

ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF
POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE SADC REGION
THROUGH PUBLIC OUTREACH PROGRAMMES:
Focus on Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia

ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE
SADC REGION THROUGH PUBLIC
OUTREACH PROGRAMMES:
Focus on Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia

BY
DENIS KADIMA
KHABELE MATLOSA
VICTOR SHALE



2006

Published by EISA
14 Park Rd, Richmond
Johannesburg
South Africa

P O Box 740
Auckland Park
2006
South Africa
Tel: 27 11 482 5495
Fax: 27 11 482 6163
Email: eisa@eisa.org.za
www.eisa.org.za

ISBN: 1-920095-62-4

© EISA

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of EISA.

First published 2006

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
Reproduced with the kind permission of Hamill Gallery of African Art,
Boston, Ma USA*

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

DENIS K. KADIMA was head of research at EISA from 1999 to 2000 and has been executive director of the Institute since December 2002. During the period January 2001 to September 2002, Kadima was regional senior programme manager at the Washington DC-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in Windhoek, Namibia from where he provided technical assistance to the SADC Parliamentary Forum in election observation. Kadima was appointed NDI's Lesotho country director in October 2002, where he conceptualised and implemented capacity-building programmes both for political parties and for the Lesotho National Assembly.

A former bank manager, Kadima holds a *Licence* in Political and Administrative Sciences from Université de Lubumbashi (Democratic Republic of the Congo), an MA in Political Studies from Wits University (Johannesburg, South Africa) and a Postgraduate Diploma in Business Administration also from Wits. He is currently completing a PhD at Wits University on political party coalitions in Africa. Kadima founded EISA's *Journal of African Elections* in 2000 and has published extensively on elections, democracy and political parties. He is chairperson of the board of the Southern Africa Trust and a board member of the Southern Africa Regional Poverty Network.

DR KHABELE MATLOSA is the senior advisor: research at EISA in Johannesburg, South Africa and holds a PhD in Political Economy. He is a governance specialist and has researched and written widely on various governance topics such as electoral system reform, political parties, regional security, the military, conflict management, democracy and development, voting behaviour, election observation/monitoring and parliament. Matlosa is the regional coordinator of EISA's 'Consolidating Democratic Governance in the SADC Region' project that began in 2003 and will be completed in 2006. He is co-editor-in-chief of EISA's *Journal of African Elections*.

VICTOR SHALE is a researcher at EISA and holds an MPhil in Conflict Management from the University of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Shale is

currently completing a PhD on the role of traditional institutions in democratic governance and development at the University of South Africa. He is a conflict management specialist, skilled in negotiations and mediation approaches. Shale has researched and written on various issues on democracy, including diplomacy, conflict management and local government. He is the regional coordinator for EISA's 'Strengthening Political Parties for Sustainable Democratic Consolidation and Good Governance in the SADC Region' project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the presidents, deputy presidents, secretary generals, executive secretaries, youth leaders and advisors of the political parties who agreed to be interviewed regarding their parties' policy development processes and public outreach programmes. These parties are the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana Congress Party (BCP), Botswana People's Party (BPP), Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Basotho National Party (BNP), Lesotho People's Congress (LPC), Kopanang Basotho Party (KBP), South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), Congress of Democrats (CoD), Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Namibian Movement for Democratic Change (NMDC), Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), United Party for National Development (UPND), Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) and United National Independence Party (UNIP).

PREFACE

The EISA regional project on ‘Strengthening Political Parties for Sustainable Democracy’ was initiated in 2005 with a view to addressing one of the often neglected institutions of democracy – political parties. Much of the research on democratisation in Southern Africa has tended to focus on key institutions of the state such as parliament, the executive, the judiciary as well as political processes.

Often more by default than design, political parties until fairly recently have not featured prominently in the democracy research and discourse. This research project therefore fills an apparent gap in the democracy debate in Southern Africa by bringing political parties into the discourse. The project is not only useful for advancing academic knowledge on these institutions, but also aims to highlight key areas in which the capacity of parties could be enhanced, thereby benefiting the institutionalisation of pluralistic politics and the sustainability of democracy.

The project complements three related initiatives. First, EISA is about to complete a research project on democratic consolidation in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region which raised questions around, among others, parties and citizen participation. This project is funded by the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (Osisa) and the Norwegian Agency for Development (Norad) through the Oslo-based Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR). Second, EISA has completed another study undertaken jointly with the Stockholm-based International IDEA on political parties and democratic governance supported by the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) and the Danish and Finnish governments, which further reveals the need for an in-depth investigation on the relationship between governance, political parties and citizen participation. Third, EISA is undertaking a comparative study on the experiences of political party coalitions in Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique and South Africa, funded by the German-based Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Finnish Embassy.

It was discovered through these three initiatives that enormous challenges exist for enhancing institutional capacity and the effectiveness of political

parties if these institutions are to play their expected role as a key medium for citizen participation in the democratic process.

The democratic process is evolving at national level in many SADC countries, but internal democratic practice within parties – which would allow for greater citizen participation in the governance process – is lacking. Parties have not been able to place citizens at the centre of politics. Leaders tend to concentrate power in their hands, and therefore tend to be synonymous with parties and vice versa. Personality cult becomes a cancer that generally inhibits intra-party democracy.

This project will focus on six selected themes, namely:

- Internal organisational arrangements, management and functioning of parties.
- Gender representation.
- Leadership in parties.
- Conflict and conflict management.
- Inter-party relations.
- Public outreach programmes.

The aim of the project is to strengthen political parties in the SADC region so that they can play a meaningful role as effective institutions for the entrenchment of democratic culture and practice. The specific objectives of the project are to:

- undertake comparative research on political parties in order to generate a body of knowledge on the functioning of political parties in the region, their internal democracy mechanisms and organisational arrangements;
- disseminate information on comparative experiences of political parties in the SADC region;
- promote dialogue on the findings of the research in order to generate regional and in-country debates on the status of political parties; and
- conduct capacity building activities in a variety of areas, such as intra-party democracy, outreach activities, gender representation and leadership.

We extend our gratitude to the NCHR for the generous financial support which has made this project possible, and acknowledge the invaluable contributions of various staff members in EISA's Research Department.

Denis Kadima

Khabele Matlosa

Victor Shale

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BAC	Basutoland African Congress
BAM	Botswana Alliance Movement
BCP	Botswana Congress Party
BCP	Basutoland Congress Party
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BNF	Botswana National Front
BNP	Basotho National Party
BPP	Botswana People's Party
CoD	Congress of Democrats
CSO	Civil society organisation
Danida	Danish International Development Agency
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ECN	Electoral Commission of Namibia
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FPTP	First-past-the-post
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
KBP	Kopanang Basotho Party
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LPC	Lesotho People's Congress
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
MMP	Mixed-member proportional
MP	Member of parliament
NCHR	Norwegian Centre for Human Rights
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIP	National Independent Party
NMDC	Namibian Movement for Democratic Change
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development
NPP	National Progressive Party
Osisa	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
PR	Proportional representation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
Swapo	South West African People's Organisation
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development

CONTENTS

List of acronyms	x
Executive Summary	xiii
1. Introduction	1
2. Methodology and limitations of the study	3
3. Political party outreach programmes	6
Policy	6
Manifesto	6
Voter education	6
Civic education	7
4. Botswana	10
Overview	10
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	11
Botswana National Front (BNF)	14
Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	17
Botswana People’s Party (BPP)	20
5. Lesotho	23
Overview	23
Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)	25
Basotho National Party (BNP)	28
Lesotho People’s Congress (LPC)	31
Kopanang Basotho Party (KBP)	34
6. Namibia	36
Overview	36
Swapo Party	36
Congress of Democrats (CoD)	38
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)	40
Namibian Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC)	42
7. Zambia	45
Overview	45
Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD)	46
United Party for National Development (UPND)	48
United National Independence Party (UNIP)	51
Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	53
8. Conclusions and recommendations	57
Party membership registers	57

Policy formulation	58
Manifesto	59
Voter education	59
Civic education	60
Notes	62
References	64
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Questionnaire on political party outreach programmes	69
Appendix 2: Results of recent elections in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia	71
About EISA	74
Other research reports in this series	78

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Political institutions – and these include political parties – play a key role in providing an anchor for democratic governance. Political parties are a critical pillar for the sustainability of democracy and democratic governance; they are a vehicle for the mobilisation of voters and serve as a platform where people from different walks of life can agree on a common course of action to be taken in pursuit of a country's development. The ever changing global environment has compelled political parties to renew themselves continuously in order to remain relevant.

Being key role players in a multiparty democracy, political parties need to be viable and effective institutions actively taking part in shaping the governance and development trajectories of their own countries. High on the list of fundamentals that political parties need to embrace as key drivers of democracy is to maintain the public's confidence and trust. The prerequisite for this public support is a political party's ability not only to develop an attractive programme but also to sell that programme both during and between elections.

The greatest challenge is that political parties (especially opposition parties) tend to become more visible during elections, with their activism and political mobilisation progressively dwindling between elections. This trend adversely affects public confidence and trust in parties, which in turn leads not only to membership declines but to declining votes during elections. It goes without saying that in order to sustain public confidence and trust, a political party needs to have a sound and robust public outreach programme.

This pilot study forms part of a Southern African Development Community (SADC)-wide project on strengthening political parties for sustainable democracy in the SADC region, launched by EISA in August 2005 with financial support from the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR). The main purpose of the project is to help strengthen political parties in the SADC region so that they can play a meaningful role as effective actors for sustainable democratic governance.

The study of political parties' outreach programmes forms one of the six project components. The other five components are:

- internal organisational arrangements, management and functioning of parties;
- gender representation;
- leadership in parties;
- conflict and conflict management; and
- inter-party relations.

The study seeks to examine whether or not political parties have public outreach programmes and how they develop and implement these programmes. The study also seeks to assess the impact of such public outreach programmes, where these exist, on sustaining democracy in the selected countries. The collected data in this component was analysed and used to inform an agenda for regional dialogue. A regional conference was convened with representatives of political parties from each of the four countries on 20 February 2006 in Johannesburg, South Africa. This conference provided participants with the opportunity to share experiences from across the region.

Based on the lessons learnt, guidelines for best practices for political parties will be formulated. The discussions at this conference will also form the basis for the development by EISA of a capacity-building programme for political parties. This material will be used for the capacity-building phase of the project, during which political party representatives will receive training. The findings of the research will be made available to representatives of the governing and opposition parties, researchers, legislators and civil society organisations. The research will also contribute meaningfully to the efforts of the EISA Research Department in assisting democratic governance in the region.

This study represents a pilot survey of political parties' public outreach programmes in selected countries in Southern Africa. Using four main tools – policy development, party manifesto, voter education and civic education – it seeks to establish if political parties have public outreach programmes, how they develop those programmes, who implements them

and whether or not the programmes are useful in terms of sustaining effectiveness of parties in democratic governance in the SADC region. The 16 political parties in this study are from Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia, with selections based on the following criteria: a ruling party, and official opposition party in parliament, a second major opposition party in parliament and one party outside parliament.

One of the key findings of this pilot study is that in all four countries studied, both the ruling and opposition parties have public outreach programmes. We observe that while political parties may have policy documents, manifestos, and voter and civic education initiatives, these tools are not always used in a coherent and systematic fashion, thereby reducing the optimal utility and effectiveness of their public outreach programmes. We further observe that there is no clear or systematic consultative process between the parties and their members between election periods. Some parties were able to say how the consultative process unfolds but were unable to prove definitively that it actually happens; for most parties this appeared to be more theory than practice.

There was evidence of interaction between parties and their constituents in the run up to elections, with party leaders travelling the country to meet their supporters. It was found, however, that there was not always enough time for parties to discuss community needs and governance issues with their members since these visits were usually short, with party leaders under pressure to travel to the next constituency. Financial constraints were another factor limiting the intervals and duration of interaction between party leaders and party members. As a result, opposition parties tend to be dormant between elections and only resurface in the run up to elections. In addition, ruling parties have the advantage of incumbency over opposition parties; they have access to a variety of state and private resources. The problem of abuse of public resources and exploitation of incumbency by governing parties therefore becomes more compounded in countries where public funding for political parties does not exist and where private funding is unregulated.

INTRODUCTION

Although there are various political institutions that play a crucial role in the democratic process, it has been observed that political parties are key to the sustainability and consolidation of democracy.¹ Parties bring together diverse interests, recruit members, nominate candidates and develop competing policy proposals; however, evidence abounds suggesting that public confidence and trust in parties is on the decline throughout the world – and more so in Africa.² This factor contributes to the enfeeblement and fragmentation of parties, which process in turn undermines the sustainability of democracy. Weak political parties jeopardise democratic political systems, more so in emerging democracies. This is an immense and daunting challenge facing political parties especially in Africa. We investigate this problem in the context of Southern Africa, focusing on the public outreach programmes of selected parties in four Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

The internal functioning of political parties determines how the views and social demands of different groups 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 hindered traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, and young people – from participating in the democratic process. The struggle for greater numbers of women in politics illustrates the problem.

Despite heavy emphasis on the gender dimension in political discourse and the considerable rise of women's voices in civil society, in 2004 women – who represent 52% of the world's population – held only 15% and 14% of legislative seats in the world and in the SADC region respectively. Many parties are reluctant to accept change that would result in the improved representation of women, and avoid taking responsibility for the universally proclaimed goals of gender equality. One of the major findings emanating from regional research projects completed by EISA in the recent past, with financial support from the NCHR/Norad and Osisa, the

Embassy of Finland, Sida and Dandia, is that party systems do have an impact on participation and governance in general; the behaviour and conduct of parties is thus crucial in determining the form and content of a democratic dispensation in each country.

This research report is organised in four main sections. It begins by providing the research methodology, explaining how the study was conducted and who was interviewed. The rationale for selecting the countries in this study as well as the selected parties is also provided in this section. This is followed by a section on public outreach programmes, focusing on the four tools outlined in the executive summary. The next section looks at the political parties in each of the four countries studied, namely Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Zambia. A brief overview of the political situation in each country is provided, followed by an analysis of each of the selected political parties in that country. The study explores the extent to which political parties in these countries involve their members in the formulation of their policies and programmes. It also looks at how they conduct their civic and voter education programmes and whether these have any impact on governance. The final section of the research report provides conclusions and recommendations for enhancing the effectiveness of political parties in the nurturing and consolidation of democratic governance in the SADC region.

METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research was undertaken over a period of five months between August and December 2005. Qualitative data was collected through interviews conducted in September 2005 with senior leaders of the selected political parties in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia. These included party presidents, deputy presidents, secretary generals, executive secretaries, youth leaders and political advisors of some political parties. The criteria used to select the four countries were based on resource considerations because adequate funding was not secured to cover other countries in the SADC region. The four countries selected do, however, provide compelling comparative insights as they operate different electoral systems, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Selected countries' electoral systems

Country	Electoral system
Botswana	First-past-the-post (FPTP)
Lesotho	Mixed-member proportional (MMP)
Namibia	Proportional representation (PR)
Zambia	First-past-the-post (FPTP)

The first-past-the-post (FPTP) system is the most commonly used electoral model in the SADC region: candidates from a constituency contest elections as individuals either as independent or party-endorsed candidates. While it is easy to use, this system perpetuates the dominance of big parties over smaller ones. The model has been criticised for unfairness in vote allocation among parties and has been blamed for most post-election conflict. The mixed-member proportional (MMP) system allows all parties to have a share of the parliamentary seats allocated according to a formula which recognises their share of votes in an election. This system accommodates smaller parties that get adequate votes for securing parliamentary seats. With proportional representation (PR), parties draw up lists of their representatives to contest elections: the party,

not the individual, gets elected and the system does not accommodate independent candidates. Parties win seats in parliament in proportion to their electoral strength, and it is for this reason that PR is regarded as both fair and equitable.

Electoral systems have an immense influence and impact on party systems as well as on the way in which political parties function in a democratic setting. First, electoral systems have a bearing on the strategies that parties adopt in contesting elections. For instance, in the context of either a PR or MMP electoral model, parties would conventionally have political incentives to coalesce in the form of party coalitions during elections and in terms of undertaking their functions in parliament. Exceptions do exist though; for example, coalition politics is not a feature of the Namibian party system.

Although party coalitions have marked the South African political landscape, they have often not succeeded. This is in stark contrast to the situation in Mozambique, where party coalitions have endured since that country's political transition in 1992. The fact that political parties in Lesotho are now clamouring for coalitions and alliances is in part as a result of electoral reforms that have taken place since the country's 2002 general election, which saw the adoption of the MMP electoral system.

That coalitions are a common feature of PR electoral systems, however, should not be read to mean that party coalitions do not mark party systems under the FPTP electoral model. A clear case in point here is Mauritius; a country that has the longest-enduring party coalition tradition within the context of FPTP combined with the Best-Loser system.³

Second, Mauritius aside, the FPTP electoral system does not often encourage party coalitions. If and when coalitions happen, these tend to be short term and short lived, whereby parties build electoral pacts that often do not survive long after an election. The classic case in point here is the experience of the National Rainbow Coalition in Kenya which brought about the down-fall of the authoritarian Moi regime but could not hold together following the 2002 election. Today, this coalition is in tatters.

The central point being canvassed here is simply this: in an electoral model where coalitions are possible and can be sustained – as in countries operating PR or MMP systems – parties tend to operate differently; and their outreach programmes will obviously tend to emphasise collaborative inter-party relations and consensus politics. This is in contrast to situations under the FPTP system where outreach programmes will tend to emphasise conflictual inter-party relations and adversarial politics. Of the four case studies selected for this study, it appears that Namibia is experiencing relatively collaborative inter-party relations while the other three countries seem locked in conflictual inter-party relations. This suggests that party outreach programmes in Namibia are likely to be of a different nature to those in the other three countries.

POLITICAL PARTY OUTREACH PROGRAMMES

The discussion in this report regarding political party outreach programmes focuses on four aspects or tools, namely:

- policy formulation;
- party manifesto;
- voter education; and
- civic education.

For the purposes of this study, the four tools are defined as follows:

POLICY

A policy is a course of action chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems. It is a course of action, yes, but action that is anchored in both a set of values regarding appropriate public goals and a set of beliefs about the best way of achieving those goals.⁴ It follows therefore that policy formulation entails a process of putting certain ideas together to direct a party's line of action within a given period. Some of the interviewed political parties have developed policies that are distinct from political programmes, whereby the latter gives meaning and effect to the former. Others tend to fuse their broader policies with programmes whereby one single document constitutes a policy and a programme of the party.

MANIFESTO

The dictionary meaning of a manifesto is a statement that a political party uses to declare its intentions and policy position ahead of elections. A party manifesto also contains the party's promises in the delivery of services around such areas as health, education, employment, housing, safety and security, social welfare, and industrial and agricultural development. It is usually revised before the next elections to accommodate new issues.

VOTER EDUCATION

Voter education is the information provided by a political party in the run up to elections. It typically addresses voters' motivations and preparedness

to participate fully in elections, and pertains to relatively more complex types of information about voting and the electoral process. Voter education is concerned with such concepts as the secrecy of the ballot, why each vote is important and its impact on public accountability, and how votes translate into seats. Such concepts involve explanation, not just a statement of facts. This type of information is most often provided by election authorities and civil society organisations (CSOs).⁵

CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education is defined in the *Encyclopaedia of Democracy* as education that is meant to inculcate certain opinions, attachments and virtues required to preserve a particular political order. It motivates people to participate in politics and equips them with the necessary skills to participate meaningfully in democracy and democratic governance.⁶

On the basis of the aforementioned conceptualisation, a questionnaire (see appendix) on public outreach programmes consisting of four parts – general information about the party, outreach programmes, membership and stakeholders – was developed and presented to 16 political parties from four SADC countries. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first section was on general information about the party in terms of its representation at national and local levels. It also included gender representation and the party's policy issues. The second section dealt with the party's public outreach programmes looking into how such programmes are formulated and implemented. The third section addressed party membership in terms of size and also how the rank and file membership of the party participates in its decision-making processes. The last section dealt with stakeholders in terms of the external relations that the party maintains in pursuing its objectives.

The political parties interviewed were as follows:

Botswana

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP): Ruling party

Botswana National Front (BNF): Official opposition party in parliament

Botswana Congress Party (BCP): Second main opposition in parliament

Botswana People's Party (BPP): Opposition party outside parliament

Lesotho

Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD): Ruling party

Basotho National Party (BNP): Official opposition party in parliament

Lesotho People's Congress (LPC): Second opposition party in parliament

Kopanang Basotho Party (KBP): Opposition outside parliament

Namibia

South West African People's Organisation (Swapo): Ruling party

Congress of Democrats (CoD): Official opposition party in parliament

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA): Second opposition party in parliament

Namibian Movement for Democratic Change (NMDC): Opposition outside parliament

Zambia

Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD): Ruling party

United Party for National Development (UPND): Official opposition party in parliament

United National Independence Party (UNIP): Second main opposition party in parliament

Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD): Opposition party parliament⁷

While all efforts were made to illicit factual information from the parties in this study, a number of challenges were encountered. First, political parties have a tendency not to be open and transparent in discussing issues such as finances and membership. Secrecy around these issues is informed by the view that these are purely internal matters to parties and are not supposed to be shared with the public, especially the inquisitive research community. When asked, for instance, about their membership figures a number of parties, either by design or by default, inflated the figures. There is consequently no congruence between the membership figures and the number of votes that the concerned parties won in the most recent election. While the votes may not necessarily tally with the total number of registered members, they do give an indication of the party's strength and support.

The secrecy also deprives parties of opportunities that may be presented by open discussions on these issues. Parties want to present themselves as perfect institutions apparently for fear of being out competed by their rivals.

Closely related to secrecy is the problem of absence of proper and up-to-date records and record management systems within parties. Parties find it difficult to give accurate statistics about their membership because most of them do not have membership registers. The few parties that do have membership registers do not update these timeously. Worse still, not only do some parties fail to keep records, they do not have offices.

Internal bureaucracy within parties was another methodological constraint. In all the parties, it proved a cumbersome hurdle to access leadership for information gathering. In some instances, when appointments were struck they would have to be shifted as internal consultations take place before interviews are granted. This problem was more pronounced in respect to ruling parties and less so with opposition parties. In most of the countries surveyed, many members in ruling parties also hold ministerial positions and this makes it difficult to have access to them due to their busy schedules. Middle or junior members who are not necessarily conversant with the party's policies and strategies are often delegated to attend to researchers.

The individual political party situation regarding public outreach programmes is the subject of the next few sections. Selected political parties in Botswana are discussed first, followed by those in Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia. A discussion on the parties follows a brief overview of the political situation in the country under review.

BOTSWANA

OVERVIEW

Botswana is one of the few countries in the SADC region to enjoy long-enduring political stability under conditions of an established liberal democracy. According to Somolekae,⁸ unlike many countries in the SADC region and the African continent at large, this is a country that has never had political prisoners. It attained its independence in 1966 and has grown from strength to strength economically mainly due to the discovery of diamonds.⁹ Each of the elections since independence have been freely and fairly contested.¹⁰ The president has executive power and is chosen by the National Assembly following countrywide legislative elections. While this is the conventional way of electing a president, Good and Taylor¹¹ point out that on the contrary, the process has been hijacked by an automatic succession to the presidency which has been witnessed with the two presidential successions, in 1980 and in 1998. The cabinet is selected by the president from the National Assembly; it consists of a vice-president and a flexible number of ministers and assistant ministers, currently 14 and six respectively. The National Assembly has 57 elected and four specially appointed members; it is reviewed following each 10-yearly census (the most recent census was conducted in 2001).

Botswana has not discarded the importance of traditional institutions and has made provision for the advisory House of Chiefs. This advisory House represents the eight principal sub-groups of the Botswana tribe, and four other members are elected by the sub-chiefs of four of the districts. A draft of any National Assembly bill of tribal concern must be referred to the House of Chiefs for advisory opinion. Chiefs and other leaders preside over customary traditional courts, though all persons have the right to request that their case be considered under the formal Roman Law legal system.

There are 13 political parties in Botswana.¹² Since independence, elections have been won by the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). While the country has enjoyed peace and stability compared to its neighbours in the region, the greatest challenge that remains is to have viable opposition

parties in Botswana to challenge the dominance of the ruling BDP. Political leadership is riven with people whose personal interests are most often placed before and above the common weal.

After a series of poor performances in elections, opposition parties are now considering unity.¹³ One of the major factors inhibiting effectiveness of political parties is lack of party funding. Opposition parties struggle to raise enough money to be able to carry out their election activities, while the ruling party enjoys the benefits availed by incumbency. The ruling party has been criticised for using state resources and for dominating the media during elections, making it relatively difficult for the opposition to use the media for election purposes.¹⁴

Besides party funding and incumbency, opposition parties in Botswana are marginalised by the FPTP electoral system which tends to favour the ruling party.¹⁵ A positive development, however, is that opposition parties in Botswana have acknowledged their weak position and are trying to turn things around. They have since resolved to strive towards unity during elections to bolster their political challenge to the ruling BDP. In the recent 2004 general elections, the Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana People's Party (BPP) and Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM) formed an election pact and contested elections under one manifesto. After the elections, they were joined by the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and signed a memorandum of understanding to work together and not oppose one another during all by-elections in country until 2009.¹⁶ The parties have also started a negotiation process whereby they are exploring possible models for unity for the purpose of the 2009 elections and beyond.

The following section looks at the public outreach programmes of four of the major political parties, with particular focus on their policy formulation, manifesto, voter education and civic education. Parties selected for the purpose of this study are the BDP, BNF, BCP and the BPP.

BOTSWANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY (BDP)

The BDP was established in 1962 and has been the ruling party in Botswana since independence in 1966. It has the majority of 44 seats in parliament, five of which are occupied by women. The party reported that there are

335 representatives of the party at local government level. The BDP maintains an electronic membership register, with an estimated party membership in 2005 of 322,487. By comparison to this 2005 estimate, the BDP won 213,308 votes in the 2004 election. The BDP's main stronghold is in the country's rural constituencies.

Policy formulation

Policy formulation within the party involves a consultative process whereby the leadership and members agree on policy issues. Policy formulation can be top-down or bottom-up, depending on the issues concerned. The top-down approach was, for instance, used in developing HIV/AIDS policy, whereby the policy was drafted by the Central Committee and presented to the Council before being submitted to the Congress, which is the party's highest decision-making body. The Congress meets every two years and comprises representatives from about 57 constituencies. With the bottom-up approach, issues are raised at ward level, forwarded to constituency level and then to regional level before they reach the Central Committee.

The party reported that it ensures that draft policy is thoroughly discussed regardless of the formulation approach. It added that by virtue of being the party in government, its policies inform government policies. The BDP uses the internet, letters, verbal messages and the media to communicate with its members. Despite having an elaborate organisational structure, there was no evidence to indicate the involvement of the various organs, such as ward committees, for outreach purposes.

Manifesto

The party manifesto addresses a variety of socio-economic and political issues. It promises to: apply strategies that commit resources towards the elimination of crime and violence through training, capacity building for the police force, and community and private participation; improve the speedy delivery of justice; pursue dynamic and pragmatic policies in international relations; and to promote policies of peaceful conflict resolution. The manifesto also deals with such issues as expanding access to basic secondary and tertiary education systems, working towards 8% economic growth by the year 2016, investing in HIV/AIDS prevention,

care and treatment, as well as other innovative initiatives to guide national efforts towards alleviating the impact of the pandemic.

Besides holding rallies during the elections, the BDP popularises its manifesto through a house-to-house campaign strategy. The BDP's manifesto forms the basis for development planning in all government ministries. Development plans are prepared by planning officers in the respective ministries' before being submitted to the Ministry of Finance, which prioritises the plans and ensures they are in line with the party's manifesto.

Voter education

The party's voter education programme targets its members and recruits. They are encouraged to take part in elections and to vote for the BDP. This is done during public gatherings, meetings, workshops and seminars which are conducted by members of parliament (MPs), councillors and the Secretariat. The MPs, councillors and Secretariat also hold rallies. They tend to be more active around election time, with activities becoming progressively less frequent between elections. The party reported that it does not dedicate much time to voter education because this is undertaken thoroughly by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). Based on its election results, the BDP regards voter education by the IEC coupled with its modest efforts to have been successful for the general and local government elections. In all fairness, the success of voter education is attributable more to the IEC than to the BDP.

Civic education

The BDP has a political education programme which deals with democracy and governance issues for its members only. There is a clear indication that political party competition in Botswana is not intensive because the BDP has won all elections since independence without much effort to reach out to the community. Besides complaining about a skewed electoral system, opposition parties have failed to redress the vote splitting tendency brought about by their disunity and fragmentation. This, combined with other factors, has reproduced and sustained the embedded political hegemony of the BDP in the context of an ever enduring dominant party system.

BOTSWANA NATIONAL FRONT (BNF)

Formed in 1966 initially with the view to reconcile the fragmented groups from the BPP, the BNF has progressed through the years to become the main opposition party in Botswana, with 12 MPs at the beginning of the current parliament. One of the MPs passed away and the party retained its seat after the October 2005 by-election. This by-election therefore paved the way for the BNF leader to join parliament.

The party has 112 councillors, the majority of whom are in Gaborone and Lobatse. The BNF controls the whole Jwaneng sub-district, located within the Southern District of the country.

The BNF does not have details of gender representation at local government level. Of the 12 MPs, none is female. At central committee level, five members out of 18 are female, the deputy president being one of them. Although the party could not provide information about its membership during the interviews, it received 107,451 votes during the last 2004 parliamentary election.

Policy formulation

In terms of policy development, the BNF has a Policy Forum which consists of experts from within and outside the party. This forum is chaired by the party's secretary for political education. The forum submits draft policy to the Central Committee for review and further refinement. After being reviewed, the draft policy is sent to the lower structures – namely, the party cells, wards, constituency and regional committees – for their input before being finalised.

For communication purposes the party makes use of letters and telephones. It also takes advantage of the constituency offices that have paid full-time staff to link up with its members at grassroots level. In Botswana, all constituencies have offices that are meant to assist MPs to reach out to their communities. Every party with a seat in parliament is entitled to a fully staffed constituency office financed by the government through parliament.

The BNF's Policy Forum seems to be a good idea in terms of the

professionalism that it brings with it. The weakness of many political parties in the region is that politics has become their own territory and they are reluctant to involve professionals who could make invaluable inputs to their strategies without having to subscribe to such parties. In most cases such professionals are viewed with suspicion and politicians are usually quick to discourage their party members from associating with them.

The approach that the BNF uses is not without flaws. While the BNF should be praised for having created the Policy Forum, caution has to be taken to ensure that this structure does not assume the role of the politically legitimate structures of the party for policy formulation, such as the wards and constituencies. If this is not avoided, the danger is that the party leadership may alienate itself from the rank and file membership. As the party explained its policy formulation process, it appeared that the forum does most of the work and members are invited to endorse the policy document. The forum's consultation process with the general membership was not clearly articulated in terms of how it goes about the process.

Although the party uses the constituency offices, it pointed out that the offices are not enough. The party is therefore still faced with a problem of accessing areas where it does not have these offices. There are a few volunteers who avail their services to the party to implement its outreach programme. The party's MPs also use their personal resources (vehicles and money) to reach out to communities.

Like the BDP, the BNF has an electronic membership register. The party has 150,000 card-carrying members even though only 118,000 voted for it in the recent 2004 elections. Its support base is mainly in the urban areas but it does have support in three of the rural constituencies. Due to its sympathy with minorities, the party's support is mainly from the area where the Basarwa people are located. It also claims to have strong support from the labour movement.

Manifesto

The party manifesto contains issues such as national unity, whereby the party seeks to create a nation with a shared vision of total equality and

decent life regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, creed, race or class. Good governance is also contained in the manifesto. The BNF calls for the supremacy of parliament over the executive, observation of the doctrine of separation of powers, accountability and transparency of state institutions, democracy, a new type of electoral system and the independence of the IEC.

In addition, the manifesto calls for zero tolerance on corruption by enacting legislation to punish illegal and shady deals. It also touches on economic management through strategic identification of national industries and by prioritising the coherent development of manufacturing industries. Poverty alleviation through recognising the informal sector as a vehicle for employment creation and putting in place a structured assistance programme is also raised in the manifesto. Decentralisation, health-care delivery systems, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, social security and welfare, agriculture and rural development, environment, housing, youth and sports, as well as defence and security are articulated in the manifesto.

The BNF had formed an election pact with the BPP and the BAM. The three parties used this manifesto in contesting the 2004 general elections.

Voter education

The BNF reported that it does not have a voter education programme, leaving this responsibility entirely to the IEC. The IEC holds workshops and public gatherings around the country. The party has taken advantage of the IEC programme and has on occasion invited the IEC to address its members on voter education.

The disadvantage of relying on the IEC for voter education cannot be over emphasised. Similar to the BDP, the BNF is depriving its members of the opportunity to get first-hand electoral information from it as a political party. The kind of language that is used by the IEC is different from that which would be used by a political party. For instance, a party would use a distinctly political language to encourage voters to participate in elections in a clearly partisan fashion, while the IEC uses technical language in a non-partisan manner.

Civic education

The BNF reported that it has no civic education programme as it has always considered this to be the domain of the IEC and CSOs. However, the party intends to introduce a resource centre where documents on democracy and governance will be kept and made available for members and the public at large.

The BNF was not in a position to say how successful the IEC civic education programme has been. It is, of course, almost impossible for the party to evaluate the IEC's programme because it appears that there has not been an agreement between the IEC and the parties to develop a programme which would cater for the political interests of the parties.

The party indicated that it has realised that the current approach to civic education has its weaknesses and hopes to redress these by using its newly developed programme for party members. It will use the programme in the future to train its members on party policies, elections, democracy and governance issues. The BNF also intends to require familiarity with the programme's content as a prerequisite for its members aspiring to stand as candidates in future elections.

BOTSWANA CONGRESS PARTY (BCP)

Established as a splinter group from the BNF in 1998, the BCP has one seat in the current parliament of Botswana. At local government level it has 33 representatives. The Central Committee of the party has 33 members consisting of 21 elected members, 10 regional chairpersons, the president of the youth league and the president of the women's league. Five members out of the 21 elected members are women.

The party has received financial assistance from the Westminster Foundation and has, as a result, been able to run its office in Gaborone and has secured the services of an Executive Secretary. The office has internet facilities, making it possible for the party to communicate with its members in and around Gaborone. It does not have offices in other towns and therefore relies on individual members' postal boxes to send messages to its rank and file members. Funds from the Westminster Foundation together with donations from members and fundraising

activities, such as concerts, have helped the BCP to visit its members in many parts of the country.

The BCP is currently capturing its membership data to be computerised. Its membership is estimated at around 68,000 based on the 68,556 votes it received in the past election. A more reliable and accurate membership roster will be established once the register is computerised.

Policy formulation

In terms of policy development, the BCP reported that its leadership involves the general membership in coming up with policies that address the needs and concerns of the people. The party has, for instance, engaged its members on the issue of forming coalitions and alliances with other political parties. Policy issues emanating from the members are written and discussed at all levels of the party. The process begins at the cells, which are the lowest structures. From the cells, issues are discussed at the wards, and taken up at constituency level before they are eventually discussed at the Central Committee. The issues are then drafted into policy by the Central Committee before being submitted to the Congress for approval at the party's annual general meeting.

Manifesto

The BCP election manifesto addresses wide-ranging issues including economic transformation and the introduction of a new political culture that will lead to improvements in the quality of life of all Batswana. The party commits to accountability, good governance, women and youth empowerment, and cultural diversity.

Presented in five parts, the manifesto focuses in detail on service delivery with particular emphasis on the provision of health, social security and welfare, housing, water, sports and recreation. The manifesto also addresses issues of poverty eradication through reviving the agricultural sector by redistributing land to the poor.

Also included is the intent to fortify the country's struggle against HIV/AIDS in order for Botswana to realise sustainable human development. The party promises to combat the further spread and impact of HIV/AIDS.

Voter education

The BCP has a secretary for Political Education who is responsible for voter education. His responsibilities are to teach BCP members about the party's policy, ideology, manifesto and, most importantly, elections. The secretary encourages party members and all Batswana to participate in elections as their fundamental right. This is despite the fact that the IEC makes similar calls to the nation.

Unlike the BDP and the BNF, the BCP believes that it has a role to play in inspiring the people to take part in elections. MPs and members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) and constituency coordinators are also responsible for carrying out voter education during election time. The party believes that its voter education programme is successful based on the growing number of people who voted in the areas which it covered. The BCP reported that given the interest people have had in elections, it has also had an increase in the popular vote, improving from 11% in 1999 to 18% in 2004. The BCP believes that it needs to have capable members who can market the party and galvanise the requisite political support.

Civic education

The secretary for Political Education is also responsible for civic education, covering such issues as democracy, rural development and poverty. Besides the secretary for Political Education, the BCP employs the services of another functionary within its structure – the secretary for Public Education. This person is responsible for communicating the party's position to the general public, particularly on education matters. The party has developed a funding proposal to the Westminster Foundation for funding the secretary for Public Education and field officers. The purpose is to enable them to reach out to communities to explain policy issues and important government decisions, such as the proposed introduction of school fees in Botswana.

It was noted, however, that confusion exists in terms of the roles of the two secretaries, with the secretary for Public Education seemingly performing the same functions as the secretary for Political Education. The party indicated that the functions of the secretary for Public Education are ideally an extended mandate of the secretary for Political Education,

hence the overlapping roles. It has, nonetheless, decided to stick to the arrangement as it deems education to be critical in Botswana, hence the need to have a senior member of the party dedicated entirely to its course. Despite this conflation of roles, the BCP strategy sets a good example of commitment to the empowerment of citizens and should be a good lesson to the other parties.

BOTSWANA PEOPLE'S PARTY (BPP)

The BPP is an opposition party outside parliament and one of the oldest political parties in the country, having been established in 1960. The party has experienced internal conflicts over the decades and these have tended to weaken it. It was not able to secure a parliamentary seat in 2004; however, it is represented at local government level by four councillors. The BPP has three representatives at district level and one representative in the Francis Town City Council. All the councillors are men and there are only two female members of the NEC.

The BPP cited lack of financial resources as a major reason for its poor performance in general and local government elections. It pointed out that the opposition parties do not have adequate funding and that this affects their performance in the elections. Although it is true that opposition parties are not funded in Botswana, the BPP's excuse cannot be generalised when looking at its performance in the elections. While it may be valid for general elections, it may not be so for local government level elections as they present an opportunity for smaller and often poorly funded parties to show their political strength. Local elections are comparatively cheaper to contest than national level elections.

The BPP believes it has had an increase in membership due to its recruitment efforts. The BPP maintains a membership register and reported that it had 25,130 members registered by September 2005. It is interesting, however, to note that BPP received only 7,886 votes in the 2004 election.

Policy formulation

In developing its policies, the BPP leadership – consisting of the NEC – discusses issues and drafts policy. The NEC then presents the draft to the Central Committee, which consults widely with party structures from

grassroots to constituency level. After these consultations, a final draft of the policy is prepared for presentation at the National Conference for adoption. Given the financial constraints, the BPP reported to have been forced to rely more on rallies as its main strategy to reach out to individuals and communities, particularly during opinion-gathering for policy development.

Manifesto

The BPP used the same election manifesto as the BNF and BAM in the 2004 elections since the three parties had formed an election pact. The party reported, however, that it still holds by some issues that were not included in the pact manifesto but which it uses to advance its own position outside the pact. One of these issues is privatisation.

The BPP supports the idea of privatisation as long as it gives shares of the assets being privatised to Botswana nationals and not to foreign companies only. The BPP reported that it would have liked this to be expressed in the manifesto but that its ally, the BNF, is entirely opposed to privatisation. Privatisation has, as a result, not been included in the pact manifesto but forms part of the issues that the BPP lists for the purposes of its own promises. The party also indicated that while it supports land redistribution in the pact manifesto, it would prefer this issue to be expressed in a stronger manner – a position that the other members of the pact did not share.

Voter education

In the previous election, the BPP and its allies did not have a voter education programme, they only invited the IEC to their individual and joint seminars organised by the Joint Alliance Committee to address their members on voter education. The BPP believes that its members benefited from the presentations of the IEC.

Most BPP activities occur during election time, with the party conducting seminars and rallies for its branches countrywide. Financial constraints have affected the party's efforts to sustain interaction with its members. In the past, the BPP's newsletter was used to communicate with members and the nation at large but it was last published in the 1980s. This problem renders day-to-day communication and membership recruitment difficult.

Civic education

The BPP takes the opportunity during its rallies to educate people about democracy, the role of parliament and the country's constitution. Rallies have been used to good effect, with BPP members starting to put pressure on their party leaders to join the alliance in order to have a stronger coalition to present an alternative to the ruling BDP. The party believes, however, that there is need for improved leadership and organisational skills as well as the training of women on political leadership.

LESOTHO

OVERVIEW

Lesotho is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy with a two-tier structure system of governance. The one tier is chieftainship and the other tier comprises representatives who are democratically elected and from whom the majority of the executive members are appointed. Parliament consists of two houses: the Senate (Upper House); and the National Assembly (Lower House). As a former British colony, Lesotho has inherited the Westminster system under which the prime minister is appointed by the king on the advice of State Council from a party with the majority of seats in parliament to become the Head of Government, while the king remains the Head of State. As a rule, cabinet ministers are appointed by the king on the advice of the prime minister from among elected MPs in the National Assembly. Occasionally, other cabinet ministers do get appointed by the king on the advice of the prime minister through the Senate.

The Senate consists of 22 principal chiefs, two independent chiefs and nine other people appointed by the king on the advice of the State Council and the prime minister. Below the principal chiefs, yet very close in terms of status and responsibility, are two independent chiefs who enjoy an almost similar status to principal chiefs. They do not get into the Senate automatically but form part of the 11 appointees. There are also about 506 headmen who are answerable to area chiefs. At the bottom of the hierarchy, there are about 1,200 customary chiefs.¹⁷

The country adopted a new electoral MMP model prior to the 2002 general elections. This is a combination of FPTP and PR systems. This change of electoral model was prompted by the 1998 political riots, which Matlosa¹⁸ suggests almost precipitated a civil war. The conflict was thwarted by both diplomatic and military intervention by SADC states, notably Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa.

The National Assembly now consists of 120 members, with 80 MPs elected through the FPTP model and 40 through the PR model. The Senate acts as

a 'watch dog' and, among many of its functions in parliament, is charged with scrutinising bills emanating from the National Assembly. This means that the Senate has to consider the activities of the National Assembly and advise it so that the decisions which are finally made by parliament do not have a negative effect on the people.

There are 19 political parties in Lesotho, although most of them are almost non-existent. Internal party conflicts have also fragmented those that could possibly pose competition to the ruling party.¹⁹ The trend in this kind of conflict has been that when party leaders disagree, they break away from the party and form a new one. For instance, the once strong ruling Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) experienced a split in 1997, which gave birth to the current ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). The deputy leader of the LCD also broke away to form the Lesotho People's Congress (LPC) in 2001. In addition, the BCP gave birth to another splinter party, the Basutoland African Congress (BAC) before the 2002 elections.

Party funding is a problem in Lesotho as it is in the entire region. Parties only get state funding during election periods. Only about four main political parties out of the 19 in Lesotho have offices and voluntary staff; the rest operate from the homes of their leaders and have no formal administration, relying more on individual volunteers' availability to perform party activities.

Opposition parties have complained about the use of the media, accusing the ruling party of barring other parties from using public media by imposing restrictive and prohibitive pre-conditions. Another cause of contention is what the opposition call discrimination against MMP MPs by parliament. Constituency MPs (most of whom are from the ruling party) are provided with constituency offices and full-time paid staff by parliament. They also get allowances to visit constituencies while other MPs are not accorded the same benefits because they have not been elected through FPTP but through the PR compensatory component of the MMP system.

The weak character of opposition parties in Lesotho has given the ruling party room to entrench itself at grassroots level. Opposition parties tend

to become more politically active during the election period. As a result of lack of preparedness they often find themselves having to accompany the ruling party to the polls to renew its mandate. The stronger parties, such as the Basotho National Party (BNP), have opposed the outcome of elections since 1993 and went to the courts of law to challenge the outcome. The prevailing dominant party situation in Lesotho has led to voter apathy and conflict, as witnessed in the 1998 general elections and the 2005 local government elections. Developments leading up to the local government and general elections illustrate that there has always been a stalemate between government and opposition parties.²⁰

Parties selected for the purpose of this study in Lesotho are the LCD, BNP, LPC and Kopanang Basotho Party (KBP).

LESOTHO CONGRESS FOR DEMOCRACY (LCD)

Formed in 1997, the LCD has won elections in Lesotho by big margins both in the disputed 1998 general elections and in the 2002 elections run under the new MMP model. The party has 78 seats in a parliament of 80 elected MPs and 40 PR electoral model MPs.

Fourteen per cent of the LCD MPs are women. At local government level, the LCD has 920 councillors out of a total of about 1,272 councillors. The party has fought for women's participation in local government elections despite protests by major opposition parties. It pushed for the inclusion of provisions in the legislation which reserve one out of every three electoral divisions to be contested by women only. This is a significant improvement by a party which, not long ago, was criticised by Kabemba²¹ for having no quota system within its constitution to provide for the inclusion of women. A total of 85% of its local government councillors are women. It remains to be seen whether this 30% quota for women in local government will extend to party leadership positions.

The party uses the four outreach tools (policy, manifesto, voter and civic education) to reach out to its membership. A membership register is maintained at every branch of the party. Based on the figure submitted at its last conference, the LCD estimates its membership to be at 219,000. The party received 304,316 votes in the last 2002 elections, suggesting that

it was voted for by many people who may not necessarily be card-carrying members.

Policy formulation

In terms of policy development, the LCD reported that there is a consultative process between the leadership and members. Issues are raised at the lowest level of the party by ordinary members. The party NEC then conceptualises the issues and develops a draft policy. This draft policy goes through sub-branches, branch committees and constituency committees, where intensive discussions are held. After this process the NEC draws up a final draft, which is then presented before the National Conference for decision making.

Manifesto

The LCD's manifesto for the 2002 elections includes such issues as free primary education, care for the aged, poverty reduction and combating corruption. The party promises to combat poverty and unemployment by inviting international and local investors to create jobs in Lesotho. Again, closely related to the fight against unemployment, the LCD promises to initiate skills development programmes and to encourage people to be involved in cooperatives. Also high on the list of the manifesto is education, which the party says it would improve by maintaining free primary education, giving scholarships to poor children, increasing teachers' salaries and incentives, and building more schools in the country. The LCD is committed to fight against the HIV / AIDS pandemic by providing medical care and support to those infected as well as to orphans.

The party promises to introduce local government, which it regards as the pinnacle of self governance. The LCD manifesto expresses pride in having appointed a visually impaired minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs. It promises to pursue its recognition and support of the disabled and to provide support and care to the aged, including World War veterans. It also promises to extend support to other vulnerable groups, such as women and children.

Recognising the escalation of crime in the country, the LCD vows to fight against crime in all its forms, particularly stock theft and armed robbery,

by increasing the number of the police services. The party expresses its anti-corruption policy position and guarantees that its government would establish an anti-corruption unit to deal specifically with corruption in the civil service and other public institutions. Other issues in the manifesto are infrastructure development and harmonious relations between the people of Lesotho.

Voter education

The party conducts voter education prior to local and national elections. Its voter education programme is mainly targeted at women, the youth and the aged. The youth and women are encouraged to take their rightful place in the country's affairs by voting.

Through voter education, voters are taught to identify the LCD party symbol and to differentiate it from other party symbols, thereby ensuring that they vote for the desired party. The LCD believes that although it got large numbers of voters to take part in the 2002 elections, it lost a significant number of votes due to confusion caused by its voter education message which emphasised that voters should tick next to a 'bird' on the ballot paper when voting. This meant that they were to tick next to the symbol of an eagle, which is the party's symbol. This confused voters, particularly the party's older members, because the National Independent Party's (NIP) symbol on the ballot paper was a flying dove, which was more visible than the eagle. Many voters therefore ticked next to the dove, giving much needed votes to the opposition NIP. Despite this confusion, the LCD sees its landslide victory during the 2002 elections as an indication of its successful voter education programme.

The NEC, MPs and branch representatives are responsible for voter education, although it is MPs who are largely expected to ensure that voter education in their constituencies takes place.

The party indicated that in the recent local government elections, its voter education programme was not effective in the Mokhotlong District where it had a problem with the MP who had been expelled from the party. This MP reportedly influenced party members to turn against the LCD. By virtue of his position, the MP was closer to the people than the rest of the

party leadership. The conflict between this MP and the party confused the people and tended to work in favour of the former.

This incident points to the challenges of internal democracy within the ruling party itself. The MP was expelled from the party following alleged misconduct and was charged and then subjected to a disciplinary process. After being found guilty of the charges against him, he was expelled from the party by the NEC and the expulsion was further endorsed at the annual general conference. Even though the MP appealed against the party's decision in the courts of law, he lost his appeal and has since been regarded as an MP without a party.

While deserving credit for country's stability in recent years, the LCD – like other parties in Lesotho – still suffers from intra-party tension and faction-fighting which, among others, led to the emergence of the LPC splinter group in 2001.

Civic education

The LCD reported that its civic education content is mainly on democracy. It holds rallies and invites members of the public, as well as using pamphlets, posters, flyers and radio messages. The party believes that the people of Lesotho are able to participate in governance issues because they now understand the topics under discussion due to its teachings on national unity and good governance. The LCD has adopted a train-the-trainer approach, whereby branch representatives are trained. These representatives then disseminate information at branch level. The party also reaches out to its members through radio messages and its weekly newspaper *Mololi* ('the whistle'). The LCD does not work with any particular CSO but is invited by many of them from time to time to participate in their activities.

BASOTHO NATIONAL PARTY (BNP)

The BNP was formed in 1959 and ruled Lesotho for 20 years; from independence in 1966 until it was ousted by the military in 1986. It enjoys support in the rural areas, mainly from the youth and women, as well as receiving much support from the Catholic Church members. It is the official opposition party with 21 seats in parliament, three of which are held by

women. None of the 21 MPs won a constituency seat, all coming to parliament through the PR component of the MMP electoral system.

Some party members sit on local government councils. Prior to the local government elections, the BNP had disagreements with the government regarding such issues as candidate nominations, boundary delimitations, voter education, electoral divisions reserved for women and voter registration. Due to these factors – which the BNP and other major parties saw as unsatisfactory aspects of the electoral preparations – they called for postponement of the elections.

The deadlock between government and the BNP and its allies led to the party not participating in the 2005 local government elections, with the BNP claiming that it was unable to go through the nomination processes in time for the elections. In the end, the BNP allowed its members to contest the elections as independent candidates without being officially endorsed by the party. The BNP therefore argues that the local government election results where its members stood as independent candidates do not reflect the strength of the party.

The BNP indicated that it obtains its membership statistics from the constituency committees and that its estimated total membership was some 400,000, based on the figures from its last conference. This figure, however, is in contradiction to the 124,234 votes the party received in the 2002 general election. The BNP said it has acquired a computer to capture membership data and hopes that it will have reliable figures upon completion of the data-capturing exercise by March 2006.

Policy formulation

The BNP reported that policy development follows a consultative process whereby the various party structures comment on draft policy that is prepared by the NEC. The BNP secretary general facilitates movement of the draft between the various party structures. This draft is scrutinised by the National Working Committee, forwarded to the NEC and then submitted to the National Conference where it is discussed and approved. The National Conference meets once a year and is attended by the NEC, MPs, constituency chairpersons, constituency secretaries, constituency

treasurers, two members nominated at constituency level, one youth representative and one representative of women.

A key question to ask, however, is whether or not this consultative process on party matters is smooth. At present, this would prove to be difficult given that the party is going through a difficult period marked by internal conflicts. The BNP suffered a split when one of its leaders, Chief Peete Peete, broke away from the party and formed the National Progressive Party (NPP) in 1995.

The BNP has of late been embroiled in internal conflicts that are mainly over leadership positions, and these conflicts have resulted in the suspension of some senior members. The net result of this situation has been factionalism, which makes the party's internal functioning both at national and youth levels very tense. This state of affairs renders prospects for sustainable intra-party democracy bleak. It also renders the party weak when it comes to its role as the main opposition party both in parliament and in the country: the party's focus on crisis management and internal fire-fighting may direct its attention away from its critical role in parliament.

Manifesto

The BNP's manifesto covers such areas as: the rule of law through an independent judiciary, combating crime and stamping out corruption at all levels of society and ensuring full accountability of public funds by government; ensuring that Lesotho is governed as a business, with profits benefiting the people; transforming Lesotho into an international investment tax-free country; and ensuring economic growth and development, job creation and human development. The manifesto also deals with education issues: the BNP would improve the entire education system by providing the necessary skills and knowledge to learners.

Other issues covered are the expansion of the health system to provide free healthcare for all, including the aged, the disabled and HIV/AIDS sufferers; restructuring the commercial exploitation and development of natural resources; poverty alleviation; and installing an improved social welfare system for the aged and people in need.

Voter education

The BNP conducts voter education in all constituencies during election periods. As a way to counteract voter apathy, voters are motivated to continue participating in elections. The party produces and distributes pamphlets encouraging members and non-members alike to register for elections in order to vote. The constituency committees, party candidates, NEC, youth league, women's league and party leader are all responsible for voter education. The BNP reported that it has already embarked on preparations throughout its structures for the next general elections in 2007. It organises public gatherings at regional and constituency levels, district meetings, polling level meetings and mini workshops. The party reported that it works with CSOs on various matters, particularly on election-related issues.

Civic education

The BNP reported that it does not have a comprehensive civic education programme; however, its MPs have always convened rallies in the various constituencies to inform people about issues that are being discussed in parliament so that they can make informed decisions. The party also makes use of its newspaper, *Mohlanka* ('the servant') to reinforce messages being communicated by its MPs. Lack of resources has unfortunately meant that the paper was last published before the 2002 general election, but the BNP is trying to secure funds to revive *Mohlanka*.

The party does not have adequate resources to organise seminars and workshops which it believes could benefit people in the various constituencies, particularly in rural areas where information is scarce. Besides members of the community, the BNP indicated that it also recognises the chiefs as important role players in governance and has therefore always informed them of developments in the National Assembly and the Senate. The BNP claims that its approach to information dissemination has generally been effective, but that improved finances would allow it to carry out its outreach programme even more successfully.

LESOTHO PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (LPC)

The LPC is the only party other than the ruling party to have a constituency elected MP (FPTP). The LPC was formed in 2002 and is the second major

opposition party in parliament with five seats, four of which were won through the PR component of the MMP model. All of its MPs are male, and there is only one woman in the 15-member NEC. The LPC is represented at local government level even though it, like the BNP, did not nominate candidates for the local government elections. The LPC also believed that those elections would not be free and fair; however, LPC members were not barred from contesting the elections as individuals without official party endorsement.

The LPC estimates its general membership to be 120,000 based on its membership registration, but the party received only 32,046 votes in the 2002 general election. Evidently, the membership figures and LPC votes received in the recent election are in sharp contradiction. Registration of members is done every year by the end of January, after the annual general meeting. The LPC's support base is in the northern districts of the country where it performed well in the 2002 elections.

Policy formulation

Policy development in the party begins with general membership: issues are raised by the members and then conceptualised into draft policy by the leadership. Issues are raised from the sub-branch to the branch and then constituency, through to the NEC.

The party also has provinces in its structure where members of the party resident in South Africa form an integral part of the party structure. These are mainly migrant labourers who work on the mines in the various provinces of South Africa. This group of people has always been an important part of the party, mainly in terms of its financial support to the then exiled BCP. Parties that have splintered from the BCP, such as the LPC and LCD, still maintain strong links with the miners and their views are considered and consolidated with those of general members before being decided upon at the annual general meeting.

Manifesto

The party manifesto addresses such issues as poverty eradication, human rights and the rule of law, education, HIV/AIDS, decentralisation, economic growth and job creation. The party views the question of poverty

as critical in Lesotho and believes that the approach to eradicating poverty has to change. It proposes to have a service delivery system that would curb bureaucratic red tape in policy interventions aimed at poverty reduction. It also calls for the inclusion of women in political positions by eliminating discriminatory laws. The party does not believe in imposing quotas for women's representation and argues that empowerment of women has to be undertaken in such a way that women can compete with men.

Similar to the eradication of poverty, the LPC believes that Lesotho has to use the opportunity of the challenge posed by the HIV / AIDS pandemic to improve health facilities. The LPC maintains that there is need to retain health personnel through incentives. HIV / AIDS interventions have to be undertaken in collaboration with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and have to target infected people and their support groups.

One issue mentioned in the manifesto is the institutionalisation of decentralisation. The party believes that people have to be taught to understand the pros and cons of local government and that people need to be assured that they are not going to be disempowered by its introduction.

The LPC has popularised its manifesto through four pillars of communication: party circulars; rallies; radio; and its newsletter *Kutung-ea-Africa* ('the bottom tip of Africa').

Voter education

During the past elections, the LPC sensitised its members on the electoral laws as well as on the content of its manifesto. In an attempt to counter voter apathy, it emphasised to the people the importance of participating in the elections so as to bring about change. Besides holding meetings, the LPC communicates its voter education messages through radio and newspapers. Its newsletter *Kutung-ea-Afrika* was, however, last published in 2002 due to financial constraints. The party's NEC is responsible for voter education. Its approach has been to train the different party committees so that they, in turn, can disseminate information on elections to the general membership and the public.

Civic education

The LPC conducts civic education when funds are available. In order to be effective, it uses its two major pillars of dialogue, which are leadership conferences and public rallies for the purpose of civic education. The party also uses the train-the-trainer approach whereby the NEC trains a group of people who are then asked to hold public meetings in their respective areas to talk about governance and democracy issues. The party impresses on its trainers the need to emphasise the importance in a democracy of leaders who are accountable to the people in order that voters understand what type of leaders are needed to govern the country. The trainers are required to give feed-back to the NEC from time to time so that the content of their messages can be refined. The LPC indicated that there is a dire need for the party's trainers to be continuously equipped with skills on how to communicate with people convincingly.

KOPANANG BASOTHO PARTY (KBP)

The KBP was established in 1992 and is one of the smallest opposition parties outside parliament. Although it took part in the local government elections, its candidates did not win a single seat. Despite not being represented in either parliament or at local government level, the KBP continues to challenge the ruling party on governance issues.

The KBP maintains its membership register in the districts and has 1,151 card-carrying members. Having been established by a woman, the party enjoys much support from women mostly in the Thaba-Tseka District and in Koro-Koro in the Maseru District. The KBP's small membership suggests that the party would perhaps be better served by contesting local elections only since it does not have enough numbers to make it a significant player in national elections. This strategy could be useful in the long run because it is only after consolidating support on the ground that the KBP could hope to challenge national elections.

Policy formulation

For policy formulation, the KBP uses its village representatives to gather issues from members. The issues are collected and tabled at the district council and are then forwarded to the constituency level where they are deliberated before being presented at the National Conference as draft

policy for approval. Due to serious lack of funds, the party is not able to interact with its membership regularly. The leadership therefore communicates with members through postal services and responds to issues that are raised by members from time to time. This also means that the very process pertaining to policy development is adversely affected as postal services take long due to the largely inaccessible terrain, especially in the mountain areas of the country.

Manifesto

The KBP party manifesto covers issues on education, health, agriculture, economic growth, human rights, women's rights, democracy and decentralisation. The party manifesto is used during recruitment rallies that are conducted by NEC members and village representatives. A written copy of the manifesto could not be obtained.

Voter education

During elections, village representatives carry portable speakers around the villages encouraging people (members and non-members) to participate in elections. Village representatives are trained with material obtained from an international NGO. Further training of its members is, however, needed on leadership skills and public speaking. In the run up to local government elections, the KBP taught members about the Local Government Elections Act and encouraged them to vote for it. Pamphlets containing issues raised in its manifesto are distributed in villages by the village representatives.

Civic education

While the party has tried to encourage people to vote during elections, the KBP has not been able to carry out civic education after elections due to financial constraints. It is not able to use radio to communicate its messages because the party cannot afford these rates. KBP party members have participated in training workshops on human rights, democracy and local government organised by the Lesotho Council of Non-governmental Organisations and the Transformation Resource Centre, with the hope that when funds allow, those members can be used to drive civic education initiatives. The KBP believes that the challenges that face small parties can be overcome by forming coalitions.

NAMIBIA

OVERVIEW

Namibia attained independence in 1990 and is one of the relatively stable democracies in the SADC region. It follows a bicameral parliamentary system consisting of the National Council and National Assembly. According to the country's constitution, 72 MPs are elected to the National Assembly and six others are appointed by the president. The National Council – an equivalent of the Senate – comprises two people from each of the country's 13 regions. The role of the National Council is to review bills passed by the National Assembly but it cannot make laws itself. Namibia has consistently held democratic elections which international observers have concluded as being in line with international and regional principles and standards.

There were more than 40 political parties in Namibia at independence,²² but these parties have experienced internal conflicts and splits. Tonchi and Shifokotaka²³ argue, however, that unlike other countries where parties mushroomed on the eve of elections, most political parties in Namibia existed even before the 1989 elections. Despite the fact that political parties have been involved in Namibian politics for a long time, it is axiomatic that only a few are strong competitors for governing the country. The rest are very weak and do not get good results in the local authority, regional and National Assembly elections. For the purpose of this study, the following parties were selected: the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) Party, the Congress of Democrats (CoD), the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Namibian Movement for Democratic Change (NDMC).

SWAPO PARTY

Formerly known as the South West African People's Organisation, Swapo Party was formed in 1960 and has led Namibia since independence in 1990. It occupies 55 seats in the National Assembly and 24 seats in the National Council. In terms of gender representation in the National Assembly, out of its total of 55 MPs, 17 are women. The party enjoys massive support from Namibians and at local government level controls

12 of the 13 regions of the country. Party representatives could not provide specific membership figures, but in the last general election (2004) it secured a total of 620,609 votes. Swapo Party reported that it has a continuous public outreach programme that is carried out countrywide and is implemented using the four outreach tools discussed below.

Policy formulation

Swapo Party indicated that its policy development is informed by reports that come from all parts of the country through the party structures, beginning with the sections that are the smallest units comprising 50 members. Reports are assessed by the secretary general and the issues are submitted to the Political Bureau, which is a body charged with implementing party decisions. The Political Bureau sets up a committee to look at the specific issues and to develop a draft policy. This draft policy is shared with party structures for their comments prior to being tabled before the Central Committee. In 1991 the party adopted a political programme that was meant to institutionalise the democratic political processes through political education. This programme focuses on eight main areas, namely: political empowerment; economic empowerment; social empowerment; education empowerment; health empowerment; housing empowerment; environment empowerment; and gender awareness.

Manifesto

The Swapo Party manifesto focuses on job creation and on improving the quality of life of all Namibians. It gives priority to welfare, clean water, housing, poverty eradication and infrastructure development. Gender mainstreaming and food security are also emphasised in the manifesto. The party's manifesto promises improved agriculture and more jobs through the Green Scheme irrigation project. Also related to agriculture is land redistribution, which the party promises to speed up. It also promises to provide support to those people who would need to be resettled. Swapo Party undertakes to improve education and training by making education more accessible to all citizens, promoting literacy and building more schools. The party promises to improve health by constructing more clinics, health centres and hospitals throughout the country.

Voter education

Besides voter education that is provided by the Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) on all issues pertaining to the elections and the electoral process, the party has its own voter education programme that is used to ensure that party members understand the manifesto as well as what they are expected to do during elections. Members have responded positively and demonstrated their support to the party during the 2004 elections by renewing its mandate to rule the country.

At national level the party Secretariat is responsible for public outreach, while at branch level this responsibility rests with the branch secretaries. The Secretariat consists of representatives of the women's council, youth council and the elderly: all these structures get involved during the elections to carry out voter education. There are, however, necessary skills that the party members who undertake voter education need to acquire in order to be effective.

Civic education

The party's civic education programme does not stop after the elections but is on-going. Members and non-members alike are targeted for civic education. Swapo Party fosters a sense of responsibility among the entire community so that people own the programmes on issues that affect them. It encourages people to initiate development in their own capacity and inculcates the understanding of independence, democratic principles and the history of the country. Information on democracy is distributed countrywide through a weekly newspaper operated by the party. The newspaper updates readers on governance issues as well as on important debates in parliament. Swapo Party believes that people are now able to participate in governance at all levels due to the availability of information from its newspaper, party programme, party magazine as well as its public gatherings. The party has employed full-time district and regional coordinators and has district offices in all the districts countrywide, which serve as an extension of the party's headquarters.

CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS (COD)

The CoD was formed in 1999. It is the main opposition party with five seats in the National Assembly and none in the National Council. Two of

the five seats are occupied by women. It is also represented at local government level and is in control of three councils. The CoD estimates its registered membership to be about 20,000 even though it secured 59,464 votes. This may suggest that there are more people who sympathise with and vote for the party even if they are not its card-carrying members. The CoD is currently using forms to record its membership but is developing an electronic membership register. Lack of funds has compelled it to close down its offices in the districts which it used to operate in 1999.

Policy formulation

Policy is developed by the National Committee and is sent to the NEC as a draft. The draft is then forwarded to the Congress where it is thoroughly debated and eventually adopted into a policy. The CoD's policies are reviewed every five years. As a matter of policy, the party usually invites submissions from the general membership on issues of concern, which are then used to inform policy development.

Manifesto

The CoD party's 2004 manifesto is entitled 'New beginning: Restoring hope for our country, for our people'. It addresses such issues as nation building through respect of the traditions, languages and cultures of all Namibian communities. It also pledges to forge common patriotism, decentralisation and good governance by reducing the size of cabinet. The CoD believes there is a need to set up a code of conduct for politicians and to reform government administration by prioritising welfare services. The party believes that creating and strengthening watchdog institutions, such as the office of the Ombudsman, will reduce corruption. It calls for the sharing of political power between central government and local government, and availing resources, training and capacity building for elected local government officials.

Also key in the manifesto is the question of land. The CoD seeks to use land productively by speeding up land redistribution. It promises to administer justice by reorganising and streamlining the country's judicial system and the Ministry of Justice. With regard to crime prevention, the CoD commits itself to zero tolerance towards crime and proactively engaging all stakeholders in crime prevention. The party pledges to

improve quality of life and welfare through accelerating the decentralisation of resources and authority to communities to enable them to partake in health services meaningfully. It also declares HIV / AIDS as a national emergency in order to mobilise resources aggressively, working closely with NGOs to combat actively the spread of HIV / AIDS. Other issues covered in the manifesto are gender, human rights, natural resource management and democracy.

Voter education

During the previous elections, the CoD conducted retreats for members in the different branches to teach them about the elections in terms of registration requirements, the Electoral Act, how they were going to vote for the party's candidates, the code of conduct for political parties, how to campaign, as well as making them aware of the chances and limitations of the party in terms of winning the elections. It utilised the services of the coordinator and the administration assistant to advance its voter education. Press statements and the party's newsletter, *The Star of Namibia*, were used for voter education purposes. The CoD believes that there is need for its members to be trained in facilitation, coordination, administration and leadership skills in order to be able to deliver voter education efficiently.

Civic education

Despite financial constraints, the CoD conducted civic education by holding rallies, meetings and conducting workshops when funds allowed. On all these occasions, the party taught people about democratic principles and national unity. Attempts have been made to transmit to its members information regarding parliamentary discussions. It encouraged people to participate in politics and created awareness on issues such as corruption, gender equality, violence, crime, poverty eradication and HIV / AIDS. In addition, people were updated on parliamentary debates, with issues being simplified for easy understanding.

DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE (DTA)

The DTA is the second main opposition in parliament. It was established in 1977 and currently has five seats: one member in the National Council and four in the National Assembly. Although supporting gender equality,

the party indicated that none of its MPs is a woman. It is also represented at local government level by 31 representatives in 44 towns.

The DTA does not have a membership register and is only beginning to develop such. Based on the recent election votes, the party estimates it has 42,000 members, which seems accurate considering that it won 42,070 votes in the last election. The party reported that it is growing in membership, particularly in the south of the country.

Policy formulation

The party uses a committee system and has a committee on policy that is responsible for writing draft policy for the party. Once this has been done, the draft policy is discussed by the Executive Committee. It is then referred to the Central Committee for further review and refinement before final approval at the annual general meeting.

Manifesto

The DTA's 2004 election manifesto entitled 'You deserve better' touches on education, unemployment, anti-corruption, health, HIV/AIDS, agriculture, rural development and democracy. The party promises to stimulate economic growth by reducing interference by the state in the economy of the country (such as appointing unqualified managers to run parastatal institutions). It also promises to reduce unemployment by working together with trade unions and the private sector, and employing Namibians in construction companies instead of foreign construction workers from China and elsewhere. The DTA undertakes to promote democratic principles, especially human rights. It believes that with regard to HIV/AIDS, additional facilities such as care centres are needed to take the strain off national hospitals. It therefore promises to provide funds for medication, counselling, care for orphans and dietary advice.

The party manifesto considers education to be a major ingredient required in transforming the economy of Namibia. Agriculture, particularly stock breeding, also forms part of the manifesto, with the DTA pledging to increase the production of beef to fill the European Union beef quota for the benefit of all farmers. Also related to this is land reform, which the party considers crucial to transform unproductive farms into productive

ones. The party regards decentralisation as a sign of self rule because communities are directly responsible for their development.

Voter education

The DTA looks at how the government has performed in such areas as infrastructure development. During the elections it challenged voters to participate in elections. It communicates with its members through the lowest structures of the party namely, the branches. The DTA organises workshops and meetings for its members, at which they are trained on functions of the branches, on issues contained in the party's manifesto as well as on their own role in the party. It emphasises that changes can be made through members' votes and encourages its members to challenge the government on policy gaps in service delivery.

Civic education

Given the inactiveness of the party between elections, the DTA has not developed a civic education programme. Instead, it tends to mix its civic education drive with its voter education initiatives during elections. If the party is to enhance its effectiveness, it needs to develop a distinctive civic education programme.

NAMIBIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (NDMC)

The NDMC is an opposition party which was established in 2004. It is not represented in parliament but it is represented at local government level where it is in majority in one of the councils. Five out of the eight councillors at the local government sphere are women.

The party keeps a membership database at its head office and this data is collected from the branches where membership information derives. The NDMC claims that its membership has grown to about 6,000, but it received only 4,380 votes in the 2004 elections. It is largely supported by farm workers who regard the leader of the party as a 'man of the people' who has the interests of disadvantaged groups, such as farm workers, at heart.

The NDMC communicates with members through a bi-monthly newsletter that is distributed countrywide. This newsletter is, however, not in circulation at present due to financial constraints.

Policy formulation

The NDMC reported that policy issues are the domain of the NEC which has the mandate to select a policy committee. This committee then consults with the general membership for comments. The issues raised by members are discussed by the regional committees, then the Executive and finally the Congress. After the Congress discussions the draft policy is adopted as party policy.

Manifesto

The party's manifesto contains such issues as land redistribution, education, illegalising abortion and unemployment. It promises to promote the struggle for the rights of children, and the care of street children and the disabled; to ensure that the N\$400 monthly unemployment allowances are paid to all unemployed Namibians; and to promote women's emancipation by ensuring that women's voices are fully heard, combating sexism and affording women representation at all levels.

The NDMC manifesto also mentions that agriculture is of paramount importance for Namibia and supports land ownership for previously disadvantaged Namibians. It emphasises that the allocation of land has to be done on the basis of capacity to produce agricultural outputs instead of the Zimbabwean-styled 'land grab' policy. The NDMC promises to do away with the allocation of fishing quotas and mineral concessions that favour government officials.

Voter education

During general and local government elections, the NDMC conducts voter education around the country. It organises meetings at branch level, targeting areas where it has largest support, such as the western part of Namibia which is a predominantly farming area. Party members are taught first and foremost about the importance of voting but are also sensitised about topical issues so that they understand what is at stake in a particular election. The party has printed flyers that contain simplified provisions of election-related legislation. Members are also reminded from time to time about the important documents (passports and birth certificates) that are required by law in order for a person to vote. The

NDMC believes that, judging by the results, its voter education programme has been successful particularly in local government elections.

Civic education

The NDMC has organised panel discussions at tertiary institutions, general public meetings and seminars around the country. The main messages during these events have been gender issues, democracy and governance issues. It regards its messages to have been successful because people from the areas visited participated actively in the radio call-in programmes. The NDMC indicated that there is need to train members on management and communication skills so that they can be better able to help the party achieve an effective and structured outreach programme, as well as to attract more members.

ZAMBIA

OVERVIEW

Multiparty democracy in Zambia was short lived after the country's independence in 1964. The then ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) changed the country's constitution and introduced a one-party system in 1972 – a trend that was followed by many nationalist governments in the region and the continent at large.

Immediately after independence, regimes in most African states resorted to one-party rule. They did not allow opposition parties to be formed and to participate in the affairs of governance; hence the proliferation of one-party regimes in most African countries since the mid-1960s. This was done in the name of development and nation building. In other words, the one-party regimes justified their actions by arguing that many political parties separate the people, which is not what Africa could afford. They argued that they needed everybody to be behind the government in order for the country to develop.

Contrary to the perception that the one-party state was ideal for the development of Africa, evidence points to the fact that this actually led to stagnant economic growth. There was no room for competition in the market. Most businesses were state owned and corruption, patronage and nepotism became the order of the day. One-party rule in Zambia continued for over 20 years.

The country returned to multiparty democracy in early 1990s. The net result of this was the liberalisation of the political system, which led to a proliferation of political parties. The transition was largely propelled by pressure that came from the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions and subsequently the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD).²⁴

Although this is a much vaunted transition in Africa, multiparty democracy in Zambia does not seem to have eradicated corruption. The consequences of corruption in Zambia have been a critical factor inhibiting democratic governance. Related to this are the problems of internal party

democracy, organisational strength and funding.²⁵ Lack or absence of these factors make it difficult for political parties in Zambia and elsewhere in the SADC region to play the role expected of them.

Political parties in Zambia have also experienced internal conflicts and splits. For instance, the ruling party has had a similar experience of splits like its counterpart in the region. In 1993 MMD MPs broke away from the party to form the National Party. In 1995 others also formed their own party, the Zambia Democratic Congress. A year later, there was yet another split leading to the formation of Agenda for Zambia.²⁶ According to Momba²⁷ only four of the 28 registered parties in Zambia are serious contenders for power.

As we have indicated above, this study involves only four of the parties in Zambia, namely, the MMD, the United Party for National Development (UPND), UNIP and Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD). These parties are discussed below with regard to policy development and public outreach programmes.

MOVEMENT FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD)

The MMD was established in 1990 and has been the ruling party in Zambia since 1991. In the current parliament it occupies 76 seats out of a total of 158, having accumulated about seven more seats due to defections into its camp by opposition MPs. It also controls the majority of the country's local government authorities. Out of 1,253 councillors, 666 are MMD. The party has so far achieved a 20% gender representation at all levels and hopes to achieve the 30% women's representation target during the 2006 elections. The party could not provide the number of members it has as it does not have an up-to-date membership register. It was, however, voted into office by a total of 490,680 votes in the 2001 elections. The MMD tends to intensify its outreach programme during elections in response to the challenges posed by the opposition, particularly in the highly contested Central Region and Luapula and Copperbelt areas.

Policy formulation

The MMD uses a committee system whereby each committee deals with a specific theme on policy. Members of the respective committees are experts

from within and outside the party. It reported that policy formulation begins at the general public lobbies. Branches at grassroots level ideally identify and compile the needs of the people and forward these to the ward level, then the constituency, before they are tabled at district level. The issues are supposed to be thoroughly discussed by the relevant committees and are referred to all structures of the party between the conventions.

Manifesto

The MMD party manifesto has been developed to cover the period 2002-06. It addresses issues such as, but not limited to, good governance, zero tolerance towards corruption, combating poverty, free access to trade, gender equity, culture, decentralisation as well as information technology. Contents of the party's manifesto are used for voter education. The MMD promised voters it would enhance economic growth, liberalise the economy and allow the private sector to play a key role in the provision of goods and services. It states its preference for privatisation and promises to manage privatisation to support job creation and capital investments.

The manifesto also deals with agriculture, which the party believes is a catalyst for economic development. The MMD therefore undertakes, among other things, to increase support to small holders through out-grower and contract farming using registered cooperatives. It is also commits to promoting the mining sector through private investment because mining is a significant contributor to the country's foreign exchange earnings. The MMD regards tourism as key in the country's fight against poverty. It therefore pledges to increase opportunities for Zambians to participate in the tourism sector. Other issues in the manifesto are land, infrastructure, utilities, environmental protection and pollution control, social services, education, housing, public service, traditional rulers and foreign affairs.

Voter education

With the proliferation of opposition parties, the MMD recognises the need to have skilled members who would win it votes. It developed a voter education programme that targets the Central Region of the country in order to weaken opposition parties such as the UPND and UNIP that have

a large following there. The MMD urges members to register and vote in elections. It sensitises its members on legislation pertaining to elections such as the Electoral Act. The leadership of the party (secretary general, NEC members and regional managers) is responsible for voter education across the country. The party's foot soldiers undertake door-to-door voter education and recruitment campaigns.

Civic education

As the party in government, the MMD's approach has been to ensure that government delivers on the promises made to the people during the electoral campaign. It empowers people irrespective of their political inclination by informing them of any changes that have been expected.

The MMD secretary general indicated that some major difficulties were that people perceive politics as peripheral to their daily challenges, and that leaders fail to see a party as an institution that requires management skills. The MMD's civic education programme is thus geared towards making people understand topical national issues such as constitutional amendments. The party believes that in this way people will be able to see if something is going wrong and raise their concerns. The MMD's chairman of elections, assisted by other party leaders, is responsible for civic education.

UNITED PARTY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (UPND)

The official opposition political party in Zambia, the UPND, was established in 1998 and presently occupies 42 seats in parliament. At the beginning of the current parliament, it had 49 MPs and it has since lost seven due to defections. Six of its MPs are women. The party's chief whip is also a woman.

The UPND is represented at local government level throughout the country. It is in majority in almost all the councils in the Southern, Western and Northern regions and is also represented in Lusaka and the Central Region, although not in majority. The UPND does not have proper record-keeping *apropos* its membership but relies on membership cards to estimate its numerical strength. For instance, it estimates that between 1998 and 2005, a total of 2 million cards had been printed but believes that about

400,000 of those have not been distributed to members. The UPND estimates, however, that out of the 5 million eligible Zambian voters, about 3 million sympathise with it. This said, the UPND won only 416,236 votes in the 2001 parliamentary election.

The distribution of cards cannot be used as a basis for membership estimates, not unless a party has a register that shows the names of party members and their ward and/or constituencies. It was found during the research that due to high poverty levels, many Zambians possess more than one political party membership card so that they can access whatever benefits a particular party may present.

The UPND has an outreach programme premised upon the four public outreach tools discussed below.

Policy formulation

The UPND reported that in developing a policy, several committees are invited to make submissions to the committee on policy. As an outreach strategy, the committee conducts a listening survey in the respective regions where people's problems and views on possible solutions are gathered. The issues raised are then incorporated in the party manifesto. Besides this, the party uses its internet website and party reports by its MPs to reach out to the people by informing them about new political developments and inviting their views. The views are then presented at the provincial assemblies before eventually being tabled at the NEC for further deliberations and approval.

Manifesto

The UPND's National Management Committee delegates the secretary general to form a committee to review the manifesto. The party's manifesto for the last election addresses, among others, issues such as the economy, education, health and agriculture.

The UPND believes that the Zambian economy has been declining of late and promises that its government would enhance economic growth by diversifying the economic base through maximum utilisation of local endowments, particularly agriculture, fisheries, tourism and small-scale

mining, as well as by providing socio-economic infrastructural networks that would attract further private and public investment in rural areas. With regard to education, the UPND guarantees free education up to Grade 12 and for pupils who cannot afford to pay fees. It indicates that it would tailor the curriculum to suit the changing environment, and improve salaries and conditions of service for teachers and lecturers.

The UPND states that health is a prerequisite to individual, community and national productivity. It therefore pledges to provide health services to those who cannot afford to pay for these services, and to reduce mortality and morbidity from preventable and communicable diseases such as malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, small pox and measles. As for agriculture, it promises to achieve sustainable national food security by adopting a strategy that focuses on four key elements: people, institutions, knowledge and the environment. It promises to accelerate the delivery of farm inputs and improved access to credit, capital and technology.

The party regards the above issues (economy, education, health and agriculture) in its manifesto to have been its 'vote catchers'. Other issues in the manifesto are decentralisation, commerce and trade, community development and social welfare, environment, arts and culture, international relations, defence and security, energy and water development, industrialisation, mining, information, land and natural resources and labour relations. The UPND uses its manifesto together with the other outreach tools to woo Zambians to join it.

Voter education

The UPND's voter education programme targets party members as well as all other eligible voters so as to combat voter apathy. The party's president impressed upon party officials to sensitise the general public on the need for them to get new voter cards and discard the old ones, as required by the election management body. The party also urged all eligible Zambian voters to register in time to avoid last minute panic. Members of the party have been briefed on the election requirements. The response to the party's manifesto was very good, witnessed by the fact that the party was short some two per cent of winning the presidential elections. The UPND hopes to adopt a train-the-trainer approach for the purposes of

outreach programmes in the future. The National Management Committee is presently responsible for reaching out to party members.

Civic education

The UPND produces a newsletter and operates a website for the purposes of information dissemination. Its civic education programme addresses such issues as the constitution, specifically in relation to its amendment. The party informs citizens on debates around the amendment so that they can also express their views. It mobilises people to demonstrate peacefully against the government in order to force it to accede to the people's views regarding the new constitution. The UPND also sensitises people on environmental issues and on the need to keep the environment clean. The UPND attributes its success to the reciprocal nature of its civic education programme, maintaining that it learns much from the people themselves. However, party members still need to be equipped with better communication skills.

UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP)

UNIP is one of the oldest parties in Zambia having been established in 1958. It is the second main opposition party in the Zambian parliament with 13 MPs, two of whom are women. UNIP is also represented at local government level in all councils in the Eastern Province. The party maintains a membership register and had sold about 600,000 membership cards by September 2005. In the 2001 elections, 185,535 voters cast their votes for UNIP. As the former ruling party, UNIP still enjoys support in rural areas, particularly from the farming community. It uses its outreach programme not only to keep this support base intact but also to recruit more members in all parts of the country. UNIP indicated that it is hoping to increase its numbers and was on a recruitment drive. UNIP has an outreach programme that is meant to ensure that its structures (organs) are in place and are well functioning. It is also meant to ensure that party members understand UNIP's ideological orientation, constitution, policy and manifesto.

Policy formulation

Like the ruling MMD, UNIP uses a committee system in policy formulation. The general members are consulted through these committees

to contribute their views on which direction the party should take. These views are gathered and passed through branch, ward, constituency, district and provincial level, and are then discussed at Central Committee level, which is the Secretariat and implementing body. From the Secretariat, the issues are tabled at the National Council which meets every two years for policy review. Final decisions on policy are taken at the National Congress which meets every five years.

It appears that the five-yearly interval for the party's highest body to meet is too long and renders the party ineffective as an opposition on policy matters. In other words, UNIP can only adopt a new policy after five years because the National Council only reviews the existing policy after every two years. If the existing policy is not addressing the new emergent issues even after the review, it will take UNIP five years to come up with a new policy.

Manifesto

UNIP's manifesto emphasises worker issues, agriculture and industrial development. On worker issues, the party seeks to strengthen the tripartite consultative process involving government, employers and unions, to encourage the development of independent labour unions and to strive to generate gainful employment to absorb the millions of people who are unemployed and under-employed. In agriculture, the manifesto expresses the party's intention to develop agricultural policy in order to eliminate poverty in rural areas, to establish agricultural support mechanisms to improve agricultural production, processing, marketing and distribution, as well as to facilitate the provision of long-, medium- and short-term credit to farmers.

With regard to industrial development, the manifesto advocates for private investment in all sectors of the economy, review of the privatisation programme to refocus it in order to achieve national development objectives, to enhance the competitiveness of products in regional and international markets, as well as to seek equitable access of Zambian goods in regional and international markets through multilateral and bilateral agreements. According to the party, these are important issues that have been neglected by the government. UNIP emphasises these issues because

it believes that more and more Zambians have become disillusioned with the MMD and are now looking to UNIP.

Voter education

UNIP has concentrated on surviving the onslaught of the ruling party and winning elections by carrying out voter education particularly in the eastern parts of the country where it has more support. Through its workshop format, it conducted public meetings at villages, district conferences and provincial conferences. Its voter education programme is meant to keep all eligible voters, particularly its followers, abreast with developments pertaining to elections. It also teaches about various aspects of the electoral process, emphasising the significance of voting. The party has been making people aware of the importance of elections as the only way to punish the MMD government for its failure to sustain developments that were initiated by UNIP.

Civic education

UNIP has accumulated much data on governance that is available to all Zambians. It continues to undertake research on current affairs and uses its findings to empower people so that they can make informed decisions. It has made Zambians aware of the collapse of the economy due mainly to privatisation. Its civic education programme also addresses citizen rights and what citizens can expect from public institutions and civil servants.

UNIP claims, however, that the government is undermining its activities while doing nothing to empower Zambians. The party reported that it does not have adequate financial resources to carry out its outreach activities but that it does maintain regular contact with its members, particularly between elections. It also needs financial backing to train its members on leadership and analytical skills so that they are able to carry out civic education effectively in the future.

FORUM FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (FDD)

The FDD was established in 2001 and is represented by 12 MPs in parliament, with two of its seats occupied by women. The party hopes to have a fair representation of women in its structures in the near future and believes in the empowerment of women. The FDD has entrusted its

future in the wise leadership of its leader – who is a woman and the only female party leader among the top political parties in the country. The FDD does not have specific membership numbers because it only began capturing membership data this year. It received 272,817 votes in the last 2001 election, but reported that people do not renew membership cards and, due to poverty, many people have more than one political party membership card.

Policy formulation

The FDD has a policy committee that oversees the general policy formulation process, which follows the party structures. The lowest structure of the party, the section, collects the views of the people on the ground. These views are then passed on to ward, constituency, district and provincial levels before being deliberated and decided upon by the National Convention, which is the highest decision-making body of the party.

Manifesto

The FDD claims that a strength in its manifesto concerns its policy of democratic decentralisation, which it regards as encompassing all the social services. The party sees the ward as the planning unit where all matters affecting the people should be addressed. It promises to devolve both political and economic power to the district so that government departments are accountable to district level politicians who will be directly elected by residents in each district. The manifesto also addresses issues of economic empowerment and national unity. It pledges to create institutions that would compel government to eliminate poverty by creating wealth at the household level.

The FDD also places importance on education and wants the country to have free education up to high school level. It promises to provide soft loans to tertiary students to study locally and abroad. Literacy, adult education and technical and vocational training will be specifically promoted in order to enhance women's capacity.

The FDD believes in free health services, particularly to former freedom fighters and the aged at large. With regard to agriculture, the party believes that it can counteract poverty decisively by subsidising agricultural inputs

for up to three years per household, as well as by providing markets for local products through establishing appropriate institutions.

Voter education

The primary objective of the FDD's voter education programme has been to combat voter apathy. The party claims that Zambians have for a long time not related to elections and their outcome and has therefore sought to encourage Zambian not to forgo their right to decide what is best for them.

Its voter education programme has targeted women and youth because the party considers them as marginalised groups and because they are the largest groups in terms of eligible voters. Interestingly, the FDD indicated that it has also targeted traditional leaders – a group that other parties did not mention in their voter education programmes. The FDD said that chiefs are important because they are influential on traditions that inhibit women from participating in elections and in politics in general. Through its voter education, the party inspires chiefs to see the value of elections and to assist in encouraging people to take part in elections. The secretary general and other party officials are instrumental in talking to the people about elections.

Civic education

The FDD reported that it continuously makes its presence felt by the people. It holds regular meetings as required by its constitution with both members and non-members, conducts rallies, and participates in radio and television programmes on governance. Its civic education programme, like that for voter education, targets women, youth and traditional leaders. These groups are encouraged to participate in governance issues so that they have a say in the management of Zambia's affairs. By way of example, the party claimed that its civic education empowered people to oppose Chiluba's third term bid, with people involved in debates at various structures to oppose the bid.

The FDD's civic education programme also helps people to participate effectively in the Ward Development Committee meetings. These meetings are significant because the wards are the lowest political structures that

initiate development plans before these are submitted to district level and eventually to national level. The party reported that its civic education has inspired the beneficiaries of services to be involved in decisions on what has to be done and why, where, how and when – the FDD regards this as the major difference between itself and other parties.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PARTY MEMBERSHIP REGISTERS

It was found that the majority of parties interviewed for this study do not have membership registers, and the few that do face enormous challenges in terms of record management to ensure accurate and up-to-date data. Due, in part, to either lack of membership registers or to poorly maintained registers, many parties tend to either over-estimate or under-estimate their membership figures. This explains the vast incongruence between estimated membership figures and the number of votes some parties galvanised in the most recent elections.

Most parties tend to estimate their members on the basis of the number of people who attended their previous conferences and on the number of membership cards that have been printed and distributed. Some parties have, however, recently begun to computerise their membership data, but since this process is not complete they do not yet know exactly how many people support them.

Without clear and reliable membership data, party outreach programmes are understandably bound to be constrained in terms of their effectiveness and impact in positioning them during electoral contests. This also means that most parties do not effectively interact with the people between elections for purposes of advancing democratic governance. This results in a situation where the general membership is mobilised during elections and demobilised in the period between elections.

It is imperative that political parties develop and maintain membership registers and update them regularly. This will help them to detect any decline or increase in their membership, which is critical for them to be able to win elections or improve their representation in parliament.

Additionally, there is a link between the membership register and public outreach programmes. A party will only be able to know how many resources it has to spend on its constituency in terms of outreach if it has a good idea of the size of that constituency. As indicated below, the study

has established that the use of the four outreach tools (policy, manifesto, voter education and civic education) by the parties selected for this study varied from one country to another, and even within countries this also varied from one party to another.

POLICY FORMULATION

All 16 political parties involved in this study indicated that they involve members in their policy development process. This is done through a consultative process between top party leadership and the various party structures. There is a variance between political parties in a given country in terms of the nature and extent of these consultations. Some parties undertake a thorough consultative process interacting with the people to gather their opinions on how the country should be governed and what policies need to be developed. Other parties claim to consult but the consultative arrangements between the leadership and the party rank and file sometimes exists more in theory than in practice.

It was found that most parties tend to pay lip-service to popular consultations in the policy formulation process. The party leadership was either gate keeping given the centralised power structures in most parties or the leadership was simply unsure of the process. In the latter possibility, leaders in such parties take decisions and expect their members to support those decisions uncritically; in most cases this happens even when members do not know or understand the rationale behind such decisions.

Political parties need to be democratic in the way they formulate policies. They need to engage their members in all activities, and as a democratic principle, let the people own decisions. If this practice is maintained at party level, it is likely to translate to national level and in the process deepen, nurture and sustain democracy. In a nutshell, parties need to entrench internal democracy deliberately within all their structures, ranging from the national, regional/provincial/district levels all the way down to the branch/sub-branch levels.

This process requires an embrace of a democratic culture within parties. Above all, it requires a democratic leadership that has a democratic vision not only for parties, but for the country concerned too.

MANIFESTO

All the parties selected for the purpose of this study were found to have manifestos. Some have used their manifestos both for the purposes of elections and as a recruitment tool. An examination of the manifestos in each of the respective countries suggests that they are similar, both ideologically and programmatically. While this can be understood to be a result of manifestos that draw their content from the larger national framework, it is also because most of the parties do not necessarily have ideologies that would differentiate them.

Some critical questions therefore need to be posed here. If parties do not exhibit ideological differences, why do they exist as distinct political entities? On what basis do they contest state power? How do they project themselves to the electorate during and between elections in terms of their political agendas? These questions may require further research.

There is no denying that political parties have to base themselves on the commonly agreed national goals but parties should also work hard to market themselves differently in order to provide the electorate with a clearly defined choice. A manifesto has to go beyond being an election programme of a party: it has to reflect an ideological orientation of a party.

Political parties need to learn to position themselves well in the public realm and to constantly come up with new and innovative ways to make themselves more visible and accessible to the electorate and to party members. The similarity in the manifestos also makes it difficult for voters to distinguish between political parties.

VOTER EDUCATION

Voter education is meant to provide information and raise awareness of the electorate on various aspects of an impending election. Political parties in Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia indicated that they have undertaken voter education targeting voters in the run up to elections. Given the increasing voter apathy common in these countries, most of the parties have been encouraging voters to participate in elections. They have held rallies where they taught people about the importance of elections and have familiarised them with the electoral laws.

Political parties in Botswana, however, indicated that the responsibility of voter education rests with the electoral commission. The ruling party and opposition parties do not have much to do in terms of voter education except inviting the electoral commission to their rallies to address issues regarding electoral processes. Only one party has developed a programme that will see it break away from this practice and conduct its own voter education. It can only be hoped that the effectiveness of such a programme will influence the other parties positively so that they each take up the challenge of empowering voters with knowledge in order to participate in governance.

One of the major challenges for party public outreach programmes relates to funding. Lack of funding remains a common problem in many SADC countries. Ruling parties tend to use state resources to finance their election campaigns, while opposition parties are left in the cold struggling without adequate funding.

It was observed during the study that party funding is an overarching challenge to ruling and opposition parties. While not the focus of this study, party funding and its significance for viable political parties and democratic governance cannot be undermined. There is a need to have mechanisms in place to address the problem of party funding. It is only through adequate funding that political parties can participate effectively in governance. Financial resources enable opposition parties to become effective challengers to the ruling parties in their running of the country. Likewise, ruling parties need financing in order to be effective.

CIVIC EDUCATION

Some political parties perceive voter education and civic education as synonymous. They conflate the content for both in their activities, particularly as they approach elections. Civic education is critical for the inculcation among voters of a culture of democracy and governance. Lack of understanding of democracy on the side of voters breeds voter apathy because people cannot link elections to governance. Civic education should therefore include democracy education and should encourage the people to participate in politics. It should not only make them participate but also make them understand their role in politics and governance clearly.

In addition, political parties need to have comprehensive public outreach programmes that transcend the election period. These outreach programmes should be geared towards empowering people to be able to participate in democracy. Put differently, public outreach programmes should have a direct link with governance and should provide the development trajectory that a particular party intends to follow.

Another challenge that came up during the interviews as inhibiting effective participation of parties is access to the media. Opposition parties in the four countries reported that they face enormous constraints in accessing state-run or public media that is controlled by the ruling parties. It emerged that while ruling parties make extensive use of public media, opposition parties tended to have limited access to public media. This situation suggests wide-ranging abuse of public resources, including the media, by ruling parties largely to the disadvantage of opposition parties, thereby creating an unfavourable electoral playing field for the latter.

This situation is further compounded by the fact that due largely to lack of resources, many opposition parties do not have effective communication means. They do not have their own media outlets such as newspapers or newsletters, and where these exist they are published and circulated in an irregular and erratic manner. It has also been observed that almost all the parties have very weak links, if any, with CSOs and other stakeholders such as private companies and traditional authorities. Parties ought to build organic and sustainable linkages with relevant stakeholders, such as CSOs, in order to enhance their effectiveness in sustaining democratic governance.

NOTES

- 1 Salih M (ed), *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*. London: Pluto Press, 2003.
- 2 Bratton M, Logan C, Cho W & Bauer P, *Afrobarometer Round 2: Compendium of Comparative Results from a 15-Country Survey*, Afrobarometer Working Paper 34, Cape Town, 2004.
- 3 Darga A, The electoral reform process in Mauritius, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1), June 2005; Kadima D & Kasenally R, The formation, collapse and revival of political party coalitions in Mauritius: Ethnic, logic and calculation at play, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1), June 2005.
- 4 Wolf R, What is a policy?, in *Voluntary Sector Public Policy Toolbox*, <<http://www.ginsler.com/html/toolbox.htm>> May 2006.
- 5 Barnes C, *Voter education*, October 2003, <<http://www.aceproject.org/main/english/ve/vea.htm>>.
- 6 Lipset SM (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. London: Routledge, 1995, pp 392-3.
- 7 In the case of Zambia, the Zambia Republican Party (ZRP) was identified for the study but we were not able to secure an interview with them for reasons beyond our control. Given time constraints, we had to meet with the FDD to secure four parties for Zambia.
- 8 Somolekae G, *Political Parties in Botswana*, EISA Research Report 27. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005, p 6.
- 9 EISA *Election Observer Mission Report: Botswana Parliamentary and Local Government Elections*. Report No. 16, Johannesburg: EISA, 2004; Nabudere DW, Traditional and modern political systems in contemporary governance in Africa, *Journal of African Elections* 3(1), 2004; Sebudubudu D & Osei-Hwedie BZ, *Democratic Consolidation in SADC: Botswana's 2004 Elections*, EISA Research Report 11. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005.
- 10 Somolekae G, Botswana, in Lodge T, Kadima D & Pottie D (ed), *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2002.
- 11 Good K & Taylor I, The "African Miracle" is no model for Africa, *Global Dialogue* 10(2), 2005.
- 12 Sebudubudu & Osei-Hwedie, op cit.
- 13 Selolwane OD & Shale VR, *Inter-party Relations and Sustainable Democracy in Botswana*. Research Report (unpublished), 2006.
- 14 Somolekae, 2005, op cit; Molomo M, The need for electoral reform in Botswana, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 4(2), 2004; Molomo M, Electoral systems and democracy in Botswana, in Maundeni Z (ed), *10 Years of Democracy in Botswana, 1965-2005*. Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House, 2005.
- 15 Molomo, 2004, *ibid*; Molomo, 2005, *ibid*.
- 16 Selolwane & Shale, op cit.
- 17 Shale VR, *Decentralization, Development and Conflict: Challenges Awaiting Local Authorities in Lesotho*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2004.
- 18 Matlosa K, *Electoral System Reform, Democracy and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis*, EISA Research Report 1. Johannesburg: EISA, 2003, pp 8-9.
- 19 Matlosa K & Sello C, *Political Parties and Democratisation in Lesotho*, EISA Research

-
- Report 23. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005; Likoti F, *Internal Democracy Within Parties in Lesotho: Focus on Basutoland Congress Party and Basotho National Party*, EISA Occasional Paper 39. Johannesburg: EISA, December 2005.
- 20 Shale VR, Lesotho local government elections: Implications for development and governance, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1), 2005.
- 21 Kabemba C (ed), *From Military Rule to Multiparty Democracy: Political Reforms and Challenges in Lesotho*. EISA Research Report 2, Johannesburg: EISA, 2003, p 30.
- 22 LeBeau D & Dima E, *Multiparty Democracy and Elections in Namibia*. EISA Research Report 13. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005, p 5.
- 23 Tonchi VL & Shifotoka AN, *Parties and Political Development in Namibia*, EISA Research Report 26. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005, p 8.
- 24 Momba J, *Political Parties and the Quest for Democratic Consolidation in Zambia*, EISA Research Report 17. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005; Kaela L, *Zambia*, in Lodge T et al, op cit.
- 25 Kabemba C & Eiseman M, Multipartyism in Zambia, in Kabemba C (ed), *Elections and Democracy in Zambia*. EISA Research Report 6. Johannesburg: EISA, 2004.
- 26 Simutanyi N, *Parties in Parliament: The Relationship between Members of Parliament and their Parties in Zambia*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2005.
- 27 Momba, op cit.

REFERENCES

Official party documents

- BCP. 2004. Botswana Congress Party Report on Consultation Workshops.
- BDP. 2004. Botswana Democratic Party Election Manifesto.
- BNF/BCP/BPP/BAM. 2004. Botswana Pact Parties Election Manifesto.
- BNP. 2002. Basotho National Party Election Manifesto.
- CoD. 2004. Congress of Democrats Manifesto.
- DTA. 2004. Election Manifesto of the DTA of Namibia.
- FDD. 2001. Forum for Democracy and Development Election manifesto.
- LCD. 2002. Lesotho Congress for Democracy Election Manifesto
- LPC. 2002. Lesotho Peoples' Congress Election Manifesto.
- MMD. 2001. Movement for Multiparty Democracy 2002-2006 Manifesto.
- NDMC. 2004. Namibia Democratic Movement for Change Manifesto.
- UPND. 2001. United Party for National Development Election Manifesto.
- UNIP. 2001. United National Independence Party Manifesto.
- SWAPO Party. 2004. SWAPO Party Election Manifesto.

Literature sources

- Barnes C. 2003. *Voter education*, October 2003, <<http://www.aceproject.org/main/english/ve/vea.htm>>.
- Bratton M, Logan C, Cho W & Bauer P. 2004. *Afrobarometer Round 2: Compendium of Comparative Results from a 15-Country Survey*, Afrobarometer Working Paper 34, Cape Town.
- Darga A. 2005. The electoral reform process in Mauritius, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1), June 2005.
- EISA. 2004. *EISA Election Observer Mission Report: Botswana Parliamentary and Local Government Elections*. Report No. 16, Johannesburg: EISA.
- Good K & Taylor I. 2005. The "African Miracle" is no model for Africa, *Global Dialogue* 10(2), 2005.
- Kabemba C (ed). 2003. *From Military Rule to Multiparty Democracy: Political Reforms and Challenges in Lesotho*, EISA Research Report 2. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Kabemba C (ed). 2004. *Elections and Democracy in Zambia*, EISA Research Report 6. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Kabemba C & Eiseman M. 2004. Multipartyism in Zambia, in Kabemba C

- (ed), *Elections and Democracy in Zambia*, EISA Research Report 6. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Kadima D & Kasenally R. 2005. The formation, collapse and revival of political party coalitions in Mauritius: Ethnic, logic and calculation at play, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1), June 2005.
- Kaela L. 2002. Zambia, in Lodge T, Kadima D & Pottie D (eds), *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- LeBeau D & Dima E. 2005. *Multiparty Democracy and Elections in Namibia*, EISA Research Report 13. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Lesotho Government. 1993. *The Constitution of Lesotho*. Maseru: Government Printer.
- Likoti F. 2005. *Internal Democracy Within Parties in Lesotho: Focus on Basutoland Congress Party and Basotho National Party*, EISA Occasional Paper 39, December. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Lipset SM (ed). 1995. *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Lodge T, Kadima D & Pottie D (eds). 2002. *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Matlosa K. 2003. *Electoral System Reform, Democracy and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis*, EISA Research Report 1. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Matlosa K & Sello C. 2005. *Political Parties and Democratisation in Lesotho*, EISA Research Report 23. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Molomo M. 2004. The need for electoral reform in Botswana, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 4(2).
- Molomo M. 2005. Electoral systems and democracy in Botswana, in Maundeni Z (ed), *10 Years of Democracy in Botswana, 1965-2005*. Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House.
- Momba J. 2005. *Political Parties and the Quest for Democratic Consolidation in Zambia*, EISA Research Report 17. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Nabudere DW. 2004. Traditional and modern political systems in contemporary governance in Africa, *Journal of African Elections* 3(1).
- Salih M (ed). 2003. *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sebudubudu D & Osei-Hwedie BZ. 2005. *Democratic Consolidation in SADC: Botswana's 2004 Elections*, EISA Research Report 11. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Selolwane OD & Shale VR. 2006. *Inter-party Relations and Sustainable Democracy in Botswana*. Research Report (unpublished).

- Shale VR. 2004. *Decentralization, Development and Conflict: Challenges Awaiting Local Authorities in Lesotho*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Shale VR. 2005. Lesotho local government elections: Implications for development and governance, *Journal of African Elections* 4(1).
- Shale VR. 2005. Political party funding in South Africa: An overview of topical issues. Paper prepared for the conference on *Rules of Engagement and Party Financing: Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities*, Livingstone, Zambia, 16-19 September 2005.
- Simutanyi N. 2005. *Parties in Parliament: The Relationship between Members of Parliament and their Parties in Zambia*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Somolekae G. 2002. Botswana, in Lodge T, Kadima D & Pottie D (ed), *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Somolekae G. 2005. *Political Parties in Botswana*, EISA Research Report 27. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Tonchi VL & Shifotoka AN. 2005. *Parties and Political Development in Namibia*, EISA Research Report 26. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Tötemeyer G. 2002. Namibia, in Lodge T, Kadima D & Pottie D (ed), *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Wolf R. 2006. What is a policy?, in *Voluntary Sector Public Policy Toolbox*, <<http://www.ginsler.com/html/toolbox.htm>> May 2006.
- Web Encyclopedia- Zambia*, <<http://www.eisa.org.za>>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE ON POLITICAL PARTY OUTREACH PROGRAMMES

Country: _____ Political party: _____

GENERAL

1. Is the party represented in parliament?
2. If yes, how many seats does the party have in parliament?
3. Is the party represented at the local government level?
4. If yes, how many representatives does the party have at each tier?
5. What is the gender representation at the national level?
6. What is the gender representation at the local government level?
7. How does the party develop its policies and strategies?
8. What are the key national issues that the party manifesto addresses?

OUTREACH PROGRAMMES

1. Describe the party's outreach programme?
2. What outreach programmes has the party developed during the previous election periods?
3. Who does the outreach programme?
4. How are the programmes carried out?
5. What is the nature of the party's voter and civic education programmes?
6. What is the content of the outreach programme?
7. What have been the results of the outreach programmes?
8. What skills does the party need to advance its outreach programme/s?
9. Are the party's current programmes enabling its structures to participate in governance at the national level?
10. Are the party's current programmes enabling its structures to participate in governance at the local government level?
11. What forms of communication does the party use?
12. What are the challenges facing the party in carrying out the outreach programme?
13. How can the challenges be addressed?
14. Is the party engaged at the local government level?
15. What are the challenges that the party faces at the local government level?

PARTY AND ITS MEMBERSHIP

1. How does the party recruit its members?
2. How many members does the party have?
3. How does the party manage and maintain its membership register?
4. What is the support base of the party?
5. How are the members of the party involved when policy decisions are made by the party?
6. How are the structures of the party coordinated from the national to the local level?
7. How does the party rank and file participate in these structures?
8. What issues get discussed with the membership (explain strategy)?
9. How effective has the communication strategy been for the achievement of the party's objectives?
10. How does the party communicate with its membership?
11. What are the capacity building programmes for the party?
12. What does the party do to attract more membership between election periods?

PARTY AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

1. Are there any civil society organisation (CSOs) that the party works with?
2. If yes, which and on what areas?
3. Are the CSOs able to reach the party leadership on policy-related issues?
4. How does the party relate to traditional institutions (describe)?
5. How does the party relate to international organisations and foundations?
6. How does the party participate in regional and international institutions?

Other comments.

APPENDIX 2
RESULTS OF RECENT ELECTIONS IN
BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, NAMIBIA AND ZAMBIA

Botswana: 2004 National Assembly election results

Political party	No. of votes	% of votes	No. of seats	% of seats
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	213 308	50.63	44	77.2
Botswana National Front (BNF)	107 451	25.51	12	21.0
Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	68 556	16.27	1	1.8
Botswana People's Party (BPP)	7886	1.87	Nil	0
Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM)	11 716	2.78	Nil	0
National Democratic Front (NDF)	3 237	0.77	Nil	0
Marx, Engel, Lenin, Stalin Movement (MLS)	121	0.03	Nil	0
Independents	104	0.02	2	0
Total	412 3 79		57	100

Source: IEC Botswana, 2004.

Lesotho: 2002 National Assembly election results

Political party	No. of votes	% of votes	No. of seats	% of seats
Lesotho Congress Party (LCD)	304 316	54.8	77	65.3
Basotho National Party (BNP)	124 234	22.4	21	17.8
Lesotho Peoples' Congress (LPC)	32 046	5.8	5	4.2
Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)	14 584	2.7	3	2.5
Basutoland African Congress (BAC)	16 095	2.9	3	2.5
National Independence Party (NIP)	30 346	5.5	5	4.2
Lesotho Workers Party (LWP)	7 788	1.4	1	0.8
Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP)	6 890	1.2	1	0.8
Popular Front for Democracy (PFD)	6 330	1.1	1	0.8
National Progressive Party (NNP)	3 985	0.7	1	0.8
Total	554 386	100	118	100

Source: Matlosa K, *Electoral System Reform, Democracy and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis*, EISA Research Report 1. Johannesburg: EISA, 2003.

Namibia: 2004 National Assembly election results

Political party	No. of votes	% of votes	No. of seats	% of seats
Congress of Democrats (CoD)	59 465	7.2	5	6.9
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)	41 714	5.0	4	5.1
Monitor Action Group (MAG)	6 920	0.8	1	1.4
Namibia Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC)	4 138	0.5	0	0.0
National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO)	33 874	4.1	3	4.1
Republican Party (RP)	15 965	1.9	1	1.4
South West African National Union (Swanu)	3 438	0.4	0	0.0
South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo)	620 787	75.1	55	76.4
United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF)	29 336	3.5	3	4.1
Total	815 637	100	72	100

Source: EISA Election Observer Mission Report: Botswana Parliamentary and Local Government Elections. Report No. 16, Johannesburg: EISA, 2004.

Zambia: 2001 National Assembly election results

Political party	No. of votes	% of votes	No. of seats	% of seats
Agenda for Zambia (AZ)	2 832	0.0	0	0.0
Democratic Party (DP)	115	0.0	0	0.0
Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	272 817	9.0	13	8.2
Heritage Party (HP)	132 311	3.0	4	2.5
Liberal Progressive Front (LPF)	175	0.0	0	0.0
Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD)	490 680	43.7	62	40.0
National Christian Coalition (NCC)	35 632	0.0	0	0.0
National Leadership for Development (NLD)	3 155	0.0	0	0.0
National Party (NP)	1 228	0.1	0	0.0
Patriotic Front (PF)	49 362	1.0	1	0.6
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	809	0.0	0	0.0
United Party for national Development (UPND)	416 236	33.0	47	30.0
United National Independence Party (UNIP)	185 535	8.0	12	7.5
Zambia Alliance for Progress (ZAP)	3 963	0.0	0	0.0
Zambia Progressive Party (ZPP)	19	0.0	0	0.0
Zambia Republican Party (ZRP)	97 010	1.0	2	1.3
Independents	59 335	1.0	1	0.6
Total	1 751 214	100	159	100

Source: Matlosa K, *Electoral System Reform, Democracy and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis*, EISA Research Report 1. Johannesburg: EISA, 2003.

ABOUT EISA



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

VISION

Promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa.

MISSION

EISA's mission is to strengthen electoral processes, good governance, human rights and democratic values through research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted interventions. The organisation services governments,

electoral commissions, political parties, civil society organisations and other institutions operating in the democracy and governance fields throughout Africa.

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:

- 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

OTHER RESEARCH REPORTS IN THIS SERIES

- No. 1: Electoral System Reform, Democracy and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis
Khabela Matlosa
- No 2: From Military Rule to Multiparty Democracy: Political Reforms and Challenges in Lesotho.
Edited by Claude Kabemba
- No 3: Swaziland's Struggle with Political Liberalisation.
Edited by Claude Kabemba
- No 4: Gender and Elections in Lesotho: Perspectives on the 2002 Elections.
Puleng Letuka, Mats'eliso Mapetla, Keiso Matashane-Marite
- No 5: Governance Quality and Government Commitment to the NEPAD African Peer Review Mechanism.
Grant Edward Thomas Masterson
- No 6: Elections and Democracy in Zambia.
Edited by Claude Kabemba
- No 7: Dilemmas of Political Transition: Towards Institutionalisation of Multiparty Democracy in Tanzania.
Edited by Shumbana Karume
- No 8: Gender, Women, and Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe.
Rudo Gaidzanwa
- No 9: Negotiating the Impasse: Challenges and Prospects for Democratisation in Zimbabwe.
Edited by Wole Olaleye
- No 10: Elections and Democratisation in Malawi: An Uncertain Process.
Edited by Nixon S. Khembo
- No 11: Democratic Consolidation in SADC Botswana's 2004 Elections.
David Sebudubudu and Bertha Z. Osei-Hwedie
- No 12: South Africa's 2004 Election: The Quest for Democratic Consolidation.
Edited by Laurence Piper
- No 13: Multiparty Democracy and Elections in Namibia.
Debie LeBeau and Edith Dima

-
- No 14: Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique: Strengths, Weaknesses and Challenges
Edited By Adriano Nuvunga
- No 15: Political Parties and Democratisation in the Southern African Development Community Region: The Weakest Link?
Khabele Matlosa
- No 16: Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe
Lloyd M. Sachikonye
- No 17: Political Parties and the Quest for Democratic Consolidation in Zambia
Jotham Momba
- No 18: Political Movements and the Challenges for Democracy in Swaziland
Joshua Bheki Mzizi
- No 19: Political Parties and Democracy in Mauritius
Sheila Bunwaree and Roukaya Kasenally
- No 20: Parties and Political Transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo
H Kabungulu Ngoy-Kangoy
- No 21: Political Parties: Development and Change in Malawi
Nandini Patel
- No 22: Parties and Political Development in Mozambique
Eduardo J. Sitor, Zefanias Matsimbe, Amilcar F. Pereira
- No 23: Parties and Political Development in Lesotho
Khabele Matlosa
- No 24: Parties and Political Development in Tanzania
Rose Shayo
- No 25: Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa
Tom Lodge
- No 26: Parties and Political Development in Namibia
Victor L. Tonchi and Albertina N. Shifotoka
- No 27: Political Parties in Botswana
Gloria Somolekae
- No 28: Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola/*Os Partidos e a evolução política em angola*
Augusto Santana

