richard a Diamond, Larry. 2001. "Types and Functions of Parties." In: *Political Parties and Democracy*. Eds. Larry J. Diamond and Richard Gunther. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3–39.
- Gunther, Richard a Diamond, Larry. 2003. "Species of Political Parties: A New Typology." *Party Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 167–199.
- Hodgkin, Thomas. 1961. *African Political Parties. An Introductory Guide*. Baltimore: Penguin Books Ltd.



- Hulterström, Karolina – Kamete, Yanin – Melber, Henning. 2007. *Political Opposition in African Countries: The Case of Kenya, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1967. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Kuenzi, Michelle, Lambright, Gina. 2001. "Party System Institutionalization in 30 African Countries." *Party Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 437-468.
- Lindberg, Staffan I. 2007. "Institutionalization of Party Systems? Stability and Fluidity among Legislative Parties in Africa's Democracies." *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 215-241.
- Mainwaring, Scott - Scully, Timothy R. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1998. "Party Systems in the Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 67-81.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization. The Case of Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Torcal, Mariano. 2005. "Party system institutionalization and party system theory after the third wave of democratization." In: *Handbook of Party Politics*. Eds. Katz, Richard S., Croft, William. London, Los Angeles etc.: Sage.
- Manning, Carrie. 2005. "Assessing African Party System after the Third Wave." *Party Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 6, 707-727.
- Morgenthau, Ruth. 1964. *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen, Scarritt James R. 2005. "The Puzzle of African Party Systems." *Party Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 399-421.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen, Scarritt James R., Galaich, Glen. 2003. "Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3, 379-390.
- Olukoshi, Adebayo O. (ed.) 2007. *The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Prouza, Jan. 2010. *Ghana: Volby, politické strany a stranictví*. Olomouc: Periplum.
- Randall, Vicky. 2001. "Party Systems and Voter Alignments in the New Democracies of the Third World." In: *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. Ed. Lauri Karvonen. London: Routledge, 244-265.
- Randall, Vicky, Svasand, Lars. 2002. "Party Institutionization in New Democracies." *Party Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 5-29.
- Salih, Mohamed M. A. (ed.) 2004. *African Political Parties. Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sklar, Richard. 1963. *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation*. New York and Enugu: Nok, 578 pages.

- Van de Walle, Nicholas. 2003. "Africa's Range of Regimes." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 66-79.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas, Buttler, Kimberly Smiddy. 1999. "Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa's Illiberal Democracies." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vo. 12, No. 1, 14-28.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. 1966. *Creating Political Order. The Party-States of West Africa*. Chicago.