



**Quarterly Report: February 3 to April 30, 2003**  
**AFRICA POLITICAL PARTY FINANCE INITIATIVE**  
**Submitted To: Department for International Development**  
**Agreement No. DFID CNTR 02 03886**  
**Project Dates: February 3, 2003 to February 2, 2005**

## **I. SUMMARY**

In February 2003, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was awarded a (Department for International Development) DFID grant to assist Africans in addressing the challenge of political party funding. The Africa Political Party Finance Initiative comprises two components: international comparative research on the cost of getting elected in 25 countries around the world; and supporting the efforts of local organizations in four key African countries – Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and South Africa – to promote increased discussion about how party finance affects the continent and possible reform options.

During this reporting period, NDI:

- ♦ Reached agreement with DFID on the list of countries to be included in the international comparative research component;
- ♦ Submitted to DFID a draft survey instrument;
- ♦ Drafted a flier for use in raising awareness about the Initiative;
- ♦ Held consultations with implementing partners in Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and South Africa; and
- ♦ Participated in a conference on *Financing Democracy in the Americas: Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections*.

## **II. RECENT POLITICAL PARTY FINANCE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA**

During this reporting period, interesting political party finance developments in Africa included:

- ◆ *Carter Center-NDI Express Concerns About Money Politics in the Nigerian Elections:*

A joint Carter Center-NDI pre-election assessment mission to Nigeria in March 2003 expressed concerns about high levels of vote buying in the lead up to the presidential and legislative elections. The team also heard reports of “paid political advertising in the form of news articles” and noted:

“While recognizing that ‘money politics’ have prevailed in Nigeria's electioneering and will take time to correct, the team recommends that Independent National Election Commission and civil society organizations work together to monitor campaign finance issues, and ensure that political parties abide by regulations in the Electoral Law and the political party Code of Conduct regarding campaign spending limits and the use of state resources.”

- ◆ *African Union Elections Summit Discusses Party Financing*

In early April, the South African Independent Election commission hosted the African Conference on Elections, Democracy and Governance. The event brought African elections administration officials, academics and civil society groups together to discuss norms and principles for democratic processes. The deliberations will inform an African Union Declaration on Elections. One of the panel discussions focused on financing elections including political party financing issues. A conference report is forthcoming.

- ◆ *Kenya Constitutional Review Process to Discuss Public Financing of Political Parties*

In late April, the National Constitutional Conference began in Kenya. Over one month, participants will discuss a range of issues where reform is required. One of the topics to be addressed will be a longstanding debate on public funding for political parties. A Political Parties Fund Bill introduced in 2001 proposed to allocate funds to parliamentary political parties but failed to make it through Parliament. The Bill was introduced by the Honorable Musikari Kombo, one of a group of eminent African serving on an advisory board for the project. The Centre for Governance and Development (CGD), NDI's Kenya partner, also played a key role in the introduction of the bill and will contribute to the political party financing debate at the Constitutional Conference.

### **III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

#### **Conducting International Comparative Research**

##### *Countries for International Comparative Research*

In February 2003, based on discussions with its various internal regional teams, NDI submitted to DFID a list of approximately 40 countries for possible inclusion in the international comparative research component. The list was based on regional directors' assessment of: the extent to which party financing is emerging as a public policy issue; the likelihood that NDI will be able to gather reliable information about party financing and the cost of getting elected; and the extent to which party financing data exists for each country. The list reflected differences in

electoral systems, election cycles, public financing of political parties, party financing disclosure and spending limits, and levels of economic development. Based on feedback from DFID, the final list is attached.

### *Draft Survey Instrument*

During this quarter, NDI also submitted to DFID a preliminary memo laying out factors to be considered in designing the research on the cost of getting elected. Based on DFID feedback and with assistance from Joel Barkan, a democracy and governance specialist and Professor of Political Science at the University of Iowa, NDI subsequently developed and submitted a draft of the survey instrument to DFID in April. The submitted instrument also reflects input from campaign finance expert Herb Alexander, members of NDI's field research team, NDI African civic partners for this project and other political/party finance experts such as: Professor Nico Steytler of the University of the Western Cape, a member of the International Advisory Group for the Initiative; and Professor David Farrell who is Jean Monnet Chair in European Politics at the University of Manchester.

The research design for each country is based on a desk review of the political party and electoral legal framework as well as interviews with approximately 25 key informants such as senior political party representatives, elected officials, public servants responsible for administering political party finance regimes and academics or civic activists working on the issue in each country. Due to the availability of published data, NDI anticipates that primary research may not be required for most of the developed countries on the list. For all countries, information will be gathered on election to the national legislature, and for a small sample of countries, information will also be collected on costs associated with presidential campaigns. In all cases, researchers will gather information on:

- ◆ Laws and regulations affecting political parties;
- ◆ Typical campaign expenditures (including average costs for getting elected and typical categories of expenses);
- ◆ Funding sources for political parties and campaigns;
- ◆ How political party funds are managed;
- ◆ Informants' perceptions of the causes (e.g., vote buying and possible reasons for this) and implications (e.g., indebtedness, corruption) of high campaign costs; and
- ◆ Informants' thoughts on possible options for reform.

### **Publicity Materials**

NDI has drafted a brief summary document about the Initiative for use in raising awareness about the Initiative and its objectives. Initial comments from DFID have already been incorporated. A camera-ready version of the document will be shared with DFID prior to publication. A copy of the flier will be placed on the NDI website and will also be linked with the DFID Governance Resource Center.

## **Supporting the Emergence of Local Coalitions**

### *Consultations with Local Partners*

NDI held preliminary consultations with Center for Democratic Development (CDD), Centre for Governance and Development (CGD), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and *Réseau Africain pour le Développement Intégré* (RADI), its local partners for the project. Given CDD's and IDASA's extensive experience in survey research, they are playing an active role in the comparative international research component. In addition, NDI has asked all four organizations to prepare preliminary proposals for activities in their specific countries under the second component of the Initiative. Final versions of the proposals will eventually form the basis for the planned subgrants in support of the four's efforts to promote dialogue on political party financing. In response to a request from DFID, NDI is also assessing the feasibility of beginning this second component of the program earlier than indicated in the proposal. The proposals will also be helpful in this regard.

### **Other Relevant Activities**

#### *Financing Democracy in the Americas: Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections*

In March, NDI attended a Carter Center/Organization of American States (OAS) Conference, *Financing Democracy in the Americas: Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections*. The event provided an opportunity to gather information about the debate over political party financing in Latin America, specifically, issues to consider on disclosure and limits, approaches to enforcement and different approaches to financing. At the end of the event, participants, acting as the Council of Presidents and Prime Minister of the Americas, issued a declaration calling for actions to stop the illicit use of state resources for campaigns, greater transparency in campaign and political party finance, and enhanced accountability among public officials. The statement calls for the international community's support in researching campaign finance issues, in implementing and monitoring progress towards the accomplishment of the declaration's principles and in incorporating political party financing into rule of law, anti-corruption, political party and elections programs.

### **Other Contacts**

In addition to regular contact with the DFID program manager, NDI has also been in contact with the following.

- ♦ *Mirabel Foster, Governance Resource Center.* Ms. Foster and NDI exchanged information about the Resource Center and the Initiative as well as preliminary ideas about potential collaboration in the future.
- ♦ *Sue Lane, DFID-Kenya.* In addition to the general discussion about the Initiative, Ms. Lane briefed NDI about a DFID program to analyze the basis of political competition in Kenya. The study and the Initiative research results will complement each other.

- ♦ *Helen Mealins, DFID-Zambia.* NDI paid a courtesy call to Ms. Mealins, since Zambia is one of the countries to be included in the survey research.
- ♦ *Carlos Santiago, DFID-Peru.* DFID-Peru has been in contact with NDI-Peru about a DFID project on political accountability which offers linkages with the research component of the Initiative.

#### **IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

There are no program results to report this quarter.

#### **V. FUTURE ACTIVITIES**

Activities during the next quarter will include:

- ♦ Conducting pilot research and beginning data analysis on the cost of getting elected in six countries: Croatia, Ghana, Kenya, Nepal, Peru and South Africa;
- ♦ Participation in a panel at *The 11<sup>th</sup> International Anti-Corruption Conference* in Seoul;
- ♦ Participation in the International Political Science Association (IPSA) *Democracy and Political Party Finance Symposium* in Montreal; and
- ♦ Participation at *IPSA World Congress* in Durban.

**AFRICA POLITICAL PARTY FINANCE INITIATIVE**  
**Countries for International Comparative Research**

**CENTRAL, EAST AND WEST AFRICA**

**Ghana**  
**Kenya**  
**Senegal**  
Uganda  
Benin  
Nigeria

**LATIN AMERICA AND CARRIBBEAN**

Peru  
Guyana  
*Bolivia*  
*Nicaragua*  
*Mexico*

**SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT  
COMMUNITY**

Botswana  
Mozambique  
Zambia  
Malawi  
Tanzania  
**South Africa**

**CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**

Croatia  
Macedonia  
Romania  
Poland  
Georgia  
*Bulgaria*

**ASIA**

Cambodia  
Bangladesh  
India  
Nepal  
*Indonesia*

**Developed Countries**

United Kingdom  
Germany  
United States  
Taiwan  
Israel

Countries in which follow-on activities are planned under the Africa Political Party Finance Initiative are in bold. In the event of cost-savings, countries in italics will be added to the research initiative as the budget permits.