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# POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE



Lloyd M. Sachikonye

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THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS  
IN ZIMBABWE



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BY  
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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.



*Cover photograph: Yoruba Beaded Sashes*

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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It remains to state that none of the above is responsible for any limitations of the report.

## 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.

We extend our profound gratitude to the Swedish International Development Agency in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Royal Danish Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa and the Embassy of Finland in Pretoria, South Africa for their generous financial support, without which this programme would not have been possible.

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*Khabele Matlosa*  
*Project coordinator and series editor*  
EISA

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| AIPPA       | Access to Information Protection and Privacy Act               |
| ANC         | African National Congress                                      |
| BDP         | Botswana Democratic Party                                      |
| CC          | Constitutional Commission                                      |
| CCM         | Chama Cha Mapinduzi  |
| CSO         | Civil society organisation                                     |
| DP          | Democratic Party   |
| ESC         | Electoral Supervisory Commission                               |
| EU          | European Union   |
| FPTP        | First-past-the-post  |
| Frelimo     | <i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i>                      |
| GDP         | Gross domestic product   |
| HDI         | Human development index  |
| HDR         | Human Development Report                                       |
| IDEA        | International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance |
| IMF         | International Monetary Fund                                    |
| MDC         | Movement for Democratic Change                                 |
| MPOI        | Mass Public Opinion Institute                                  |
| NAGG        | National Alliance for Good Governance                          |
| NCA         | National Constitutional Assembly                               |
| NGO         | Non-governmental organisation                                  |
| POSA        | Public Order and Security Act                                  |
| PR          | Proportional representation                                    |
| Renamo      | <i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i>                        |
| RF          | Rhodesian Front  |
| SADC        | Southern African Development Community                         |
| SIRDC       | Scientific and Industrial Research Development Centre          |
| Swapo       | South West Africa People's Organisation                        |
| UANC        | United African National Congress                               |
| US          | United States  |
| Zanu-Ndonga | Zimbabwe African National Union – Ndonga                       |
| Zanu-PF     | Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front              |
| Zapu        | Zimbabwe African People's Union                                |
| ZCTU        | Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions                              |
| ZEC         | Zimbabwe Electoral Commission                                  |
| ZESN        | Zimbabwe Election Support Network                              |
| ZFTU        | Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions                            |
| ZHDR        | Zimbabwe Human Development Report                              |
| ZUM         | Zimbabwe Unity Movement  |

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is based on findings of a study on political parties and political development in Zimbabwe. It is part of a comparative regional project on political parties and political development in Southern Africa, sponsored by EISA and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). Undertaken between September 2004 and March 2005, the study assessed the role, functions and structures of political parties in relation to the broad processes of political development and democratisation. The study drew on archival and primary material as well as on field interviews with representatives of selected parties.

The report begins by observing that parties have historically played a pivotal role in governance by aggregating diverse demands into political programmes that they translate into collective action through elections and legitimate control of political office. As key players during elections, parties advertise competing platforms and seek to convince potential voters that they are the most eligible to govern a country.

Not surprisingly, most citizens and voters tend to associate parties with 'elections'. Indeed, it is around election time that more new parties are formed (and old ones revived) explicitly to contest elections. The formation of such 'election-time' parties is a general trend in Africa, including Zimbabwe. The report observes that in the Zimbabwean context parties have been central players in nationalist/liberation struggles, as well as in post-independence politics and governance.

After outlining the methodology used in the study, the report begins by analysing the historical background and contemporary programmes of five of the parties that exist in Zimbabwe. These parties are the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF), the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu)-Ndonga, the main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the Democratic Party (DP) and the National Alliance for Good Governance (NAGG). Of these parties, the most active are those represented in parliament, namely the MDC, Zanu-Ndonga and Zanu-PF. The report then outlines distinct phases in the development of the party system in Zimbabwe, namely: an early variety of the competitive party

system at independence, followed by a dominant party system in the 1990s that preceded a more competitive two-party system in 2000. It remains to be seen whether the latter will stabilise or revert to the dominant party syndrome.

The external regulations and environment of the parties is examined next. The framework of their regulation and environment has been shaped by such legislation as the Political Parties Finance Act, the Electoral Act, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). In addition, media laws such as the Access to Information Protection and Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Broadcasting Act also impinge on the capacity and access of parties to beam their messages to the electorate. The report goes on to describe the requirements for the formal nomination of party candidates for election, as well as the relationship between parties and election management bodies.

Drawing largely on field interviews, the report assesses the structures and internal functioning of political parties. It observes that there are some similarities in the type of structures: most parties have a congress as their supreme organ, central committees, national executive committees as well as women's and youth wings. However, there are differences in the mode of election of party leaders, the duration of their terms of office and the frequency with which the structures hold meetings. In qualitative terms, the content of internal party democracy varies widely between parties.

The report also observes that there are enormous variations regarding membership levels in the parties. While some parties claim that they have a large core membership, others concede that they have modest numbers, and even those ones tend to be mobilised mainly around election time.

Regarding the issue of quotas for women, youth and assorted social groups, the general position appears to be that parties have no legal obligation to adhere to any quotas. However, while two of the parties have voluntarily pledged themselves to a quota (in one case a 30% quota), the majority of the parties have not. There are no quotas set aside for youth and other groups.

The concluding section of the report recaps salient research findings and

attempts to develop several recommendations. Clearly, the healthy development of parties requires a conducive and 'enabling' institutional framework. To the extent that the present framework is restrictive, it should be made more relaxed and transparent, and not inhibitive to parties. In this respect, restrictive laws on rights of association, assembly and expression as represented by the POSA and AIPPA should be urgently reviewed.

In a related vein, rhetorical commitment to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections needs to be translated into substantive commitment to their letter and spirit. In addition, the electoral system needs to be more coherently integrated since ambiguities still remain in the respective roles of the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) and the newly appointed Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). If the current institutional framework is not reformed, then party development and the wider democratisation process will continue to be adversely affected.

The second recommendation relates to the internal workings or operations of parties. The report identifies several factors that facilitate the development of parties on the one hand, and those that inhibit such development on the other. Particular attention should therefore be given to the promotion of measures that contribute to sustained party development. These range from material support to civic education programmes for party officials and members, to the inculcation of values of tolerance, active participation and accountability. Thus, a neglected area in most party programmes is civic and voter education. The impending legislation on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) will constrain, if not halt, the few civic education programmes that exist at the moment for communities, including party members.

A review of the new NGO law is needed insofar as it prohibits activities relating to civic education and governance issues. The process of building parties and democracy is a protracted one requiring investment in civic education.

Another crucial area that warrants encouragement and support is that of primary elections in parties. Although some parties are better equipped and experienced at organising primary elections, parties concede that these

elections are an expensive exercise fraught with problems. A mechanism or a fund and expertise from outside the party to assist in organising primary elections may encourage more transparency and credibility in the conduct and outcome of these elections.

The final recommendation relates to the imperative of linking party development to incremental democratic reform in Zimbabwe. The current political and electoral structures and environment restrict democratisation. Not only do the structures require reforming, they should be underpinned by new values that encourage consensus building between parties, communities and groups. Such modest steps as the setting up of national multiparty liaison committees during election campaign periods and electoral codes of conduct should be welcomed and consolidated. They could be used as a stepping stone to a permanent multiparty forum for dialogue between parties.

The objective of such a forum would be consensus building on national governance issues, partly in order to overcome the deep polarisation that has sapped the Zimbabwean body politic. While some countries hold annual all-party conferences or consultations, others organise one type of inter-party forum or another. It would be useful to encourage parties to consider organising a consultative forum in which they exchange views and experiences, and resolve issues of mutual and national interest.

## INTRODUCTION

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study was undertaken during the period from September to December 2004 in Zimbabwe. It employed library and archival research, as well as fieldwork. The sources consulted during desk research were legal texts, principally the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Electoral Act. In addition, the Political Party Finance Act, the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the General Laws Amendment Act were invaluable.

Taken together, this corpus of laws represents the constitutional and legal framework in which political parties operate and in which election processes are conducted. The texts of these laws are not difficult to obtain; the Government Printers run sales outlets and the Legal Resources Foundation, an NGO, has a library on legal materials. Other relevant material for this study was the reports of the ESC on the 2000 parliamentary election and 2002 presidential election. Similarly, observer reports by both domestic and international teams were useful in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the country's electoral system. These ranged from reports by such groups as the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and regional organisations such as the SADC Parliamentary Forum and EISA, to international organisations such as the Commonwealth Observer Mission.

Other primary material sought and obtained for the purposes of this study was from political parties themselves. This material consisted of party constitutions, manifestos, policy material and party publications. This material was useful and illuminating in building a profile of these parties and in assessing their role and record.

However, the bulk of the material for this study was obtained through face-to-face interviews with key leaders of political parties. We chose to study five parties in Zimbabwe, namely Zanu-PF (the governing party), the MDC (the main opposition party) and Zanu-Ndonga (the second opposition party represented in parliament), as well as the DP and NAGG, both of which are not represented in parliament. By mid-November 2004 we had covered four parties in our field work. The exception was Zanu-PF, which stated that it

was currently busy with preparations for its party congress to be held from 1-5 December 2004 in Harare. It was indicated to us that its leaders would avail themselves for interviews after the congress, and interviews with Zanu-PF leaders took place in early 2005, thereby completing the profile and assessment of the key parties in contemporary Zimbabwe.

Owing to the sensitive nature of the issues covered in the questionnaire and the need to inspire confidence in the exercise on the side of the parties, the author carried out all the field interviews. Politicians are often busy people and fixing appointments with them is usually a laborious task. Some of the interviews took place between parliamentary sessions while others were slotted into spaces between punishing schedules. In a few instances, party members travelled from regional centres to Harare especially for the interviews. A great deal of patience and disarming charm were useful assets at the fieldwork stage.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Literature on the character and role of parties in the political process is now quite extensive. We can only attempt a brief and selective review here, and this is mainly for the purpose of situating the study in an analytical context.

Historically, parties have played a pivotal role in founding and consolidating systems of governance. Parties aggregate diverse demands into coherent political programmes. They then translate these programmes into effective collective action through elections and legitimated control of political office.<sup>1</sup> In multiparty systems, parties facilitate a peaceful transfer of government power through elections from one party to another, or from one coalition to another. In early and contemporary democracies, parties have often been created to articulate and protect specific social interests. The nurturing of political trust within the political class – that is, between parties – was essential to the building of democracy, and remains a major challenge to younger nation-states.<sup>2</sup> This trust needs to be consolidated in the process of what has sometimes been termed ‘an institutionalisation of loyal opposition’. Such an opposition shares the broad national interests of the existing state and governing party, and subscribes to the political system, including electoral ‘rules of the game’.

In short, parties can be defined as distinctive organisations whose principal aim is to acquire and exercise political power – that is, gain control of government apparatus. In modern political systems, parties perform these essential functions by:

- acting as agencies for articulating and aggregating different views and interests;
- serving as vehicles for the selection of leaders for government positions;
- organising personnel around the formulation and implementation of government policy; and
- serving in a mediating role between individuals and their government.<sup>3</sup>

The historical development of parties is linked to the institutionalisation of party systems. Institutionalisation relates to the process by which an organisation or practice becomes established or widely known.<sup>4</sup> The institutionalisation of a party system ensures that actors entertain clear and stable expectations about the behaviour of other actors, and hence about the contours and rules of party competition and behaviour. In an institutionalised party system, there is stability in who the main parties are, and in how they behave.<sup>5</sup> Party systems in developing countries tend to be less institutionalised than those in long-established democracies, notwithstanding that parties in the latter are facing new challenges and experiencing some erosion.

Four dimensions of party system institutionalisation have been identified. First, the more institutionalised party systems enjoy considerable stability; patterns of party competition manifest regularity. A system in which major parties regularly appear and then disappear or become minor parties can be described as a weakly institutionalised one. Second, more institutionalised systems are those in which parties have strong roots in society. The ties that bind parties and citizens are firmer, while links between organised interests and parties are generally more developed. Third, in more institutionalised systems the major political actors accord legitimacy to parties. Elites and citizens in general believe in parties as fundamental, necessary and desirable institutions of democratic politics. Finally, in more institutionalised systems, party organisations matter; parties are not subordinated to the interests of a

few ambitious leaders but possess an independent status and value of their own.<sup>6</sup> In sum, while institutionalised party systems are conducive to stability of the political system, where such systems are weakly institutionalised the political system may be prone to instability.

In Southern Africa, parties are important instruments in encouraging, indeed mobilising, participation in the political process. The level of membership in parties varies greatly within and between countries but it remains an important barometer of political participation. The participation may relate to involvement in local government or community concerns, or in central government programmes. In general, party membership reached a climax at independence or liberation but has gradually declined since then. As central players during elections, parties advertise competing platforms and seek to convince potential voters that they are the most eligible to govern a country.

Most citizens in the region associate parties with 'elections'. It is around election time that more new parties are formed explicitly to contest elections. The formation of such 'election time' parties is a general trend in the region. An 'opportunistic' or 'entrepreneurial' approach appears to underlie the formation of such parties. However, even well-established parties have a tendency to be 'dormant' between elections, only springing to intense activity towards the next electoral contest. Thus a certain amount of 'electoralism' appears to pervade the strategic thinking and outlook of both ruling and opposition parties, old and new.

Another dimension of parties that is pertinent here includes the dispensing of patronage to selected groups and supporters by governing parties. Access to government power and resources ensures that only the ruling party possesses significant means of patronage. Examples of patronage would include jobs and contracts in government departments and parastatal corporations, the construction of roads, dams, schools and clinics in favoured rural and urban districts, facilitated access to credit sources, and diplomatic postings. Although levels of patronage vary between parties and countries, the system is invariably attacked as being 'corrupt' by opposition parties. None of the ruling parties in the region – ranging from the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) in

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Botswana and Frelimo (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) in Mozambique, to the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in Tanzania, Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) in Namibia – have been spared this criticism.<sup>7</sup>

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ANALYSIS

After experiencing growth in the 1980s and 1990s, the Zimbabwean economy entered a process of decline, especially from 2000 onwards. Gross domestic product (GDP) shrank by 8% in 2000, and by about 14% in both 2002 and 2003. This has had negative effects on employment, income and social indices. The unemployment rate is estimated to be about 60-70%, while there has been a significant decline in per capita real GDP.<sup>8</sup>

With an estimated population of 12 million, some of the key social indicators have deteriorated in recent years. Zimbabwe's human development index (HDI) which peaked at 0.621, declined to 0.551 in 2000. The country slid from 111th in 1990 to 130th in 1998 and then to 147th in 2003 in the global HDI rankings.<sup>9</sup> Life expectancy at birth is estimated at 43 years for the period 2000-2005 as compared to 61 years in 1990. According to the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, about 33% of the adult population is HIV positive.<sup>10</sup> Levels of poverty have been deepening during the past ten years. While 57% of Zimbabwe's population was estimated to be living below the food poverty line in 1995, this proportion had increased to 69% in 2002. The levels of poverty are compounded by high levels of inequality, pegged at a Gini coefficient of about 0.57.<sup>11</sup> In general, however, there has been a pronounced trend towards informalisation of the economy. This process contributes to a serious underestimation of actual disposable incomes of households and individuals; per capita gross national income data may not capture income coming through informal channels, which under 'parallel market' premiums could be a significant amount.<sup>12</sup> Thus informal sector transactions and incomes are likely to be underestimated in official statistics.

The decline in the country's economic fortunes has been mirrored in negligible foreign investment inflows, low export earnings and a shortage of foreign exchange, fuel and other key inputs. There is capacity underutilisation in sectors such as manufacturing. The relative contribution to GDP of various sectors was 18% by agriculture, 18% by industry, 4% by mining and 60% by services.<sup>13</sup> There was a significant decline in agricultural output between 2000 and 2004 as a consequence of the manner in which fast-track land reform was implemented. Not only was food production

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affected but there was a considerable decline in tobacco and other crop exports.

Other worrying trends were the mounting debt of US\$3.5 billion in 2003 and inflation of over 600% in the same year; the latter had been reduced to below 300% in late 2004. Development aid came to a trickle during this period as a result of strained relations with international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donor groupings like the European Union (EU). The combination of economic decline and growing authoritarianism triggered a large migration wave of skilled, professional and unskilled Zimbabweans into neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa, and farther afield into Britain and the United States (US).<sup>14</sup> The total number that has emigrated in the past four years is estimated to be between two and three million. The emigration of skilled workers and professionals is a disadvantage to Zimbabwean society and economy, and this cannot be fully offset through remittances back into the country.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION

Zimbabwe's political system in the post-independence period was shaped by a liberation struggle that spanned the period between 1966 and 1979, and before that, by the growth of nationalism from the 1950s. The colonial legacy of white settler rule also left an imprint on the system. During the first decade of independence, the Lancaster House constitution set the framework for the political system of the new state.<sup>15</sup> What were the salient features of the political system?

First, the definitive 1980 elections resulted in legitimate majority rule when it conferred power to a Zanu-PF dominated government. With 57 seats in a 100-member parliament, Zanu-PF was the majority party, but for the next two years it ran a government of national unity with PF-Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu). With the eruption of the conflict in Matabeleland in 1982, the pact collapsed. It was not until 1987 that the two parties bargained a rapprochement resulting in a unity accord. Second, was the abolition of reserved seats for whites in the House of Assembly in 1987. In the same year, a constitutional amendment created the executive presidency, which awarded wide ranging powers to the president. These developments laid the seeds of future authoritarianism, according to some analysts.<sup>16</sup> Third, although the system remained a multiparty one, there was pressure in Zanu-PF to introduce a one-party system in the late 1980s.

Only spirited campaigns from opposition parties, especially the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), and from civil society groups prevented its adoption. Even so, multipartism was grudgingly accepted and retained while a one-party state *ideological tendency* continued to persist within Zanu-PF.

During the 1990 and 1995 elections, Zanu-PF easily proved itself to be the dominant party by winning more than 95% of the seats in parliament. In addition to the 120 directly contested seats, the president had the authority to appoint 30 non-constituency members of parliament. Even so, the electoral process itself was neither flawless nor sufficiently transparent.<sup>17</sup> But this was on a lesser scale when compared with the widespread intimidation and violence that marked the more heavily contested elections of 2000 and 2002.

By the 1990s, the political environment was undergoing significant change. While opposition parties remained weak and fragmented, civil society organisations (CSOs) were getting better organised into a force to be reckoned with. The latter included the labour and student movements as well as human rights organisations.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the stirrings for deeper democratisation included the demands for an inclusive constitutional reform, and the formation of a stronger opposition movement. The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), a constitutional pressure group, was formed in 1998 while the opposition MDC was founded in 1999. Meanwhile, Zanu-PF did not appear decisive regarding the direction of constitutional reform; nor was it active in ensuring that the process should be as inclusive as possible. In a sense, the late 1990s provided an opportunity for both the ruling and opposition parties, as well as civil society, to address constitutional reform and related issues of democratisation. Unfortunately, the opportunity was missed by both sides, and the next four years would witness a protracted bitter conflict between them.

What is our understanding of the process of democratisation in this context? It is a process that spans decades and generations; and by its nature, it is a protracted process. A country's history and culture have an intricate bearing and imprint on the pace and content of democratisation. While some analysts prefer to speak in terms of 'old' and 'new' democracies, it is important to bear in mind that no society can claim to be completely democratic. Other analysts have chosen to argue that democratisation is best understood as a complex, long-term, dynamic and open-ended process.<sup>19</sup> In short, however, democracy consists of progress towards a rules-based, more consensual and more participatory type of politics. While the holding of regular elections does not, on its own, amount to democracy, the development of a democratic electoral system forms an integral part of democratisation. Within Southern Africa, it is clear that countries are at different stages of democratisation. The limitations on the process have been acknowledged:

'there is still inadequate and lip service commitment to multi-party democracy and politics among some of our leaders and politicians. They talk democracy but use undemocratic means to gain or remain in power. Yet the success of multi-party democracy and politics depends to a large extent on Government,

political parties and other stakeholders committing themselves to upholding the values and practices that go with these concepts ...<sup>20</sup>

Where does Zimbabwe stand in terms of democratisation? When the second democratisation wave swept across the African continent following the end of the Cold War, Zimbabwe did not take advantage of it. Perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, it did not move quickly or steadily on constitutional reform with the expiry of the Lancaster House constitution in 1990. Electoral reform was similarly not addressed, despite obvious weaknesses in the prevailing system. Although elections were held every five years and a nominal multiparty system was maintained, democracy was not deepened nor infused into institutions, practices and values. Growing economic hardships in the late 1990s sharpened social contradictions, leading to militancy amongst labour vis-à-vis the state. Other major social forces that emerged during this period were war veterans who prevailed on the state for economic support and played a crucial role in the land occupations that began in 2000. The stage was set for a titanic struggle between forces pressing for the opening of the system (democratisation), and those resisting reform by clinging to their power and authority (authoritarianism). As observed above, an opportunity was missed in the late 1990s by both reformers and authoritarians to negotiate a way out of the stalemate that clearly existed in 1999.

## CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND PARTY SYSTEMS

In 2000, there were an estimated 25 parties in Zimbabwe, which is scarcely surprising as it was an election year – there is a widespread tendency for a sudden mushrooming of parties during an election year. For instance, in 1999 there were 33 parties in South Africa, 34 in Zambia and 18 Mozambique. However, the number of seriously organised parties is often just a handful; so is that represented in parliament.

Zimbabwe has been no exception. The main parties at independence in 1980 were Zanu-PF, Zanu-Ndonga, PF-Zapu, the United African National Congress (UANC) and the Rhodesian Front (RF), later called the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe. By 1990, following the merger of Zanu-PF and PF-Zapu into an enlarged Zanu-PF, the number of other parties did not diminish. In addition to Zanu-Ndonga and the UANC, parties continued being active but with only the former represented by two members of parliament; the other party was ZUM, which had been formed in 1989. It was founded by Edgar Tekere who had formerly been the secretary general of Zanu-PF. In 1991, some ZUM members broke away to form the DP under Emmanuel Magoche. Another party of note in the early 1990s was the Forum Party of Zimbabwe founded by a former chief justice, Enoch Dumbutshena. Towards the end of the 1990s, the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats under Margaret Dongo was formed and was represented by one member of parliament (herself). Until the formation of the MDC, none of these parties posed a serious challenge to the dominant party system presided over by Zanu-PF.

How did the key parties in contemporary Zimbabwe emerge and what are their orientation(s)? Here we draw partly from our field findings and party literature. The biggest party, Zanu-PF, had its origins in a split from Zapu in 1963. Zapu itself had been founded in 1962 under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo, but internal differences sparked a split that resulted in Ndabaningi Sithole leading Zanu. Other key leaders in Zanu were Hebert Chitepo, Leopold Takawira and Robert Mugabe. However, differences over strategy in the mid-1970s led to a power struggle in Zanu, in which Ndabaningi

Sithole was sidelined while Robert Mugabe emerged as the new leader. This phase, dubbed 'struggle within a struggle', occurred during the exile years in Mozambique. However, Sithole continued to claim the mantle of leadership of the original Zanu. After 1980, the party added Ndonga – a symbol of a knobkerrie – to distinguish itself from Zanu-PF, which itself was denied use of the original party name.

Zanu-PF, like its sister party PF-Zapu, has been a nationalist-cum-liberation movement and, since 1980, the governing party. Its main aims and objectives are to:

- preserve and defend the national sovereignty and independence of Zimbabwe;
- create conditions for the establishment of a democratic, political and social order which shall guarantee in perpetuity that the government of the state shall be answerable to the people through periodic and fair elections based on universal adult suffrage;
- uphold and apply fully the rule, equality before the law, and equality of opportunities for all the people in Zimbabwe regardless of race, tribe, sex, religion or origin;
- establish and sustain a socialist society firmly based on our historical, cultural and social experience and to create conditions for economic independence, prosperity and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation ...;
- continue to participate in the worldwide struggle for the complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism and all forms of racism; and
- oppose resolutely tribalism, regionalism, nepotism, racism, religious fanaticism, xenophobia and related intolerance... .<sup>21</sup>

The advantage that Zanu-PF has had over other Zimbabwean parties is that it had a rare chance of about 24 years to implement its aims, objectives and agenda. As we will observe below, however, it has had considerable problems in attaining these.

The aims and objectives of the original Zanu party, now Zanu-Ndonga, are illustrative of the party's orientation. The party has held on to a seat in the

Chipinge area in south-eastern Zimbabwe, the home area of Ndabaningi Sithole, since 1980. Its aims and objectives are to:

- establish and maintain a democratic and non-racial state in Zimbabwe;
- ensure that the people's right of one-man-one-vote is freely and regularly exercised at periodic national elections;
- promote the social, economic, political, educational, cultural and religious welfare of the people of Zimbabwe;
- promote national consciousness and national unity in diversity;
- ensure the possession and use of equal opportunity by all and for all; and
- pursue in our foreign relations a policy of positive non-alignment.<sup>22</sup>

Zanu-Ndonga has not had an opportunity to translate its objectives and agenda into policies and programmes because it has not won power since 1980. However, it is of interest that it shares the values of nationalism and democratic majority rule with Zanu-PF. Zanu-Ndonga's patriarchal founding leader, Ndabaningi Sithole, died in 2000. Wilson Kumbula, a long-time member and office holder in the party, is the current leader.

Among the newer parties are the DP, MDC and NAGG – all formed in the 1990s. Their aims and objectives strike a tone that is attuned to the new discourse in governance. For instance, the DP's aims and objectives are to:

- strive for the maintenance of a multiparty democratic order in Zimbabwe, and to constantly oppose the tendency toward dictatorship in any form;
- cultivate a democratic political culture in Zimbabwe by constantly encouraging self-criticism and guarding against commandist tendencies at all levels within our party as well as within society in general;
- promote the observance of the constitutional separation of powers between the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government by maintaining constant vigilance and oppose the tendency in the Executive branch to overstep its jurisdiction;

- strive for the preservation and promotion of the freedom of association, expression, press, conscience, worship and right to privacy; and
- ensure that our nation pursues pragmatic economic policies;
- strive for the eradication of unemployment, hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease ... .<sup>23</sup>

The DP has not won any parliamentary seats since its formation as a splinter party from ZUM in 1991. In fact, it boycotted the 1995, 2000 and subsequent elections on the grounds that there should first be constitutional reform to ensure that the electoral contest is truly free and fair.

Formed in 1999, the MDC is a relatively young party; it was even younger (only nine months old) when it contested the 2000 election. It emerged as the strongest opposition party to Zanu-PF since independence, giving the ruling Zanu-PF a stunning challenge when it won 57 of the directly contested seats in parliament. Some analysts and observer groups have argued that the MDC's performance might have been even better if the election 'playing field' had been level.<sup>24</sup> Defining itself as a social democratic party, the MDC has stated its aims, values and objectives as:

- being an all inclusive, dynamic political party with a truly national base and which shall seek to win political power and form a government of the people through free, fair and direct elections;
- seeking the mandate of the people to govern the country and working for a dynamic economy built on the principles of mixed economy with a strong social conscience;
- building an open democracy in which national government is accountable to the people through the devolution of power and decision-making to the provinces, local institutions and structures;
- seeking equal representation of women as far as possible in public office and within the party; and
- believing in the principle of active civic participation in public affairs and in pursuit of this principle working with trade unions, business and employers' organisations, human rights organisations and other civic groups in the formulation of national policies.<sup>25</sup>

Formed with active labour support and backing from civic organisations, the MDC has found power elusive so far, but it remains the largest opposition party yet nurtured in the country.

Finally, NAGG was created in 2000 out of a loose grouping of former Zanu-PF politicians who had lost nomination as parliamentary candidates for the 2000 election. They rallied under the leadership of Shakespeare Maya, who was its founding president. Some of NAGG's key aims and objectives are to:

- preserve and defend the national flag and sovereignty of Zimbabwe;
- offer itself for election to political power in Zimbabwe through free, fair and direct elections;
- achieve and maintain good governance by adhering to principles of social democracy, transparency and accountability;
- promote and maintain the economic empowerment of all Zimbabweans; and
- promote equal access to and maintain organised and equitable distribution and enjoyment of the country's resources, especially land.<sup>26</sup>

Although NAGG contested the 2000 elections it failed to win any seats; and it did not fare any better in the 2002 presidential and council elections. In 2004, its founding president resigned and joined the MDC.

#### **DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY SYSTEM**

How has the party system in post-independence Zimbabwe evolved? There have been distinct phases in the development of the party system. During the first seven years, two major parties existed: Zanu-PF with about 60% of the seats and PF-Zapu with about 20% – and whites with the remainder. There was no 'dominant party' syndrome. But this changed with the constitutional amendments of 1987 which abolished special white seats. The merger of the two nationalist parties in 1987 ensured the founding of a dominant party system that survived until 2000. It has been explained that in its most fundamental form:

'a dominant party is a party which, by reason of its popular support and/or control of state machinery, is able to reproduce

itself in power by virtue of its winning successive elections. Yet commonly associated with party dominance are other phenomena, notably the fusion of party and state, and the denunciation of minorities who mobilise on issues vital to them and delegitimisation of the opposition. The growth amongst power-holders of a “culture of entitlement” to state resources, and even to resources not owned by the state, is an inevitable result ...’<sup>27</sup>

With the close contest in the 2000 election, prospects improved for breaking the dominant party straightjacket. However, this was prevented from occurring by an anachronistic electoral regime which gave the advantage of 30 additional seats to the governing party. Otherwise, the MDC inroads had paved the way for a competitive two-party system.<sup>28</sup>

**Table 1: Results of the 2005 parliamentary election in Zimbabwe**

| Provinces    | Zanu-PF votes    | Zanu-PF seats | MDC votes        | MDC seats | Others seats |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Bulawayo     | 2 2611           | 0             | 85 454           | 7         | 0            |
| Harare       | 11 2143          | 1             | 234 138          | 17        | 0            |
| Manicaland   | 19 1577          | 13            | 146 538          | 2         | 0            |
| Mash East    | 24 3398          | 13            | 85 600           | 0         | 0            |
| Mash Central | 22 9525          | 10            | 43 092           | 0         | 0            |
| Mash West    | 20 0699          | 12            | 77 942           | 1         | 0            |
| Masvingo     | 21 1435          | 13            | 99 044           | 1         | 0            |
| Mat North    | 58 727           | 1             | 85 883           | 5         | 1            |
| Mat South    | 70 805           | 3             | 70 033           | 4         | 0            |
| Midlands     | 228 887          | 12            | 139 386          | 4         | 0            |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>1 569 807</b> | <b>78</b>     | <b>1 067 110</b> | <b>41</b> | <b>1</b>     |

**Source:** ZESN, *Report on the Zimbabwe's 2005 General Election*, 31 March 2005, Harare, 2005.

It would appear, nevertheless, that Zanu-PF is anxious that a dominant party system should not be superseded by a competitive two-party system. This explains the enormous effort, including a massive barrage of propaganda, put into constraining the MDC's political competition. Incidents of

intimidation and violence against opposition activists and supporters for the period 2000 to 2003 have been extensively documented.<sup>29</sup> The outcome of the 2005 election is significant in that it provides additional evidence that the party system remains a dominant party syndrome, and prospects for a genuine competitive two-party system in Zimbabwe remain distant.

## EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

### **LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES**

Key legislation pertaining to political parties is the Electoral Act and the Political Parties (Finance) Act. None of this legislation requires a party to be registered. The minimal definition of a party is that ‘it is an association of persons the primary object of which is to secure the election of one or more of its members to a local authority or Parliament’.<sup>30</sup>

While the Electoral Act relates mainly to the requirements for party candidates in the electoral process (at nomination and polling stages), the Political Parties (Finance) Act sets out the rules and regulations concerning the funding of parties. In the sections below we will elaborate on the nomination process as well as on the electoral system and process. Here, it should be observed that there is no legislation that regulates the internal activities of individual parties. Each party draws on its own constitution to regulate internal activities, including primary elections, leadership succession and the issue of quotas for women and other groups.

### **NOMINATION, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION**

As we have observed, the principal piece of legislation that regulates the nomination of candidates for national and local elections as well as campaigns is the Electoral Act. In order to be eligible for nomination, a candidate shall complete a prescribed form that should be signed by no fewer than ten persons who are registered on the voters’ roll for the constituency for which the candidate seeks election. The form should include the name and abbreviation of the candidate’s sponsoring party, as well as a counter-signature of an authorised official of that party. The form can include a symbol for the candidate if the candidate is standing as an independent. The form should be given to the constituency registrar by 4 pm on nomination day, together with the prescribed deposit. If the number of votes garnered on polling day by the candidate is less than 20%, then the deposit is forfeited. Nominated candidates can withdraw their nominations any time before polling day but they forfeit their deposits if they do so. If a candidate dies during the poll, the minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs will order the nomination process to start afresh.

### **ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PARTY POLITICAL CONTEST**

Except during the first independence election in 1980, Zimbabwe has followed the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system. It is a system with built-in weaknesses and strengths, as has been demonstrated in some studies.<sup>31</sup> One comparative advantage of the FPTP system is that it tends to ensure the accountability of the parliamentarian to his/her constituency. However, under the system the winner of an electoral contest may secure a simple plurality of votes but not necessarily the majority of votes. This can result in winners by minority vote at both constituency and national levels.

Additionally, under this electoral system parties do not need an absolute majority of votes to form a government. This can lead to the problem of 'wasted votes', to the extent that a considerable proportion of votes does not necessarily form part of the calculation of the election outcome.<sup>32</sup>

For example, during the 1990 parliamentary election in Zimbabwe, although the opposition ZUM party won nearly 20% of the votes, it only qualified for two seats in a 150-member parliament. This was a clear example of how the FPTP system can distort an election outcome through 'wasted votes'. There has been debate on whether the Zimbabwean electoral system should be changed to a proportional representation (PR) system, or at least to a mix of PR and FPTP.<sup>33</sup>

A distinctive feature of Zimbabwe's electoral system until the introduction of a new Electoral Act in late 2004 was the multiplicity of bodies involved in the electoral process. These included a delimitation commission, the registrar general, the election directorate and the ESC. This was out of line with the general trend in the region, where a single authority often termed an independent electoral commission organises the electoral process. In Zimbabwe, however, it still remains to be seen whether indeed a single electoral commission will be set up to run the entire process, or whether several electoral bodies will continue to co-exist.<sup>34</sup>

The flaws in Zimbabwe's electoral system partly contributed to the relatively high number of electoral disputes in 2000 and 2002. Nearly 40 constituency results were challenged in courts following the 2000 parliamentary election. The legal challenge to the 2002 presidential election result is still on-going.

**ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND OBSERVATION**

National and local council elections are governed by the Electoral Act; however, there are no additional rules of good conduct that a ruling party or coalition is required to adhere to. The official campaign period begins with the completion of the nomination process by a sitting nomination court, and ends the day before polling. No campaigning is allowed on polling days.

The ESC did draw up a draft code of conduct with input from parties during the 2002 presidential election. The code sought to encourage parties to engage in peaceful campaigning. In addition, the ESC hosts meetings with parties to discuss issues and problems relating to an election campaign; in 2002, it had five meetings with Zanu-PF, the MDC and NAGG.<sup>35</sup> On polling days, party candidates and/or their agents are entitled to observe the vote counting process.

The regulations relating to observation and monitoring are contained in the General Amendment Laws Act, 2002, and these have been modified further in the Electoral Bill, 2004. It would appear that there are now more restrictive conditions relating to foreign observers. Indeed, several problems were encountered in the 2000 and 2002 elections in relation to observers and monitors. In 2000, there were late changes governing the number and rights of access for national observers and domestic monitors. This meant that the logistical operations for over 24,000 trained national observers had to be changed in the course of days preceding the elections, while the number of domestic monitors was restricted.<sup>36</sup> Restrictions were also placed on foreign observers; indeed, British observers were not allowed entry.

It was against this background that it was recommended that clear procedures for the accreditation of national and international observers be issued in the early stages of the electoral process.<sup>37</sup> The ESC agreed that invitations to observers should be sent out early to reduce negative perceptions and ease administrative planning.<sup>38</sup> The recruitment of monitors for the ESC, it was alleged, was sometimes interfered with by some political parties.<sup>39</sup> Following from this, it was recommended that effective liaison mechanisms be established between the ESC and parties, and that seminars be held to explain to parties the ESC's organisation and functions.

There are other pertinent aspects concerning the election campaign process in Zimbabwe. First, voter registration has been the preserve of the Registrar General's Office, and under the impending Electoral Act, it would fall under the Registrar General of Voters. Second, according to official admission, voter registration has not been efficiently and comprehensively conducted in previous elections, while mobile registration teams have not been sufficiently resourced.<sup>40</sup> In the 2002 election, for example, the supplementary voters' roll was not adequately publicised nor made available for inspection. It had been dispatched late to constituencies and, in some cases, only on the first day of polling. Third, the election campaign environment has been marked by 'a culture of intolerance' among parties and contesting candidates.<sup>41</sup> It could not be overstressed that parties need to encourage and demonstrate tolerance and non-violence as well as the avoidance of 'hate language' during campaigning.

Finally, parties (especially opposition parties) and organisations such as the ZESN itself are irked by the absence of transparency at the stage of announcing results. In the 2002 election, the Election Directorate Command Centre was closed to everybody except members of the directorate and security services, including the army. Owing to these problems and an absence of transparency at certain stages of the election process, it is scarcely surprising that a high number of electoral disputes was filed at the High Court, as observed above.

#### **PARLIAMENT AND PARTY REPRESENTATION**

As discussed, Zimbabwe has a unicameral system of parliament with 150 members, of whom 120 are directly elected. Under the current system of FPTP or 'winner-takes-all', the candidate with the highest number of votes wins the seat. There are several drawbacks with this system. For example, it does not promote women's representation to the same extent that the PR system does. Indeed, the proportion of women represented in parliament declined from 14% in 1995 to 10% in 2000. There is no constitutional requirement for a quota for women in parliament. Any quotas laid down by parties are purely voluntary and there are no legal mechanisms for enforcement.

A party can expel a parliamentary member from its ranks on disciplinary grounds. If it does so and duly informs the speaker, the concerned member forfeits his/her seat. An MDC parliamentarian, Munyaradzi Gwisai, lost his

seat on these grounds. A fresh election was conducted to fill the seat that he had vacated. There is currently no law that allows for floor crossing, that is, for a member elected on one party's ticket to join another party ticket. When a seat becomes vacant in-between elections through death or some other cause, by-elections are held to fill that seat. At least 15 by-elections have been held since the 2000 elections in Zimbabwe.

Finally, there are two parties represented in parliament following the March 2005 elections. They are the governing Zanu-PF, which won 78 seats and drew on 30 appointed seats to have a total of 108 seats. The MDC won 41 seats, and one seat was won by an independent candidate.

## INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

### INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

Although the five parties covered in this study vary enormously in size and age, some of their internal structures are remarkably similar. For the DP, NAGG, MDC, Zanu-Ndonga and Zanu-PF, the supreme organ in their structures is the congress. Sometimes termed a 'national people's congress' (by Zanu-PF) or simply 'congress' (by most parties), it is held once every five years and handles major issues such as the election of the top leadership like the president and party chairperson, amending of the party constitution, as well as formulating party policies. The congress also supervises the implementation of party policies, principles and programmes, considers the audited financial statements of the party, and appoints or re-appoints auditors.

It is significant that some parties hold their congresses towards the next round of elections (which are held at five-yearly intervals). The last Zanu-PF congress was organised in December 2004. The timing in such instances would be strategic in terms of party strategising for the upcoming elections. However, some parties hardly organise a congress; for example, the last one organised by Zanu-Ndonga was in 1979, while the DP and NAGG appear not to have held any. Most parties specify an annual party conference as one of the institutions of the party, but only a few parties are able to organise one. Smaller parties such as the DP, NAGG and Zanu-Ndonga cited resource constraints as the major reason for not holding congresses.

The second highest structure is a central committee, which handles administrative and policy issues through regular meetings. Its size ranges from 100 in the case of the DP to 232 in Zanu-PF. The term 'central committee' is reminiscent of socialist or communist party structures. Some parties such as the MDC and NAGG give a different name to this structure although its functions are similar. The MDC calls it 'national council' while NAGG terms it 'national high council'. The functions of the council are chiefly administering and implementing party decisions and policies. In most parties, an executive committee plays a more active role in this administrative and implementing role. It is called a 'national executive committee' in the MDC, Zanu-Ndonga and DP, while Zanu-PF takes on a Soviet-era term of 'politburo'. Acting as an

administrative organ of the central committee, the 49-member politburo is tasked with implementing all decisions, directives, rules and regulations of the committee.<sup>42</sup> It meets monthly or 'in special session' as determined by the party president. Its equivalent in Zanu-Ndonga is the 'president in council' chaired by the party president, with authority to appoint members to the central committee and national executive council.

Below these executive or administrative bodies and committees is the national consultative assembly that draws on the wider party membership between annual party conferences and five-year congresses. The assembly's role varies between parties. Whereas it has little power in Zanu-PF, it has substantial power in the DP where the assembly can fill vacancies in the central committee and prepare for elections.

All parties that were studied have provision for women's and youth wings, sometimes called leagues (by Zanu-PF) or national assemblies (by the MDC). The MDC's National Assembly of Women and that of Youth have the tasks of mobilising their respective constituencies to join the party, as well as ensuring that women and youth are fully involved in all party activities, including policy making.<sup>43</sup> The women's and youth leagues of Zanu-PF have elaborate organs, namely a national conference, national assembly, national executive committee as well as a provincial conference. For its part, Zanu-Ndonga not only has women and youth leagues but also a men's league. The leagues are expected to hold annual meetings, receive and distribute party literature and information, as well as to uphold, defend and propagate the principles and policies of the party. NAGG has a national women's council and a national youth council, which seek to perform a role similar to those of leagues in other parties.

Other parts of the structure are the provincial and district committees that carry out the directives of the party in mobilising membership and propagating and implementing party policies and programmes. The provincial, district, ward and branch structures tend to replicate (at lower levels) the posts and functions of the top structures. For instance, a branch in the MDC consists of a minimum of 100 members. The lowest layer of most parties is the unit or cell (or a village committee in rural areas) with ten members. It would not be easy to ascertain how active these lower layers in the parties are, but the fact that they envisage

such structures shows the ambitions of the parties to reach and extend their roots to the remote corners of society and country.

### **LEADERSHIP SELECTION**

The election of the leadership in parties is by the congress – the supreme body of the party. Since it meets every five years, according to most constitutions, this implies that leaders hold their posts for the duration of that period. The top leaders who are directly elected by congress are the president, deputy president, national chair, secretary general, deputy secretary general and the treasurer general in the case of the MDC. They are elected on the basis of nominations from the provinces. The congress also elects 24 members of a national executive committee. In Zanu-PF, the congress elects the president, who is also termed ‘first secretary’, two vice-presidents and a national chair. In addition, the congress elects members of the central committee and ‘approves’ heads and deputies of departments that constitute the politburo.

Interestingly, there are no fixed term limits on the top leadership in Zanu-Ndonga, Zanu-PF and the DP. In the MDC and NAGG, the president and other senior party leaders serve a maximum of two terms of five years each. Since they are both young parties of about five years, it will be interesting to see whether there would be a debate on this constitutional clause in five years’ time. This is likely because if the current top leadership sticks to the letter of the party constitution, then a new executive (a president, deputy president, chair and secretary general) would have to be elected in five years’ time. Parties such as Zanu-PF would not have to face this issue since there are no term limits on the leadership.

### **POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

Parties are involved in discussions on policy issues on an on-going basis. The parties covered in this study stated that such discussions are conducted at every level of the party, including at grassroots level. However, it is mainly at the election campaign stage that systematic effort is put into making and packaging their policy positions in the form of manifestos.

Each of the parties that contested elections put together a manifesto. Although the DP has refused to participate in elections on the grounds that a new and

fair Zimbabwean constitution should first be put in place, the DP nevertheless has a policy paper entitled *A regeneration for Zimbabwe*.<sup>44</sup> The policy paper covers such issues as national leadership, democracy, human rights, the economy, investment and education. The paper provides both a diagnosis of current policies, identifies their weaknesses and prescribes its own that it would implement if it won power. Similarly, NAGG issued a policy document that elaborated the party's position on issues of employment, foreign policy, education policy and capacity building, land policy, youth policy and crime. It termed the document a draft manifesto, and went on to use it in the 2000 election campaign.

For its part, Zanu-Ndonga issued a policy document that addressed issues such as decentralisation, chiefly institutions, citizenship policies, economic and social policies, health and education issues. The document emphasised the policy positions that power should be decentralised to all provinces 'to reduce the present tendency whereby districts are marginalised by the national government, and to introduce a system of provincial administrative councils in all provinces, to evolve a new land policy which shall take into full account the practical interests of many as well as few'.<sup>45</sup>

However, the more elaborate policy documents are those that have been developed by Zanu-PF and the MDC. At election campaign time, they have issued manifestos dealing with such matters as the economy, land, social policies, crime, gender equity, crime, poverty and HIV / Aids.<sup>46</sup> Both parties have the capacity to draw upon consultants and academics to compile the initial policy drafts that are then discussed in party committees before they are polished and processed. Although there is consultation over policy issues in party structures, the direction of this process appears to be a 'top-to-bottom' one. This may also be true of such sophisticated documents as the MDC's *Restart* released in 2003. Similarly, it would not be unthinkable if some contributors to Zanu-PF policy documents were its members, who are highly placed civil servants.

How much do parties make use of public opinion surveys in the drawing up of their policies and manifestos? To begin with, there is no long-standing tradition of public opinion polling in Zimbabwe. Most public opinion surveys have been confined to assessing consumer spending and attitudes to specific

products. However, in the past few years there have been efforts at conducting surveys on Zimbabwean public opinion vis-à-vis political and socio-economic issues. The more notable efforts have been those of the Helen Suzman Foundation based in Johannesburg, and the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI) in Harare. Both organisations conducted surveys on political attitudes in 1999 and 2000.<sup>47</sup> MPOI is a Zimbabwean polling organisation founded in 1999 by the late Masipula Sithole, who was a well-known and respected political scientist. It has released surveys on public attitudes towards issues such as land policy, corruption, political parties and the support for major political figures, namely, Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai.

Most parties do not conduct public opinion surveys independently and instead tend to rely on the survey reports of such organisations as the MPOI, the Helen Suzman Foundation and Afrobarometer surveys (conducted by Idasa, a South African NGO). However, parties such as Zanu-PF and the MDC have the capacity to conduct opinion surveys for in-house purposes. Such surveys do not enter the public domain. In general, the smaller parties would like to acquire resources that enable them to commission opinion surveys for their own purposes.<sup>48</sup>

#### **MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT**

The strength and vibrancy of parties depends on the quantity and quality of their membership. There is a large gap between party membership levels and energy in recruitment drives for new members. For instance, some parties do not currently have a national membership register although their district branches may have these.<sup>49</sup>

One of the smaller parties, NAGG, conceded that it is not currently printing membership cards; the last time it so did in 2002, it sold them at Z\$10 each. The party remarked that it was difficult to establish whether its membership had increased or decreased, but it is currently estimated to be between 30,000 and 40,000 members.<sup>50</sup> While the DP used to levy Z\$50 for membership, it had now discontinued issuing cards because, it claimed, these were 'a security risk'. It also stated that it was difficult to estimate the size of membership. However, other parties were upbeat about their membership levels and recruitment capacity. For instance, Zanu-Ndonga remarked that its

membership was about 1.3 million and showing an upward trend compared to the period before 2002. Members bought cards for Z\$1000 and paid Z\$500 in monthly contributions. The MDC set the membership card fee at Z\$400 and monthly subscriptions at Z\$300.<sup>51</sup> Although the party claimed that membership, especially in rural areas, has been increasing recently ostensibly due to disillusionment over land reform, it did not have a national membership register as such. Membership lists were kept at district level and these were submitted to head office. Zanu-PF charges Z\$6,000 for a membership card. Senior party members pay more in monthly subscriptions, although the exact figure could not be established. Furthermore, it was not possible to establish the membership figures for the party, although senior officials estimated the party membership to be about three million, with one million of these as paid-up members. The party relies more on a smaller, but active 'core membership'.

Membership recruitment is an on-going exercise for parties but there is a surge of activity during election campaigns. Some occasions for recruitment include meetings and rallies. Local branches often make decisions on whom to admit as new members, while some parties (for example, Zanu-Ndonga) conduct an orientation for new members on party principles and objectives. Other parties are more elaborate about their expectations regarding members: for example, Zanu-PF members are required to be 'loyal', to observe and resort to the policies, rules and regulations of the party; and to strengthen, promote and defend the party and popularise its policies among the people.<sup>52</sup> In the case of the MDC, a member is enjoined to accept and conform to the party's constitution, policies, principles, rules and regulations; and to conduct himself/herself in a manner that is not prejudicial to the interests of the party and, in particular, to adhere to the conduct of the party.

The capacity of parties to communicate with their membership varies enormously. While some parties have websites and e-mail addresses, the smaller parties (such as the DP, NAGG and Zanu-Ndonga) did not have such communication facilities nor did they have land line telephones at the time this fieldwork was conducted. These parties depend on postal services for communication, such as sending out party literature and fliers. The bigger parties, namely the MDC and Zanu-PF, have more sophisticated facilities for communication. While the former has a monthly newspaper supplement called *Changing Times*, the latter produces a weekly newspaper called *The Voice* which

carries both party and national news, and articles by party leaders. The readership of these publications reaches beyond party membership. In addition, these bigger parties conduct workshops for their members and candidates for elections to increase their political and campaigning skills respectively.<sup>53</sup> Due to resource constraints, the smaller parties are largely unable to conduct training seminars and workshops.

### **PRIMARY ELECTIONS, CANDIDATE NOMINATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS**

Significantly, there are no electoral laws or regulations that stipulate procedures to be followed in primary elections conducted by parties. From experience, there has been no legal obligation for parties to hold primary elections for their candidates who seek to contest local and national elections. The result has been that while some parties always conduct primaries, others do not.

The smaller parties do not appear to hold primaries whenever they have a candidate who seeks to contest for a position. However, the constituency committees in Zanu-Ndonga play an important role in nominating election candidates. The committees pass on the names to provincial committees, who then pass these on to the central committee and national executive committee. For local election candidates, ward structures play a key role in selecting candidates. Due to the fact that the participation level of these parties is low, there has not been much experience or case material concerning the way they conduct primaries. As mentioned, the DP has maintained that it will not contest in any election until fundamental changes have been made to the current constitution.

The situation is, of course, different with the bigger parties. Given the greater scope of their participation in elections and larger number of potential candidates, they cannot avoid holding primaries. For example, the MDC has a procedure whereby candidates get nominated to contest in national and local elections. Aspiring candidates submit their résumés to a provincial committee, which puts their names on a panel list. The panel list of each constituency is then forwarded to the national council through the secretary general. The panel list of parliamentary candidates seeking nomination in each province is sent to district and ward committees that then choose nominees. For nomination, a candidate requires a simple majority. For re-

nomination to a parliamentary seat, a candidate needs at least a two-thirds majority. However, the party's national council has the last word on the nominations.

The nomination process for election candidates in Zanu-PF for local and national elections has become fairly regular. Interestingly, it is the task of the Zanu-PF national conference to 'declare the President of the Party elected at Congress as the Presidential Candidate'.<sup>54</sup> In general, however, the party's primaries are carried out under the authority of the party's commissariat. As for the nomination process, that is conducted by a nomination court during local and national elections.

In terms of the party election campaigns, there are several aspects of campaigning that can be considered. These include the strategic planning of a campaign, its funding and its organising. This study did not yield much insight into these aspects, presumably due to the caution and reticence by parties in discussing them. In Zanu-Ndonga, the role of constituency committees is crucial in mobilising support for an election candidate.<sup>55</sup> They work closely with an election directorate, whose role is to vet candidates as well as to provide some funding to those nominated. In the MDC, a supervisory team is set up under the auspices of the Directorate of Elections to plan and direct the election campaign. Thus, the director of elections plays a strategic role in this process. In Zanu-PF, the secretary for the commissariat plays a similar role.

It would appear that the instruments or machinery for elections is underdeveloped in the smaller parties. It was conceded by NAGG, for example, that it engages only in limited campaign activity. Although ward and district structures are seen as playing a potentially key role in campaigning, there has been little campaigning since the party's founding.

Indeed, funding is a central factor in campaigns. It was observed by Zanu-Ndonga, for instance, that whereas one needed about Z\$2 million for a constituency campaign in 2000, one now needs no less than about Z\$30 million for an effective constituency campaign.<sup>56</sup> But Zanu-Ndonga did not have a budget for election campaigns; it depended on 'well-wishers' for funding, and whatever little it raised was used to disseminate campaign material and

for paying party agents. Financial constraints were also cited by the MDC, which stated that candidates are encouraged to raise their own campaign funds. Similarly, regional and local branches can raise their own funds provided they account for these funds to the party head office. Bigger parties such as Zanu-PF have greater capacity for fund mobilisation through business interests that they own either directly or indirectly.

### **PARTY OUTREACH PROGRAMMES AND ELECTIONS**

There is very limited activity concerning outreach programmes that involve civic and voter education. Individual parties do not appear to have major programmes in this sphere. This deficit used to be addressed by NGOs prior to 2002 before the authoritarian environment had a suppressive impact upon civic education initiatives. While the late 1990s and the period between 2000 and 2003 had witnessed a profusion of NGOs in this sector, the backlash from the government consisted of legislation that severely restricted these initiatives. Laws such as POSA and the General Amendment laws have made it difficult for civic organisations and parties to hold meetings and civic education classes. Applications to conduct such activities have to be lodged with the police and permission is not granted automatically. Indeed, civic education activists are sometimes a target of intimidation and violence, especially during election campaigns.

Parties have also been hampered in their voter and civic education programmes by resource constraints.<sup>57</sup> These programmes require written and audio-visual materials, transport and personnel. Most parties would be overstretched. There is no public budget for civic and voter education work. Although the ESC has made efforts to run a voter education programme during an election campaign period, its reach has not been wide nor has it directly involved parties. Furthermore, a perception has remained that the ESC is government aligned and not completely non-partisan.

In sum, civic and voter education has been one weak area in Zimbabwe's election process. The work of such organisations as the NCA, ZESN, ZIMCET and Crisis Coalition Zimbabwe has been creditable and modest, but even so the government has not been happy to see them continue with their activities. A new NGO Bill has been designed to force these and other bodies to discontinue civic and voter education programmes. It is noteworthy that some

parties like the DP, NAGG and MDC had participated in the programmes of these NGOs. It looks unlikely that the ESC on its own, or civic programmes organised through it, will reach a substantial proportion of voters.

### **PARTY FUNDING**

The viability of parties largely depends on whether they generate or receive satisfactory funding for their activities. Little funding cripples a party's operations and reach. Clearly, there are major differences in scale in the amount of funding that different parties are able to generate and mobilise.

We observed in a previous section that a major source of party funding in Zimbabwe is the public purse. The Political Parties (Finance Act) originally stipulated that only parties with a minimum of 15 seats in parliament were entitled to party funding. This was later modified in 2001 to extend funding to a party which received at least 5% of the vote in the previous election. However, only two parties – Zanu-PF and the MDC – have been beneficiaries of party funding under this formula. The other parties are smaller and complain about their exclusion from funding; they argue that unless they get funding, they will not perform well in elections to the extent of garnering at least 5% of the total vote.<sup>58</sup> In 2000, some Z\$100 million was disbursed and shared between Zanu-PF and the MDC.

It is significant that since 2001, parties have been prohibited from receiving foreign funding. The Political Parties (Finance) Act spells out that: 'No party, member of political party or candidate shall accept any foreign donation, whether directly from the donor or indirectly through a third person.' This prohibition on foreign funding appears to have hurt small parties because they have no source of steady income. At the same time, the bigger parties themselves have lost a considerable source of revenue – both Zanu-PF and the MDC had received significant donor support in the past.

What then are the other major sources of funds for the parties? Zanu-PF has raised considerable sums of money from its business interests that include shareholdings in companies, and from wealthy supporters who have included bankers and industrialists. For its 2004 congress, it was set to raise about Z\$5 billion from both business interests and supporters.<sup>59</sup> Its original target, however, had been Z\$20 billion. Membership dues are another major source

of revenue. The sale of membership cards, especially in the run-up to elections, also generates considerable amounts of funds.

For its part, the MDC relies on business donors, membership dues as well as rental revenue from leasing properties in Harare and several provincial centres. The party views those Zimbabweans in the diaspora as potentially a major source of funding and has therefore been making appeals to them.<sup>60</sup> In terms of breakdown, the party stated that about 60% of its funding is from the state, 20% from membership dues, 10% from business donations, with another 10% as income from party business interests.<sup>61</sup> These revenues were utilised in publicity work (20%), salaries for secretariat and other staff (30%), transport (25%), research and policy work (25%) and legal fees (10%).

Financial constraints were a perennial problem for smaller parties. Zanu-Ndonga depended a great deal on the funds generated by the business interests of its president, Wilson Kumbula. The party estimated that transport costs for operations in Harare cost about Z\$300,000 a week and other party activities about Z\$6 million a month in 2004.<sup>62</sup> In terms of breakdown of revenue sources, membership fees accounted for 20% of income and individual donations another 20%, while the president contributed the remaining 60%. The finances were utilised for publicity and voter education (60%), salaries (10%), transport (10%) and meetings (20%). The DP acknowledged that it was 'scrounging around' in terms of funding, and remarked that it did not currently have more than Z\$2 million in its bank account.<sup>63</sup> The party did not receive any money from business sources; the bulk of it came from membership fees (95%) and party fundraising activities (5%). NAGG was in a more or less similar situation. It did not have any party business assets and it operated on a shoestring budget. Income from membership dues was little and unpredictable.

The accounting of party funds is done within a party and is not meant for public consumption. Financial reports are made to the national executive committee in some parties, as in the case of the MDC. The party stipulates that there is an annual audit of party funds by a firm of reputed auditors, and that the audit report is made annually to the national council and the party's national conference. In the case of Zanu-PF, a financial report relating to the assets and liabilities of the party is prepared and submitted to the

central committee once a year. The party's secretary for finance also submits externally audited accounts to the committee at the end of each financial year. For smaller parties, the issue of formal financial reporting appears not to have arisen: one party representative stated that 'we have not had substantial monies to warrant such reporting'.<sup>64</sup> Another party remarked that reports are made to party executives but donors' names do not appear so as to 'protect' them: 'While Zanu-PF can identify its donors, other parties cannot do so due to the current environment.'<sup>65</sup>

In sum, the fortunes of parties are, by and large, determined by the amount of resources at their disposal. Their capacity to sponsor election candidates and organise effective campaigns is largely determined by access to such resources. The same relates to their capacity to run a party secretariat and to pay party workers regular salaries. Similarly, the capability to advertise in the press depends on whether they have the requisite financial resources. The smaller parties clearly lack such resources. In addition to owning substantial resources, the ruling Zanu-PF draws on state resources, such as significant regular coverage on television, radio and in state-owned newspapers. Infrastructure (such as schools as venues for meetings and rallies) is also at its disposal, more so than is the case for the opposition parties.

### **EXTERNAL RELATIONS**

On the whole, the parties covered in this study state that they do not have extensive links with international organisations and parties. In particular, the smaller parties have very limited ties with external parties. For instance, one of the parties remarked that it only had links with the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa. Most external bodies had advised it to support the MDC. Another smaller party stated that it had no links with parties outside the country. Zanu-Ndonga had established contacts with Renamo (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*) in Mozambique and with the Inkatha Freedom Party in South Africa, but these contacts were not substantive. Other contacts had been with the Christian Democratic Party in Germany. But the party claimed to have been advised by an external political foundation not to contest the 2002 election so as not to split the opposition vote.

The bigger parties appear to have more formal links with external organisations. Zanu-PF has cultivated links with other liberation movements in

the Southern Africa region. These include Frelimo, the ANC, Swapo and the MPLA, and the fraternal links have been discussed and expressed at regional meetings in the past five years. Other links that the party has includes those with parties in China and Cuba. For its part, the MDC has sought to develop ties with labour parties elsewhere, and has applied to join Socialist International. It also has contacts with the ANC and the South African Communist Party, with Swapo and the Congress of Democrats.<sup>66</sup> Earlier links that it had established with Renamo in Mozambique and the Democratic Alliance in South Africa appear to have now been downgraded.

At the national level, parties have links with CSOs and other groups. While Zanu-PF is aligned to the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU), the MDC is aligned to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). Like most opposition parties, the MDC has ties with the NCA as well as with the Crisis Zimbabwe Coalition. The parties have formed a liaison committee under the auspices of the NCA to address such issues as constitutional and electoral reform. There was a discussion between them over a possible voting pact at election time but it appears that this was not conclusive. Finally, some parties have liaised with the ESC on electoral issues during the campaign period. This has mainly involved attendance at meetings coordinated by the ESC for contesting parties.

### **GENDER EQUALITY**

There are 20 women parliamentarians in Zimbabwe's 120-seat National Assembly. Of these, 14 are Zanu-PF parliamentarians and six are MDC parliamentarians (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Gender representation in Zimbabwe's National Assembly**

| Party          | No. of elected male MPs | No. of elected female MPs | % female MPs | Total elected MPs |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Zanu-PF        | 64                      | 14                        | 21.8         | 78                |
| MDC            | 35                      | 6                         | 17.1         | 41                |
| Independent(s) | 1                       | 0                         | ...          | 1                 |
| Total          | 100                     | 20                        | 20           | 120               |

Source: ZESN, 2005, op cit.

Together with women non-constituency members, women make up about 20% of MPs – a far cry from the 30% set as a minimum by 2005 in line with the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Except for two parties, no others have set quotas for nominations or posts for women. Even in the MDC and Zanu-PF themselves, the quotas are voluntary.

It is required that a third of the members in Zanu-PF's politburo should be women, but significantly no similar quota applies to central committee membership. Nor is there a set quota for women election candidates. A more recent innovation is a proposed amendment to Zanu-PF's constitution to have a woman as one of the two party vice-presidents. This was ratified at the 2004 December Congress of Zanu-PF, paving the way for the election of the first woman vice-president, Joyce Mujuru.

In the MDC, there is no formal quota for women election candidates or for the various party posts. The exception is the membership of the national council. The party's constitution states that in the event of there being less than eight women among the 24 members of the council, the national executive council has powers to co-opt women so that they form a third of the membership. In general, parties have not formulated clear positions on quotas for various special groups including women, the youth and people with disabilities. The FPTP electoral system appears to have discouraged a trend towards a party list, such as obtains under the PR system. There is, however, recognition that a quota for women would be one of the first steps necessary on the path towards gender equality. One woman party member observed that in view of the fact that women constitute 65% of the membership in her party, they deserved at least a quota of 35% in posts and election nominations.

Some of the parties were taking proactive measures, such as organising training programmes to hone women's political and campaign skills. These were to increase confidence among potential women candidates. In another party, the issues of gender mainstreaming in party programmes were being taken seriously. But concerns of personal security of women party members and candidates loomed large, particularly among opposition parties. There is still a long way to go before political parties in Zimbabwe establish conditions that are conducive for gender equality in political representation.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has largely been drawn from existing material on political parties in Zimbabwe. Consisting of party literature and field interviews, the report therefore goes some way to build a profile of the key parties as well as political environment in which they operate. The salient features of the Zimbabwean political system emerged in the process of doing this, as did the strains and stresses burdening it.

A point of departure of the study was that strong and sustainable democracy is dependent on well-functioning political parties because they are crucial actors in bringing together diverse interests, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice. The bulk of the findings of the report relate to five parties, namely, the ruling Zanu-PF, the main opposition MDC, and the three smaller parties (Zanu-Ndonga, the DP and NAGG).

The report began by describing the methodology employed in the study; it relied mainly on party literature as well as on interviews with their leadership. It then explored the institutional framework in which Zimbabwean political parties operate. This framework had in turn been shaped by the country's constitutional and political history, including the institutions prescribed under the independence constitution.

It was observed that the first decade of independence witnessed conflict between the two major parties (Zanu-PF and PF-Zapu) followed by a Unity Accord in 1987 and an eventual merger. The stage was thus set for the installation of a 'dominant party system'; the election results in the 1990 and 1995 elections amply confirmed this, with the ruling Zanu-PF notching up over 95% of the seats in parliament. But the electoral and political system came under considerable strain with the founding and growth of a formidable opposition movement, which has reduced Zanu-PF's majority in parliament since the 2000 general elections.

The report assesses the main laws which exert external regulations on parties, as well as condition the environment in which they operate. The major laws

include the Political Parties (Finance) Act, the Electoral Act and the Public Order and Security Act. Although there was no formal requirement that parties should register, there were certain minimum conditions that their candidates for elections should meet.

In general, the regulatory environment has had several intended (and perhaps unintended) outcomes as far as the participation of parties in the political process is concerned. Although it is relatively simple to form a party (since there are no registration requirements), in practice it is difficult to maintain or expand a party, and more so to contest in elections. This is because of the significant financial, human and organisational resources required for a credible election campaign to take off (in local, parliamentary and presidential elections).

To a large extent, this explains why only three parties were represented in parliament between 2000 and March 2005 despite the existence of over 20 parties. In this context, it would not be far-fetched to term some of the parties as 'brief-case' parties; others do not have a minimal secretariat. The legislation on party funding stipulates that to be eligible for funds a party should have won at least 5% of the vote in the last election. It also prohibits external funding. The report explained why state funding was therefore mainly shared between Zanu-PF and the MDC, and why the smaller parties were perpetually short of resources.

There were several important additions to the institutional framework for parties and elections. These were the 2004 Electoral Act and the establishment of a ZEC, although the division of labour between it and the ESC is still not very clear. In addition, new broadcasting regulations were introduced in early 2005 to regulate access to the media by parties contesting the 31 March election.

Although a debate continues on the extent to which the new institutional framework meets the set criteria, it was significant that the Zimbabwe government expressed its adherence to the SADC Guidelines on Democratic Elections agreed upon in Mauritius in August 2004. Finally, misgivings continue among opposition parties towards the Public Order and Security Act, which is widely believed to be aimed at restricting the meetings and

other activities of opposition parties. There needs to be a review of this legislation, owing to the mistrust and suspicion that it continues to generate.

The report then explored the internal structures and functioning of parties. There were considerable similarities in the internal structures of the parties surveyed: they had the congress as the apex of the structure, central committees, then national executive committees or councils as well as women's and youth wings. In practice, it was only in the two main parties, Zanu-PF and the MDC, that these structures were functional and thus active. In turn, this appeared to have a large bearing on the capacity of these two parties to mobilise a larger party machinery during elections. In the smaller parties, the structures were dormant rather than active, and therefore ineffective during elections. The report went on to examine patterns in internal party democracy with special reference to primary elections.

It emerged from the fieldwork that it was mainly in the larger parties that primary elections were conducted for candidates who intended to contest local and national elections. The conducting of such primary elections had been a laborious and even contentious process in the MDC and Zanu-PF in the preparation for the 2005 general election. The study observed that although there was no legislation on quotas for women, youth and other social groups, it was significant that Zanu-PF made a decision at its 2004 congress to allocate some 30% of the contestable constituencies to women in the 2005 election. There was no quota for youth in the larger parties.

In general, the fieldwork for this report showed that the level of seriousness in building and consolidating a party varied enormously between parties. The main parties certainly devoted more resources to this. Internal party democracy was a major issue within these parties, and mechanisms had been put in place to address this issue. Prior to the 2005 election campaign, there was healthy but intense rivalry between candidates for nomination; this was most pronounced in Zanu-PF and the MDC. Both drew on party resources for the primaries, which are time consuming and require finances. Primaries are not fool proof but they are useful in reflecting the degree to which parties adhered to rules for the democratic selection of candidates. To that extent, internal structures, functions and primaries displayed the extent to which a party respected and internalised norms and values of democracy – that is, fairness, transparency and accountability.

Finally, the report suggests that political development, and particularly the party system, have not remained static since independence. After flirting with a dominant party system for a decade or so, the 2000 election ushered in a more competitive two-party system represented by Zanu-PF and the MDC. Both parties were the major contenders in the March election, despite a token participation by two small parties and some independents. It remains to be seen whether post-2005 election, political developments will sustain hopes for such a competitive party system rather than a return to a dominant party syndrome.

More generally, as we have observed elsewhere, the democratisation process in Zimbabwe remains quite fragile.<sup>67</sup> Such electoral and broadcasting reforms and procedures as have been introduced in the build-up to the 2005 election have been minimal and hesitant rather than comprehensive. Some parties and analysts insist that the letter and spirit of the SADC Guidelines on Elections and Democracy have not been complied with. The overall picture is one of a government (and ruling party) that feels 'beleaguered', especially insofar as relations with the West are concerned. It is one that is suspicious of external support shown towards the MDC and CSOs. It is also a state that is paranoid with respect to media criticism, both domestic and foreign. This set of conditions enlarges the challenge for building inter-party consensus on reform to deepen democratisation. The fears and anxieties of the state have to be acknowledged and addressed while the opposition's concerns about civil liberties and human rights should be dealt with.

The challenge for both sides is to forge a consensus on political and constitutional priorities, and to develop confidence in their capacity to do this rather than pin hopes solely on external intervention or mediation. Small steps in resolving internal conflicts include the formation of multiparty political liaison committees to resolve election-related conflicts that might arise. Formed under the newly established ZEC, these committees may serve as harbingers to a more consensual type of politics in the country. There would be much to commend a more open and transparent style of government and a more 'loyal' opposition movement that seeks to contribute to a national consensus rather than to polarisation.

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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?*

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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?**
- a. 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)*
- b. If elected, how? Describe procedure.**
- c. 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?**
- a. What is the normal geographic or other area of operation of the most local branch?**
- b. 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 is currently the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is also 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.

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## **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 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 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary both at its Head quarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

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