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POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA



Tom Lodge
and
Ursula Scheidegger



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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all levels of Southern African society.



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PREFACE

Multiparty democracy is becoming increasingly entrenched in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. A few SADC member states, including Botswana and Mauritius, boast long-enduring multiparty political systems implemented since their independence. Others have experienced a variety of mono-party systems (Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe), military dictatorship (Lesotho), apartheid rule (Namibia and South Africa) or no-party dynastic regimes (Swaziland).

Since the 1990s, most SADC countries (bar Angola, the DRC and Swaziland) have undergone a phenomenal transition towards multiparty politics. Crucial as this political transition is, its exact impact on democracy remains a moot point. In both the academic and policy discourses today, a number of questions still require answers. For example:

- Has the current political transition enhanced democratic governance?
- Has the transition deepened democratic culture and practice?
- Has the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions such as political parties?

EISA (formerly the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa) – under the theme ‘Consolidating democratic governance in the SADC region’ – is therefore undertaking a broad programme that attempts to answer these questions.

The first stage of the programme focused on political parties and attempted to answer whether the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions, such as political parties. This component of the programme was undertaken jointly by EISA and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) between 2003 and 2004. It investigated the state of political parties in the democratisation process in the SADC region over the past decade. The main goal of the programme was to assess the role and effectiveness of political parties in the process of institutionalisation of democratic governance in each of the SADC countries. The specific objectives of the project were to:

- assess the general political and socio-economic context of each country and its possible impact on political parties;
- investigate the external regulatory and legislative environment in each country and its impact on the role and functions of political parties; and
- examine the internal functioning and structure of political parties and the impact of this on their institutional effectiveness.

There is no gainsaying that political parties play a critical role in the democratisation process. It is also incontrovertible that political parties are key to the institutionalisation and consolidation of democracy. Thus, sustainable democracy is dependent upon well-functioning and effective political parties.

Each *country context* suggests that vibrant and robust political parties are crucial actors in articulating and aggregating diverse interests, providing visionary political leadership, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing political and policy programmes upon which the electorate base their choices during elections.

Democracy is unthinkable without political parties and, conversely, political parties cannot add value to a political system under conditions of authoritarianism. Parties everywhere have the potential to be effective and accountable, but they face enormous challenges. The political context and the legal environment in which they function, as well as their systems of internal organisation, management and operation, require attention and are often in need of reform.

Although little comparative research has been conducted, it is clear that the *external environment* – the regulatory, financial, political and electoral spheres in which political parties grow and function – influences parties' strategies and organisation. The external environment also has a fundamental impact on the capacity of parties to become more effective agents of democratisation.

The *internal functioning* of political parties determines how the social demands of different groups in society are represented in parliament. Candidates nominated for election are selected, supported and trained by their parties. In addition, parties put candidates in touch with voters and hold them

accountable. In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous peoples and youth – to have only limited access to the political realm.

To address these issues, EISA and IDEA developed three questionnaires on: the country context; the external regulations and environment; and the internal functioning and structure of political parties. Country studies were undertaken by experts commissioned by EISA and IDEA. One of the main outputs of this project is a series of research reports, and this report forms an integral part of the series.

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Khabele Matlosa
Project coordinator and series editor
EISA

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
Azapo	Azanian People's Organisation
Cosatu	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DP	Democratic Party
FF	Freedom Front
GDP	Gross domestic product
Gear	Growth Employment and Redistribution Programme
Icasa	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ID	Independent Democrats
Idasa	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
JCI	Johannesburg Consolidated Investments
MF	Minority Front
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MP	Member of parliament
MPL	Member of the provincial legislature
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NEC	National executive committee
Nedlac	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NNP	New National Party
NWC	New Working Committee
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
Sanco	South African National Civic Organisation
SASC	South African Student Congress
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Generally well managed elections under national list proportional representation have nurtured a dominant party system in South Africa. This is presided over by the African National Congress, the oldest African liberation movement.

The second largest party, the Democratic Alliance, can trace its genealogy through a liberal tradition of parliamentary opposition to apartheid. The Inkatha Freedom Party was the most successful of the homeland-based political parties during the apartheid era.

The three other organisations that are reviewed in this paper – the United Democratic Party, the African Christian Democratic Party and the Independent Democrats – are more recent creations and reflect the fragmentation of political representation that is one effect of the electoral system.

The report compares the ways in which each of these organisations constitute their internal life: the most obvious differences between them are in the degree to which rank and file members can participate in the selection of leadership and can help to determine policy.

Most South African parties have developed a systematically organised mass following; in this report we investigate the activities undertaken by ordinary members in the branches of the two largest parties, the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance.

Finally, the report surveys the selection of parliamentary candidates, the parties' external connections, and the sources of their funding.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa has a population of 43.3 million people, of which 75.2% are black, 13.6% white, 8.6% coloured and 2.6% Indian. The capital city is Tshwane (previously Pretoria) and the head of state is President Thabo Mbeki. The presidential term is limited to two five-year periods of office. The African National Congress (ANC) prevails in a stable, dominant party system.

The country has an all-elected National Assembly and an independent judiciary, with constitutional supremacy maintained by a Constitutional Court. The Westminster-style cabinet government is drawn from the predominant party in parliament and ensures executive predominance over the legislature.

The electoral system since 1994 is national list proportional representation and the country has had full enfranchisement since 1994. Racially restricted franchise was instituted with the Act of Union in 1910, and mass suffrage was only achieved after the negotiated settlement.

The 'armed struggle' against the settler-descended racial minority government was led by two liberation movements, the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, 1961/62-1990/93.

South Africa held its most recent national elections in 2004 and the next national election will be in 2009.

Freedom House ratings for political rights have been 1 and for civil rights 2 over the past five years. In 2003 South Africa was in 48th position on the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index with a score of 4.4 (together with Mauritius, fourth in Africa after Botswana, Tunisia and Namibia). The country's 2002 human development index ranking out of 173 countries was 107. Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in 2002 was US\$2,954 and exports represent 29% of GDP. The urban population as a percentage of the total population is 56.9% and adult literacy is at 85.3%. Access to radios per 1,000 of the population is 338; to televisions: 127; and to personal computers: 67.

STATUS OF REPORT

This report draws upon desk research (including website material, party documentation, press reports and interviews conducted by the authors for other purposes), upon the comments of party representatives assembled at a workshop convened in Johannesburg by EISA in mid 2005, and upon subsequent responses by party officials to the IDEA/EISA questionnaire.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Twelve political parties won National Assembly representation in the South African 2004 elections. Nine other parties appeared on the national ballot paper. This report will focus on the six most popular of these organisations, namely:

- the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) (279 seats);
- its principal opponent, the Democratic Alliance (DA) (50 seats);
- the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (28 seats);
- the United Democratic Movement (UDM) (9 seats);
- the Independent Democrats (ID) (7 seats);
- and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) (7 seats).

The smaller parties with National Assembly representation include the New National Party (NNP) (7 seats), which made the decision to disband following its leadership joining the ANC, the Freedom Front (FF) (4 seats), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) (3 seats), the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) (3 seats), the Minority Front (MF) (2 seats) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) (1 seat). Seats are allocated between parties proportionally according to their share of the vote using the Droop Quota to apportion seats.

As a consequence of the very low threshold of support required for parliamentary representation no significant parties exist outside parliament: this is a very inclusive system. In 2004, parties that contested the election but failed to secure representation included the Christian Democratic Party, the Keep it Straight and Simple Party, Nasionale Aksie, the new Labour Party, the Employment Movement of South Africa, the Organisation Party, the Peace and Justice Party, the Socialist Party of Azania and the United Front.

Of these, the Christian Democratic Party with 0.11% of the vote was electorally the most successful. Several of the others were parties registered during 2003 as a consequence of parliamentary floor-crossing. Only the Socialist Party of Azania includes in its leadership well known personalities – veterans of the Black Consciousness Movement. The only significant groups

that declined to contest the 2004 National Assembly elections were the Conservative Party and the paramilitary Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). In the case of the former its supporters probably voted for Nasionale Aksie whereas the AWB is today a very marginal group indeed.

The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) constitutes a second house of parliament. It is composed of ten delegates from each of the nine provinces. Four members of each delegation include the premier and three special delegates from the legislature who attend the council 'from time to time' and six permanent delegates. All delegates must be eligible for membership of provincial legislatures – that is, they must have appeared in the appropriate positions on party lists during the election. Composition of the provincial delegations to the NCOP reflects the parties' shares of seats in the nine legislatures and is determined by a formula described in the constitution.¹ The NCOP reviews all bills that affect provincial government but the National Assembly is not obliged to adopt any legislative amendments proposed by the council.

To date, South Africa has held three national elections under universal franchise, in 1994, 1999 and 2004. In each of these contests polling was simultaneously undertaken for the nine provincial legislatures. The authorities organised common roll elections for municipalities in 1995 and 1996 (the elections in KwaZulu-Natal took place later than elsewhere) and in 2000; voters will choose a new set of local councils in March 2006.

Table 1: South African general elections, parliamentary seat allocations, 1994-2004

	1994	1999	2004
ANC	252	266	279
DA	7	38	50
IFP	43	34	28
UDM	DNE	14	9
ID	DNE	DNE	7
ACDP	2	6	7
NNP	82	28	7

Over the three national elections the most important changes have been the virtual disappearance of the NNP and the expansion of the DA's electoral support. Briefly, the NNP, the former ruling party, lost public support after its withdrawal from the Government of National Unity in 1996 and the resignation of F W de Klerk from the party leadership. Most of its white supporters transferred their loyalties to either the DA or to Afrikaner nationalist groupings. The NNP's coloured adherents, concentrated in working class neighbourhoods around Cape Town, divided themselves between voting for the ANC and the DA in 1999 and more recently, the ID.

The decline of IFP support has also been continuous. IFP losses have tended to translate into ANC gains: in the 2004 election the ANC benefited from the extension of its organisation into the IFP heartlands in rural KwaZulu-Natal, its leadership receiving recognition and credit for the extension of infrastructure – piped water, tarred roads and electrification – in this region.

Despite the set-backs and disappointments experienced by the smaller groups, each of these polls produced results that were generally acceptable to parties and the electorate: no group has seriously contested the outcomes of national elections, and objections to local results in municipal elections are rare and have not led to litigation. Even so, the absence of dispute in the case of the 1994 general election reflected shared concerns among parties about the risk of conflict as well as general satisfaction with the outcome; in fact there were serious shortcomings in the way the voting and the count was administered, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, the province most affected in the preceding period by lethal political rivalry.

Political violence in the first three months of 1994 as well as the 165 'no-go zones' in which one party denied others access to territory also raise questions about the fairness of South Africa's first election under mass suffrage. No-go zones and reports of political intimidation were much rarer in the 1999 poll and almost absent in 2004, when the ANC for the first time was able to campaign extensively in northern KwaZulu-Natal, traditionally the stronghold of the IFP. Both the 1999 and 2004 polls were much more efficiently administered by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) than the first poll (which was in fact managed by a different body – the IEC's predecessor, set up only to administer the first election).

However, in the two later elections opposition parties have complained about politically biased and disproportionate coverage of the ruling party by the public broadcaster, whereas in 1994 the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) received praise for even-handed coverage.

The 1993 Independent Broadcasting Act contains guidelines on editorial treatment of election-related matters. These prescribe the equitable (that is fair, not necessarily equal) treatment of parties during election campaigns. The guidelines concede to parties the right of replying to critical treatment.

A lively privately owned newspaper industry, as well as commercial television and radio, helps to redress the balance in mass media treatment of political parties, for the main newspapers and private broadcasters have no definite or fixed political affiliations (despite the political loyalties of proprietors).

Opinion polls suggest that in the countryside radio remains the most important medium through which people receive political information, whereas television predominates among all groups in the cities. In consequence, parties' investment in newspaper advertising has declined considerably since 1994. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) allocates free broadcasting time to all parties that register candidates. The allocation is made in such a way that even parties without current representation can achieve at least a quarter of the time available to the largest represented party: over and above this provision parties can pay for media advertising and there are no limits on their expenditure.

Reflecting the generally free conditions that affect electioneering in South Africa, between 2000 and 2005 South Africa has obtained a top Freedom House rating (1) for political freedom though its civil liberties scores are in the next subordinate category – a reflection of the continuing abuse of police detainees and convicts.

In practice there are no restraints on the formation of parties. There are currently no illegal or banned organisations in South Africa though parties may be prevented from registering with the IEC – an essential condition for contesting elections – if their name or symbol is considered offensive to any

section of the population or if the name and emblem contains anything that might incite violence or hatred directed at any group of the population.²

The right to form political parties is protected by the entrenched Bill of Rights in the 1996 Constitution.³ Registration is comparatively easy: it requires a 'deed of foundation' signed by 50 registered voters and a payment to the IEC of R500.⁴ To contest elections, though, the conditions are rather more restrictive; for parties to appear on the National Assembly ballot in 2004 the IEC required a payment of R150,000.⁵ Inclusion on each provincial list costs parties R30,000. Civil servants may not stand as candidates nor may insolvents, the mentally ill, convicted criminals sentenced to more than a year's imprisonment for five years from sentencing. Only citizens can stand as candidates or vote in any elections – national, provincial and municipal. Generally speaking, candidature qualifications in national or provincial elections are the same as those for voting: there are no special considerations with respect to age, residence or birthplace.

An Electoral Code of Conduct is included in the 1998 Electoral Act: all parties must sign it. It commits all parties to a range of provisions concerning free electioneering, to 'facilitate' equal participation of women in political activities, to render their public electioneering activities accessible to the media, to protect journalists and to cooperate fully with the IEC. Parties are prohibited by this code from intimidating voters or their opponents, provoking or encouraging violence, offering inducements, or discriminating on grounds of race, ethnicity, sex, gender, class or religion 'in connection with an election or political activity'. In addition to these safeguards in the electoral legislation, the constitution prohibits the advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion.

Parties do not participate in electoral managerial bodies except with respect to the IEC party liaison committees constituted at national, provincial and local levels. IEC officials chair these committees and each party may send two representatives to each body. The party liaison committees play a crucial role in resolving local disputes; their effectiveness is one of the main reasons why legal challenges to electoral procedures are so rare. Parties also appoint agents through the IEC to monitor voting and counting; these agents are allowed to object to any irregularities they perceive.

The electoral system – national list proportional representation – has a profound influence on the internal functioning of parties and on the behaviour of their parliamentary caucuses. Half the seats in the National Assembly are filled from nine regional lists supplied by the parties and half by national lists – generally the more senior politicians appear on national lists.

Essentially, voters elect party slates of candidates rather than individuals. How parties constitute their regional and national lists is their affair – it is not regulated by any laws or public bodies, though the ANC's Women's League currently favours a legally compulsory 50% quota for women's representation. Currently alone among the parties, the ANC voluntarily employs a one-third women's quota – women appear in every third position on ANC candidate lists.

Parties select their candidates in different ways. Only the ANC has involved outside bodies in its candidate selection: in 1994 and 1999, though not in 2004, its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), was permitted to nominate a small proportion of candidates on the national list.

Accordingly, accountability of representatives to voters is weak despite the voluntary assignment by larger parties of their parliamentarians to geographic constituencies. Parliamentarians can be removed from office by party leadership; in theory they should be replaced with a candidate from the electoral list.

Parliamentarians can change their party affiliation during two-week 'window periods' as a consequence of floor-crossing legislation enacted in 2003. To date, floor crossing has worked in favour of the ruling party and has tended to fragment the opposition. In the latest round of floor crossing in September 2005, the ANC lost no seats from floor crossing in the National Assembly and enlarged its caucus with 14 new adherents, including seven who had been elected as NNP members and four from the DA.

Parliamentarians within the ruling party tend to defer to the executive. This is an increasingly obvious predisposition, though from time to time they

have challenged and significantly modified draft legislation proposed by the government; most recently and most significantly with respect to telecommunications policy, an area in which an energetic parliamentary portfolio committee asserts itself against a minister with no support base within the ruling party.

Compounding the generally deferential demeanour of the ruling party's parliamentary caucus is the extent to which corporatist institutions and political procedures play a role within the South African political system. The National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) was established in 1995 to engender 'tripartite' bargaining procedures between government, trade unions and business organisations: it played an important part in drafting the Labour Relations Act of that year, which when it was introduced into parliament was left more or less intact by ANC members of parliament (MPs).

Nedlac has become less influential as a negotiating forum for key government policies since the advent of President Thabo Mbeki's administration. Through its alliance with the ruling party, however, Cosatu continues to claim a role in shaping policy; not just in employment matters but more generally, most recently, for example, with respect to relations with Zimbabwe. Cosatu maintains a lobbying office in Cape Town, one constituent in an infant lobbying industry that includes representatives of the Institute for Security Studies and the Africa Institute.

The growing sophistication of parliamentary lobbying groups helped to compensate for comparatively low (compared to other countries in the region) public participation in public parliamentary hearings. In a survey based on a nationally representative sample of 2,200 by Afrobarometer in August 2000 not a single member of the sample had attended a hearing – compared to 0.6% in Zimbabwe and 0.3% in Namibia.⁶

POLITICAL PARTIES: THEIR INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

As noted above, this report focuses on the six most significant organisations, as measured by their support in the 2004 general election. The treatment is thematic and comparative: different aspects of the six parties' development will be considered together, in turn.

FOUNDING AND ESTABLISHMENT

African National Congress

The ruling party, the ANC, can date its history back to 1912 with the initial assembly of a South African Native National Congress which, meeting annually from then, changed its name to the ANC in 1923. Its members contested elections for the Native Representative Council and local township advisory boards until 1946 when leadership resolved on boycotting these institutions in protest against the suppression of a black mineworkers' strike; individual members continued, though, to participate in such elections.

Re-organised in the 1940s as a structured political movement with local branches, the ANC acquired a mass following during the 1950s – a decade of militant campaigning against apartheid laws. The ANC was banned in 1960 and while some of its leaders left South Africa to set up external representation, others continued to mobilise clandestine resistance. In conjunction with the South African Communist Party (SACP), to which most of its leaders belonged at that stage, in mid 1961 the ANC established a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), which embarked on a sabotage campaign at the end of 1961.

Spurred by the rival militancy of an offshoot organisation, the PAC, the ANC began planning for a sustained guerilla war: to this end MK's commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, toured Africa to raise diplomatic, financial and military support. He was arrested shortly after his return to South Africa in August 1962 and the following year was put on trial for treason with most of the other key MK commanders.

With its internal leadership and much of its following imprisoned, initiative shifted to the exile organisation led by Oliver Tambo. From 1976 ANC exiles

were able to establish bases in 'Frontline' states neighbouring South Africa and directed a second guerilla insurgency, which played a key role in inspiring wider kinds of political resistance by a range of groups inside the country that declared their loyalty to the ANC tradition.

Between 1969 and 1985 the organisation opened its ranks to white, coloured and Indian membership in addition to its original African core. Military insurgency, civic unrest and increasing economic isolation – itself partly prompted by the ANC's call for sanctions – eventually persuaded the South African authorities to lift the bans on the ANC and other prohibited organisations, release political prisoners, and permit the return of exiles. Constitutional negotiations in which the key players were the ANC and the ruling National Party (NP) began in 1992 and concluded shortly before the first universal suffrage elections in April 1994.

All the parties that contested the 1994 elections received public funding: a significant measure of official recognition. The (New) National Party (NNP) joined the post electoral ANC-led administration as its principal coalition partner, but its electoral support was to decline subsequently. Following the decision of its top leadership after the 2004 election to join the ANC, the NNP dissolved itself in April 2005.

The ANC benefits from the support of its historical allies, Cosatu and the SACP: the leadership of the latter two organisations all belong to the ANC, many of them to its national executive. The ANC also enjoys affiliations with the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the South African Student Congress (SASC) and less formally it remains influential among a wide range of voluntary associations and pressure groups.

Democratic Alliance

The ANC's main parliamentary opponent, the DA, can trace its origins to the defection in 1959 from the United Party of 12 MPs who supported common role African enfranchisement and formed the Progressive Party. Only one survived the 1961 election, Helen Suzman, who became a lone parliamentary opponent of apartheid and advocate of civil rights until she was joined by six other successful candidates in carefully chosen urban constituencies in 1974.

In 1975 and 1976 the Progressives' ranks were augmented by further floor crossing from the United Party. Through the remainder of the decade the renamed (from 1977) Progressive Federal Party (PFP) became increasingly influential among white South Africans enjoying 20% of their electoral support in 1981.

Through the 1980s, the PFP's importance was mainly a consequence of its pioneering work on constitutional reform as an advocate of federalism, power sharing and proportional representation – measures that were each eventually incorporated into the 1993 transitional constitution. The PFP was derided by black anti-apartheid groups inside and outside the country for its historical support for a qualified franchise and its opposition to sanctions, but from 1984 onwards it began to recruit and form political alliances within the black and coloured communities.

The PFP renamed itself the Democratic Party (DP) in 1987 and subsequently absorbed into its parliamentary following several breakaway groups from the NP. Campaigning principally around constitutional and human rights issues in 1994, the DP performed badly, winning only seven seats with 1.73% of the vote. Five years later, the DP's 'Fight Back' campaign capitalised on white, and to a certain extent Indian and coloured voters' concerns arising from affirmative action and crime; the party won 38 seats, nearly 10% of the vote, taking over much of the NNP's former support.

The subsequent year the DP joined forces with the NNP as the DA to contest local elections: a merger was agreed to but remained incompletely implemented in 2001 when the NNP leadership withdrew to announce its decision to support and participate in the government. Not all NNP members followed their leaders and the DA continued to claim that it represented most of the NNP's branches and fought the 2004 elections under the same name.

Inkatha Freedom Party

The IFP was established ostensibly as a Zulu cultural organisation in 1975 by the KwaZulu homeland chief minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It won all the seats in the KwaZulu legislative assembly elections in 1978 and thenceforth became the homeland's ruling party until KwaZulu's incorporation into the province of KwaZulu-Natal in 1994.

Unlike other homeland parties, though, Inkatha projected itself as a militant liberation movement and enjoyed mass support among Zulu migrant communities around Johannesburg. It won control of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial administration in the 1994 and 1999 elections, losing its dominance in 2004, though its members continue to serve in a coalition administration with the ANC.

In all elections it has attempted to project itself as a national party, not an ethnic group, and its parliamentary representation has substantially included non-Zulus. Programmatically it shares many of the ANC positions, except with respect to what it considers are the rights and prerogatives of 'traditional leaders' as well as its emphasis on 'self help' and 'self reliance'. Ideologically, party officials view their organisation as conservatively predisposed, 'definitely to the right of the ANC'.⁷

United Democratic Movement

In contrast to the foregoing groups, the UDM was formed in 1998 after nine months of consultations between its founders, Roelf Meyer, a prominent defector from the NNP, and Bantu Holomisa, a former ruler of the Transkei homeland and as an ANC member, a deputy minister in Nelson Mandela's government until his expulsion for directing corruption accusations at a member of the cabinet, Stella Sigcau (herself a former ruler of the Transkei). Meyer subsequently left the party to join the Rhema Church, a departure that probably lost the UDM much of its initial appeal to white voters.

The UDM from its inception was chiefly an Eastern Cape-based organisation – more than half of its votes in 1999 were located there. The 2004 elections confirmed its status as an essentially regional party with much of its support concentrated around Umtata, the former capital of the Transkei. Overall its vote share declined from 3.42% to 2.28%. It retained a foothold in KwaZulu-Natal, keeping its seat in the legislature and achieving in return for its support for the ANC in the province, a deputy ministry in the national government. The party also kept single seats in the Western Cape, Gauteng and Limpopo.

In the 2004 elections the UDM campaigned around a set of policies that represented a mild left alternative to the ANC's liberal market reformism. The UDM's National Assembly representation was reduced by a third in

September 2005 when three of its parliamentarians left the party to form a United Independent Front after disagreements with Bantu Holomisa. At its formation, the new party appeared mainly to represent the UDM's former Limpopo following: most of the UDM Limpopo executive joined the Front.

Independent Democrats

The ID, formed in March 2003, was the only new party formed in the wake of floor-crossing to retain parliamentary representation after the 2004 election. In 2003 its founder and best known parliamentary representative was Patricia de Lille; formerly the chief whip of the PAC, and largely because of her media profile as an assertive anti-corruption campaigner, one of the few South African politicians aside from the top ANC leaders with a substantial personal following.

Themba Sono also helped represent the new party, defecting from the DA group in the Gauteng legislature to become the ID's deputy president. In 2004 much of the ID's electoral support was drawn from the DA's bases in coloured communities in Cape Town and historically white neighbourhoods in Johannesburg. The local elections in 2006 will signify its capacity to entrench itself as a durable force in South African politics.

In the Western Cape, promising signals included the decision in January 2006 by key officials in the NNP's organisation in Mitchell's Plain to join the ID. Three months earlier, in September 2005, another encouraging portent was a local government by-election victory, the ID's first such triumph, in Naledi, North West Province, where the ID took a ward seat from the ANC winning 53% of the vote. However, in July 2005 the ID failed to beat the Democrats in Houghton in a contest resulting from the defection of the DA ward councillor, Mervyn Cirola, to the ID. The ID's evident weakness in Gauteng was reinforced by resignations of 11 of its officials, including five branch chairpersons and its provincial youth leader, all of whom opted to join the DA. This followed the decision of Themba Sono to cross the floor of the Gauteng legislature to form his own party after falling out with other party leaders, his second such defection in two years.

Patricia de Lille's choice of the mercurial Sono as deputy leader (despite misgivings among other party officials) reflected her own anxiety to include

in its top echelon a well known black personality.⁸ The subsequent rift with Sono followed a rancorous public dispute between De Lille and the ID's former Western Cape provincial leader, Lennix Max. Ex-policeman Max was suspended from the party after accusing De Lille of accepting money from a criminal syndicate, a charge he subsequently withdrew.

African Christian Democratic Party

Next in size of electoral support to the ID is the ACDP. The ACDP is also a relatively new organisation, formed in December 1993 specifically in anticipation of the 1994 poll and representing a completely fresh force in South African politics – the charismatic Pentecostal Christian right.

Its original membership was recruited among the 2,000-strong congregation of the Hope of Glory Tabernacle in Vosloorus. The formation of the ACDP, its leaders emphasise, was prompted by divine guidance, specifically a 'call from God' to the party's president, Dr Kenneth Meshoe, the pastor at Vosloorus.⁹ It won two seats in 1994, six in 1999 and seven in 2004. Aiming to 'bring God back into government', among its chief preoccupations are opposition to abortion and homosexuality and support for the death penalty. The ACDP's electoral support is concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape; however, there are also considerable constituencies in Limpopo and Mpumalanga, chiefly among middle class white and coloured voters, though its membership is 60% black.¹⁰ In the Western Cape and in KwaZulu-Natal the ACDP has participated in regional government as a junior coalition partner.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

African National Congress

To register, all political parties must have constitutions: these are often very elaborate and usually supply the formal conventions of how parties organise their inner life, in certain cases even down to branch procedure.

Within the ANC, the national executive committee (NEC) provides leadership between general conferences held every five years. The conference is constitutionally the senior decision-making body. The NEC is elected by secret ballot at national conferences by delegates. Delegates choose from a list on a ballot paper compiled from branch nominations. Ninety per cent of

these delegates represent branches and the rest are from the ANC Women's and Youth leagues and from the nine provincial executive committees.

The NEC has 60 members elected at conference as well as the six top officials, elected separately. Candidates for the leadership positions can be nominated by provinces but may also be nominated from the conference floor. These are joined by ex officio members from the provinces and the leagues as well as up to five co-opted members: a total of 99. Once elected the NEC itself elects a roughly 30-member national working committee (NWC). Women must make up at least 50% of the NEC's and NWC's membership – a recent change from a previous 30% quota. The ANC's secretary-general, the deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general are full-time paid officials but otherwise NEC members are not salaried full-timers unless they happen to belong to the ANC's national or provincial bureaucracies.

The ANC maintains a 'Presidency' office at its headquarters and the head of this unit is a full-time paid official, usually someone with senior status in the organisation, probably an NEC member. Similarly, the salaried head of the ANC's International Affairs division will also be drawn from the ranks of senior leadership. The tasks of the NEC include oversight of the leagues' activities, management of the ANC's property, the issue of policy directives and the appointment every year of a list committee to select (and 'redeploy') parliamentary candidates.

Twenty-member (plus ex officio members) provincial executive committees are elected at provincial conferences every three years, chosen and constituted in a similar fashion to the NEC. In the provinces the provincial secretary is a paid official. The provincial committees undertake comparable duties to the NEC; in addition, they supervise branch activity and oversee the work of ANC caucuses in the provincial legislature and local councils. Rule 25 of the ANC constitution addresses discipline: its provisions extend over five pages and include rules for the establishment of a hierarchy of disciplinary committees and the procedures they should employ, as well as an extensive list of the kinds of misconduct that might justify the invocation of disciplinary action.

ANC provinces – which conform geographically to the nine South African

provinces – are divided into regions with full-time paid secretaries that correspond with local government boundaries – there are 53 regions altogether. Regional executives are elected at biannual conferences. Regions are divided into branches which, when possible, conform to local government wards: each branch must have 100 members.

Democratic Alliance

In contrast to the ANC, the Democratic Alliance's constitutional arrangements allow a much more restricted scope for branch membership to determine policy and leadership, and in general accord to parliamentarians greater influence within the party.

The DA's supreme policy-making body is the federal congress, meeting normally every two years, though extra sessions can be convened through a two-thirds vote of the Federal Council. Party officials, parliamentarians and local councillors attend the congress as well as delegates equal to two per cent of the party's membership, about 1,000 in attendance altogether. Delegates are so constituted to represent the party's electoral following across the provinces; if, for example, 30% of the DA's national vote is located in Gauteng, then 30% of the delegates attending congress will be from Gauteng.¹¹ Congress elects the leader, the federal chairperson and deputy federal chairpersons.

Between congresses authority is invested in a Federal Council composed of party officials, parliamentarians and councillors, as well as a minority of membership delegates. Among its other duties, the Federal Council appoints a legal commission, which in turn can constitute disciplinary committees that address infractions of party rules. The legal commission is also responsible for overseeing the procedures through which candidates for public office are nominated. Between meetings of the council a federal executive is responsible for day to day management of the party: it consists mainly of officials as well as six co-opted members.

The DA has no special quota arrangements for women's representation within its internal structures – the party is opposed to quotas – though the leadership of its Women's Network is represented in its leadership together with officials from the DA Youth.

Organisational arrangements vary between each province. The base structure of the party is a branch – ideally, according to the constitution, with boundaries corresponding to a local government ward or a voting district though some represent larger areas. The quorum for a branch meeting is 13 members and branches should have a minimum of 25 members.

Inkatha Freedom Party

The IFP's organisation has five layers: national, provincial, regional, constituency and branch; however, authority is centralised and the constitution confers considerable power and discretion to the national leadership. A National Council constituted from officials and at least ten elected representatives from each province as well as MPs and MPLs meet at times determined by the organisation's president between annual general conferences (AGMs). AGMs are attended by all members of the National Council and two delegates from every branch. Every five years, those in attendance at the AGM elect the party president: a candidate is proposed by the National Council, so in practice the AGM vote represents merely a confirmation of a (constitutionally unspecified) National Council selection procedure.

The National Council elects a general secretary and chooses other officials who together with the chairpersons and secretaries of the Youth and Women's brigades constitute a national executive. It also appoints a disciplinary committee which can impose penalties for a range of offences that include 'acting disrespectfully to the party or any of its officials at a meeting of the party'.¹² Provincial chairpersons are elected for three-year terms at provincial conferences. Provincial conferences are held annually and here branch members predominate as members. IFP branches must have at least 30 members – a branch may represent a ward, a town or even a larger area, depending on the density of IFP membership, and they are meant to meet weekly.

The vigour of the IFP's internal democratic procedures was subjected to public scrutiny at its annual conference in July 1994 when delegates reacting to the party's poor electoral performance nominated Ziba Jiyane to stand against the incumbent party chairman, the former provincial premier, Lionel Mtshali, against the wishes of the leadership. Jiyane won by a large margin.

Chief Buthelezi showed his displeasure by calling Jiyane to account the following day for various media statements he had made recently. Jiyane's support base was located principally amongst party 'modernisers' in the Youth Brigade, two of whose officials Inkatha's leadership had suspended in October 2004 for resisting Chief Buthelezi's appointment of an interim Brigade chairperson after the resignation of its elected leader.¹³ Jiyane lasted a year in his new post. He was suspended for 'bringing the name of the party into disrepute' in claiming that its functioning resembled 'an internal dictatorship'.¹⁴

Shortly thereafter Jiyane resigned his IFP membership and announced the formation of a National Democratic Convention which would build a 'philosophical conservative' approach around 'three pillars': family values and the 'fear of God'; deepening of democracy; and a 'market based developmental state'.¹⁵ Four IFP parliamentarians crossed the floor to join the Convention in September 2005.

United Democratic Movement, Independent Democrats and African Christian Democratic Party

The UDM, ID and ACDP's internal organisation is broadly similar to what has been described above: branches or groups (ID nomenclature) that approximate in their boundaries local government divisions, and then a hierarchy of executives through regions, provinces and up to national level. The ID follows DA practice in naming its presiding authority the leader, the UDM favours the more bureaucratic title of chairperson. In the case of the ID the party leader shares decision making with a national executive and with respect to the UDM a national council; these bodies convene annual conferences in which branch delegates predominate that elect officials, 50% of whom must be women – apparently given quite limited recruitment among women the UDM finds it hard to fill this quota.

The ID's national executive selects candidates for public office and entrusts policy making to a special committee. The ID has a youth wing, the Young ID. The UDM has yet to assemble such a body, though its constitution does refer to various levels of youth organisation and women's organisation, each of which are constitutionally required to be represented on its executive structures.

The UDM's constitution contains elaborate disciplinary procedures whereas the ID allows the executive the power to terminate anyone's membership 'in accordance with the principles of national justice'.¹⁶ In contrast, the ACDP has a highly hierarchical structure where considerable power rests with the party leader and a Guardian Committee, whose task is to screen prospective candidates for party internal elections and political office in order to ensure their adherence to Biblical principles.¹⁷ The Guardian Committee includes ACDP and non-party members, and its powerful role in the 1994 NEC elections led to the break away of two prominent founding members, Dan Maluleke and Dr Johan van der Westhuizen. In particular, the Guardian Committee's controversial question as to whether prospective candidates were born again Christians raised concerns.¹⁸ After screening by the Guardian Committee, the party president appoints the NEC by selecting members from a pool of candidates considered fit for office. The ACDP also has a Women's Organisation; its president is currently Pastor Lydia Meshoe, wife of the party president.¹⁹

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

African National Congress

ANC policy is ostensibly determined at its national conferences and at its national general councils – meetings that can be called by the national executive between national conferences. National general councils are composed mainly of branch delegates in the same fashion as national conferences, though at the latest such meeting 'there was a disturbing phenomenon of people standing up and identifying themselves [according to] provinces'²⁰ – an interesting reflection of the development of regional identities in South African politics.

A policy conference is held before the national meetings to discuss draft resolutions. In 2002, at the last such policy conference, draft resolutions echoed the content of a 131-page volume of 'discussion papers' that had been circulated to branches in the August issue of *Umrabulo*, the ANC's journal. Only NEC members can draft discussion documents.²¹ Most of these discussion papers were produced by policy-focused sub-committees of the NEC that have operated since 1995. Sometimes the chairpersonships of these sub-committees coincide with ministerial appointments or chairpersonships of parliamentary portfolio committees; sometimes they do not. Sub-committees meet every two months.

Through the 1990s the ANC maintained a Policy Unit at its headquarters and since 2003 a more ambitious Policy Institute has employed a few researchers. A Policy Coordination Unit at intervals brings together chairpersons of the NEC sub-committees as well as representatives from the leagues, Cosatu, Sanco and the SACP. ANC MPs embody a separate field of policy making: they constitute party 'study groups' for each portfolio committee, and in theory the conveners of such groups belong to 'national caucuses' convened by the NEC sub-committee that draw upon provincial MECs and the chairs of provincial legislature study groups. In their policy-making capacity MPs are formally subordinate to the NEC sub-committee and indeed are bound by a code of conduct whereby they undertake to refrain from any 'attempt to make use of parliamentary structures to undermine organisational decisions and policies'.²²

In 1998, incidentally, the ANC conference in Mafikeng decided against giving parliamentary caucuses special constitutional status, a recognition ANC MPs had been urging.²³ Such denials might be interpreted as evidence of the real authority in policy making of the party conference: in reality though much of the content of the paper and resolutions discussed at the 2002 policy conference reflected existing government departmental programmes and few were written in such a way as to invite debate: as ANC officials conceded, policy resolutions adopted at conference largely 'reflect the thinking of the NEC'.²⁴

From time to time affiliate or auxiliary bodies can influence policy: the ANC's adoption of a one-third women's representation quota was at the urging of the Women's League and other women's organisations: the league now favours a legislated 50% women's quota for parliamentary representation.

The limits to the extent to which the party's leadership structures influence government policy were most clearly obvious in 1996 with the government's adoption of the Growth Employment and Redistribution (Gear) paper – a programme of economic liberalisation which many party members viewed as being at odds with the ANC's 1994 Reconstruction and Development manifesto. Gear was not shown to the ANC's NEC before its publication on 14 June 1996 as a 'non-negotiable' statement of government policy. Conversely, though, and more recently, in 2002-2003 the NEC played a major

role in persuading the government to expand the provision of anti-retroviral drugs for HIV/AIDS patients.²⁵ HIV/AIDS is one issue in which party policy has demonstrated considerable sensitivity to public opinion. The ANC uses public opinion polling extensively during the period before elections to determine policy emphases in its manifesto and campaigning.

Democratic Alliance

In contrast to the ANC and as noted in the preceding section, in the DA, parliamentarians and other elected public officials play a major role in the Federal Council, the main policy-making party body, between party congresses. For every department of state, the DA appoints from its parliamentary caucus a policy specialist and spokesperson.²⁶ Parliamentarians and councillors also make up a major share of those present at federal congresses. The DA's constitution authorises its leader to interpret and even make policy 'in respect of new matters or new situations'.²⁷ The DA also uses public opinion poll insights extensively to craft its electoral messages.

Inkatha Freedom Party

In Inkatha, leadership authority over policy making is buttressed by a system of standing committees appointed by the IFP's national and provincial councils that make recommendations directly to the president and the national chairperson: these committees are expected to coordinate their activities with parliamentary portfolio 'study groups'. Officials maintain though that the IFP's policy committees are informed by 'bottom-up input from the people'.²⁸

Independent Democrats, United Democratic Movement and African Christian Democratic Party

The ID emphasises membership contributions to policy formation: shortly after the party's establishment it appointed seven people to 'specific issue portfolios' and then asked members to send in proposals for inclusion in official policy statements. As with the ID, the UDM's officials stress the degree to which 'the demands and needs of the people' shape policy making within the organisation. For the ACDP, the Federal Council of Provinces – a party internal structure – is in charge of policy suggestions that are presented to the NEC for debate and decision.²⁹

MEMBERSHIP

The six main parties make constitutional provision for individual fee-paying membership of base units, such as branches or groups. The DA allows membership from 16 years of age, while the others allow membership at the age of 18. The IFP and the UDM limit membership to citizens. Admission in all cases is through base unit application and sanctioned by the local executive, though in the cases of the ANC and the DA membership is provisional for a period and can be withdrawn by branch or constituency executives or more senior bodies. The UDM explicitly prohibits membership of other parties and in practice other organisations discourage this as well (though between April 2004 and April 2005 NNP members were allowed simultaneously to belong to the ANC). The ACDP is open to everyone, only the leadership is carefully selected by the Guardian Committee. The ACDP claims to be a unique party due to its racial composition: 60% black; 10% coloured; +5% Indian; and approximately 25% whites.³⁰

All parties confer voting rights to members, though ostensibly these have much wider significance in the ANC than in the other organisations due to the way in which the ANC arranges the delegate structure of national conferences. The ANC and DA both maintain computerised membership lists nationally. The ID also maintains a national membership register. At its 2002 conference the ANC's secretary-general provided membership statistics in his report: there were 416,874 ANC members nationally 'in good standing'; that is, with paid-up R12 annual subscriptions. At present, ANC officials believe membership stands at 450,000.³¹ In 2005 the press reported the Youth League's president as claiming a following for the league of 500,000. Youth League members can be assumed also to belong to ordinary ANC branches given the league's conception of youth as anyone between the ages of 14 and 35; general ANC membership is open to people aged 18 and over. In general, since its re-establishment as a legal organisation in 1990 the ANC's membership has never exceeded half a million.

Other parties tend to be less specific in the information they supply in public about their membership. The IFP claimed through the 1980s and 1990s organised followings of between one and two million, though since then its officials concede that membership has declined. They also confirm the organisation's membership to be predominantly drawn from the

KwaZulu-Natal countryside and consequently, they think, people affected by HIV/AIDS are likely to be especially well represented within the IFP's following.³² Indeed, deaths attributable to HIV/AIDS may be a principal cause of the IFP's membership decline. Even so, if the IFP's public claims are accurate, its membership remains the largest of any South African political party. Before its annual conference in October 2004, a spokesman for the IFP Youth Brigade suggested that the brigade had a membership of 700,000.³³

The ID in January 2005³⁴ stated that it had established 43 branches in the Cape Metro, its main support area, and a national membership of 75,000 after 'phenomenal growth... especially in black areas'.³⁵ Twelve of the Cape Metro ID branches were located in Khayalitsha.³⁶

The DA claimed in 2003 that 80% of its youth wing was 'black' and 32 of its Gauteng branches are established in what it calls 'emergent areas'. The Democrats do not normally publish or make available to researchers their membership statistics, though they claim their membership is increasing.³⁷ Two years earlier, DA MP Dan Maluleke claimed at a press conference that the party had formed 146 branches in black communities and that a further 100 would be established by mid 2002.³⁸ No public information is available on the success the DA has enjoyed since in maintaining the black support it had achieved by 2001. However, black delegates claimed that they had been successful at the 2004 party congress 'to get our party to listen and initiate a strategic revisioning route'.³⁹ They predicted that the party would soon experience 'a huge cultural shift'. In line with these comments James Selfe confirmed that the DA was planning a training programme for black activists 'to diversify the movement' and extend its township 'structures'. The DA would soon represent 'the positive force of diversity' in South Africa, Joe Seremane noted.⁴⁰ 'Revisioning' would also imply party messages that would in future be more upbeat, for recently the party had been trapped in 'a serial criticism syndrome'. With its new supporters in mind the DA would present itself as 'a caring party that makes a difference'.⁴¹

Most South African parties claim that their membership is growing; however, only the ANC habitually publishes membership statistics, and these suggest a movement in which a disciplined following has remained fairly stable. Membership statistics are, however, probably of only limited utility as

indicators of the degree to which parties have deep social roots. The quality of membership, the degree to which it requires activist commitment and encourages wider participation in party decision-making, is more helpful in forming any conclusions about the vitality of the internal life of political parties.

A research project based at Wits University's Department of Political Studies and conducted between 2002 and 2005 explored the quality of political grassroots activism. The project focused first on the ANC. Student fieldworkers interviewed 321 ANC members from 50 branches, mostly in Gauteng, though a few were in Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal. Nearly half the respondents were women. Seventy-five had been educated beyond school and 91 had passed matric; 124 held executive positions in their branches. Despite these biases towards office-holding and education this was hardly a privileged group: 135 respondents told their interviewers they were unemployed and the others were mainly involved in unskilled occupations, though there was a significant group of teachers, conspicuous among office holders. Although this was not a carefully constructed representative sample, it probably reflects a reasonable cross section of the ANC's general following, at least in the cities.

It was impressive how many of these people had participated in the *letsame* (working together) campaign; a programme of activities initiated in 2002, declared by ANC leaders to be a 'Year of the Volunteer' in which its supporters should try to 'capture the community spirit of *letsame ilima*'. Seventy-four per cent of those interviewed had taken part in ANC-sponsored voluntary activity, many more than once. In Alexandra, for example, in an especially animated ANC group, respondents cited tree planting, school cleaning, visits to old age homes and prisons, the distribution of information about HIV/AIDS, street sweeping, working at a community crèche and painting a police station. Participation rates in the ten Limpopo branches were especially high. In only one branch, in Ekurhuleni (East Rand), did members agree that there had been no calls to undertake voluntary work: here the branch meetings were very poorly attended. In addition to the *letsame* activities, other indications of branch activities included references to fundraising, in most cases to support the expenses of delegates travelling to provincial and national conferences. A majority of Limpopo respondents

could cite such enterprises, mentioning door-to-door collections, solicitation of local traders, as well as raffles, beauty contests and sports days.

Most branches held regular monthly meetings. Typically, respondents described paid-up memberships of between 100 and 250 and most suggested that attendance at recent meetings exceeded 50. Cross tabulating the sociological data from the survey with the indicators of involvement in branch activity suggested a fairly egalitarian movement. Unemployed people were almost as likely to hold positions on branch executives as those with jobs, and 32% of women held office compared to 41% of men. Office-holders tended to be better educated, though. More than half the people interviewed read ANC publications regularly, two-thirds had participated in nominations for the national executive elections and about half could remember a municipal councillor report-back meeting they had attended within the previous three months.

Open questions included in the questionnaire elicited comments that offer significant qualifications to this picture of a locally animated and democratic movement. *Letsame* participation sometimes may have been more dutiful than enthusiastic. A woman in Pietermaritzburg observed that 'most people do not like to volunteer, they want to be paid'. Several of the remarks recorded by the fieldworkers suggest that ANC members are often motivated in their political activism by instrumental political concerns rather than social commitment. The ANC was 'failing to get us jobs', a member in Tsakane noted. Conversely a KwaThema activist, in a commentary on local nepotism, maintained that 'the ANC seems to be a local employment agency'. In this branch, officials complained about not being paid and suggested that for this purpose each branch should retain a proportion of the subscriptions it collected. Members should be 'empowered' with vocational skills and 'the ANC needs to ensure that all comrades that were [in] exile are taken care of'.

'I cannot continue to work for an organisation that does not look after its members', complained an office-holder in Tsakane. In at least two branches, respondents suggested that one needed an ANC card to qualify for a housing subsidy. Finally, several respondents felt that the ANC was too egalitarian in ethos. For example, in KwaThema 'our branch is run by illiterate people ... both unemployed and uneducated'. 'Educated people are sidelined at branch

level' confirmed a member of another Tsakane branch. However several of his comrades in this location disagreed, complaining that proceedings at meetings were difficult to follow because they were held in English.

This sort of grumbling suggests that the idealised picture of grassroots commitment represented by the ANC Youth League slogan – Every member an organiser, a commissar – may be too optimistic: self interest probably balances altruistic dedication within the ANC's mass following. Even so, the ANC has clearly constituted itself with some success as a 'mass party': that is, a party that seeks through its popular recruitment to achieve deep-rooted social integration. As long as it has no serious rivals in this domain and to the extent to which its organisation does not atrophy, its domination of electoral politics will continue. Moreover, well-structured parties are fairly immune from fission: in other words, defections by party notables prompted by, for example, policy disagreements do not prompt splits.

Aside from the ANC at least one other political party is making a serious effort to develop a nationally extensive and politically participatory branch structure across South Africa's traditional social divisions. The DA members whom the Wits fieldworkers encountered appeared to be extensively engaged in lively branch programmes. In the 2000 municipal poll, the DA demonstrated that it could draw electoral support from pockets of black voters in townships as well as doing well in its more customary genteel social bases in white and Indian neighbourhoods. It performed comparatively well, for example, in certain townships in the Free State, collecting 10% of the vote here and there. Its share of the vote in black communities around Johannesburg and Pretoria was comparable.

In municipal by-elections since 2000, in admittedly low turnouts, the DA collects routinely about 10% of black votes – though such support depends on a local presence: its national share of the black vote in the 2004 election was disappointing. Even so, the DA claims today to be a substantially black party, though the party's leadership remains overwhelmingly white. Fresh emphasis in its policies on poor peoples' issues – on tax incentives for hawkers and its advocacy of a basic income grant – indicated by 2000 a significant shift from its 1999 predisposition to court mainly disaffected working-class whites and coloureds.

As noted above, in Gauteng – in Johannesburg and in the Vaal vicinity – the DA had by 2003 established 32 branches in what it termed ‘emergent areas’. It organised another 20 branches in black neighbourhoods around Pretoria. An angry exchange in newspaper letter columns in 2003 in which both DA and ANC local leaders accused each other of forcibly disrupting their respective party’s activities in Alexandra, traditionally the ANC Johannesburg stronghold, helped to confirm this assertive movement by the DA into fresh territory.

The Wits project identified and interviewed 107 mainly black DA members: 49 of these when interviewed lived around Virginia in the Free State and the remainder resided in Gauteng, chiefly in Soweto. Sixty-seven of the respondents were in their 20s and four others were 19: this seems to be a strikingly young movement, though the snowball method of contacting respondents and the ages of the fieldworkers may have influenced the selection. DA officials do, however, confirm that much of their black recruitment is among young people, and most of the respondents agreed that the busiest activists in their branches were young.

Half of the respondents had or were undergoing higher education, and most of the rest had obtained their matriculation certificate. As might be expected, the Gauteng group was rather better educated than the Free State respondents. Nearly half the respondents were women: 37 were unemployed, 24 were in white collar occupations, and 22 were students. These proportions, albeit not in a representative sample, do suggest that the DA may have a rather different social constituency to the ANC, though it may also reflect the location of the Gauteng interviews in fairly comfortable Soweto districts, and in formal housing neighbourhoods in Pimville and White City.

Reinforcing the impression of the social status of this group of respondents is the high proportion – just over half the respondents – who claimed that they obtained most of their information about politics from newspapers. Fifty-seven of the respondents had belonged to the DA for two years or less and very few claimed membership for more than four years; most had joined the DA either during the 1999 or 2004 elections. Thirty-five, about a third, had no previous political experience, 30 had belonged to the ANC (20 of

these in the Free State), 17 had been PAC members and nine, all in the Free State, had left the NNP to join the DA.

Most commonly, respondents confirmed that the branch to which they belonged had about 35 members, and most attended meetings regularly. Gauteng respondents mentioned weekly meetings whereas those in the Free State suggested that branch meetings were monthly occurrences. Thirty respondents admitted that they seldom attended meetings and hence could offer no information about branch activities. The rest concurred that the most important current campaigning activity was electorally related: 29 respondents had participated in door-to-door canvassing; 15 had helped to encourage local residents to register, assisting people in obtaining the required identification documents; and two had put up election posters. Seven members of the DA in Virginia referred to an anti-crime march organised by their branch. Others mentioned HIV/AIDS public education and protests against local corruption. An impressive 85 respondents had voted in the 2000 municipal elections. A reassuring 94 out of the 107 could tell the fieldworkers that their political affiliations were not a secret; people in their neighbourhoods knew they belonged to the DA, though secret affiliation was significantly more common in the Free State.

Finally, respondents told fieldworkers why they joined the DA. The most important motive, it seems, was anger about corruption. Twenty-seven respondents referred to their antipathy to corruption as a main reason for joining the DA – 20 of these respondents were among the Free State group, and of these ten were concerned specifically about venality and nepotism in the Virginia municipality. Several referred to its record as ‘the only party’ that offered ‘strong opposition’. DA leadership claims that its abrasive parliamentary style is well received by its black membership and these responses appear to support this contention. Two felt that the DA favoured ‘meritocracy’. Several liked the party’s ‘non-racialism’ as well as its willingness to tolerate criticism of its leadership. Ten cited its efforts to advocate the needs ‘of the poorest of the poor’, several referring to the DA’s advocacy of a basic income grant.

Many of these responses indicated a general awareness of specific features of the DA’s programme, suggesting a rather well informed and discerning

partisanship. However, several respondents cited their dislike of particular ANC policies, which in fact the DA supports such as privatisation, taxi recapitalisation and land reform (four respondents). Three former PAC members suggested that their reason for leaving the PAC was its pre-occupation with land reform; a 'liberation politics' issue, they felt, of limited salience to poor urban people.⁴²

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CANDIDATES

By its own conventions, the party president of the ANC elected at its national conference receives the ANC parliamentary caucus's backing for the state presidency. Since it is not an electoral requirement the party itself does not formally identify a 'presidential candidate', though its electioneering is extremely presidential in tone. In 2004, Thabo Mbeki announced the identity of the other senior public offices (deputy presidency and provincial premierships) after the election along with his cabinet appointments.

The ANC compiles its National Assembly candidate lists at a national conference. Here delegates vote from nominations for 200 positions from nine provincial 'list conferences' and from branch submissions to a 200-strong national list. Branch delegates and league representatives attend both the national and provincial conferences. Cosatu sent delegates to these meetings in 1994 and 1999 but not in 2004. Candidates appear on these lists in order of their popularity – this often matches their status, with incumbent cabinet ministers usually in the senior positions. The National List Committee then reviews the lists and rearranges them so that at least every third position is occupied by a woman, in order that the lists should not include people legally disbarred from election or who have a history of indiscipline, and so that at least one-third of incumbents in parliament and legislatures are returned to office (in practice the proportion re-elected has been much higher). The list committee also attempts to ensure that the parliamentary caucus includes members of racial minorities: in practice, the ANC achieves this accommodation quite generously.

The DA begins its candidate selection with branch nominations. Each province elects an electoral college and each of these bodies compiles a list from the nominations three times as long as the number needed. The college interviews all the nominees and revises its lists leaving, for the National

Assembly list, every third position vacant.⁴³ These vacant positions are filled at the behest of national and provincial leaders, a procedure that Tony Leon and Western Cape leader Theuns Botha used 'to blacken up the list', according to one press report.⁴⁴ In September 2005 the DA's efforts to strengthen its black representation in parliament and in general to emphasise its social diversity were set back when four of its black MPs, including Deputy Federal Chairman Dan Maluleke, defected to the ANC.

Of the six organisations only the ID includes a section on public office candidature in its constitution: this accords to the NEC the task of determining selection procedures and calls on candidate selection committees to 'ensure strict conflict of interest policies'.⁴⁵

IFP candidate selection does not take place through an electoral process at conferences: leadership in the National Council constitutes the lists from branch nominations, and in 1999 virtually all incumbents were returned to office: 'seniority determined the order of the list'.⁴⁶

The UDM constitutes its lists through a procedure of voting at delegate conferences with the resulting lists subject in the final stage to revision by the National Management Committee. UDM list regulations include a demanding set of criteria for the selection of candidates and a systematic points system for evaluating nominees. Branch nominees were expected in 1999 to pay a fee of R500. In 2004, UDM candidates were expected to each contribute R2,000 to party funds and this year contestants in the municipal elections will be asked for R600.⁴⁷ The UDM recently adopted a 50% quota to achieve equitable women's representation in its caucus.

Prospective candidates of the ACDP are screened by the Guardian Committee. Candidates are also expected to pay contributions, which vary depending on the candidate's position on the party list.⁴⁸

The occupational backgrounds of parliamentarians vary significantly across the parties. The ANC includes a higher proportion of former factory workers and trade unionists in its caucus, and ex-teachers also constitute a substantial section of the party's parliamentary following (the South African Democratic Teachers' Union was a crucial agency in expanding the ANC's rural

organisation in the early 1990s). Within the DA group, middle-class professionals continue to predominate, though less so than previously. The IFP parliamentarians include a significant number of 'traditional leaders'.

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CAMPAIGNS

All South African parties publish manifestos at the inception of electioneering; these vary in sophistication. As noted above, the ANC routinely uses opinion polling, market research and professional consultants to help it decide on the key issues around which it should campaign, and from 1999 Democratic Party / Alliance campaigning became similarly professionalised. The IFP used British consultants in 2004 to help it design its national campaigning strategy.

All parties focus their campaign around their programme or manifesto and their leadership; with the exception of party leaders there is very little personalised electioneering by candidates on party lists, even among those whom parties propose as provincial premiers. Personal campaigning is restricted to ward contests in local government elections: here all parties produce publicity posters with the faces of candidates, and even the highly centralised ANC encourages candidates to develop personal manifestos.

All the main registered parties have participated in the various electoral campaigns between 1994 and 2004; however, the IFP threatened boycotts of the 1995 and 2000 local elections because of its concerns about the status of 'traditional leaders'. All parties have accepted the legitimacy of all the results, though smaller parties continue to complain about what they perceive to be inequities in the distribution of public funding.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Both the ANC and the DA belong to international groupings of socialist/ social democratic and liberal parties respectively. In this vein, the ANC is affiliated to Socialist International and has regular or frequent meetings with the Swedish Social Democrats, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, as well as sister former liberation movements in the region, including Swapo, Zanu-PF, Frelimo and the MPLA. The DA has received assistance from the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung and benefits in other ways from strong ties with the German Free Democratic Party.

The ANC belongs to and considers itself a senior partner of an alliance with the SACP and Cosatu. The SACP as a 'Tripartite Alliance' member does not campaign separately from the ANC in elections, and because all its members are ANC members, Communists are well represented in public institutions.

The NNP considered itself to be in an electoral alliance with the ANC in 2004, though the two parties did not campaign jointly. The DA and the IFP also concluded a formal agreement before the 2004 election; an outcome of their cooperation in municipal politics since 2000 in which they have formed coalition administrations in several towns. IFP officials believe that the alliance with the DA may have resulted in a disproportionate number of spoilt ballots as a consequence of people voting for both parties in the national and provincial ballots.⁴⁹

The IFP is affiliated to a range of conservative bodies internationally, including the German Christian Democratic Union, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the British Conservative Party and the Margaret Thatcher Foundation. In 2001, the politically conservative United States (US) Rifle Association presented Chief Buthelezi with a ceremonial musket, its Charlton Heston award for 'courage under fire'. Dr Meshoe, the ACPD's president, maintains links to other Christian parties in Uganda and Kenya, and to millenarian churches in the US.

Of all the political parties, only the ANC can boast strong connections with civil society organisations including, of course, trade unions but also the South African National Civic Association and a range of student and classroom associations. ANC members lead and participate vigorously in many activist pressure groups including the Treatment Action Campaign. The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa remains in uneasy affiliation to the ANC.

No party owns any broadcasting facilities. Inkatha owns a Zulu-language weekly newspaper *Ilanga Iphephe Lesizwe* (formerly *Ilanga Lase Natal*). *Ilanga* claims the largest black readership of any newspaper in KwaZulu-Natal, and for the IFP probably represents a significant source of revenue as well as an important communication channel. The ANC publishes on-line a widely cited weekly newsletter, *ANC Today*, as well as circulating a more occasional journal, *Umrabulo*, among its membership.

FUNDING

Political party funding and the financing of electoral activities are virtually unregulated in South Africa. There are neither legal limits to how much parties can spend on electioneering nor any requirements for disclosure concerning the sources or amounts of private donations. Parties themselves do not have any formal rules about such matters either, except for the UDM, which, as we have seen, expects its nominated candidates to each contribute R500 to registration and electioneering expenses, and the ACDP where prospective candidates contribute according to their positions on the party list. The ANC imposes a levy on incumbents once elected: this brings in about R3 million annually.⁵⁰ IFP parliamentarians pay about R1,000 a month to the party.⁵¹

Parties represented in parliament and provincial legislatures receive funding annually from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for running costs between elections under the terms of the 1997 Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act. The funding is distributed quarterly between parties through a uniform threshold payment accounting for 10% of the total distributed, with the rest distributed to parties in proportion to their share of seats in the National Assembly and in the provincial legislatures.

In 2003/04 more than R66 million was allocated, of which around R42 million went to the ANC. Parties with a single representative received R72,000. The IEC allocated R7 million to the DA, R5 million to the IFP, nearly R1.8 million to the UDM, R270,000 to the ID and R1.4 million to the ACDP.⁵² This money can be used for publicity and political education or for 'strengthening links between people and organs in the state': in practice, between elections most parties use the funding to maintain regional or local 'constituency' offices, and for the smaller parties it represents their main source of income. The ANC spends more than half of its public funding on constituency office allowances – R25 million in 2004. The IEC also allocates funding for supporting electoral activity, in proportion to the size of each party's existing representation at the inception of the campaign.

As noted, all parties charge their members fees: in the case of the ANC, their half million or so members 'in good standing' each paying R12 every year would represent an income stream of about R6 million – a fraction of the

organisation's annual expenses in maintaining a bureaucracy of several hundred paid officials. ANC local branches engage in fundraising activities – raffles, beauty competitions and so forth – to pay for the travel expenses of conference delegates. The authors' research based on hundreds of interviews with branch members indicated that this practice was more common in rural branches than in cities. DA branch members in townships in the Free State surveyed in 2004 and 2005 and in higher education institutions in Johannesburg had also participated in fundraising initiatives, selling T-shirts and tithing executive members to support meeting expenses. The ANC receives modest amounts of money from its trade union ally: in the 2004 election Cosatu contributed R1 million.

For the larger parties public funding, membership fees and funds raised by branches represent only a small proportion of their expenditure, especially during election season. At the beginning of 2004 for its 'smallest yet' electoral budget it referred to a sum of R70 million. During elections the ANC relies heavily on large-scale donations from foreign governments and to an increasing extent, local companies. In an affidavit to the High Court in Cape Town written in response to (unsuccessful) litigation undertaken by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) to prompt financial disclosure, ANC secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe noted the ANC's heavy reliance on donor funding, 'particularly foreign donor funding'.⁵³

Judging from the voluntary disclosures of donations reported in the press, the ANC receives the major share of South African corporate funding, 70% of such admitted support.⁵⁴ In his affidavit, Motlanthe mentioned South African mining companies as major donors, implying that the mining sector was a particularly important source of local finance. The DA and IFP have also received big business support, in the DA's case sometimes solicited through fundraising dinners. Traditionally during the apartheid era the DA received funds from the Oppenheimer family; a series of scandals in the Western Cape suggest that more recently it has obtained funding from more speculative kinds of business enterprises. During the 1990s the IFP continued to benefit from sponsorship from KwaZulu-Natal sugar groups and, less respectably, illegal casino operators. At its inception the UDM's fundraising efforts were directed chiefly at small business in regional towns – their approaches to big companies proved to be 'very disappointing'.⁵⁵ Also, the

ACDP claims that large funding campaigns were not successful; the party depends mainly on donations from individuals and businesses.⁵⁶

During the 1990s party-owned business interests were an insignificant source of income; in future they may become more important especially give the ANC Youth League's assertive accumulation of portfolio holdings through its investment arm, Lembede Investment Holdings. During 2004 Lembede assembled a R1.5 million black empowerment undertaking with Johannesburg Consolidated Investments.⁵⁷ At present, however, it does not seem that business activity directly undertaken by groups connected with political organisations supplies any significant support for their payrolls or operational expenses.

CONCLUSION

South Africa has a relatively long-established group of stable political parties, which as they become oriented increasingly to electoral activity and become more predisposed to accept the legitimacy of each other's activities are beginning to constitute a party system.

The six organisations presented in this study are organised on a branch membership basis, though only the ANC has the degree of support to enable the maintenance of a truly national organisation. In the cases of the ANC and the DA, branch members maintain busy programmes of activity between elections as well as supplying door-to-door canvassers in the weeks before polling. The main parties are able to secure sufficient resources – from abroad but increasingly domestically – to allow them to employ substantial numbers of full-time officials and to mount sophisticated kinds of election campaigning using modern techniques of market research and communication.

The organisations themselves have, at least in principle, substantially rule-regulated internal operations which include – especially with respect to the ANC – elaborate procedures to promote rank and file participation in leadership elections, and, more ritualistically, in policy making.

In several respects, however, parties are still structured on the mass mobilisation style of nationalist/liberation movements. As our examination of their constitutions suggests, only the DA acknowledges the parliamentary caucus as the centre of the party's authority and activity.

NOTES

- 1 See Schedule 3, Part B, *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996.
- 2 *Electoral Commission Act*, 1996, p 16.
- 3 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, 2:19.1.
- 4 *IEC Regulations for the Registration of Political Parties*, 2004.
- 5 *IEC Regulations for the Submission of Lists of Candidates*, 2004.
- 6 Mattes B, Davids YD & Afrika C, Views of democracy in South Africa and the region, *Afrobarometer Working Paper Series*, 7. Cape Town: IDASA, 2000, p 71.
- 7 Roman Liptak (IFP research officer) and Welcome Radebe (IFP research coordinator), joint interview with Ursula Scheidegger, 13 January 2006.
- 8 Brown K, Honeymoon is over for firebrand de Lille, *Saturday Star*, 29 January 2005.
- 9 Dr Meshack van Wyk (ACDP mayoral candidate) and Alan Chowles, (ACDP, PR councillor, Benoni), interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 10 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 11 Douglas Gibson (DA chief whip), interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 25 January 2006.
- 12 *Constitution of the Inkatha Freedom Party*, 10.5.9.
- 13 Harper P, Now that the wheel has turned, *Sunday Times*, 20 March 2005.
- 14 Inkatha Freedom Party, *National Council Resolutions*, National Council Meeting, 31 July 2005.
- 15 Van Noort E, Bring back the fear of God, *Mail & Guardian Online*, 18 August 2005.
- 16 *Constitution of the Independent Democrats Party*, p 13.
- 17 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 18 Brummer S, Struggle for the Soul of the ACDP, *Mail & Guardian*, 8 July 1994.
- 19 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 20 Uriel Abrahamse (ANC deputy general manager), interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 19 January 2006.
- 21 Malusi Gigaba (ANC Youth League president at time of interview), interviewed by Tom Lodge, 7 March 2003.
- 22 *Mail & Guardian*, 16 September 1994.
- 23 African National Congress, *Secretary General's Report*, Johannesburg, 2002, p 62.
- 24 Malusi Gigaba, interviewed by Tom Lodge, 7 March 2003.
- 25 For a detailed analysis see Butler A, South Africa's HIV / AIDS Policy, 1994-2004: How can it be explained?, *African Affairs*, 104, 2005, pp 591-614.
- 26 Douglas Gibson, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 25 January 2006.
- 27 Democratic Alliance, *Federal Constitution*, 6.1.1.
- 28 Roman Liptak and Welcome Radebe, joint interview with Ursula Scheidegger, 13 January 2006.
- 29 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Uriel Abrahamse, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 19 January 2006.
- 32 Roman Liptak and Welcome Radebe, joint interview with Ursula Scheidegger, 13 January 2006.

- 33 Robinson V, Mango's out of the Youth Groove, *Mail & Guardian*, 8 October 2004.
- 34 Independent Democrats, *Press Release*, 20 January 2005.
- 35 Hendricks N quoted in, ID leader is man of the people, *Cape Times*, 25 January 2005.
- 36 Sitholi T, ID Western Congress will go ahead as planned, *ID Press Release*, 20 January 2005.
- 37 Douglas Gibson, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 25 January 2006.
- 38 Kindra J, Black DA leaders admit race discord, *Mail & Guardian*, 9 November 2001.
- 39 Monare M, Leon advised to stop his attacks on Mbeki, *The Star*, 22 November 2004.
- 40 Monare M, Can new DA cross big black divide, *The Star*, 22 Monday 2004.
- 41 Harper P, Take it to the people, *Sunday Times*, 21 November 2004.
- 42 Interview forms will eventually be available to researchers in the Cullen Library Historical Papers Section, University of the Witwatersrand.
- 43 Slightly different but roughly consistent accounts of the procedure appear in Booyesen S, The Democratic Alliance: Progress and pitfalls, in Piombo J & Nijzink L (eds), *Electoral Politics in South Africa: Assessing the First Democratic Decade*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 pp 133-134; and Selfe J, 'DA Candidate Lists', DA Press Release, 27 January 2004.
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- 46 Roman Liptak and Welcome Radebe, joint interview with Ursula Scheidegger, 13 January 2006.
- 47 Khaya Daki (assistant, UDM Office, Tshwane), interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 12 January 2006.
- 48 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
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- 50 *Sunday Times*, 14 May 2000.
- 51 Roman Liptak and Welcome Radebe, joint interview with Ursula Scheidegger, 13 January 2006.
- 52 Independent Electoral Commission, *Represented Political Parties Fund*, Annual Report, 2003/2004, Tshwane, 2004, p 10.
- 53 Motlanthe M, affidavit in *IDASA versus ANC, DA, IFP, NNP*, Supreme Court, Cape Town (re. Disclosure of party funding sources), 2003, p 9.
- 54 *This Day*, 16 April 2004.
- 55 *The Citizen*, 1 April 1999.
- 56 Dr Meshack van Wyk and Alan Chowles, interviewed by Ursula Scheidegger, 1 February 2006.
- 57 *Mail & Guardian*, 28 January 2005.

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APPENDICES
RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE ON
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME

APPENDIX 1: COUNTRY CONTEXT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the country's record of holding free and fair general elections?
2. What is the record of freedom of association as regards forming political parties?
3. What is the country's score on the Freedom House index for free and democratic countries? And thinking about changes over the past five years and reasons for the changes, please comment on the Freedom House score?
4. How free are parties to present candidates in national elections?
5. How, if at all, are political parties restricted in carrying out political or electoral activities?
6. What, if any, specific rules or code of conduct exist for the ruling party or ruling coalition? Provide copies.
7. What parties and independent candidates are represented in the national parliament (both chambers if applicable) according to the following model? (use Election Results Archive as one source) – % of votes; No. of seats in lower chamber; No. of seats in upper chamber; No. of seats held by women in lower chamber; No. of seats held by women in upper chamber
8. What, if any, reference do the policy documents of the ruling party/coalition and the biggest opposition party/coalition in parliament make to specific International Conventions on Human Rights? Provide examples of formulations where applicable.
9. What other significant – in size or otherwise important – political parties or political groups exist that are not represented in the national parliament? Indicate why they are significant (size, regional, exiled, influential diasporas, historical, non-parliamentary influence, armed, repressed group, etc.) and measurable national/regional strength (percentage of votes, opinion survey results etc.).
10. What is the total number of registered parties (if applicable)?

BASIC MEDIA STRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

11. Briefly describe the media environment, including: whether political parties have equitable access to major media outlets; difference between paid and free media coverage for parties; access during an election campaign period and during normal times. Distinguish any differences between publicly and privately owned media.
12. What are the most important sources from which people say they access political information? Note source. If survey/poll data is available, if not – skip question.
Television; Radio; Newspaper; The Internet; Friends; Other (please specify)
13. What is the level of literacy of the general population? Note source.
14. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of the population which:
Read daily newspapers (combined readership); Read other news print media at least weekly (readership); Have mobile/cellular telephones; Use the Internet?
15. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of households which have access to:
Television; Radio; landline telephones?

16. **Apart from the constitution and direct party laws, are there any legal instruments or other circumstances that strongly impact the existence or functioning of political parties?**
17. **Which, if any, are the politically influential groups seeking to influence or maintain power through other means than electoral politics?** (Mechanism used/ Intended influence/ Intended outcome)
Business groups; Ethnic groups; Media; Military; Other non-governmental organisations (specify); Organised crime syndicates; Religious; Unions; Other (specify)
18. **Are there mechanisms for public participation in government decision-making other than elections?**
Parliamentary public hearings; Referenda; User committees; Other (please specify)
19. **Attempt a country nutshell description, a few paragraphs long, as an easy-read entry. Format:**
 - a. Population, capital, head(s) of state/ government, term limit for president (if presidential system), are all seats in the national legislature elected or are some appointed – if so by whom, attempts to extend/ remove term limits, constitutional arrangements, balance of power between branches of government (executive – legislature – judiciary), type of electoral system, and (if appropriate) if inherited from colonial power.
 - b. Democracy since 19xx (and other recent years of great importance, like independence, system change, armed conflict, etc.). Last/ next elections with (maximum) x years mandate. Restrictions on political parties (if any). Degree of respect for human rights (civil and political rights but also economic, social and cultural rights) and rule of law. Freedom House Index. TI Corruption Index, UNDP Human Development Index.
 - c. Governing party/ coalition and leading opposition, degree of dominance/ stability of political landscape. Important forces not standing in elections but shaping politics (business sectors, unions, religious, military, criminal, etc.). Any social or regional upheavals with political consequences. Relevant international/ regional relations and membership, level of trust in political parties and government institutions (use survey data and barometer data where available).
 - d. Economic and social level of development (\$ GNP/ capita, trade as % of GNP, Human Development Index, Income GINI Index, % of population in largest city (name if not capital)/ urban areas, rural:urban ratio.

APPENDIX 2: EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

1. **What legal provisions govern political parties and/or individual candidates for election?**
(Full Name/ Year/ Year of last amendment, if any/ Main monitoring body)
Specify full name, year and year of last amendment. Provide copies of all relevant legislation. (Legal provisions might include, but are not necessarily restricted to, the ones mentioned below.)
Constitution; Political party law/Act that governs political parties; Electoral law/Code; Legislation governing Non-Governmental Organizations/societies; Legislation governing the access to media; Government decrees; Regulations with the force of law; Regulations without the force of law; Other laws or regulations that are important to how political parties and/or candidates operate (including financing, tax exemptions etc); Not applicable
2. **How, if at all, are political parties defined in current legislation?**
3. **Which, if any, legal provisions govern the conditions for the founding of new political parties or coalitions?** Please provide copies.
4. **What are the requirements to register a political party at the national level?** (As an association, not in order to contest an election) check all which apply.
Establishment of (regional or local) party branches (specify); Monetary fee (specify in local currency); Registration with court (specify, including level of court); Signatures (specify); Other (specify); No specific registration requirements; Registration possible but not required
5. **Which body (authority) decides on the registration of a political party?**
6. **What, if anything, can cause the de-registration of a political party?** (Check all that apply and specify the body or person who has the authority to deregister a political party.)
Anti-democratic policy; Bankruptcy or insolvency; Breach of Code of Conduct; Breach of Electoral law; Failure to meet gender quotas; Hate Speech; Inciteful activities; Non-payment of registration fee; Other (please write in and code '9'); Not applicable
7. **What body/bodies are responsible for the administration, enforcement and sanctions of the legislation on political parties?** Please note all different bodies and, if possible, provide contact details. (Note: It is possible that different bodies will be responsible for different aspects of enforcing laws and regulations.)
Electoral Management Body; Regulatory body specially; Created for this purpose (specify); Government department(s) (specify); Normal courts/judicial system; Auditor; Other (please specify); Not applicable
8. **Which sanctions, if any, have been applied to political parties in the last 10 years?** Provide two or three detailed examples.
9. **What legal rights and restrictions, if any, apply to political parties in relation to accessing media (include electronic and print)?** Provide details for both public and private media.
10. **In the absence of legal regulation, what if any, agreements between parties – or rules applied by the media – are upheld?** Provide details for both public and private media.

INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

11. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern the internal functioning of political parties?**
Provide copies.

12. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern how a political party s/elects candidates for local, regional, national elections or presidential elections?** Describe the provisions and specify the required role of party members, local branches, etc.
13. **Which public body, if any, has the authority to be involved in the process of internal party s/election of candidates?** Specify the role of the public body.
14. **Which non-governmental organizations, if any, have a role in political primaries or congresses during candidate s/election?** Provide name/s and describe the role of the NGO(s).
15. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates on party lists?** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
16. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
17. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities?)** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
18. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities)?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
19. **What other legal provisions, if any, govern any other aspect of internal party functioning?** Describe and provide the reference and copies.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

20. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for political parties which wish to contest elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
21. **What are the requirements, if different from above, for political parties which wish to nominate candidates or lists of candidates for elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
22. **What, if any, special requirements exist for the registration of new political parties to contest an election?**
23. **What are the legal qualifications to become a candidate in elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Please specify all that apply and note differences for chamber(s) of the legislature, president, regional and local elections.
Age; Bankruptcy or Insolvency; Citizenship; Citizenship of parents; Civil status; Country of birth;

Criminal record; Current criminal incarceration; Detention; Holding of government office; Holding of military office; Holding of other public offices or employment in public services (police etc); Language requirement; Membership of a political party; Mental health problems; Minimum level of education; Multiple citizenship; Nationality/ethnic group; Naturalization; Offences against electoral law; Physical health problems; Registration on voters' roll; Religion; Residence in constituency/ electoral district; Residence in country; Unpaid debt; Other; Not applicable

24. **In which elections, if any, can candidates not affiliated with a political party (independent) stand for election?** Check all that apply.
Presidential; To chamber 1 of the national legislature; To chamber 2 of the national legislature; To regional councils; To local councils
25. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for independent candidates who wish to stand for election?** (Presidential Elections / Chamber 1 / Chamber 2 / Regional / Local)
Check all that apply and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
26. **If a candidate withdraws her/his candidacy or dies before election day, but after registration, can the party substitute with a new candidate?**
Yes, explain (include whether replacement candidate must be of the same sex and how late in the process a candidate can be replaced)/No/Not applicable/Other
27. **Can a party remove a nominated and registered candidate without her/his consent?**
Yes/No
28. **Can a political party remove or replace an elected representative?**
Yes (explain circumstances)/ No
29. **Is it possible for a member of parliament to leave the party with which s/he was elected and join another party or become an independent MP (floor-crossing)? If so, what becomes of the mandate/seat?** (Yes/ No / Not applicable)
Possible to remain an MP – the mandate/seat remains with the individual until the next election/Not possible to remain an MP: the individual is replaced by a member of his/her former party (please specify how, including the replacement MP must be of the same sex); a bi-election is held for the seat; the member of parliament leaves the legislature and the mandate/seat remains vacant; Other (explain)
30. **How, if at all, are vacant mandate(s)/seats filled in between general elections?**
Replacement by candidates on the party list (describe and provide reference); Other (describe and provide reference); None

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

31. **What, if any, additional rules of good conduct does the ruling party or coalition have to sign or adhere to? Is the ruling party required to observe rules of good conduct regarding incumbency?** Explain contents and possible sanctions. Provide copy.
32. **What, if any, rights do political parties have in relation to the Electoral Management Body?**
Representation in the Electoral Management Body; Right to participate in meetings; Advisory capacity; Right to observe the proceedings of the EMB; Other (please specify)
33. **What, if any, rights do political parties have with regard to the activities in the polling station?**
Describe, including if they form part of the polling station staff and / or if they are allowed to observe / witness the voting.

34. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of vote counting?** Describe, including if they form part of vote counting staff and/or are allowed to observe/witness the counting.
35. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of tabulation of votes and the collation of results?** Describe, including if they form part of the tabulation staff/committee, and/or if they are allowed to observe/witness the tabulation.
36. **What, if any, is the official campaign period?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
37. **What, if any, is the official period of campaign silence before election day?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
38. **What political party activities, if any, are prohibited during election day?**

APPENDIX 3: INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONNAIRE

FOUNDING OF PARTY

1. When and where (date and place(s)) was the party first founded?
2. When, if applicable, was the party first officially registered as a party?
3. What, if any, subsequent changes or party splits have taken place?
4. What was the original name of the party? If this name differs from the party's current name, what were the circumstances of any changes in name?
5. How, in a few key words, does your party describes itself (right, left, pragmatic, conservative, liberal, socialist, green, religious, nationalist, social group, ethnic group etc.)?
6. Why was the party founded?
7. How was the party founded? Describe.
8. Which constituency or socio-economic group does/did the party's founders claim(ed) to represent?
9. What was the initial participation or support of additional organisations to the party (i.e. ethnic, religious, military, business, civic groups, trade unions)?
10. Which, if any, of the above has changed since the party was founded?

INTERNAL STRUCTURE/ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

11. What, if any, written organisational rules exist to guide the functioning and organization of the party? Provide copies.
Constitution; Operational guidelines; Party Rulebook; Statutes; Other (please write in); No formal rules exist
12. What is the name of the *national executive* body in the party?
 - a. Are there written rules and procedures for the regular s/election of members of this body? If yes provide copies. If no describe.
 - b. By whom are they elected or appointed? (Elected/ Appointed)
The party leaders; The parliamentary party (ie the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - c. If elected, how? Describe procedure.
 - d. Are there formal internal party quotas for women on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - e. Are there formal internal party quotas for youth, ethnic minorities or any other group on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - f. Are the members in this body paid by the party?
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)

13. **Is there a written mandate (duties) for the national executive body above and/or distribution of power/tasks within the party leadership?**
Yes (provide copies); No, but informal practices (describe); No mandate
14. **What is the name of the next highest permanent body in this party?**
- By whom are they elected or appointed?**
The national executive body described above; The party leader(s); The members of parliament/parliamentary caucus; Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - If elected, how? Describe procedure.**
 - Are the members in this body paid by the party?**
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)
15. **What is the name of the most local branches in this party?**
- What is the normal geographic or other area of operation of the most local branch?**
 - How is it formed and by whom is its leadership elected? Describe.**
16. **How often, if at all, does the party have a national conference/convention/congress?**
Less often than once a year; Once a year; Twice a year; More than twice a year; Never (go to Q20)
17. **Who attends the national party conference/convention, check all that apply?**
The party leader(s); The parliamentary party (i.e. the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional party delegates; Local party delegates; All or some party members; Auxiliary groups (youth wing, women's wing etc); Affiliated party organizations (trade unions, employers' federations etc); Other (please write in)
18. **Are decisions by the national party conference/convention/congress ...**
Binding on the party executive; Advisory to the party executive; Other (please write in)?
19. **Is this body the highest decision-making body of the political party?**
Yes/No (specify which body is).
20. **What, if any, written rules govern the s/election of the party president? Describe type of system used and provide copies of rules.**
21. **What, if any, formal process exists to monitor and regulate the ethical behaviour of political party officials? If board of ethics, explain structure, mandate and examples of activities and/or decisions.**
Board of Ethics; Other formal process (specify); No formal processes, but informal norms and practices (specify); No process
22. **Provide a description of the structure of sub-national/regional/ local party units, women's wings/ associations, youth branches and other party groups.**
How many branches; In all of the country; Autonomous; To whom do they report; How are leaders chosen; Main functions

Internal structure/election of leadership – additional comments

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

23. **How does the party decide on its policy programme document, if it has one? Describe the process and provide copy of document.**

24. **Which of the following opinion-related resources, if any, does the party have access to?** (Party has access / Check if party pays for resource) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources.
25. **To what extent does the party use any of the following opinion-related resources when developing policy?** (Uses a large extent/ Uses a fair amount/ Does not use very much/ Does not use at all/ Don't know) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources
26. **How, if at all, can the party leadership be held accountable for not following party policy decisions?** Describe the process, including to whom it is accountable and possible sanctions.

Policy development – additional comments

MEMBERSHIP

27. **Is there a national membership register?** If yes provide details of how it is maintained and what the role of local/ regional branches is for maintaining their own registers.
28. **How much, if anything, does the party charge as membership fee?** If fixed amount please specify – per year – in local currency?
A fixed amount; Amount dependent on member's position in the party (EXPLAIN); Amount dependent on party branch (explain); Other (specify); Voluntary contribution; No membership fee
29. **How many members does the party have?** (No. of individual party members/ No. or % of women party members) Provide year and source of figures and indicate if real figures or estimates.
Earliest available estimate; Latest available estimate; Year of maximum members
30. **How much has the party membership increased or declined over the past ten years, in percentage and total numbers?** If ten-year figures do not exist, describe the general trends in membership, if possible with other figures.
31. **What, if any, criteria/requirements exist to be eligible for membership?** Describe, including the body/person who decides on admission as a member.
32. **What, if any, formal rights come with membership?**
Discounts with merchants; Voting rights at party meetings; Other (please specify).
33. **What, if any, responsibilities come with membership?**
Adherence to party statutes; Unpaid work; Other (please specify).
34. **What process, if any, exists to discipline members who breach party rules?** Describe the process and identify who takes the final decision.
35. **How often, if at all, does the party communicate with its members?** (From National Party/ From Regional branches/ From local branches)
Electronic Newsletter; Paper Newsletter; Party Paper; Meetings; Public website; Membership restricted website; Other (write in)
36. **How often, if at all, do members communicate with the party?** (To National Party/ To Regional branches/ To local branches)
Individual postal correspondence; Individual email correspondence; Petitions; Meetings; Other (please specify)

37. **Which, if any, formal and written guidelines provide party members with an opportunity to express their opinions on party matters?**
Guidelines (provide copies); No formal guidelines, although informal practices exist (describe including recent examples); No guidelines or practices
38. **To whom does the party provide training?** Check all that apply and describe type of training and at what level.
Campaign volunteers; Candidates; Elected members; General members; Party officials; Other (please write in); No training provided
39. **How, if at all, does the party seek to recruit members between elections?**
40. **What efforts, if any, are made to engage activists/members in party activities between elections?** Describe and provide examples.

Membership – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CANDIDATES

41. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to become s/elected as a presidential candidate?** Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
42. **What is the process for s/election of party candidates for presidential elections?** Describe the process, including who can propose and vote.

S/election of other candidates for election

43. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to be selected as a party candidate for elections other than presidential?** (Chamber 1 of national legislature/ Chamber 2 of national legislature/ Regional council/ assembly/ Local council/ assembly)
 Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
44. **What are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 1 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
45. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 2 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
46. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to regional councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.
47. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to local councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.

48. **What electoral system, if any, is used within the party to select its candidates?** Describe and identify which type of system is used, including possible differences between levels.
Plurality/majority; Proportional; Other (please write in); Not applicable – no election of candidates
49. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination will be women?**
Quota – explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; No quota; Previously – please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; Other, including informal practices (please describe)
50. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that women are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
51. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain percentage of candidates for nomination will be young people?**
Quota (please explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
52. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that young people are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
53. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination be from any other group (not mentioned above)?**
Quota (please explain which groups, year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
54. **What, if any, are the limits on the number of times a candidate can hold an elected office on behalf of the political party?** Please specify in number of terms and years.
55. **If there are reserved seats for women, national minorities or other groups in the legislature, how are candidates selected by the party to fill them?**
A list of candidates is compiled (explain); Appointed (if so, by whom); Other (please specify); Not applicable

Electoral activities – candidates – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CAMPAIGNS

56. **Does the party produce election manifestos for election campaigns?**
Yes (provide copy)/ No
57. **What is the process of development of party election manifestos?**
58. **What is the process of development of campaign strategy/operational plan?**
Yes (provide examples from recent campaigns)/ No
59. **Are candidates (at all levels) expected to campaign on behalf of the party?** Specify what is expected of the candidates.
Yes, only on behalf of the party/ Yes, in addition to personal campaign/ No, only personal campaign
60. **What presidential elections or elections to the national legislature, if any, has your party boycotted over the last 10-year period?**
Specify what national election, year and the reasons for boycott/ No

61. **Has your party recognised, as legitimate, the officially declared winners of presidential elections or elections to the national legislature during the last 10 year period?**
Yes/No specify which winners (presidential or party) and the reason for not recognising them as legitimate
62. **What if any, non-partisan voter education or other civic training activities has the party undertaken during the last five years?**

Electoral activities – campaigns – additional comments

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE PARTY

International contacts

63. **Which, if any, Party Internationals or other international network of parties is the party affiliated with? (specify)**
Party international. (The Christian Democrat-People's Parties International, The International Democrat Union, The Liberal International, The Socialist International or other); Regional party organisation; Other (including non-partisan international organisations); No international affiliation
64. **Which, if any, sister parties from other countries does the party have contact with?**
65. **What is the nature of the relationship, if any, with sister parties from other countries (eg policy support, campaign support, training, public relations, funding)?**
66. **What regular contacts, if any, does the party have with international organisations or party foundations?**

National contacts

67. **What, if any, formal alliances/cooperation does the party have with other political parties in the country? (Eg common election platform)**
Yes – specify/ No, but informal – specify/No
68. **What, if any, formal relationships does the party have with the Election Management Body?**
Represented as voting members of the EMB; Official observers on the EMB; Other formal relationship; Informal relationship; No relationship
69. **What, if any, formal relations does the party have with national civil society organizations? (Name of organization/ Type of relationship/ Key issues)**
Describe the relationships including name of organization, type of cooperation, funding relationships etc.
Business interests; Corporations – specify; Trade Unions – specify; NGOs, movements, civil society organisations – specify; Religious groups – specify; Other – specify
70. **What, if any, media outlets are owned by the party or party leadership, nationally or locally?**

External relations of the party – additional comments

FUNDING

71. **What, if any, are the spending limits for s/election contests or primaries established by the political party or in legal provisions? Please specify whether party rules or law and give amount in local currency.**
72. **What amount of funding, if any, are party candidates required to bring to the party in order to secure their candidacy? Specify amount in local currency.**

73. **How is funding for campaign purposes distributed within the party?** Describe the distribution and who takes the decisions.
74. **What amount of funding, if any, do candidates receive from the party for their personal election campaigns once they are nominated?** Specify amount in local currency.
75. **What amount of campaign funds, if any, are individual candidates expected to raise for the campaign?** Please provide details.
- a. Are the candidates expected to raise a specified amount?
 - b. How are those funds dispersed?
76. **Do local and regional branches raise funds for their own campaign activities?**
77. **What was the total income of the political party in the last election and non-election year respectively?** Specify in local currency.
78. **How much funding, if any, does the party provide to the women's wing, youth wing, etc and do they have their own sources of income and budgets?** Specify in local currency.
79. **Which are the party's main sources of income (amount and percentage)** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income) Specify in local currency.
Public funding from the state; Membership fees; Income from fundraising activities and events; Individual donations; Trade union donations; Donations from associations (list principal donors); Other (please specify)
80. **What, if any, strategies and methods for fundraising are used by the party?**
81. **What, if any, assets are held by the party (ie. businesses, buildings, etc)?** Specify which ones and if they generate income.
82. **Which are the main expenditures of the party?** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income)
Specify in local currency.
Publicity/propaganda; Salaries; Transportation; Public opinion research (polling/ policy development); National and regional meetings/ congresses; Voter education; Election campaign; Other (please specify)
83. **How, if at all, are regular financial reports of the party (and/or individual candidates) made public?**
84. **How, if at all, are campaign finance reports of the party (and individual candidates) made public?**

Funding – additional comments

QUESTIONS FOR ALL INTERVIEWEES

85. **What are the most important reasons for change (or lack of changes) in membership, in your opinion?** Please refer to Q30 on membership.
86. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in initiating policy changes or development?** (Great deal of influence/ Fair amount of influence/ Not very much influence/ No influence at all/ Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)

87. **How much, in your opinion, do the following bodies participate in debating major policy changes?** (Great deal of participation / Fair amount of participation / Not very much participation / No participation at all / Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
88. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Cabinet ministers (if ruling party); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other ((please specify)

S/election of candidate

89. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); All party members; Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party Leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
90. **To what extent do the following factors, in your opinion, affect positively the chances of candidates to get s/elected by the party?** (Very important / Fairly important / Not very important / Not at all important / Don't know)
Ability at public speaking; Closeness to party leader or senior party officials; Commitment to the campaign; Educational qualifications; Experience of holding party office; Local/regional connections with the community; Name recognition; Personal wealth; Business experience; Trade union experience; Many years of membership; Other (please specify)

Additional comments

ABOUT EISA



EISA is a not-for-profit and non-partisan non-governmental organisation which was established in 1996. Its core business is to provide technical assistance for capacity building of relevant government departments, electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society organisations operating in the democracy and governance field throughout the SADC region and beyond. Inspired by the various positive developments towards democratic governance in Africa as a whole and the SADC region in particular since the early 1990s, EISA aims to advance democratic values, practices and enhance the credibility of electoral processes. The ultimate goal is to assist countries in Africa and the SADC region to nurture and consolidate democratic governance. SADC countries have received enormous technical assistance and advice from EISA in building solid institutional foundations for democracy. This includes electoral system reforms; election monitoring and observation; constructive conflict management; strengthening of parliament and other democratic institutions; strengthening of political parties; capacity building for civil society organisations; deepening democratic local governance; and enhancing the institutional capacity of the election management bodies. EISA was formerly the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is currently the secretariat of the SADC Election Support Network (ESN) comprising election-related civil society organisations established in 1997.

VISION

Realisation of effective and sustainable democratic governance in Southern Africa and beyond.

MISSION

To strengthen electoral processes, democratic governance, human rights and democratic values through research, capacity building, advocacy and other strategically targeted interventions.

VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Key values and principles of governance that EISA believes in include:

- Regular free and fair elections
- Promoting democratic values
- Respect for fundamental human rights
- Due process of law / rule of law
- Constructive management of conflict
- Political tolerance
- Inclusive multiparty democracy
- Popular participation
- Transparency
- Gender equality
- Accountability
- Promoting electoral norms and standards

OBJECTIVES

- To nurture and consolidate democratic governance
- To build institutional capacity of regional and local actors through research, education, training, information and technical advice
- To ensure representation and participation of minorities in the governance process
- To strive for gender equality in the governance process
- To strengthen civil society organisations in the interest of sustainable democratic practice, and
- To build collaborative partnerships with relevant stakeholders in the governance process.

CORE ACTIVITIES

- Research
- Conferences, seminars and workshops
- Publishing
- Conducting elections and ballots

- Technical advice
- Capacity building
- Election observation
- Election evaluation
- Networking
- Voter / civic education
- Conflict management
- Educator and learner resource packs

PROGRAMMES

EISA's core business revolves around three main programmes namely: Conflict Management, Democracy and Electoral Education; Electoral and Political Processes; and Balloting and Electoral Services.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL EDUCATION

This programme comprises various projects including voter education, democracy and human rights education; electoral observation; electoral staff training; electoral conflict management; capacity building; course design and citizen participation.

ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

This programme addresses areas such as technical assistance for electoral commissions, civil society organisations and political parties; coordination of election observation and monitoring missions; working towards the establishment of electoral norms and standards for the SADC region and providing technical support to both the SADC-ECF and the SADC-ESN.

BALLOTING AND ELECTORAL SERVICES

The programme enhances the credibility and legitimacy of organisational elections by providing independent and impartial electoral administration, management and consultancy services. The key activities include managing elections for political parties, trade unions, pension funds, medical aid societies, etc.

EISA'S SPECIAL PROJECTS INCLUDE:

- Rule of Law, which examines issues related to justice and human rights;
- Local Government, which aims to promote community participation in governance; and
- Political Parties, which aims to promote party development at strategic, organisational and structural levels through youth empowerment, leadership development and development of party coalitions.

EISA'S SUPPORT SERVICES INCLUDE:

- Research
- Publications
- Library
- Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

EISA PRODUCTS

- Books
- CD-ROMS
- Conference proceedings
- Election handbooks
- Occasional papers
- Election observer reports
- Research reports
- Country profiles
- Election updates
- Newsletters
- Voter education manuals
- Journal of African Elections
- Election database

ABOUT IDEA



The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) was set up in 1995 as an intergovernmental body located at the interface between researchers, practitioners and the donor community to promote dialogue, analyses and networking for the purpose of strengthening democratic processes and institutions. IDEA's current programmes cover three thematic areas: Electoral Processes, Democracy and Conflict Management, and Political Participation. IDEA's work in the area of electoral processes is the most developed and entails, among other things, the production of global knowledge and tools which cover issues such as electoral systems, representation and participation, and election administration. In 1997 IDEA produced a handbook on electoral systems which has been widely circulated and discussed and which informed electoral system reform processes in several countries. Recently, IDEA published the *New IDEA Handbook on Electoral Design*, adding material on the political context of electoral systems and the process of electoral system change to the explanation of different electoral systems and their effects contained in the original book.

This year (2005), IDEA is celebrating its 10th anniversary both at its headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

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