

Introduction

Africa's political plates are shifting. In concert with economic gains realised over the course of the past decade in particular, and the concomitant rise in a more connected, and increasingly more empowered populace, political stability (or at least constructive change) is elevating. Africa's reputation, tinged by decades of instability, is gradually being altered with each election which takes place in a manner befitting of maturing democratic systems. Today, Africa is more peaceful than at any stage in its post-independence history.

Yet, important (and in some cases seemingly intractable) pockets of instability persist. Many of Africa's nascent political systems are in flux as pervasive challenges are either substantively overcome, or prove too towering to brace. Evidence of this fluidity is found in Freedom House rankings of Africa's political systems: in 2001 Africa was deemed to have 20 electoral democracies, yet only 13 of these retained this status in 2011. Meanwhile, four countries not ranked as electoral democracies in 2001 had improved sufficiently to achieve this designation in 2011. That said, over the course of the past decade none of the 9 countries ranked as being "free" have seen this status altered. Between 2001 and 2011 four countries improved their ranking from "not free" to "partly free", while six countries regressed. In 2011, 18% of African countries were deemed to be "free", 42% "partly free", and 40% "not free".

Remaining in step with Africa's changing political vista is critical for those engaged in the continent's ongoing resurrection, and an analysis of fluctuations brought about at the ballot box provides one such steer. Of course, change can be much less predictable—this year, North Africa erupted, toppling three leaders who had, collectively, served at the helm of their respective countries for 88 years. In all, fifteen African countries held elections in 2011; in four of them a change of guard was brought about. In 2012, the unfolding of democracy in North Africa will be profound, as will critical elections in Kenya—a country eager to reframe its reputation following a violence-marred election in 2007. Angolans and Ghanaians, too, go to the polls, dictating the course for two pivotal African economies.

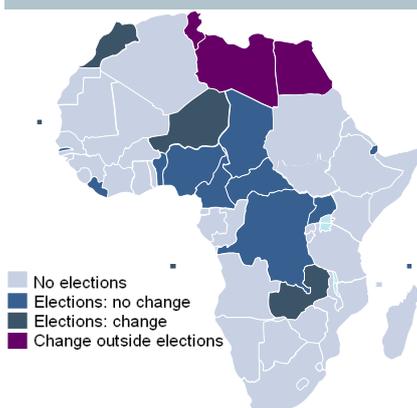
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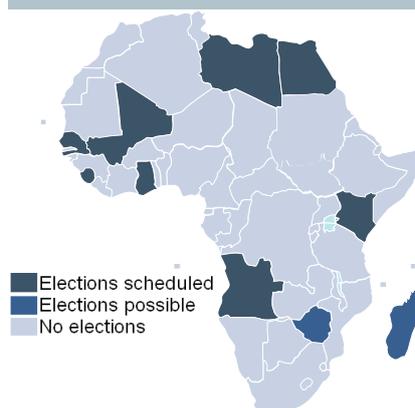
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Elections and regime change in 2011



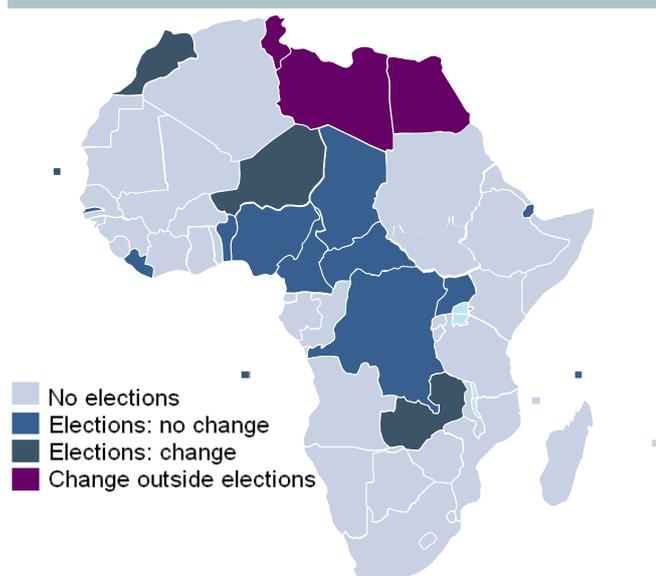
Elections upcoming in 2012



Sources: EISA, NDI, Standard Bank Research

This report, the first in what will be an annual offering, offers no projections on likely electoral outcomes, but rather offers as factual as possible a map for the political changes which have taken place in the year that has passed, and those to watch in the year to come. Africa's political terrain is in flux, and certainty around electoral timelines is, at times, elusive. Remaining abreast of those developments which are concrete, as well as those which remain fluid, is an important element underpinning a coherent African strategy.

Figure 1: 2011 witnessed sweeping change north of the Sahara



Sources: EISA, NDI, Standard Bank Research

Table 1: General or Presidential elections in 2011

Country	Head of state	Altered from 2010?
Benin	Yayi Boni	No
Cameroon	Paul Biya	No
Cape Verde	Jorge Carlos Fonseca	Yes
Central African Republic	François Bozizé	No
Chad	Idriss Déby	No
Democratic Republic of Congo	Joseph Kabila	No
Djibouti	Ismail Omar Guelleh	No
The Gambia	Yahya Jammeh	No
Liberia	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf	No
Niger	Mahamadou Issoufou	Yes
Nigeria	Goodluck Jonathan	No
São Tomé and Príncipe	Manuel Pinto da Costa	Yes
Seychelles	James Michel	No
Uganda	Yoweri Museveni	No
Zambia	Michael Sata	Yes

2011 Highlights

Benin: In March, Benin held presidential and legislative elections. Incumbent president Yayi Boni secured a second term with 53.14% of the vote, with Adrien Houngbédji of the Union Makes the Nation (UN) coalition securing 35.64%. The Cauri Forces for an Emerging Benin (FCBE) party won 41 parliamentary seats compared to 30 for the UN.

Cameroon: On 9 October Cameroon held presidential elections in which President Paul Biya of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC) secured 77.99% of the vote, over John Fru Ndi of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), who secured 10.71% of the vote. Paul Biya has been president of Cameroon since November 1982.

Cape Verde: In August opposition leader Jorge Carlos Fonseca of the Movement for Democracy (MpD) secured the presidency after winning 37.79% of first round and 54.26% of second round votes over Manuel Inocêncio Sousa of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV). Cape Verde's former president, Pedro Pires, had stepped down after two terms in power, and was subsequently awarded the Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership for 2011. In parliamentary elections held earlier in the year, on 6 February, the PAICV, led by Prime Minister Jose Maria Neves, secured 38 seats, with the MpD, led by Carlos Veiga, securing 32 seats.

Central African Republic (CAR): On 23 January presidential and legislative elections were held in the CAR. President François Bozizé of the ruling National Convergence "Kwa Na Kwa" party was re-elected with 64.37% of the votes, over Ange-Félix Patassé (independent) with 21.43%.

Chad: On 25 April, incumbent president Idriss Déby of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) secured another term with 83.59% of the vote in presidential elections, over Albert Pahimi Padacké of the National Rally for Democracy in Chad (RNDD-Le Réveil). In February's legislative elections, an MPS-led alliance with two other parties secured 125 of 188 seats.

Cote d'Ivoire: In December, Cote d'Ivoire held its first legislative elections in more than a decade. Almost 1,000 candidates were standing for 255 seats, though former president Laurent Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) party boycotted the elections. At the time that this report was published, official results had not yet been released.

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): On 28 November, presidential and legislative elections were held in the DRC. On Friday 9 December official results were announced awarding President Joseph Kabila of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) 49% of the vote, compared to Étienne Tshisekedi of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) with 32%. At the time that this

report was published, the UDPS had rejected the results. On 17 December the Supreme Court will determine whether the results are valid.

Djibouti: In April Ismaïl Omar Guelleh of the People's Rally for Progress (RPP) was reelected with 80.63% of the vote in the country's presidential elections, over the 19.37% secured by Mohamed Warsama Ragueh, an independent candidate.

Egypt: 2011 was tumultuous for Egypt. Following the forced resignation of former president Hosni Mubarak in February, on 19 March a constitutional referendum proposing, amongst other things, a limitation on presidential terms to two four-year terms, was held. 77% voted in favour of the amendments. The first phase of elections for the Lower House of the People's Assembly (necessitated by the fact that the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) had dissolved parliament following Mubarak's departure) were held on 28-29 November in nine of the 27 governorates, with a second phase scheduled for 14 and 15 December (run-off on 21 and 22 December) and a third phase on 3 and 4 January 2012 (run-off on 10 and 11 January). There will be 498 members of parliament, of which two-thirds will be elected from party lists and the remaining one-third as individuals. Following the first phase run-off, the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) was, by most estimates, in the lead.

Equatorial Guinea: On 13 November a referendum was held to decide whether to limit presidential terms to two 7-year terms and create the position of vice-president. 97.73% voted in favour of these reforms.

Gabon: As this report was published, Gabon was preparing for legislative elections on 17 December.

The Gambia: On 24 November Gambia held presidential elections, with President Yahya Jammeh of the ruling Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) securing reelection with 71.54% of the vote over Ousainou Darboe of the United Democratic Party (UDP), who secured 17.36%.

Guinea: As this report was published, Guinea was preparing to hold legislative elections on 29 December, though the chances of a delay are strong. In Guinea's last parliamentary elections, held in 2002, the Party of Unity and Progress (PUP) secured 47 seats over 20 seats for the Union for Progress and Renewal (UPR). The main opposition Rally of the Guinean People (RPG) boycotted the elections.

Liberia: In presidential and legislative elections held in October and November, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of the Unity Party (UP) defeated Winston Tubman of the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) in a second round of voting, securing 90.7% of vote. Johnson-Sirleaf won 43.93% in the first round, over Tubman's 32.68%. The UP won 24 seats in the legislative elections, compared to 11 seats for the CDC and 7 seats for the Liberty Party (LP).

Libya: Libya, like Egypt, saw momentous change in 2011. In October, following 9 months of sustained unrest, Muammar Gaddafi's 42-year reign as Libyan leader was brought to an end, with the National Transitional Council of Libya (NTC) becoming the interim *de facto* government of the country. In November, Libya's interim prime minister, Abdurrahim al-Keib, named a new transitional cabinet, which has been tasked with drafting a new constitution and holding democratic elections by June 2012.

Morocco: A referendum on constitutional reform held in July, and undoubtedly inspired by rising pro-democracy protests emboldened by the Arab Spring, was overwhelmingly approved by almost 99%, with a voter turnout of more than 70%. Under new reforms, the king is only able to appoint a prime minister from the party which wins the most seats in parliamentary elections. In the subsequent elections, held on 25 November, the Justice and Development Party (PJD), led by Abdelilah Benkirane, won 107 out of 395 seats, affording it the right to lead a government. The Istiqlal Party, with 60 seats, was placed a distant second. On 29 November Benkirane was appointed Prime Minister by King Mohammed VI.

Niger: Between January and March presidential and legislative elections were held in Niger. Opposition leader Mahamadou Issoufou of the Nigerien Party for Democracy and Socialism-Tarayya (PNDS-Tarayya) emerged victorious in the second round of presidential polls with 58.04% of the vote, compared to Seyni Oumarou from the National Movement for the Development of Society (MNSD-Nassara), with 41.96%. PNDS-Tarayya secured 34 seats in parliament, over 25 for MNSD-Nassara, and 23 for the Nigerien Democratic Movement for an African Federation (MODEN/FA Lu-mana).

Nigeria: On 9 April, Nigeria held legislative elections, with the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) winning 123 out of 360 seats. Meanwhile, the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), led by Nuhu Ribadu, secured 47 seats, with the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), led by Ibrahim Shekarau, winning 25 seats, and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), led by Muhammadu Buhari, winning 30 seats. A week later, on 16 April, presidential elections were held, with the PDP's Goodluck Jonathan securing the presidency with 58.89% of the votes, over Muhammadu Buhari, with 31.99% of the vote. President Jonathan had been acting president since May 2010 following the death of former president Umaru Yar'Adua.

São Tomé and Príncipe: Between July and August presidential elections were held in São Tomé and Príncipe. In the first round of voting, on 17 July, Manuel Pinto da Costa (running as an independent) secured 35.62% of the vote over Evaristo Carvalho of the ruling Independent Democratic Action (ADI) party, with 21.79%. The second round, held on 7 August, saw Pinto da Costa secure the presidency after gaining 52.88% of the vote, over Carvalho's 47.12%.

Seychelles: Between 19 and 21 May Seychelles held presidential elections, with James Michel of the People’s Party (PL) emerging victorious with 55.46% of the vote, over Wavel Ramkalawan of the Seychelles National Party (SNP), with 23.8%. In the legislative elections held between 29 September and 1 October, and which were boycotted by the SNP and the New Democratic Party (NDP), the PL secured 25 out of 31 available seats.

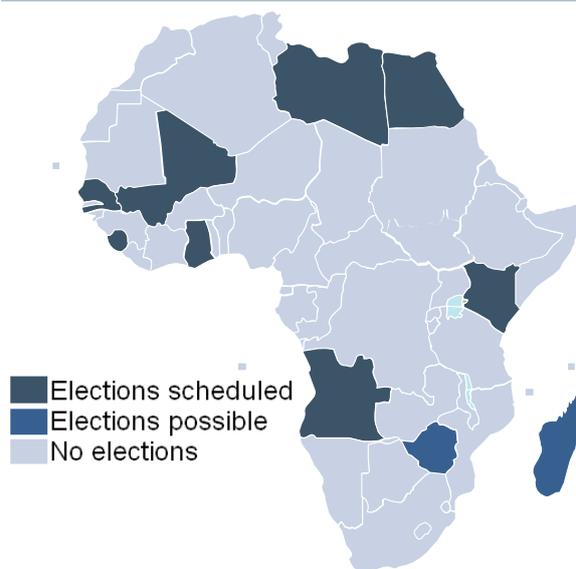
South Sudan: Between 9 and 15 January, South Sudanese voted in an independence referendum to determine whether the region would officially cede from the north. An overwhelming 98.83% of voters supported the secession, leading to the establishment, on 9 July, of the Republic of South Sudan as an official (United Nations recognised) state. South Sudan’s president, Salva Kiir, of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), was elected to the position in April 2010 with 92.99% of the vote, compared to 7.01% secured by Lam Akol of the SPLM-Democratic Change (SPLM-DC). The next presidential elections are scheduled for 2015.

Tunisia: Tunisia was, arguably, the source of the profound winds of change that spread throughout the Arab world in 2011. Protests were originally sparked by the death of Mohamed Bouazizi on 17 December, and led, 18 days later, to the ousting of President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, who fled to Saudi Arabia after 23 years at the helm of the country. A state of emergency was declared following Ben Ali’s departure, with Fouad Mebazaa declared by the Constitutional Court as acting president. On 23 March it was announced that elections for the Constituent Assembly would take place on 23 October. In these elections, the Ennahda Movement secured 89 of the 217 seats, with the Congress for the Republic (CPR) securing 29 seats, the Popular Petition for Freedom, Justice and Development winning 26 seats and the Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties winning 20 seats.

Uganda: On 18 February Uganda held presidential and legislative elections, with incumbent president Yoweri Museveni winning 68.38% of the vote for his National Resistance Movement (NRM), which also secured 250 out of 350 seats in parliament. The main opposition, Kizza Besigye of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) won 26.01% of the vote and secured 34 seats in parliament. The Democratic Party (DP), headed by Norbert Mao, secured 12 seats, and the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) secured 10 seats, with independent candidates securing a further 41 seats.

Zambia: On 20 September Zambia held presidential and legislative elections, with opposition candidate Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front (PF) winning with 42.85% of the vote and 60 of 150 seats, compared to the sitting president Rupiah Banda of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) with 36.15% and 55 seats, respectively. Banda had won snap elections called in 2008 following the death of his MMD predecessor Levy Mwanawasa.

Figure 2: 2012—a critical year for Egypt and Kenya



Sources: EISA, NDI, Standard Bank Research

Table 2: General or Presidential elections in 2012

Country	Head of state	Elections
Angola	Jose Eduardo dos Santos (president)	Legislative
Egypt	Kamal El-Ganzouri (interim prime minister)	Presidential and parliamentary
Ghana	John Evans Atta Mills (president)	Presidential and parliamentary
Kenya	Mwai Kibaki (president)	Presidential and National Assembly
Libya	Abdurrahim El-Keib (interim prime minister)	Presidential and parliamentary
Madagascar	Andry Rajoelina (head of the transitional administration)	Presidential and parliamentary
Mali	Amadou Toumani Touré (president)	Presidential and parliamentary
Senegal	Abdoulaye Wade (president)	Presidential and parliamentary
Sierra Leone	Ernest Bai Koroma (president)	Presidential and parliamentary

2012 Highlights

Algeria: In May, Algeria will be holding legislative elections to establish the make-up of the People’s National Assembly. Currently, a new political parties law is being debated by parliament, which may lead to the approval of new parties before the August elections.

Angola: In 2012, Angola is scheduled to hold legislative elections, the second post-civil war general elections to be held in the country. The importance of the elections is pronounced given that, in 2010, Angola's parliament approved a new constitution which abolished direct presidential elections. Under the new system, the head of state is automatically selected as the head of the party winning a parliamentary majority. The new constitution also limits presidential terms to two five-year terms, and abolished the position of prime minister, allowing the president to select a deputy to perform this role. Elections have been scheduled for Q3:12, though the exact date has not been determined. Angola last held parliamentary elections in September 2008, which the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won with 81.64% of the votes over the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with 10.39%.

Burkina Faso: Combined legislative and local government elections will be held in Burkina Faso in November 2012. In the May 2007 legislative elections, the Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) won a majority 73 of the 111 seats, with the Alliance for Democracy and Federation-African Democratic Rally (ADF-RDA) securing 14 seats.

Cameroon: In July, Cameroon will be holding legislative and municipal elections. In the last legislative elections, in July 2007, the ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC) secured 153 of the 180 seats, with the Social Democratic Front (SDF) winning 16 seats. The next presidential election is scheduled for 2018.

DRC: Following on from presidential and legislative elections in 2011, provincial assembly elections are scheduled to be held in March. Elected provincial parliamentarians will then elect provincial governors.

Egypt: In addition to the third phase of the elections for the Lower House of the People's Assembly, which will take place on 3 and 4 January, critical elections for the upper house of parliament, the Shura Council, will be held in Egypt on 29 January, and will run until 11 March. Two-thirds of the Shura Council's 270 members will be elected using the party-list system, with the remaining running as individual candidates. The Shura Council and the People's Assembly will hold a joint session in the final week of March or the first week of April, during which a 100-member constituent assembly will be assigned to craft a new constitution. The SCAF confirmed in November that presidential elections will take place in June 2012. Likely candidates include former Arab League Secretary-General Amr Moussa, former Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohamed El-Baradei, and Aboul Fotouh, a previous member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Under a constitutional declaration issued in March 2011 by the SCAF, presidential terms are limited to two four-year terms.

The Gambia: On 24 March Gambia will be holding parlia-

mentary elections, following the presidential poll which was held in November 2011. At the last parliamentary elections, in January 2007, the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) won 42 of the 48 seats.

Ghana: Presidential and legislative elections will be held in Ghana in December. In the last elections, in 2008, John Evans Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) defeated the ruling New Patriotic Party's candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, in a second round of voting by securing 50.23%, over Akufo-Addo's 49.77%. The NDC won 114 of 230 seats in parliament, compared to the NPP's 107 seats. For the December polls, Akufo-Addo will again run as the NPP candidate, with Atta Mills running for reelection with the NDC.

Guinea-Bissau: In Q4:12 Guinea-Bissau will hold legislative elections. In the last parliamentary elections, in 2008, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) secured 67 of the 100 National People's Assembly seats, with the Social Renewal Party (PRS) securing 28 seats.

Kenya: In 2012 Kenya will hold Presidential and legislative elections. Though the new constitution suggests that elections should take place in August, the government is pushing for elections to be held in December. President Mwai Kibaki of the Party of National Unity (PNU) will have to step down after serving two five-year terms. It is likely that Prime Minister Raila Odinga will again run for the presidency under the banner of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The elections will be particularly watched following the violence which followed the disputed presidential elections in December 2007. Some potential presidential candidates, most prominently Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, are facing charges by the International Criminal Court (ICC) related to their alleged role in the 2007/8 post-election violence.

Lesotho: The next parliamentary elections are due in Lesotho before February. At the last parliamentary elections in February 2007, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) took 61 of the 120 seats, with the National Independent Party securing 21 seats.

Libya: Having announced an interim government in November 2011, the NTC has announced plans to hold general elections in the country (following which the interim government will be dissolved) by June 2012.

Madagascar: Delayed presidential and legislative elections are supposed to take place during the course of 2012 (possibly in May), though no date has been set. The elections were first scheduled to be held in 2009, before being postponed to May 2010, 26 November 2010, 4 May 2011 and September 2011.

Mali: On 29 April Mali will hold the first round of presidential elections, with a second round (if needed) scheduled for 13

May. National Assembly elections will take place on 1 July (first round) and 22 July (second round). In the last legislative elections, held in 2007, the Alliance for Democracy and Progress (which combined 12 separate parties) secured 113 of 147 seats in the National Assembly. In 2012, President Amadou Toumani Touré will step down after two five-year terms in power. Prominent candidates for the presidency include Dioncounda Traoré, the parliamentary speaker, who is the candidate for the Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA); Soumaïla Cissé, who will stand for the Union for the Republic and Democracy (URD); and Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, who will represent the Rally for Mali (RPM).

Mauritania: Legislative elections planned for 16 October 2011 were postponed and may be held during the course of 2012, though no prospective dates have been announced.

Republic of Congo: Legislative elections are due in the Republic of Congo in June. At the last legislative elections, in June and August 2007, the Congolese Labour Party (PCT) and its allies (consisting of 15 other political parties) secured 88 of the 137 seats in parliament, with independent candidates winning a further 37 seats.

Senegal: Presidential elections are scheduled to be held in Senegal on 26 February, with legislative elections set for later in the year. At present, President Abdoulaye Wade (of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS)) is set to stand for his third term, which has been set at seven years by the constitution. At the last parliamentary elections, in June 2007, the PDS-led Sopi Coalition secured 131 of the 150 seats.

Sierra Leone: In August, Sierra Leone will hold legislative elections, followed on 17 November by presidential elections. Incumbent president Ernest Bai Koroma will be running as the candidate for the ruling All People's Congress (APC), and hoping to secure a second term at the helm. In the 2007 House of Representatives election, the APC secured a narrow majority, with 59 of the 112 seats, over the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), with 43 seats, and the People's Movement for Democratic Change (PMDC), with 10 seats. The SLPP's candidate for the 2012 presidential election will be Julius Maada Bio.

Togo: Legislative elections are currently scheduled to be held in Togo in October. At the last legislative elections, in October 2007, the Rally for the Togolese People (RPT) secured 50 of the 81 seats, compared to 27 seats for the Union of Forces for Change (UFC) and 4 seats for the Action Committee for Renewal.

Zimbabwe: There is little certainty around Zimbabwe's electoral schedule, and, as such, the possibility of presidential elections in 2012 remains. President Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) has claimed that elections could take place in Q1:12, though the Constitutional Select Committee is said to be planning to hold a referendum on the new constitution early in the year,

paving the way for elections in mid-2012. Others, including some members of the opposition, have stated that elections must, as originally scheduled, be held in 2013. In December, ZANU-PF endorsed President Mugabe as their candidate for the next presidential elections.

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