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Nora Schrader-Rashidkhan

Rebel Parties in African Post-Conflict Elections

Explaining Party Formation and Success

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Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft

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Abstract

In many post-conflict countries around the globe, former rebel groups participate in elections as newly formed political parties ('rebel parties'). This thesis deals with rebel party development in Sub-Saharan Africa and asks precisely if institutional context factors shape paths towards rebel party participation and success in post-conflict elections in this region. Motivated by serious gaps in literature, the thesis develops a new research framework for the comparative analysis of rebel party formation and success by bringing together conflict-oriented research addressing 'rebel-to-party transformation' and general political party literature with a focus on institutionalist perspectives. An original approach is presented that integrates theoretical arguments from various sources to provide a solid basis for a more systematic data collection that covers all African cases of actual electoral participation, and to deduce variables that are suspect of structuring certain opportunities for rebel party development. New theoretical arguments are then empirically tested with several configurational analyses by using fsQCA. The results prove that inter alia the institutionalization of power after military victory is a main explanation for rebel party success, while weaker groups benefit from inclusionary peace agreements that stimulate party formation. A second contribution is the confirmation of serious path dependencies that unfold with the consolidation of rebel party dominance after first elections, so that second elections are won as well. For disarmament provisions and formation costs, the analysis however suggests counter-intuitive effects. In the end, the volume proves that the processes of rebel party formation and success in Africa follow certain patterns and respond to institutional structures, and that they also tend to reproduce typical patterns of African party competition in general.

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Abbreviations

General abbreviations

Agm	Agreement
CAR	Central African Republic
CATA	Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CTD	Conflict Termination Dataset
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMB	Electoral Management Bodies
fn	footnote
FPTP	First-Past-The-Post
Frw	Framework
fsQCA	Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis
HoR	House of Representatives
ibid.	ibidem
id.	idem
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MMC	Multi Member Constituency
NC	National Constituency
NSAG	Non-state armed groups
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Peace Agreement
PAD	Peace Agreement Dataset
PBV	Party Bloc Vote
PCE	Post-Conflict Election
PR	Proportional Representation
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
Prot	Protocoll

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Abbreviations

PSED	Power-sharing Event Dataset
QCA	Qualitative Comparative Analysis
RoW	Regimes of the World
SMC	Single Member Constituency
STV	Single Transferable Vote
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UN	United Nations
V-Dem	Varieties of Democracy
VNSA	Violent Non-state Actors

Rebel groups and political parties

ADC	Alliance Démocratique du 23 Mai pour le Changement - Ibrahim Bahanga faction
ADC-Ikibiri	Alliance of Democrats for Change in Burundi
ADF	Alliance of democratic Forces
ADP	Alliance democratique des peuples
AFDL	Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo
AIAI	Al-Ittihad Al-Islami/Islamic Unity
ALCOP	All Liberia Coalition Party
ALiR	Armes pour la Liberation du Rwanda
ANC	African National Congress
ANDP	Afar National Democratic Party
ATNMC	Alliance Touareg Nord Mali pour le Changement
APCLS	Alliance des patriotes pour un Congo libre et souverain
APRD	Armée Populaire pour la Restauration de la Republique et la Démocratie
ARD	Alliance Republicaine pour la Démocratie
ARDUF	Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ARLA	Armeé révolutionnaire de liberation de l'Azaouad
ATNMC	Alliance Touareg Nord Mali pour le Changement
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

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BDK	Bundu dia Kongo
Boko Haram	Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad
CNDD	Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie
CNDD-FDD	CNDD - Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie
CNDP	Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple
CNR	Comité national de redressement
CNR	Conseil National de la Résistance
CNRD	Conseil national pour le renouveau et la démocratie
CODEM	Coordination of the Democratic Opposition
COJEP	Congrès panafricain des jeunes patriotes or Congrès panafricain pour la justice et l'égalité des peoples
CPJP	Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace
CSNPD	Conseil de salut national pour la paix et la démocratie
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESDL	Ethiopian Somali Democratic League
FAPC	Forces armées du Peuple congolais
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FARF	Forces armées pour la République fédérale
FDC	Front de la défense du Congo
FDLR	Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda
FDR	Front démocratique pour le renouveau
FDSI-CI	Forces de Défense et de Sécurité Impartiales de Côte d`Ivoire
FIAA	Front islamique arabe de l'Azaouad
FLEC-FAC	FLEC - Armed Forces of Cabinda
FLEC-R	Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda-Renewal
FMLN	Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional
FN	Forces Nouvelles
FNDIC	Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities
FNI	Front des Nationalistes et Intégrationnistes
FNL	Forces nationales de liberation
FNL-LP	FNL-Lovers of Peace Faction
FNT	Front national tchadien
FPI	Front Populaire Ivoirien
FPLA	Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad
FPR	Front patriotique rwandais

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FPRC	The Popular Front for the Rebirth of Central African Republic
FR	Forces du Renouveau
FRCI	Forces Républicaines de Côte d'Ivoire
Frolina	Front de Libération Nationale
FRPI	Force de résistance patriotique d'Ituri
FRUD	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy
FRUD-AD	FRUD - Ahmed Dini faction
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IGLF	Issa and Guraga Liberation Front
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
LPC	Liberia Peace Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Arm
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
M23	Mouvement du 23-Mars
MAA	Mouvement Arabe de l'Azawad
MAGRIVI	Mutuelle des Agriculteurs de Virunga
MCDDI	Mouvement Congolais pour la démocratie et le développement intégral
MDD	Mouvement pour la démocratie et le development
MDF	Moorland Defence Forces
MDJT	Mouvement pour la democratie et la justice au Tchad
MFDC	Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance
MFDC-FN	MFDC-Front Nord
MFDC-FN-MD	MFDC-Front Nord Magne Diémé faction
MFDC-S	MFDC-Salif Sadio faction
MILOCI	Mouvement pour la Liberation de l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire
MJP	Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix
MLC	Mouvement de Libération du Congo
MMM	Maï-Maï Movement
MNJ	Mouvement des Nigériens pour la Justice
MNLA	Mouvement national de libération de l'Azawad
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
Mosanat	Mouvement pour la salvation nationale tchadienne
MPA	Mouvement populaire de l'Azaouad

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MPA/Rep. of Anjouan	Mouvement populaire anjouanais: Anjouan People's Movement (Comoros)
MPA-SOC	MPA - Said Omar Chamassi faction (Comoros)
MPCI	Mouvement Patriotique de Côte dIvoire
MPGK	Mouvement patriotique Ganda Koy
MPIGO	Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest
MPS	Mouvement patriotique du salut
MRLZ	Mouvement révolutionnaire pour la libération du Zaire
MUJAO	Mouvement pour le Tawhîd et du Jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest
NAP	Nouvelle Alliance pour le Progrès
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDC	Nduma Defense of Congo
NDPL	National Democratic Party of Liberia
NDPVF	Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force
NDV	Niger Delta Vigilante
NPC	National Popular Congress
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPP	National Patriotic Party
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
Palipehutu	Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu
Palipehutu-FNL-LP	Palipehutu - FNL - Lovers of Peace Faction
PALIR	Peuple en Armes Pour la Liberation du Rwanda
PARECO	Patriotes Resistants Congolais
PARECO-PAP	Coalition des résistants patriotes congolais/Parti du peuple
PCT	Parti Congolais du Travail
PCUD	Central African Party for Unity and Development
PDC	Parti Démocrate Centriste
PDF	Popular Defence Force
PDI	Parti Démocratique Idéal
PDP	People's Democratic Party
POLISARIO	Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro
PRM	Patriotes Résistants Maï-Maï
PRODEM	Progressive Democratic Party

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PRP/Kabila	Parti révolution populaire
PSR	Parti Socialiste Rwandais,
PUSIC	Parti pour l'unité et la sauvegarde de l'intégrité du Congo
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
RCD-CP	RCD - Christian Pay Pay faction
RCD-K-ML	RCD - Kisangani/ Forces for Renewal
RCD-LN	RCD - Laurent Nkunda faction
RCD-ML	RCD - Movement for Liberation
RCD-N	RCD - National
RCD-PM	RCD - Patrick Masunzu
RDR	Rassemblement des Républicains
Renamo	Resistência nacional Moçambicana
Renamo-UE	Renamo-União Eleitoral
RFC	Rassemblement des forces pour le changement
RFDG	Rassemblement des Forces démocratiques de Guinée
RPRC	Patriotic Assembly for the Renaissance of Central Africa
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
RUFP	Revolutionary United Front Party
SLDF	Sabaot Land Defence Force
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
SLM/A-MM	SLM/A-Minni Minawi faction
SLM/A-Unity	SLM/A-Unity
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SPDP	Somali People's Democratic Party
SPDP	Somali People's Democratic Party
SPLM/A	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM/A-WN	SPLM/A-William Nyuon faction
SSDF	South Sudan Defence Force
SSUM/A	South Sudan Unity Movement/Army
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UAD	Union pour l'alternance démocratique
UDPR	Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais
UDPS-Amana	Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social - Amana
UDT	Union démocratique tchadienne
UFDD	Union of Forces for Democracy and Development

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UFDD-F	UFDD-Fondamentale
UFDR	Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement
UFR	Union of Resistance Forces
UFRA	Union des Forces de la résistance armée
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia
ULIMO-J	ULIMO Roosevelt Johnson faction
ULIMO-K	ULIMO Alhaji Kromah faction
UNITA	União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola
UMP	Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle
UPA	Uganda People's Army
UPADS	Union panafricaine pour la démocratie sociale
UPC	Union des Patriotes congolais
UPC	Union for Peace in the Central African Republic (CAR)
URDC/AFPC	Union de Résistance Démocratique Congolais / Alliance des forces populaires et Patriotiques du Congo
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front
WSB	West Side Boys
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front

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