

**POLITICAL PARTY FINANCING IN ZAMBIA: EXPLORING SOURCES,
TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

BY

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Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Masters of Education in Civic Education**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my own work and has not been submitted to this or any other institution or university. All scholarly work and materials used in this dissertation have been duly acknowledged.

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APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

Today, it is almost inconceivable to have a functioning democracy without political parties. Political parties perform important functions without which representative democracy could not exist. For political parties to remain relevant to the democratic dispensation, they need finances in order to run their day to day party activities. The financing of political parties is a key issue for ensuring good governance world over. Therefore, the study investigated political party financing in Zambia by exploring sources, transparency, and accountability. The objectives of this study were to establish the sources of funding for political parties, to establish the challenges that political parties face as they source for funds, to examine the extent to which political parties ensure transparency and accountability in the management of finances and establish mechanisms which political parties employ in reporting their financial transactions.

The research was qualitatively conducted using a descriptive survey design. The study was influenced by mass membership theory promulgated by Duverger (1954) which stated that, “the more members a political party has, the more volumes of money”. The target population included four Executive Directors of four Civil Society Organisations; four Presidents; four Secretary Generals; four Treasurer Generals of political parties; and the Registrar of Societies in Zambia. This research was conducted in Lusaka District of Lusaka Province.

The findings of this study suggest that political parties mostly raised their funds through membership fees, contributions from well-wishers, fundraising ventures and funding by the state. The study also revealed that political parties raise their finances through contributions from members of parliament and ministers. It was also clear that most political parties are only accountable to themselves and not to the public. Mechanisms such as financial reports, the opening of bank accounts and adherence to the party constitution provisions are employed by political parties to report their financial transactions. The study strongly recommends that the government should put in place a legal framework that will compel political parties to disclose their sources of funding and how the funds are spent.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved late Father, Yohane Mailos Mwanza, my mother for inspiring me to grow up as a responsible son, my children whom I deprived my presence during my tour of duty collecting data for this thesis. Lastly, my special friend and wife.

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I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to my family, whose continued support kept me on track all the time. My acknowledgement cannot be complete without a mention of my friends, course mates and the entire host behind the scenes, folks who assisted me a lot in consummating this research study. Finally, but not the least, I acknowledge with gratitude the generous assistance of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, for giving me permission to conduct a document analysis at the office of the Registrar of Societies.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

APFFI	Africa Political Party Finance Initiative
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CZ	Caritas Zambia
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
MoHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP	Member of Parliament
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
OAG	Office of Auditor General
PF	Patriotic Front
PPF	Political Party Finance
SACCORD	Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
TI	Transparency International
TIZ	Transparency International Zambia
TI-Z	Transparency International Zimbabwe
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This Chapter focuses on the background of the study, the statement of the problem and the purpose of the study. Further, it looks at the objectives, research questions, the significance of the study and limitations of the study. Finally, this chapter gives the definitions of terms to be used in this research under conceptual framework.

1.1 Background of the Study

Political party financing has become a global issue of concern by countries that do not have a legal provision regarding sources, transparency, and accountability (Transparency International Zambia, 2006). It has also become a challenge worldwide and Zambia has not escaped this challenge. The study of political party financing has developed in the recent past and has also attracted the attention of several scholars such as Austin and Tjernstron (2003), Matlosa (2004), Mutesa (2002); Sokomani (2005) and many others. Most of this attention has mainly focussed on nations such as Ghana, South Africa, Britain in Europe and the United States of America. According to Austin (2012), the problems of political party financing are widely believed to have serious consequences for democracy, by undermining equitable party competition, principles of transparency and accountability, opportunities for inclusive participation, and public confidence in the integrity of the political process, as well as having broader ramifications destroying the delivery of public goods and services and further hurting prospects for an enabling environment for economic growth. Political parties perform very important functions without which representative democracy could not exist (International Institute for Democracy and electoral Assistance, 2012). Political parties offer alternative policies from which voters choose during elections, organise campaigns to mobilise voters and perhaps most importantly, they field candidates for public office. In Zambia, as in many countries worldwide, political parties may be unpopular if there is simply no better alternative model for making political parties stable. Political parties constitute the pillars of democratic systems for they promote competition between groups of society and other interests. Political parties, however, are the only effective mechanisms by which ordinary citizens can have an interface with politicians (Eisenman and Kabemba, 2005).

The success of any organisation is to a larger extent dependent on financial resources. Finances enhance smooth running of operations in the organisation. Like any other organisation, as observed by Moomba (2005), a political party needs finances to conduct all its operations. It is observed that when election time comes, a lot of money is expended during the campaign. The question that arises is regarding the way those finances are raised and accounted for. In this sense, the issue of political party financing, particularly in Zambia, requires an investigation if democracy is to be enhanced. Political parties perform important functions in a nation without which representative democracy could not be meaningful. Political parties offer alternative policies from which voters are supposed to choose from during elections (Austin, Reginald and Maja Tjernstrom, eds, 2003).

Political party financing in Zambia is intended to enhance the capacity of political parties to perform their electoral functions effectively in order to contribute to the consolidation of Zambia's democracy (Moomba, 2005). Hence, Political parties are the primary intended beneficiaries of party financing and today it is almost impossible to have a functioning democracy without political parties. Political parties do serve a wide range of functions such as articulating interests, developing policy documents and proposals that provide a voice for electorates and selecting candidates for elected office, (Michael, 2011). Political parties play an important role in enhancing Zambia's democratic dispensation and they also provide platforms and leadership between which the electorates choose their leaders when voting on polling day. Political parties also provide and support the individuals who make up the government, the opposition, and the membership. All political parties need funding to play their part in the political process, yet the role of money in politics is arguably the biggest threat to democracy today (Pinto-Duschinsky; Michael, 2011). If political parties are to play these essential democratic roles effectively, they need adequate financing.

Political party financing refers to the set of methods that a political party applies to raise money for campaigns and other routine activities (Van Biezen and Ingrid, 2010). It also covers all funds that are raised and spent for political purposes which include all political contests such as election campaigns for various public offices that are run by political parties and candidates (Van Biezen; Ingrid, 2010). Nowadays, financing of political parties has become a national and global issue of concern. Political parties and candidates need money in order to participate and compete in elections. The finances are also required for the organisation, at grassroots, in of structures, communication of messages and attraction of voter support (Argandona, 2002). In modern representative democracies, financial resources are vital for the

smooth functioning of the political parties. The concept of political party funding refers to the manner in which political parties and individual candidates who seek to get elected to political office gather funds for electoral campaigns and in the case of political parties seek to maintain themselves as organisations (Fambom, 2003).

However, as Karl-Heinz (2009) noted, money can be used for buying access to politicians and can result in undue influence on the decision-making process or other practices which are particularly threatening to developing democracies. Political party financing is necessary for political expenses which is caused by election campaigns run by candidates, candidate committees, interest groups or political parties, contests for nomination or re-election of parliamentary candidates. For example, in the Presidential by-election which was held on 20th January 2015, Zambia witnessed huge and massive spending of the political party funds. The availability of new expensive vehicles, helicopters, and other valuables left one spellbound as these only existed during the campaigns. The increase in these resources is not only an assault to democratic dispensation but also questionable as far as their sources are concerned.

Kabemba and Eiseman (2004), show that all political parties raise their finances internally through membership fees, levies on members of parliament and through assets owned by the political parties. These resources are not enough to cater for the growing needs of electoral campaigning and the difficulties of fundraising for campaigning weighs heavily on the top leadership structures of the party (Eiseman, 2005 and Moomba, 2005). In this regard, the top party structures are thus compelled to rely on three main sources of funding mainly the personal wealth of party leaders, funding of campaigns by candidates themselves and contributions by donors (Ohman, 2011). Although political party financing may seem to be a non-issue to society, it is threatening to the enhancement of Zambia's young democratic credentials. In general, political party financing in Zambia is characterised by an absence of public funding of political parties, a heavy dependence on a few wealthy donors by political parties and a lack of legal regulation of fundraising, campaign spending or financial disclosure. In a study by Sokoni, A (2011) to examine controlled spending, it was observed that measures that control spending are often overlooked devices that could yield significant results if given due attention. In this regard, the source of funding is cardinal. It must be noted that the issue of analysing funding of political parties should have begun way back from the moment Zambia got her independence but it was difficult to embark on the process due to the fact that plural politics had not yet been accepted by the then United National Independence Party (UNIP). The issue of Political Party Financing (PPF) is a relatively recent phenomenon

and that even in Zambia, there is no piece of legislation that allows for funding of Political Parties and for disclosure which has made political players become mute in as far as their source of funding is concerned. According to TIZ (2010), the purpose of disclosure in political party funding is not to reduce the amount of money available but rather to ensure that political funding does not come from illegitimate or potentially questionable sources. Increased transparency and public knowledge about the flow of money in politics can help to eliminate the negative effects of corrupt practices and reward integrity (IDEA, 2005). The gap that exists in this scenario is how to determine the ceiling of political parties' funding as well as the mechanisms to control the accounts of political parties, (Christopher K, 2011). Disclosure is a necessary condition for any system of public control of political finance. This implies that political parties are required to submit routine or periodic financial reports to public officials. This is very important as financial disclosure contributes to transparency to the electoral process, offering voters the privilege to learn more about political contenders in order to choose the right person during elections (Moomba 2005).

In South Africa, the Constitution's commitment to promote multi-party democracy maybe cited in section 19(1) (a) which provides for the freedom of citizens to form and belong to their political parties of their choices. There is another provision in the South African Constitution specifically section 236 which states that in order to enhance multi-party democracy, National Legislation must provide for the funding of political parties participating in National and Provincial legislatures on equitable and proportional basis. The case for South Africa has a bearing on the Zambian political scenario in that political parties in Zambia can take a leaf on how to finance political parties. It is also a learning point on the procedures of financing political parties in as far as party representation in the house of the assembly is concerned. Parties and candidates are also stimulated to raise and spend their financial resources in ways that are acceptable by the electorates and do not provoke political problems (Austin and Reginald, 2003). Transparency of financial reports of political parties and other activities is a source of concern. Transparency is a key condition for accountability. Political parties and candidates should be demonstrably accountable for the funds they raise and spend. Political parties are supposed to follow appropriate accounting processes. As complex organisations that are at the heart of democracy, political parties require financial resources for operations and these resources should be utilised for their intended purposes hence, the need for political parties to embrace the principles of accountability (Pinto-Duschinsky, 2011). They should be honest in their handling and reporting of income and expenditure; and they

ensure that relevant information is clearly accessible to the public, the media, and other commentators. Transparency, on the other hand, provides the ability to verify and detect malpractices and enables voters to make informed decisions when selecting political leaders and also to level the playing field of the political players (Karl-Heinz 2003). These values are supported by the African Union Convention on Combating Corruption (AUCC, 2003) which calls for signatory states to incorporate the principle of transparency in the funding of political parties. It is worth noting that transparency in political party financing is cardinal if political parties are to be relevant and trustworthy to their members and the voters. This study is focusing on political party financing in Zambia by exploring the sources, transparency, and accountability.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Research done by Michael (2012) has shown that the relationship between money and politics has become one of the numerous problems of democratic government. Research on political party financing in Zambia done by Moomba (2005) has also shown that there is a discrepancy in terms of sources, transparency, and accountability for the resources which are used in political party activities. The absence of the legal framework in Zambia on political party financing as observed by Simutanyi (2005) has necessitated political parties to source funds even from questionable sources. The illicit source of funding is not healthy for a country like Zambia as there are implications of such funds such as the state capture. There is also a gap in the Electoral Act of 2006 as it has no provisions on the raising and expenditure of party funds. Further, the Societies Act under which political parties are registered requires that the political parties make some disclosure of their financial records to the Registrar of Societies, but places no restrictions on how money is raised or spent (Moomba, 2005). The accountability of party finances, particularly by candidates of political parties and campaign committees, is rather weak and requires further research. In other countries, public funding to political parties is allowed which is not the case for Zambia. Although much has been written on Political Parties in Zambia, it seems that there is no scholarly work that has existed on the sources of funding for Political Parties or financing of Political Parties in Zambia. Unlike other countries where the public funds Political Parties under a common criterion which is agreed upon by the Political Parties, the situation remains different in Zambia. This study is timely because it will help young democracies to enhance transparency and accountability in political party

financing. Currently, we do not seem to know the sources of funding for political parties and how they account for the finances.

1.3 Study Objective

The main objective of the study was to investigate the political party financing in Zambia as regards to the sources, transparency, and accountability.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

1. To ascertain the sources of funding for political parties as a means of strengthening the tenets of democracy.
2. To explore the extent of transparency and accountability mechanisms in the management of political party finances as a way of enhancing democracy.
3. To establish the challenges that political parties face in sourcing for finances and means of addressing them so as to level the political party playing field.
4. To establish measures to improve transparency and accountability on political party financing.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the sources of political party funding in Zambia in enhancing democracy?
2. How transparent and accountable is the management of finances?
3. What challenges do political parties face when mobilising finances?
4. What can be done in order to improve funding, transparency and accountability of political party financing in Zambia?

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore the sources, transparency, and accountability of finances which political parties in Zambia raise and expend.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The information for this study would provide insight into political players in Zambia so as to inform policy on disclosure of their source of funding in order to level the playing field and avoid obtaining finances from questionable sources. The study will also provide information from other countries around the globe on the best practices concerning the sources, accountability and transparency of political party financing so that a uniform mode of funding

Political Parties can be put in place. It is hoped that the study will also help the stakeholders in Zambia especially the Ministry of Justice in the formulation of policies and provision of interventions in political party financing concerning sources, transparency, and accountability in order to level the Political playing field in Zambia. Apart from filling the gap that exists on the sources, transparency, and accountability for political party finances in Zambia, the study will also contribute to existing research and add to the body of knowledge on political party financing in Zambia.

1.7 Theoretical Foundations

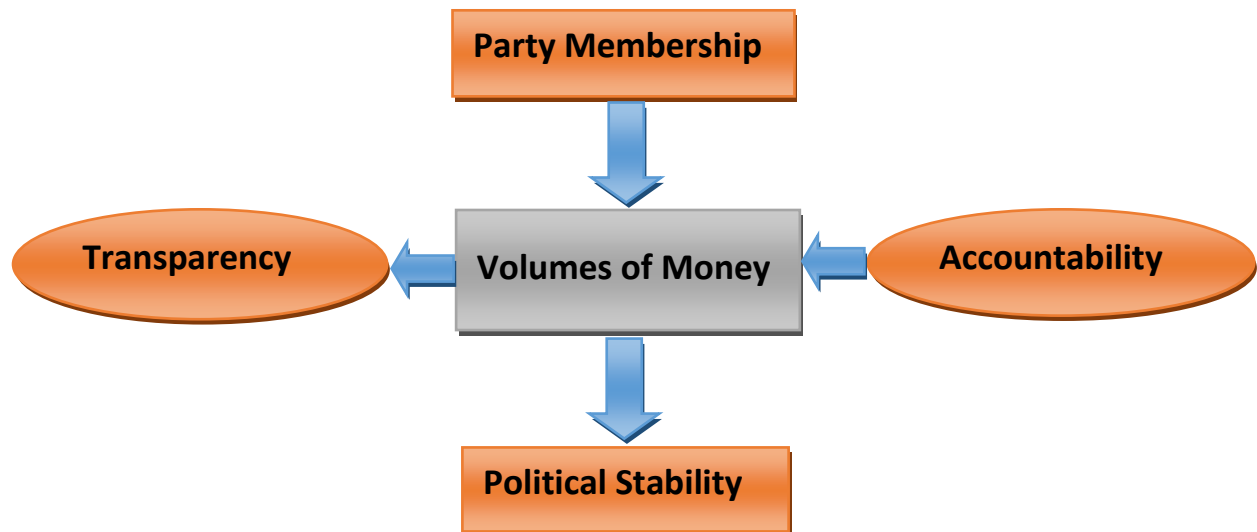
There are several theories that attempt to address the issue of political party financing. These theories have helped the researcher to come up with the links of these theories to the topic under research.

Mass Political Party Theory

The mass political party theory denotes a lot of links to the study under review. The theory states that the more members a political party has, the more volumes of money it will have. Duverger (1954) submits that this theory indicates that the formation and maintenance political parties benefits the members in that the leaders are accountable to the members. Members contribute membership fees which are used by political parties to run the day to day affairs. If a political party has many members, then it will have a bigger volume of finances which will be able to finance a lot of party activities. Since the members are the ones that contribute towards the financing of the party, they are able to make their party leadership accountable for all the expenditures.

Political parties use this theory to raise their finances. They recruit many members so that the volumes of money can expand in order to have a sound financial base. The political party that has more members will have enough financial resources for operations and smooth running of the party. This theory has a lot of influence to this study in that it sets a tone on the sources of political party finances.

Figure 1.0 Theoretical Framework



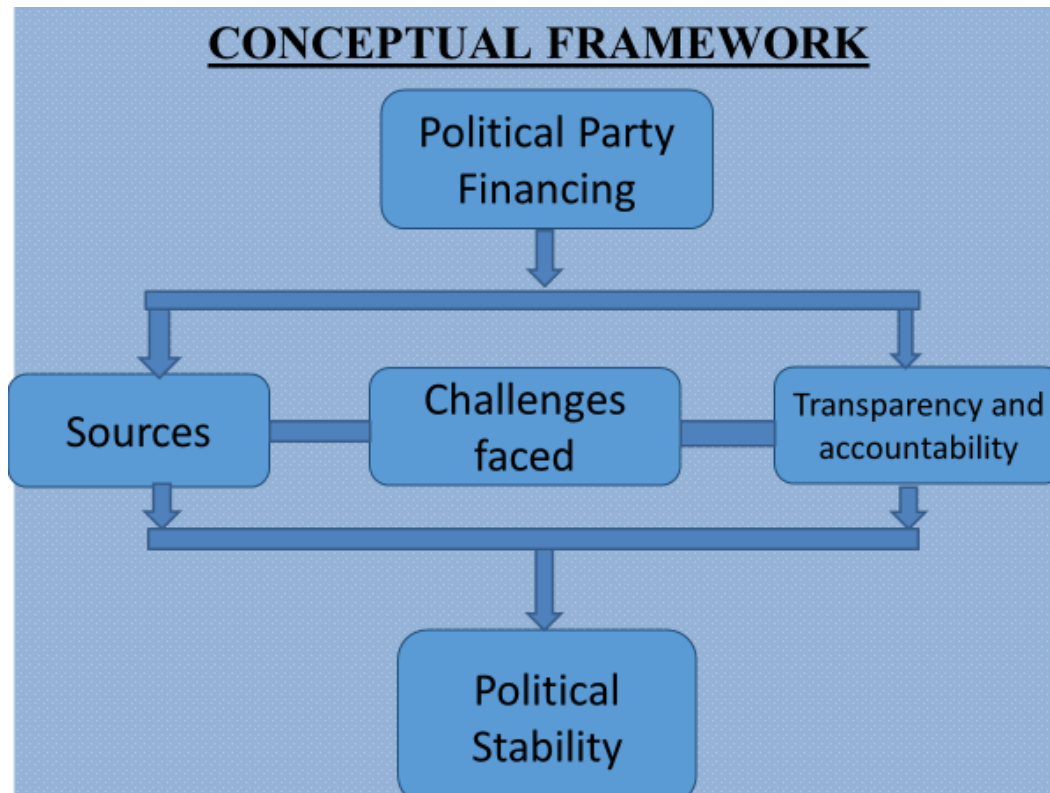
The value of this theoretical frame work to this study is that, the more members a political party has, the more volumes of money. If there is openness in the way the volumes of money are spent and accounted for, then there will be political stability for political parties in Zambia.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

Political parties run national headquarters, constituency associations, regional branches as well as local structures like wards and branches. Each of these incurs expenses as well as collect revenue for smooth operations of the party. Political party financing refers to those funds sourced solely for the running of operations of the political party in question. There is a difference between political party financing and campaign political party financing. In Zambia where more than 60 per cent of people live in abject poverty (World Bank, 2000), it was amazing to see an eruption of funds and other resources whose sources seem unclear. It appears that political parties have no problems sourcing campaign funds when it comes to elections. What can be stated in this aspect is that there exists no law in Zambia on campaign finance or obligation of disclosure or anything wrong with fundraising even from questionable sources. Political parties are free to source for finances from any source and are not required to submit audited reports to the government apart from the time when the political party is being registered by the Registrar of societies. It appears that the incumbent government has an upper hand when it comes to donations from well-wishers and business corporations as they use their position to attract more donations to their party (IDEA, 2012). However, there is widely public perception that donors and the business community expect illegitimate government

favours in return, such as specific legislation being enacted and hence some have come to equate campaign finance with political corruption and bribery. This is because business people would want some favours when it comes to contract awards. There are also external influences when it comes to political party financing. One may ask to what extent these external influences are supposed to be involved in financing campaigns for a political party that even witnessed different Presidential candidates flying in helicopters and aircraft as they crisscrossed the country to woo voter support. From this point of view, it is imperative to have mechanisms in place that will compel political parties to disclose their sources of funding so as embrace the principles of transparency and accountability in order to avoid State capture and thereby reducing chances of obtaining illicit finances from questionable destinations. At the moment, a good place to start may be a simple change to the electoral law and allow disclosure of sources for election campaign financing. It is argued that such a change will bring about the principles of transparency and accountability and allow smaller parties that are yet to distinguish themselves, to have a level playing field.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework



The above diagram on conceptual framework can be operationalise well in political party financing. If the sources of political party financing are known and if there is transparency and

accountability in the utilisation of the finances, then there will be political stability. Measures have to be put in place in order to mitigate the challenges which political parties face when sourcing for political party funds. When all these variables are attended to well, then political stability will be the result.

1.9 Operational Definitions of Terms

The following defined terms are the necessary issues in conceptualising this research.

Political Party Financing- This is the way political parties raise money for party activities ranging from party organisation, mobilisation, and election campaigns.

Political Campaign Finance- All funds raised in order to promote candidates and similar undertakings.

Political Party- This is a group of individuals or organised group that wishes to form government.

Accountability- This means that political parties should be honest in their handling and reporting of the money they raise and spend. Political parties should also avail the public audited books of accounts.

Transparency- This requires political parties to be open to the public and their members and ensure that relevant information is clearly accessible and available to the public, the media, and other commentators.

Sources- This is where political parties get the money for party activities.

Public Funding- Provision of money or resources by or from the state or government.

Conclusion

Chapter one looked at the background to the study, problem statement, objectives, and research questions, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, conceptual framework which also catered for definitions of operational terms used in the research study and finally the theoretical foundations. The following chapter which is chapter two deals with literature review which included reviewing literature from a global perspective, African perspective and finally Zambian perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

Having looked at the background, problem statement, objectives and research questions, the purpose of the study, significance, conceptual framework and theoretical foundations, this chapter, therefore, looks at the existing literature on political party financing including sources, transparency, and accountability. There is a lot of literature on a Global, Africa and Zambia that provide insight on political party financing considering its sources, transparency, and accountability in order to enhance democracy. In this section, selected countries have been identified to examine the literature on the sources of political party finances used for their party functions.

2.1 Global Perspective on Financing Political Parties

A host of literature exists globally on financing political parties. Although virtually all of these works have their own share of limitations in relation to political party financing and they provide a clear perspective on transparency and accountability and challenges that are inherent especially in the sources of funding for these political parties. While codes of conduct for members of parliament and the executive have done much to address accountability issues as they apply to elected representatives individually, there has been growing concern over the funding of political parties and the associated accountability of political parties, as a whole, to the people who elect them. A representative and participatory democracy functions largely within the political party system. Political parties need to generate funds to finance not just their election campaigns, but also their running costs as political organisations in between elections (Austin, 2003). However, different from the views of Austin and Karl, (2010) explain that the achievement of a sustainable democracy demands that particular attention must be paid to the issue of political party finance or the financing of political parties. Stability of and sustainability of political parties is highly dependent on finances. Around the world, different modes are employed on how political parties get finances, how they account for them and manage these finances. From the British perspective, starting with Political Parties, Elections and Referendum Act of 2000 has the provision of public funding of Political Parties but is rather modest. Most of the public subsidy is restricted to activities such as campaigns or

to opposition Political Parties in parliament. Some of the funding is in terms of air time given to Political Parties, free postage and free meeting rooms which is provided to candidates.

One significant study done on political party financing is that of Shari (2005) in India. India has single member constituencies in which candidates compete in a first-past –the post system and serve five-year terms or until the house is dissolved. Shari comments that in India most of the party funds come in as donations from businesses and rich individuals. Party members also contribute membership fees to the party through a lifetime membership program which members make an annual contribution to the party of 1000 rupees or more. Political parties also take an active role in embarking on fundraising ventures. Shari, however, submits that the State provide public funding to political parties not in monetary forms but through time space on State-owned Television and radio Stations. However, Shari notes that India has no legal framework for political parties to disclose their sources of funding. This aspect of lacking the legal framework makes it practically impossible to embrace the values of transparency and accountability since the financial reporting mechanisms are unavailable in the political parties. However, for the campaign period only, candidates and parties are required to disclose all their expenditures.

In Austria, political parties can be formed freely. Groups may form political parties as long as they keep within the limits of the constitutional law (the prohibition of National Socialist Organisations). The only condition these groups have to meet is that they adopt statutes which are published in a periodical publication. These statutes must then be deposited with the Federal Ministry of the Interior in order for the group to be endowed with legal personality. The question that arises is how these political parties or organisations raise their political party finances? Austria has adopted a mixed system of public and private political financing with substantial support from the Federal State and the Länder. This in line with what Ohman (2012) observes that political parties in Austria are publicly subsidised in accordance with the PPA and are required to keep detailed audited records of the how they spent the subsidy allocated to them. Political parties are also required to compile annual reports on their income and expenditure from the previous financial year. This is done in order to enhance the values of transparency and accountability.

Sickinger (2009) indicated that the Federal Act on Public Funding for Political Education and Media Information of 1984 (AFPEMI) provides for state support to civic education activities conducted by the foundations or associations established by the political parties which meet

the stipulated requirement to form a club in the National Council. Private funding of parties and election campaigns is free and not subject to any restrictions in the PPA or the other relevant acts. As a result, there are no limits with regard to the amounts, size or periodicity of contributions from private donors, nor other restrictions applicable to donations and other forms of support from natural and legal persons, whether domestic or foreign, whether or not in business relation with the administration PPA or the other relevant acts. Apart from these allocations by the PPA, Political parties raise their finances through member contributions, special contributions from members of parliament and officials belonging to the corresponding party. They also raise finances through revenue from participation in undertakings, revenue from other party assets and donations from well-wishers. As regards to transparency in the management of political party finances, there are no specific provisions in the PPA and other relevant legislation, on accounting and book-keeping standards that are applied by political parties. However, political parties are required to keep records concerning tax-related issues only in accordance with the tax legislation (Federal Fiscal Code or Bundesabgabenrdung).

Argandona (2002) indicates that political parties in Spain raise their political party finances through membership fees. Sources of financing also come in form of contributions from well-wishers and part of the sources come from the State. Political parties adhere to the code of ethics as provided by the law by submitting audited financial reports to the Interior Minister. Reflecting on the sources of political party financing in Netherlands, Ruud (1989) reveals that the major source of political money is membership fees. He states that membership subscriptions provide about half of all parties 'revenue. Apart from membership fees as the major source of funding for political parties in Netherlands, Gullan (2001) contends that political parties also receive public subsidies. Political parties that receive public subsidies are required to present annual financial reports on their revenue and expenses to the Minister of the Interior. The financial reports have to include names or categories of donors who are not individuals and have donated above five thousand pounds.

One significant study done on the sources of funding is that of Alexander (2011) in the United States. He reveals that Political parties in the United States source their finances through membership fees, dues and subscriptions. He further reveals that Political parties also get donations from well-wishers, organisations, business community and special interests groups such as trade unions. Against this background, Vernon (2011) reports that the other source of political party financing in the United States is contributions from Members of parliament.

The members of parliament only take the average industrial worker's wage from their salaries as representatives, while the rest of the money goes into the political party coffers.

However, Michael (2011) reports that one other source of funding for political parties in the United States is public funds. Public funding is two broad categories of direct funding which entail the transfer of money to a party and indirect funding which includes broadcasting time on state media, use of the mail service or supplies. Political parties are funded equally depending on the results of the previous elections for the party or the number or the number of candidates participating in an election. In terms of political party finance management, transparency, and accountability, parties are supposed to account for the monies used in the political campaigns and disclose their finances the election management body. Karl-Heinz *et al* (2009) further explain that foreign aid forms part of political party financing in the United States. International donors provide funding to political parties as a means of promoting +*democracy and good governance. Donors also provide assistance in capacity development of party members and activities which include the development of party manifestos, party constitutions, and campaign skills

Another work that is relevant to this study is that done by Bryan (2005) in Bangladesh. In this study, the author identifies several sources of funding for political parties. Political parties in Bangladesh raise most of their financial resources mainly through donations from the private business sector. Political parties also raise their financial resources from foreign donors. The study further elaborates that Bangladesh political parties raise their resources through membership fees and from well-wishers. There are also contributions from members of parliament and other elected officials who pay Jakaat which is an obligatory religious tithe. Political parties are further required by law to disclose their sources of funding and file in financial reports. However, it is important to note that political parties are not required by law to be audited.

A study done by Fischer, Walecki and Carlson (2006) explored other sources of funding for political parties which are trade unions and international donors which fund political processes. This study explicitly unveils useful insights as regards to political party financing which is vital to this research. The study further elaborates on how dominant political power co-opts business houses with public enterprise funding, but one significant point to consider in their study is that it divorces itself from explaining the impact that these trade unions, business houses and international donors have on the implications inherent in having trade unions,

international donors and the business community on the governance of the country. Robinson and Brummer (2006) also related to this study explains that besides private funding, there is what is called corporate front funding used by the ruling parties to seek profit on its behalf. The study notes that governments allow for the solicitation and offering of donations from companies that competes for state contracts. In addition, there is widely concern among opposition political parties globally that business is reluctant to donate to them for fear of economic reprisal from government. The study limits itself by not stating clearly how the opposition political parties are disadvantaged with this type of funding.

Robinson (2006) in a study done in Croatia notes that political parties raise their financial resources through funding from the state. Political parties that have representation in parliament are funded by the state. Other sources of funding come from the business community that makes donations to political parties. Another substantial source of funding for political parties in Croatia tends to come from the salaries of elected officials. However, on a smaller scale, funding come from individual donations and membership fees. Political parties also own businesses which constitute part of their financial resources. In terms of disclosure, political parties are required by law to file in financial reports and publicise the sources of funding received during the calendar year. However, this is different from what Gullan (2001) indicated about the sources of funding for political parties in Sweden. Political parties are mainly funded through public subsidies which are the major source of funding for political parties. As a consequence of the preservation of the internal independence of political parties as voluntary associations, Sweden has no regulation in as far as reporting income and expenditure. However, there is a legislative process which has not yet come into force.

2.2 African Perspective on Financing Political Parties

The issue of money and its effects on politics is increasingly gaining attention on the African Continent in the same way as in other parts of the world. However, not all African countries have responded as quickly and comprehensively to this phenomenon as the countries in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe and the rest of the established democracies. Studies conducted in Ghana by Wollack (2005) indicates that political parties in Ghana raise their political party finances through donations from well-wishers, membership fees, fundraising through the sale of party paraphernalia and donations from the business community. Since its independence in 1957, political parties in Ghana have been relying on private funding ranging from members' contributions to big donations from businesses. Research conducted in Ghana

by the Centre for Democratic Development (2005) indicates that the government also funds political parties through a certain amount of free airtime on state media. However, well-wishers are not mentioned by name in his study presumably for fear of victimisation by government authorities. One other study that is of great importance to this study is that done by Ashiagbor (2005), that reveals where political parties get their resources from. The study reveals that most political parties in Africa raise their resources through contributions from their members and large donations from well-wishers. The paper also reveals that to some extent lack of political parties' accountability and transparency to their members and well-wishers make these political parties weak financially as those that contribute can no longer trust them. Further, the study connotes that the lack of legal frameworks is also another grey area that makes transparency valueless. Another study of significance to this study is that done by Sokomani (2005), in *Money in Politics in Southern Africa: The Party Funding challenge in Southern Africa* which clearly stipulates that limited direct public funding to political parties and candidates has resulted in a reliance on funding from foreign governments, private sources, and wealthy business people. Arguably, these sources of funding pose a risk that later those who contribute will buy influence in political parties which in turn will erode public confidence in the system.

Pottie (2003) is another study which is of importance to this study. It explores the main sources of funding for political parties as funding from members which comes in the form of membership fees, contributions from corporate entities, foreign donations, and public funding. The study states that there are two distinct funding modes in Southern Africa namely public funding and private fundraising efforts. IDEA (2013) in a study conducted in Ghana reveals that political parties raise their financial resources through donations from business corporations, fundraising ventures, donations from well-wishers and membership fees. The State only provides funding in terms of free airtime on state media that is Television and Radio to political parties. Political parties are required to declare to the public their assets and revenues and their sources of those revenues and assets, and to publish annual audit accounts in the national papers. The Auditor General's department also monitor political parties in terms of annual returns. The Ghanaian political parties Act of 2000 requires political parties that to submit a detailed statement of expenditures within six months of an election to the Auditor General. Bryan (2005) reveals that political parties in South Africa raise their financial resources through fundraising ventures. They have fundraising committees which are in charge of overseeing the fundraising activities such as dinners, auctions, and concerts.

However, a research conducted by TIZ (2010) notes that political parties in South Africa raise their political party finances through membership fees. Further, Austin (2002) contends that political parties also raise their political party finances through funding from the State. The Representative Political Parties Act, 103(1997) has a provision for funding of political parties that are represented in the National Assembly by the State. TIZ (2010) indicates that political parties in South Africa are required to prepare and submit audited financial reports to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for all approved expenditure from the Represented Political parties' fund. However, in terms of transparency though the overall reporting mechanism is much weaker due to the fact that donors and media companies are not required to report to the Independent Electoral commission (IEC) on their transaction with political parties. One point to note is that reports on expenses of political parties do not include the name and official legislation of each supplier (TIZ, 2010).

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) defines the purposes for which the funds may be utilised. It puts some preventive measures to safeguard against the abuse of the fund by political parties. Transactions with the Independent Electoral Commission are undertaken through the banking system, and there is a code of conduct that aims at preventing political parties against certain forms of abuse. Failure to comply with regulations of accounting is sanctioned through penalties such as fines and political party leaders can be held criminally responsible. However, sanctions of non-compliance with the annual financing reporting requirements do not target donors and the media houses. It can be safely said that the public financing of political parties in south Africa is fairly well regulated and is available for public scrutiny and when it comes to electoral financing, there is no law that governs campaign funds. The positive of the reporting is that the thresholds are not defined in terms of disclosure of annual income. In other words, political parties are expected to account for all the funds disbursed to them. Annual financial reporting is done by the Independent Electoral Commission that publishes information each year in the Political Parties Fund Report (TIZ 2010). This report covers all the allocation to political parties and is also available on the Independent Electoral Commission's website. Further, the concept of political party financing in South Africa is constrained by the regulation of no-n state party financing which has remained a glaring legislative loophole, which has prompted a network of civil society groups such as the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), to bring the issue to public attention (Safu 2003).

Magolowondo (2013) indicates that political parties in Malawi have two sources of funding mainly private and public sources. Private sources which mainly come from party business which a political party may own, membership dues and other private entities form part of the funding for political parties in Malawi. Apart from private funding, the Malawian Constitution provide for public funding. Only political parties with more than 10 per cent of the national vote qualify for public funding. In terms of reporting mechanisms, political parties are required by law to submit audited financial reports to the Finance Minister at the close of each financial year. Only political parties that receive funding from the government are required to submit financial reports. Research conducted by TIZ (2010) indicate that funding of political parties in Zimbabwe is regulated by the Electoral Act and the Political Party Finance Act which provides for funding by the state. Despite this funding to political parties by the state, it should be noted further that the Electoral Act does not cover the electoral campaign finance. Zimbabwe has no legal framework that requires political parties to submit financial reports to the oversight institutions.

Another research done by Sokoni (2005) on sources of funding for political parties in Mozambique indicates that the Electoral Law Act Chapter three of 2004 provides for the public party and campaign finance. In this regard, political parties in Mozambique receive regular public funding for party organisations and functions but also for political electoral campaigns. Despite the funding in Mozambique, the system is less vibrant; and in elections, most of the political parties vanish with the exception of those with seats in parliament such as the dominant ruling party (FRELIMO) and its former opponent in war (RENAMO). During elections, the government puts a budget line to provide funds for all contesting political parties. However, the method of distributing these funds is defined by the Electoral Commission. It is interesting to note that the amount given to political parties is divided into three parts. The first one-third is given equitably to all aspiring presidential candidates; the second one-third is proportionately distributed to political parties with representation in the House of Representatives and the last one-third is given to all those political parties and coalitions in proportion to the number of candidates fielded. (Sokoni 2005).

Ghana Centre for Democratic Development, (2005) in a paper entitled Political Parties to be funded by the State indicates that political parties in Kenya raise their financial resources through membership fees, fundraising activities, and foreign support. The paper identifies other key sources of funding for political parties such as grants from organisations, proceeds from domestic and international investments and capital projects undertaken by political

parties. The paper further states that these are all legitimate sources of funding which it does not show how these sources can be termed as legitimate when there are no clear terms of their source. This is the gap that this study will endeavour to fill because no matter how legitimate a source of funding can be, the perception of it not coming from illegitimate sources is high.

Sokomani (2005) in a study about Botswana indicates that political parties raise their financial resources mainly through membership fees and fundraising events such as concerts, parties, and dinners. Funding also comes from senior party members who provide monthly contributions. The study further indicates that the ruling party raises finances largely through contributions by members of the party. Some resources come as donations by business individuals. The State also provide funding to political parties indirectly through the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) which provide services such as printing voters rolls, voter education materials and transport for polling agents. In terms of disclosure, political parties are required by law to disclose their sources of funding and submit financial reports to parliament within ninety (90) days of the opening of parliament. The financial reports are also made available to the public. Asher (1998) notes that political funding in Israel covers all funds which political parties raise and spend to influence political competition between the parties. It is believed that Israel is the most expensive democracy in the world, hence the researcher's interest to look at how political parties are financed. However, Jonathan (1996) agrees that previously party membership formed as a major source of funding because a high population of adults were members of a political party. Nevertheless, individual contributions to general elections forms part of the funding to political parties as long as they come from donors who are Israeli citizens. In addition to this type of funding, Ruth (2009) indicates that Israel started to provide public funding to political parties for party activities a long time ago which has since increased its importance to Israel's democracy. Reflecting on transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances, Asher (1998) that for political parties to attract more funding, there is need to adhere to the principles of transparency and accountability. Interestingly, Israel has a financing law which restricts both donations and expenses. During campaigns, candidates run their own campaigns in party primaries but are under surveillance for thirty days in order to ensure that they don't use other means of expenditure during campaigns.

2.3 Zambian Perspective on Financing Political Parties

Zambia has had no law regarding the funding of political parties. However, there are provisions in the amended Zambian Constitution which was enacted in 2016. In Article (60) clause (1) a, b, and c explains how political parties will be funded and how political parties will be required to report on the finances received. The constitution states that there will be an establishment of Political Parties' fund in order to provide support to Political Parties with seats in the National Assembly. In order to ensure transparency and accountability, the accounts of Political Parties which are funded the Political Party Fund and the Political Parties will be required to submit audited accounts by Political Parties. The Constitution also stipulates that Political parties will also be required to disclose the sources of funds and the maximum amounts of money to be used for campaigns during elections. However, in any given democratic society, political parties are the heart of a liberal and mature democracy and for this to flourish, Political parties require finances. There is evidence that political parties still derive some income from membership subscriptions and local fundraising. For instance, during the UNIP regime candidate for the post of UNIP treasurer donated materials for the printing of 250 000 party membership cards suggesting that the sale of membership cards (membership dues) still contributes to the sources of funding for political parties (Mutesa,2002)

Mutesa (2002), in his classical work, clearly asserts that there are no rules on political party funding in Zambia and the law does not compel any political party to submit, publish or to disclose their sources of funding. He further indicates that unsurprisingly, the issue of political party financing has currently been a source of controversy. Accusations and counter-accusations of bribery of the voters have come to characterise character assassinations among political parties. The study contends that opposition political parties are mostly disadvantaged by the fact that there is perception that business houses are reluctant to donate to their parties for fear of victimisation by the government in power. Further, there is widely considered view that the ruling party or incumbent appears to have express access to government financial resources, including vehicles and the public media. The Electoral Commission of Zambia which is a body mandated by the Zambian constitution only takes care of the electoral process and provide all necessary resources needed for elections to all participating political parties but does not supplement any needs of political parties in terms of funding these political parties. As submitted above, Transparency International (2004) revealed that Zambia has no Constitutional provision for public financing of political parties. This gives political parties

room to raise their resources for political party activities from any source of their choice and destination. Kabemba, Eiseman and Momba (2005) indicated that all political parties in Zambia raise some of their funds internally through membership fees, levies on members of parliament and assets owned by the party. However, some political parties raise their political party resources through fundraising ventures and donations from well-wishers although he does not state who the well-wishers are. Mutesa (2002) also commented that “Unless the growing influence of money in Zambia’s electoral processes are checked, the expected gains of a multi-party dispensation will become the preserve of a select few”. In summary, it can be stated that Zambia has no provision for public funding for political parties but recognises private funding of political parties. Different from these statements, Mutesa (2002) explains that there is also what is termed as ‘indirect funding’ which is said to be any help or resources which can be regarded to have monetary value but are given free to political parties or used freely by governing parties. Private companies also provide this indirect funding to political parties. They even provide fuel to political parties and on the other and free air time on radio and television and free advertising space in the publicly owned media are vivid examples of indirect funding to political parties.

According to Marja (2010), the Zambian political playing field is not balanced. The opposition political parties are not weak but lack a levelled political play field with the ruling party because they are greatly incapacitated with resources as compared to the incumbent political party which has state resources at its disposal. Effective oversight of the role of money in politics requires transparency and accountability. However, there are many causes of concern as it is unlikely that political parties and candidates will be willing to provide accurate information about their finances. Transparency requires that political parties and candidates should submit financial statements which include adequate relevant information to provide an understanding of how money flows through the political system (TIZ, 2010). According to a research conducted by Transparency International Zimbabwe (2010), Zambia ratified a new national constitution in 1990 which ousted the one-party system and paved way for the re-introduction of multiparty democracy. However, according to the Zambian Societies Act of 2012, (Article 16), the Registrar of Societies is the only State agent that is mandated to ask for reports from political parties and requires them to file annual returns. Nevertheless, the rule is not clear that annual reports should contain financial information. Moomba (2005) indicates that the Societies Act is silent on the requirement for political parties to release any information to the public pertaining to their party activities and mentioning the details of their

financial operations. It is the considered view of the researcher that the Societies Act under which the political parties are registered should put much emphasis to make these political parties disclose their financial records and should put restrictions on how money is raised or spent. Further, the research indicated that under the conditions of lacking transparency and accountability on political party financing in Zambia, it is not possible to know how much money the political parties and their members receive (Transparency International Zimbabwe 2010). Further, it is not an obligation of the Registrar of Societies to disclose the records unless it is in the interest of the party members. Since the introduction of plural politics in 1991, Zambia has had no laws in place to guide the funding of political parties, and this has left many political parties at the mercy of few individual donors or financiers. Such donations must be done with maximum disclosures and provided that the amount of such support does not distort the governance of the country or imposition of a foreign government. From the literature reviewed, it can be seen that the mass political party theory has numerous influence and support in this study because it gives the foundation of how political parties can be sustained by raising finances through membership fees. If a political party has more members, it means the volumes of money received will be more. The theory also brings out membership fees as one source of political party financing.

2.4 Conclusion

It has been seen, generally, that there are several major sources of funding for political parties. These range from fundraising ventures, contributions from members and members of parliament. There is also funding from foreign donors and from the state. Other countries have reporting mechanisms for political parties that require them to provide financial reports to the state or to parliament. In other instances, financial reports are publicised in the Government Gazette and in the National Papers. Some countries have put limits or bans on how much finances political parties can receive for political activities. Regarding the challenges emanating the literature reviewed, political parties face numerous challenges when mobilising resources to finance their activities. These include hostile legal reforms put in place that restrict political parties to source for funding within their countries. Victimization of well-wishers became one of the serious challenges faced by political parties in most of the countries. Another challenge that sprout from the literature reviewed was lack of a legal frame work to guide and regulate political parties on the mode of raising resources to finance their political parties.

This Chapter has looked at literature review under different sections that included sources of funding, generally, from a Zambian perspective, African perspective and Global perspective; accountability and transparency and then conclusion. The following Chapter looks at the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

In the previous chapter, we were looking at the literature related to political party financing and the theoretical foundations that supported literature on political party financing with emphasis on sources, transparency, and accountability. Therefore, Chapter Three looks at the research design, research location, population, sample, data collection and processing, data analysis, data presentation, credibility and trustworthiness, research ethics, delimitation and confidentiality. Finally, the chapter summary is provided.

3.1 Research Design

My study took a qualitative approach. Kothari (2004) defines qualitative approach as one that investigates the quality or kind of phenomenon. That is, it aims at discovering the underlying motives, desires using in-depth interviews to achieve this. It is concerned with the subjective assessment of attitudes opinions and behaviours. This approach was suitable for this particular study because detailed information about various issues related to political party financing in Zambia in enhancing democracy were gathered mainly using interview guides and document analysis. A qualitative approach was used in this study because the research needed the researcher to have an interface with the stakeholders running political parties, and other stakeholders involved in governance matters.

Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) define qualitative approach as a situated activity that locates the observer in the world consisting of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible and turn it into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recording and memos. The qualitative approach gives the respondents the voice and chance to be heard. That is why open-ended questions were incorporated for this purpose. The qualitative approach has various designs such as the narrative research, descriptive, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case studies, but this research specifically used descriptive survey which involved the use of an interview guide and document analysis. Creswell (2001) defines an interview as ‘a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a system through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information...’ In this research, an interview guide and document analysis helped the researcher to collect data.

3.2 Research Location, Population and Sample

3.2.1 Population

Best and Kahn (2006), explain population in research as a group of individuals with at least one or more characteristics which distinguish that group from the rest of individuals and the group should be of interest to the researcher. My target population in this research were four Executive Directors of four Civil Society Organisations, four Presidents, four Secretary Generals, four Treasurer Generals of political parties and the Registrar of Societies in Zambia. Interviews will be conducted with selected political party presidents and their General Secretaries using the results of the 20th January 2015 presidential by-elections and Chief Executive Officers of Civil Society Organisations.

3.2.2 Sample

Sampling refers to the way of selecting some part of the group (population) to represent the entire group or population of concern (Saunders and Thornhill; 2003). Sampling is considered appropriate in reducing the length of time required to conclude the research study, cut costs, and is considered manageable. The sample is, however, just a reflection of the overall population. According to Malhotra and Birks (2007), application of sampling enables a higher overall precision than a census. Collecting data from selected fewer cases imply that the researcher is able to collect the necessary information that is also more exhaustive. In this research, purposive sampling was administered to sixteen (17) individuals. This sampling technique is important because it target respondents who are involved in running political parties and those involved in governance matters. The respondents were interviewed using an interview guide while for the Registrar of Societies, a document analysis was used.

3.2.3 Research Location

This research was conducted in Lusaka District of Lusaka Province where Presidents of political parties, their General Secretaries, Treasurer Generals, the Registrar of Societies and Chief Executive Officers of Civil Society Organisations reside

3.3 Data Collection and Processing

According to Creswell (2007), collection of data in a qualitative research is quite extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information. In order to collect research data, this study used interview guides for party officials and other stakeholders and documents from the Registrar

of Societies. Punch (1998) states that an interview is an approach to asking questions and receiving answers. When used in the qualitative approach it is a powerful way of understanding other people's perceptions, meanings, definitions and construction of reality which gives a rich context of meaning. This study drew heavily from this strategy to collect data. Interviews were conducted with the respondents in a form of individual interviews as well as document analysis. Information was collected using interviews which was recorded using a recorder. After data collection, codes were used to come up with themes and the information recorded was transcribed into text by listening to the recorded information.

The researcher also used tape recorders to record interviews. The data was then transcribed to form scripts. Silverman (2005) recommends the use of this strategy because it enhances reliability. Data from documents was equally collected from the Registrar of Societies which formed part of the data collected.

3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

LeCompte and Schensul (1999), state that "data analysis is the process a researcher uses to reduce data to a story and its interpretation". In this study, data was analysed qualitatively using the thematic approach. Themes related to the objectives were identified and the findings that best represented each theme was selected to verify the objectives. For the purpose of analysis in this research, the collected responses from the interview guides and document analysis were arranged thematically and coded accordingly using a coding scheme. The coding scheme helped to create codes and scales from the responses, which were then put together and analysed using a statistical software package for social scientists (SPSS). In addition, the researcher used the Word processor and Microsoft excel to analyse the data.

After data analysis, the information was presented in diagrammatic form using the graphical technique of data presentation in graphs, tables, and charts that depict the responses collected as shown in Chapter Four.

3.5 Credibility and Trustworthiness

Data trustworthy implies validity and reliability. In order to guarantee credibility and trustworthiness of the study, the approaches below were employed. In this study, interviews and documents were used to help give a deeper insight and holistic picture of the issues to be studied. The credibility of a research as submitted by Ormrod (1989) refers to whether the findings of the research are true and factual. It has a connotation of truth in that the findings reflect the situation and that they are backed by evidence.

Member checking was used to enhance credibility and trustworthiness. According to Punch (1998), member checking means checking the script with the people who gave data. In this study, interview transcripts were taken to the interviewees before, during and after analysis to check for accuracy, confirm, validate or verify. In this regard, one of the key respondents was used to go through the work and was satisfied that the information reflected in the dissertation was a true record of what they submitted. All the research instruments used in this study were validated for content by both the researcher and the supervisor. The researcher also pre-tested the instruments used before administering them on the research. Additionally, the constant feedbacks between the researcher and the supervisor led to the revision in some problem areas in the instruments.

3.6 Research Ethics

Furrow (2004) defines ethics as ‘a morality or a position of doing what is right both morally and legally.’ It is important to protect participants who willingly present themselves for the purpose of advancing our understanding in research. Therefore, a strict set of guidelines and codes of conduct was adopted and adhered to. The information collected from participants was used for academic purposes only and the names of the participants will not be used in the final report or any scripts which will be generated from the data. Since the research involved document analysis from the Registrar of Societies, written permission was sought from the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs. Participants in the study were engaged on a voluntary basis, none was forced or coerced into taking part in the study and were free to refuse to take part in the study. In this study, the first step was to obtain ethical clearance from the University of Zambia. This study adhered to the following ethical issues; withdraw without justification. In as much as qualitative approach in a way intrudes in the lives of the participants, the researcher respected the privacy of the participants by conducting interviews in neutral places away from participants’ work or home. A written and signed informed consent was obtained from those selected to be participants. All the information concerning the aims and the use of data collected was made known to the participants.

3.7 Delimitation

The study was limited to Lusaka in order to expand and generalise the literature on political party financing in Zambia by exploring sources, transparency, and accountability. Lusaka is chosen as the area where the study will be carried out because that is where political party

secretariats are located. It is in Lusaka where other respondents like Non-Governmental Organisations Head offices are located as well as the office of the Registrar of Societies.

3.8 Conclusion

This Chapter has brought out different stages and methods which were used to conduct the research, to explore the sources, transparency, and accountability of political party financing in Zambia. It is hoped that if these stages are followed systematically, it will bring out results of the objectives of this research. Chapter Four presents the findings using data collected in the field.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Chapter Overview

Chapter Three dealt with the methodology on how this research was conducted in terms of the design, location, population, sample and analysis of the collected data. This Chapter presents the findings on the political party financing in Zambia: exploring sources, transparency, and accountability. The findings are presented using the thematic approach on the four research objectives and key research questions as set out in Chapter One of this study. It starts by giving the profile of various respondents and the background information in terms of where data was collected.

4.1. Background Information

The study had 4 Presidents of political parties, 4 Secretary Generals, 4 Treasurers, 4 Chief Executive Officers of Civil Society Organisations involved in governance issues and the Registrar of Society.

Table 1: Profile of Political Party Presidents

Respondent	Gender	Age Range	Qualification
President 1	Female	50-60 years	Degree
President 2	Male	58- 60 years	Degree
President 3	Male	57- 65 years	Degree
President 4	Male	54- 60 years	Degree

Table 2: Profile of Political Party Secretary Generals

Respondent	Gender	Age Range	Qualification
Secretary General 1	Male	50-55 Years	Degree
Secretary General 2	Male	45-50 Years	Diploma
Secretary General 3	Male	45 50 Years	Degree
Secretary General 4	Male	40-45 years	Degree

Table 3: Profile of Political Party Treasurers

Respondent	Gender	Age Range	Qualification
Treasurer 1	Female	50-55 Years	Degree
Treasurer 2	Male	50-55 Years	Diploma
Treasurer 3	Female	50-55 Years	Diploma
Treasurer 4	Female	40- 45 Years	Degree

Table 4: Profile of Chief Executive Officers

Respondent	Gender	Age Range	Qualification
CEO 1	Male	45-50 Years	Degree
CEO 2	Male	45-50 Years	Degree
CEO 3	Male	40-45 Years	Degree
CEO 4	Female	40-45 Years	Degree

Table 5: Profile of Chief Registrar of Societies

Respondent	Gender	Age Range	Qualification
Chief Registrar of Societies	Male	40-45 Years	Degree

According to Patton (1990), massive qualitative data collected from interviews needs to be organised into patterns if the essence of that data is to be revealed. This Chapter is exclusively devoted to the presentation of data collected through interviews, and document analysis. Subtitles were used to present findings of both interviews and documents. Not all the issues

reflected in the interview guide have been included in the presentation. Only those issues that strongly relate to political party financing have been considered.

4.2 Findings on Sources of Funding for Political Parties

The first objective of this research was to establish the main sources of funding for political parties. From the information gathered, there are various means by which political parties raise their funds for political activities. The figure below shows the sources of funding for political parties.

Figure 4.1: Sources of funding through donations from well-wishers, membership fees and fundraising ventures.

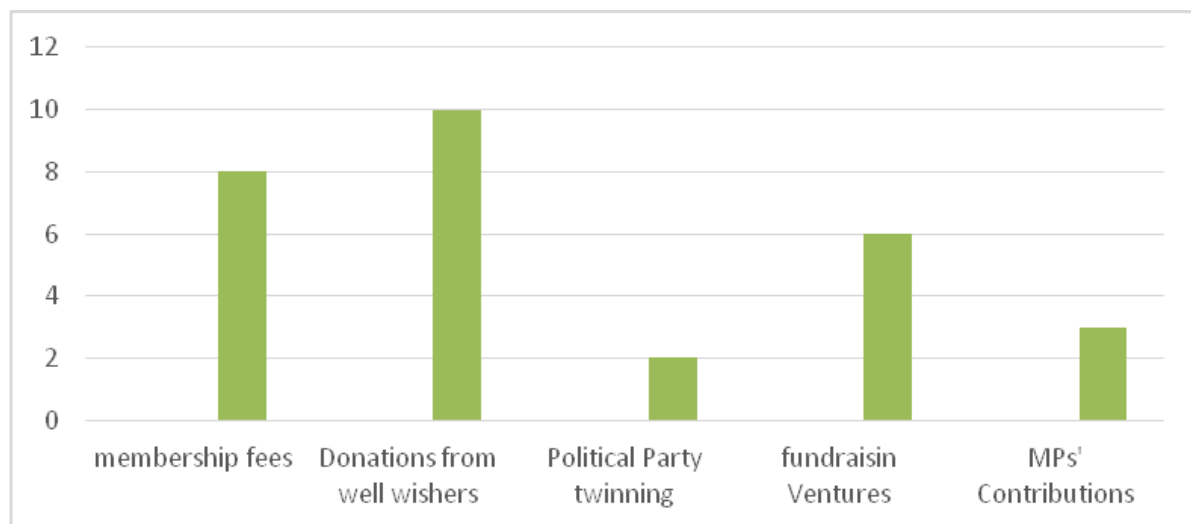


Figure 4.1 shows that eight out of the sixteen respondents, representing 50 per cent, indicated that political parties raise their finances through membership fees. Ten respondents or 62.5 per cent said that political parties source their finances through donations from well-wishers. Two respondents or 12.5 per cent submitted that political parties raise their finances by twinning with political parties from other countries. The other source of funding as indicated by six respondents was through fundraising ventures. Other three respondents representing 19 percent indicated that the source of funding for political parties was through contributions from Members of Parliament and Ministers.

According to these findings, donations from well-wishers, membership fees, and fundraising ventures are the main sources of funding for political parties. One of the respondents said:

For us, the sources of funding are: one, the general membership; the general membership funds the political party in two ways; either through the buying of party cards or simply

the donations they make to the party. Two, we have got well-wishers who also make donations to the party or simply the donations they make to the party. Three, we have the Scottish National Party which also makes donations to our party for capacity building programmes (Interview with Political Party General Secretary, November 2015).

Membership Fees

The question on the sources of funding was answered in depth by both political parties and Civil Society Organisations. One of the respondents said:

For political parties, the sources of funding are: the general membership, the general membership funds the political party in many ways; through paying of membership fees, buying of party cards and regalia or simply the donations they make to the party. (Interview with Political Party General Secretary, December 2015).

Donations from Well-wishers

From the findings, donations from well-wishers was the most common source of funding for political parties as attested by one Executive Director, political parties also raise their finances through donations from well-wishers which include donors, individuals and private companies and firms and also local source. Like those in the ruling party, they get donations from contractors and from businesses houses. (Interview with Executive Director of Civil Society Organisation, November 2015).

In addition, one respondent said that:

We have well-wishers who also make donations to the party or simply the donations they make to the party like the Scottish National Party which makes donations to our party for capacity building programmes and these are the major sources of funding for our party. (Interview with Party Secretary General, November 2015)

From the findings, political parties raise their finances through twinning with another political party outside Zambia and Africa. One of the Executive Directors of Civil Society organisation. When asked about the sources of funding for political parties, had this to say:

We know that political parties partner with other political parties from abroad like the Liberal Democrats in the UK, they partner with political parties in Zambia and they give them money, the Finnish political parties also do the same, they give money to the political parties for their activities. (Interview with Civil Society Executive Director, February 2016).

Fundraising Ventures

Some respondents indicated that political parties raise their finances through fundraising ventures. The National Party Secretary stated that:

We have a number of fundraising ventures in places like meet the president, dinner dance and golf tournament. (Interview with Political Party National Secretary January 2016).

Contributions from Members of Parliament

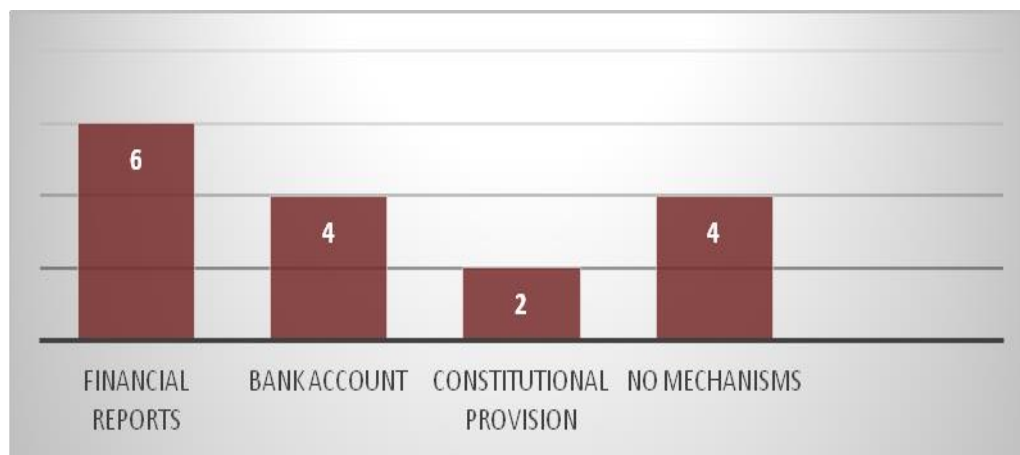
Some of the respondents indicated that contributions from Members of Parliament formed part of the sources of funding for their political parties. When asked to state the funding for political parties, one political party's Treasurer General stated the following;

The sources of funding for our party or any other party are from MPs' contributions where you categorise them in two categories that is, MPs and Minister's contributions. Those are our core funding for the party; (Interview with Political Party Treasurer General, November; 2015).

4.3 Transparency and Accountability through bank account, constitutional provision and financial reports

Figure 4.3 below shows that six out of sixteen respondents representing 37.5 per cent indicated that financial reports are one of the mechanisms employed by political parties in order to enhance transparency and accountability of political party finances. Apart from that, four out of the sixteen respondents representing 25 per cent said that bank accounts were one of the mechanisms used to enhance transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances. In addition, two out of sixteen respondents representing 12.5 per cent revealed that constitutional provision was another mechanism used by political parties in enhancing transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances. Four out of sixteen respondents representing 25 per cent indicated that there were no mechanisms that Political Parties used to enhance transparency and accountability in the management of financial resources.

Figure 4.2: Mechanisms Used by Political Parties in Reporting Financial Transactions



Financial Reports

Financial reports were one of the mechanisms put in place by political parties to enhance transparency and accountability as submitted by one respondent.

As a party, there are channels that we have put in place to enhance this principle, it is a requirement that at every National Executive Committee Meeting, there should be a Treasurer's report and at the Annual General Meeting there is a financial report and consequently, the National Convention files a report to the National Congress. (Interview with Political Party Treasurer General, January 2016).

Similar remarks were echoed by one Political Party President,

For us, we have a comprehensive department of finance, this department of finance is headed by the National Treasurer, deputised by the Deputy Treasurer. There is also the departmental Finance Secretary whose job is to balance the books and to do the day-to-day disbursement of funds and work in collaboration with the Treasurer to balance the books. Also, a party has its own party account and there is no money that is deposited into the account or taken out of the account without the approval of the Treasurer, the National Secretary, and the President. (Interview with one Political Party President, January 2016).

Bank Accounts

Meanwhile, when asked about what mechanisms are in place for political parties to enhance accountability and transparency, one National Treasurer General stated that:

The issue is very clear, our party constitution is very clear that any amounts of money donated to the party becomes party property and it is supposed to be accounted for and the treasurer of the party is the custodian of all party funds, so in this case we have an account at the bank and when any amounts of money comes, it is receipted and taken to the bank, and at the end of the day, receipts are given so that anyone even if I am not there they will be able to browse through to know what is happening to the party money. (Interview with Party National Treasurer, November 2015)

Constitutional Provision

Constitutional provision was one of the mechanisms employed by political parties to enhance transparency and accountability in the utilisation of party finances. To amplify on this point, one Secretary General stated that:

As a requirement, so it is outlined in the constitution (Article 47) that the Treasurer has to produce a report. ‘Article 47 of the National Treasurer has the powers, duties, and functions to receive and bound all the money belonging to the party, to keep and maintain books of accounts, vouchers, financial reference and forth and stock as a recap; to prepare and present to the National Executive Committee at the end each financial year audited accounts of income and expenditures of the party; to have the power to change the proper banking and accounts, and books and reports for findings at the National Executive Committee. (Interview with Political Party Secretary General, November 2015).

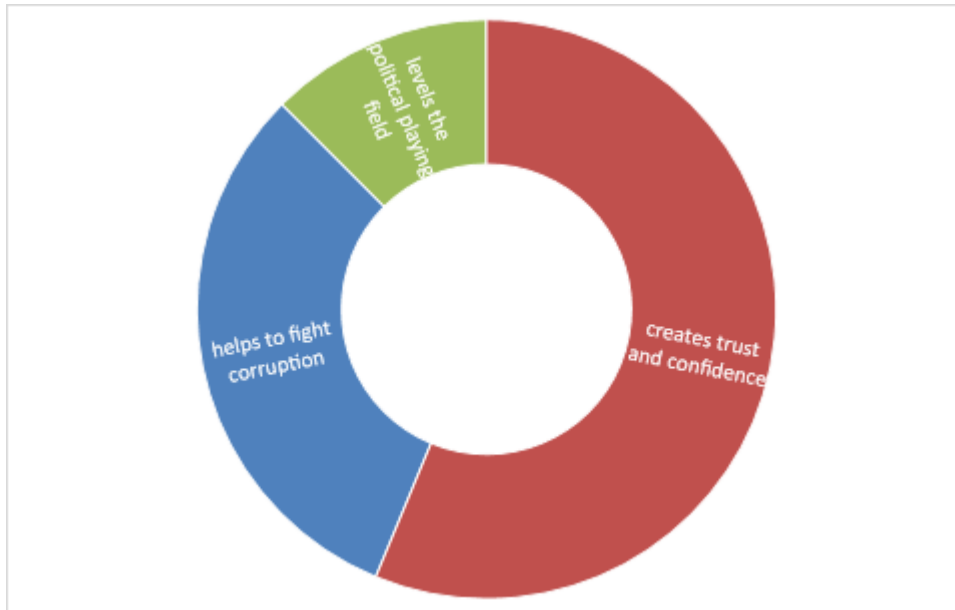
Transparency and accountability are very important in the management of finances in any organisation including political parties. As observed, political parties have finances which should always be accounted for.

4.3 Importance of Transparency and Accountability through creating trust and confidence

Figure 4.3 below shows that nine out of the sixteen respondents representing 56.3 per cent indicated that the importance of transparency and accountability creates trust and confidence when sourcing for finances for political parties. Two out of the sixteen respondents

representing 12.5 per cent said that one of the importance of transparency and accountability when sourcing for finances is that it levels the political playing field. On the other hand, five out of the sixteen respondents representing 31.3per cent submitted that upholding the principles of transparency and accountability when sourcing for finances for their political parties helps to fight corruption.

Figure 4.3 Importance of transparency and accountability



Levels the Political Playing Field

On responding on the importance of transparency and accountability in the management of Political Party finances, one Political Party President, through the spokesperson said:

First of all, there are several ways; one, to level the playing field, there is need for the state to finance the administrative functions of each political to increase their capacities so that they can have or add value to governance issues. Two, we need to deal with issues of poverty for as long as our people are as poor as they are it will be very difficult for them to make serious contributions to the party; and three, we need to stop this culture of victimisation to those business houses that we see financing or contributing to the running of opposition political parties we should allow them to freely contribute to a political party without jeopardising them or their businesses. (Interview with Party President and Executive Director January 2016).

Creates Trust and Confidence

Most of the respondents interviewed indicated that one of the importance of transparency and accountability is that it creates trust and confidence in the members and donors. In qualifying this statement, the Executive Director of one Civil Society Organisations stressed that:

People will generate confidence in the political party; and then secondly, it will also project very good principles that it can account for public funds if it is entrusted with the responsibility of running a government; lastly, it will generate trust both on its supporters, members of the public and the international community. (Interview with Executive Director, November 2015).

When asked what the importance of transparency and accountability is as political parties utilise political party finances, the Executive Director of one Civil Society Organisation pointed out that there are several benefits of upholding the principles of transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances by stressing that:

The importance is that: one, people will generate confidence in the political party and then secondly, it will also project very good principles that it can account for public funds if it is entrusted with the responsibility of running a government, lastly, it will generate trust both on its supporters and all the members of the public in that particular country that can be very beneficial even to the international community that political party are quite responsible. (Interview with Executive Director, December 2015)

To consolidate the principles of transparency and accountability, the Treasurer General, and Executive Director had this to say:

Well, Political parties are governments in waiting and they should uphold these principles. When you are managing public funds, you need to be transparent so that those who donate resources will be sure that their resources will be put to good use. (Interview with Treasurer General and Executive Director, November 2015).

Helps to Fight Corruption

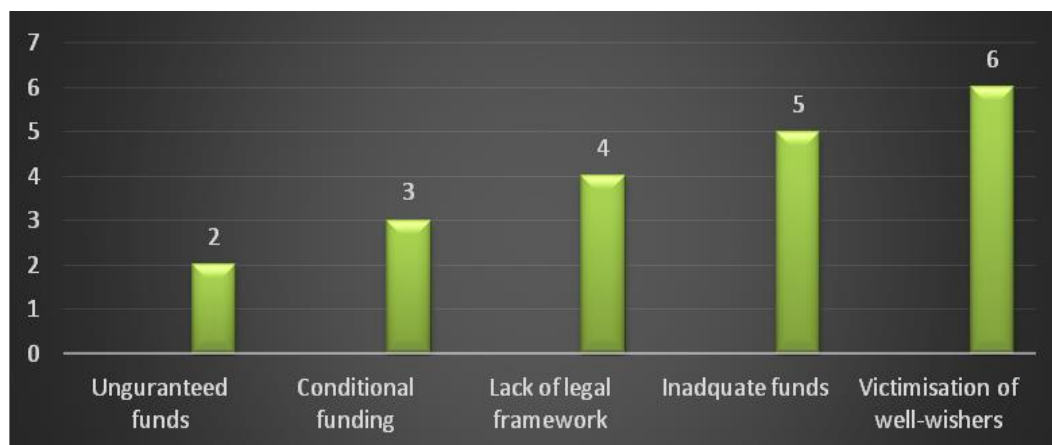
The Executive Director from one of the Civil Society Organisation had this to say on the issue of accountability and transparency in the management of party finances:

Once, a party appreciates why they need to be transparency then it becomes easy when they get into government to promote transparency and fight corruption. (Interview with Executive Director, December 2015).

4.4 Challenges Faced by Political Parties in Raising Finances through victimisation of well-wishers and lack of legal framework

Figure 4.4 below shows that two out of the sixteen respondents representing 12.5 per cent indicated that unguaranteed funds is one of the challenges that political parties encounter. Three out of the sixteen respondents representing 19 per cent said that political parties faced the challenge of conditional funding. Four out of the sixteen respondents representing 25 per cent indicated that lack of a legal framework is another challenge that political parties face when sourcing for finances. Five out of sixteen respondents representing 31.3 per cent acknowledged that one of the challenges that political parties encounter when sourcing for finances is inadequate funds. Six out sixteen respondents representing 37.5 per cent of the respondents indicated that victimisation of well-wishers is another challenge faced by political parties when sourcing for finances.

Figure 4.4 Challenges faced by political parties in raising finances



It important to reckon that as political parties raise their finances, they face a number of challenges. It was another objective of this research to identify the challenges which political parties face in sourcing finances.

Conditional Funding

One of the challenges faced by political parties when sourcing for finances was conditional funding. one respondent indicated that conditional funding was a big challenge when he said the following:

The challenge with this fund is that it comes with conditionalities that when the political party wins the elections they have to favour these individuals, multinationals with perhaps contracts and also maybe to behave in a certain way or even formulate rules and regulations that are going to favour such political parties. (Interview with Executive Director 2015).

Lack of Legal Framework

Figure 4.4 above shows that 33 per cent of the respondents submitted that lack of legal framework was one the challenges which they face when sourcing for finances. When asked about the challenges that political parties face when sourcing for funds, one Civil Society Organisation Executive Director said that:

The biggest challenge is really lack of a legal framework that allows political parties to freely identify individuals who want to donate to them or corporations or donors that want to donate to them and being able to share with the public that these are the people that are supporting us. (Interview with Executive Director, December 2015).

Victimisation of Well-Wishers

The information in Figure 4.5 above shows that 50 per cent of the respondents indicated that victimisation of well-wishers was one of the challenges that political parties face when sourcing for funds for their political parties.

To illustrate this point, one Political Party Treasurer stated that:

The challenges are many. First of all, in our situation since we lost power, it has been very difficult to get any funding especially both internal and external because all these people fear of being victimised when they are seen to be supporting an opposition party. (Interview Treasurer General January 2016).

In agreeing with the above statement, an Executive Director of one Civil Society organisations added the following:

Well, like local donors, foreign donors rarely fund opposition political parties for fear of reprisals and reprimands. They also fear the loss of businesses and intimidation, and harassment. (Interview with Political Party Secretary General November 2015)

4.5 Means of Addressing Challenges through state funding and creating a legal framework

The figure below shows the means that political parties employed to address challenges which they encountered when sourcing for finances.

Figure 4.5: Means of addressing challenges

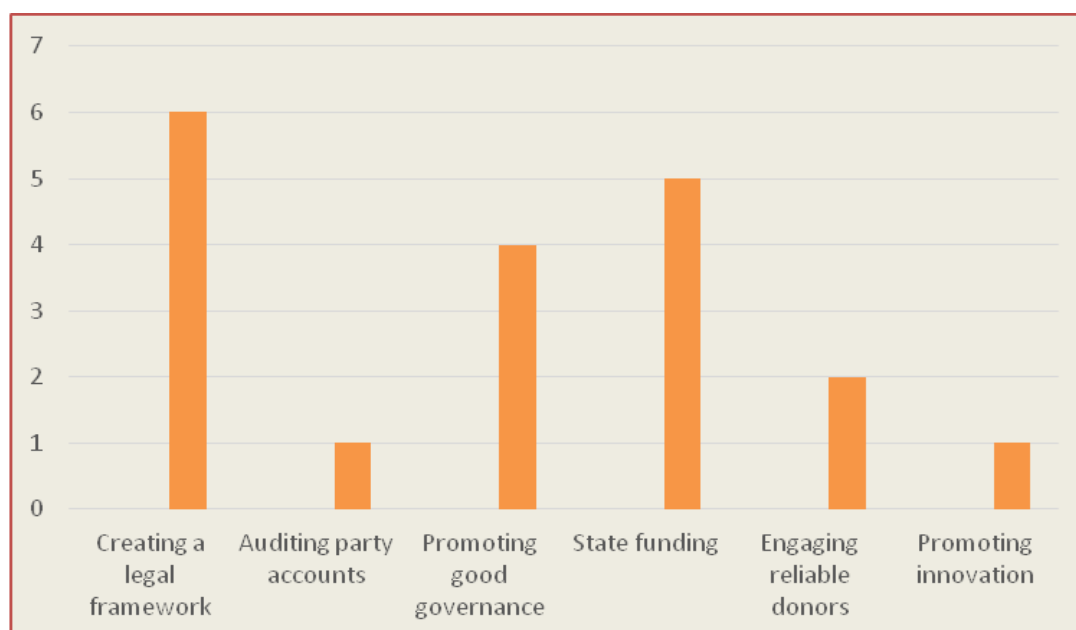


Figure 4.5 shows that six out of sixteen respondents representing 37.5 per cent indicated that creating a legal framework is one way in which political parties can address the challenges of sourcing for finances. One out of sixteen respondents representing 6.3 per cent said that auditing party accounts is another way implored by political parties to address the challenges in sourcing their finances. Four out of sixteen respondents representing 25 per cent indicated that another means of addressing the challenge faced by political parties in sourcing for finances is State funding. Two out of sixteen respondents representing 12.5 per cent said that another way of addressing challenges faced by political parties when sourcing for funds is by engaging reliable donors. One out of sixteen respondents representing 6.3 per cent indicated that another way of addressing challenges in sourcing for funds by political parties is by promoting innovation.

Creating a Legal Framework

When asked about the means available for political parties in addressing challenges in sourcing for finances, one Civil Society Organisation Director had this to say:

Creating a legal framework is the only way that will protect anybody who wants to donate or support any political parties to be able to do so without having to face any kind of victimisation, once you do that, you would actually be creating transparency in our democracy but also accountability in our democracy because everybody will know that if I get certain money I am supposed to use it for these particular issues and those individuals will not get in trouble, so basically creating a very free environment for any citizen to participate in the governance process by way of putting in a place a very enabling legislative framework. (Interview with Civil Society Executive Director, November 2015)

State Funding

When the question was asked about other ways to address the challenge faced by political parties in raising finances, one respondent stressed that:

“Well, I think a couple of things need to be done, there is need for government to consider providing funding to political parties that at least have representation in parliament and this will help level the political playing field” (Interview with Party President, January 2016).

4.7 Financial Reporting Mechanisms

All financial transactions that a political party engages in must be reported to the relevant stakeholders accordingly. There are a number of means by which financial transactions can be reported.

4.7.1 Available Means for Reporting Political Party Financial Transactions

The figure below shows what respondents said are the means for reporting financial transactions.

Figure 4.5: Financial reporting mechanisms

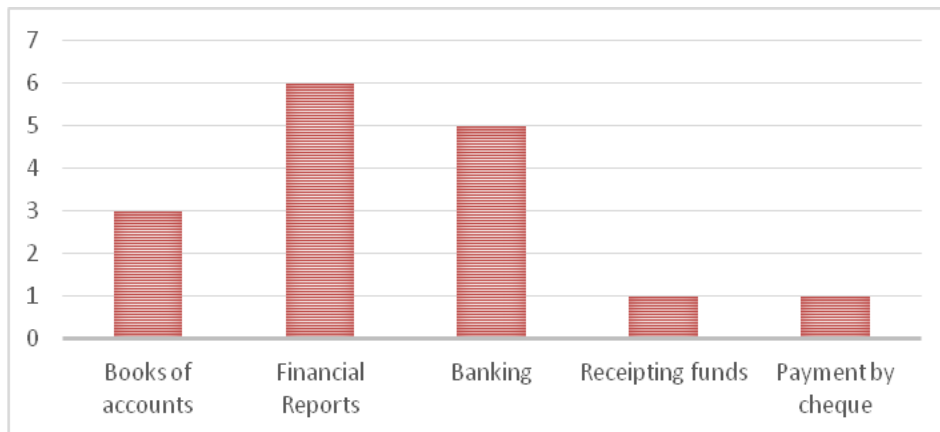


Figure 4.5 shows that three out of the sixteen respondents representing 19 per cent submitted that available means for reporting political party financial transactions were books of accounts. Six out of the sixteen respondents representing 37.5 per cent indicated that financial reports were available means for reporting political party financial transactions. On the other hand, five out of the sixteen respondents representing 31.25 per cent said that banking was one of the available means for political parties to report their financial transactions. One out of the sixteen respondents representing 6.25 per cent indicated that receipting funds was one of the available means employed in reporting their political party financial transactions. In the same line, one out of the sixteen respondents representing 6.25 per cent showed that the available means for reporting political party financial transactions was payment by cheque.

Books of Accounts

When the question was asked regarding the means available in reporting Political Party transactions, the following was the response from one political party treasurer:

Books of accounts, vouchers are a requirement which is enshrined in the party constitution and are to be produced at the National Executive Committee meeting, and at the Annual General Meeting (Interview with Political Party Treasurer, January 2016).

Financial Reports and Books of Accounts

Most of the respondents indicated that they use financial reports and books of accounts to report financial transactions. When asked to state what means they used to report party finances one of the Political Party General Secretary submitted the following:

Every five years during the convention and during National Executive Committee meetings and every quarter, the treasurer has to submit some financial reports to the National Policy Committee every quarter and then any member of the party has the legitimate right to write National Policy Committee and demand for access to the financial report. (Interview with Party General Secretary, November 2015).

When probed further where reports were directed to, this was what was said

I also report to the Party President because you know the President is not really involved in this management of funds so you would want from time to time the leader of the party to know exactly how much was received, who brought in how much, how you used it, at which project and things like that, so I also make periodical reports to the President and the National Secretary of the party. (Interview with Party Treasurer General, January 2016).

Banking Finances Received

When asked on what other mechanisms that political parties have put in place in order to enhance financial management, one Treasurer General stated that:

Well, we have got various policies which are contained in our accounting manual to guide us on how we should manage these finances. One of the guidelines is that party finances should be taken to the bank every twenty-four hours. (Interview with Political Party Treasurer General, January 2016).

Receipting Funds

Receipting of funds was one of the mechanisms that some political parties employed as a mechanism to enhance financial management. One of the Political Party Treasurer General stressed that:

We have an account at the bank and when any amounts of money come, it is receipted and at the end of the day receipts are given so that anyone, even if I am not there, will be able to browse through to know what is happening to the party money. (Interview with Party Treasurer General, January 2016).

Payment by Cheque

One other mechanism put in place by political parties is to pay all money transactions by cheque. To exemplify this statement, one Secretary General said: “We endeavour to use cheques whenever we make payment to individuals or companies for the work or service done to the party”. (Interview with Party General Secretary, November 2015).

Reporting of financial transactions by political parties is done according to what the party dictates. Most of the respondents from political parties indicated that they give reports quarterly and annually though others have mid-year reports. Sometimes, the presidents may request for financial reports at any time when the need arises.

4.8 Recipients of Financial Reports

Political parties have an obligation to report their financial transactions to various groups of people including those who provide financial support. The figure below shows the recipients of financial reports.

Figure 4.6: Recipients of financial reports

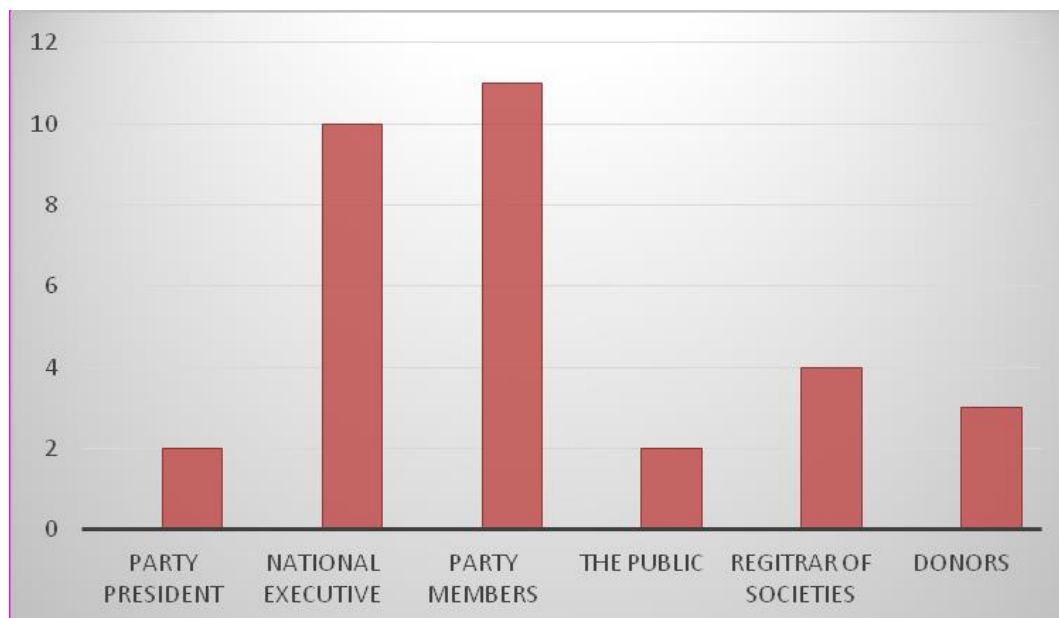


Figure 4.6 shows that two out of the sixteen respondents representing 12.5 per cent indicated that political parties report their financial transactions to their Party President. Ten out of the sixteen respondents representing 62.5 per cent indicated that political parties report their financial transactions to their National Executive Committee. Eleven out of the sixteen respondents representing 69 per cent showed that political parties report their financial transactions to their party members. Two out of sixteen respondents representing 12.5 per cent indicated that political parties report their financial transactions to the public.

Party President

Respondents submitted that they report their financial transactions to the Party President. One respondent said:

The financial reports are submitted to the Party President because the leader of the party has to know exactly how much was received, who brought it, how you used it, at which project and things like that, so I also make periodical reports to the President and the National Secretary of the Party. (Interview with Party Treasurer General, December 2015).

National Executive

Different from the above responses of key respondents one of the Secretary Generals said that:

To the National Policy Committee, the treasurer has to present audited reports to the National Policy Committee every quarter: The National Policy Committee is the governing organ of the party and it is the one that makes decisions. After this organ the only thing that you have is the National Convention which happens once every five years. (Interview with Party Secretary General, November 2015).

Party Members

Almost all the respondents acknowledged that they report political party financial transactions to their party members. To illustrate this, when asked who the recipients of financial reports were, the Party Secretary General stated that: “First of all, to our members because that is where part of the money comes from, they need to know how their membership fees are being used”. (Interview with Party Secretary General)

Similarly, one of the Civil Society Executive Director supported the above statement by echoing: “to their membership because the membership needs to know that our Party is accountable”. (Interview with Civil Society Executive Director).

The Public

Two of the respondents indicated that political parties report their financial transactions to the public. To illustrate this point when asked to whom they report political party financial transactions, one Secretary General stated that: “First of all, the public because that is where the voters are, they need to know where political parties get resources which they use during campaigns”. (Interview with Political Party Secretary General, December 2015).

Donors and Registrar of Societies

Respondents submitted that political parties report their financial transactions to the donors because that is where they get the money and to the Registrar of Societies as it is a requirement when registering their parties as well as the Party President. To exemplify this point one of the Civil Society Organisation Executive Director indicated that:

Political parties have an obligation to report their financial transactions to the donors because most, if not all of them, get their finances from donors. So donors should know how their money is being utilised. (Interview with Civil Society Executive Director, November 2015).

From the sources of funding for political parties as indicated in the first objective, having examined documents from the Registrar of Societies, most documents revealed that political parties get their funds from members through paying membership fees. Further, after a deep analysis of documents, it was discovered that political parties get their funding through donations from well-wishers. This statement was supported by the Registrar of Societies as stated below:

From returns that political parties submit, sources of funds vary from one political party to the next. However, some of them indicate that funds come from contributions from members, donations from well-wishers and so on. (Interview with Registrar of Societies, April 2016)

As for transparency and accountability, the documents analysed showed that political parties file in Annual Financial Reports and activity reports upon payment of annual returns and further, in accordance with rule 16 of the Societies act, every Society is required to submit annual returns not later than 31st March of every year.

4.9 Improve Political Party Financing, Transparency and Accountability in Zambia

It was suggested by all respondents that all political parties should disclose their source of funding and there should be a law to compel them to submit annual returns. Further, all respondents suggested that political parties with representation in parliament should receive funding from the State. It would be indicated by the researcher that most of the respondents especially those from political parties were not honest in giving information concerning their sources of funding. What was disclosed as their sources of funding mainly membership fees, fell short of what is on the ground. It is not clear where their

finances come from looking at the huge investments during the campaign period. Most political parties become extremely rich when the time for elections approaches. It would also be indicated that the information of sources of funding for these political parties is a preserve of the head of that particular political party, the rest of the members are kept out of the information.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of the study on Political Party Financing in Zambia in enhancing democracy; examining sources, transparency, and accountability. The findings of the study have been in tandem with the four objectives as outlined in Chapter One. The researcher used the thematic approach to present qualitative results. It is worth noting that the findings sorely bordered on the key players involved in the running of political parties, Civil Society Organisations involved in governance matters and the Registrar of Societies. The following Chapter will discuss the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Overview

This Chapter presents the discussions of the findings presented in Chapter Four. It is organised in subtitles based on the research objectives: to establish the source of funding for political parties, to examine the transparency and accountability mechanisms, to establish the challenges faced by political parties in sourcing for political party finances and to establish the financial reporting mechanisms for political parties.

5.1 Sources of Funding through contributions from well-wishers, membership fees and fundraising ventures

From the findings of the study presented, it is clear that most of the political parties raise their political party finances through membership fees from their party members, donations from well-wishers, political party twinning, fundraising ventures and contributions from Members of Parliament. Studies done by Kabemba and Eisenman (2005) showed that political parties raise their finances internally through membership fees, levies or contributions by members of parliament and through assets owned by political parties. Some political parties' own assets like buildings which are rented out to individual companies and firms. These companies and firms pay rentals to the political parties which they use to run the day to day affairs of their parties. Membership fees are paid annually to the political party as proof that one belongs to that particular party. It is clear from the findings that political parties also raise their finances through membership fees. The membership fees are determined by members themselves at the annual general meetings or at the congress. Additionally, contributions from members of parliament are categorised into two; contributions from Ministers and contributions from members of parliament who are not Ministers. Several studies in support of this finding have been done in many countries. Studies done in South Africa by TIZ (2010) indicated that political parties get their funding through membership fees.

This study is in line with one respondent who said, "For us, the sources of funding are: one, the general membership; the general membership funds the political party in two ways; either through the buying of party cards or simply the donations they make to the party. Two, we have got well-wishers who also make donations to the party or simply the donations they make to the party. Three, we have the Scottish National Party which also makes donations to our party for capacity building programmes" (Interview with Political Party General Secretary, November 2015).

This finding is agreeing the study done by Ohman (2012) in Austria where political parties are financed through membership fees paid by members of the political party. The findings on party members and well-wishers is also supported by the study done in India by Shari (2005) when he indicated that most of the political party funds come in as donations from well-wishers and contributions from members of parliament. In my opinion, financial sources from the members of the political parties be it membership fees or contributions from ordinary members of parliament and ministers (where applicable) is much more effective and sustainable. Such funds enshrine party ownership and increase full participation of the members in the party affairs. In the cases of funding emanating from well-wishers, I find such type of sources of funds to be precarious due to the fact that these well-wishers may have a negative influence on the political parties who received funds from well-wishers who may seek rewards or benefits of some sort in return; it could be in form of getting favourable policies that support their interests and getting lucrative contracts when the political they supported forms government. This may derail the good standing of a political party. Additionally, the findings of the study established that political parties also raise their finances through well-wishers. Most of the political parties disclosed that they raise their finances through well-wishers who make donations to their parties. These donations are made to political parties in various modes. There are also donations that are made to political parties from private companies and institutions.

The study also revealed that political parties raise their finances by twinning with other political parties outside the continent of Africa. The political party that twins with another political party gets funding from the rich political party that it is twinned with. One of the Secretary-General of one political party indicated that their political party partnered with the Liberal Democrats in the United Kingdom which gave them money for political party activities.

The study further established that fundraising ventures are another source of funding for political parties. Political parties engage in various fundraising activities in order to raise funds for their political parties. As observed by one General Secretary of one political party, the fundraising activities range from dinner dances, golf tournaments, selling of political party materials and meet the President events. This finding was supported by one respondent who submitted the following;

We have a number of fundraising ventures in places like meet the president, dinner dance and golf tournament. (Interview with Political Party National Secretary January 2016).

The study has also established that political parties raise their finances through contributions from Members of Parliament. This contribution is in form of monthly contributions levied by the party. As observed by one political party Treasurer General, the contribution is divided into two parts that is, contributions from members of parliament who are ministers and those that are not ministers. This finding was supported by the studies done by Vernon (2011) in the United States of America where political parties are financed through contributions from members of parliament. The members of parliament in this arrangement of funding only take the average industrial worker's wage from their salaries as representatives while the rest of the money goes into the political party coffers. Apart from the sources of funding indicated above, studies done by Michael (2011) in the United States of America indicated that political parties get their finances through public funding. Public funding is in two broad categories of direct funding which involves the transfer of money to a party and indirect funding which entails the government allocating broadcasting time on State media.

Fischer, Walecki and Carson (2006), in their study identified other sources different from the ones mentioned above as trade unions and international donors which fund efforts to support political processes. The study brings out useful sources of funding political parties. The study further elaborates on how dominant political power co-opts business elites with public enterprise funding, but it divorces itself from further explaining the impact that these trade unions and international donors have on the principles of democracy in supporting electoral procedures. Additionally, another study done by Ashiagbor (2005) on Party Finance Reform in Africa, revealed that there is poor public perception of parties, which impacts their ability to raise political resources. Lack of political parties' transparency and accountability to their members and the general public renders these political parties financially weak. The study further denotes that the absence of laws does not limit the abuse of incumbency which impact negatively on the tenets of democracy.

As indicated in Figure 4.1 in Chapter Four (4), these sources of funding are in tandem with the theory of mass political party funding by Duverger (1954) which stated that the more members a political party has, the more volumes of money to finance the political party. In summary, the study achieved the first objective which was to establish the main sources of funding for political parties. The theory of mass political party funding contributed a lot to this finding in that what the respondents submitted agreed with what the theory stated. It can be safely attested that the findings are in line with the theory. Further, from the findings, it can be

concluded that the objective which was to establish the source of funding for political parties has been met.

5.3 Transparency and Accountability through bank account and financial reports

It is clear from the results that transparency and accountability are important principles in political party financing. Transparency should ensure that information is readily available for the voting public, media and the citizenry at large. Information should include among others, who is funding these political parties and how they use these finances. By and large, transparency regulation has to address two dimensions of the issue of political party financing; disclosure of donations and the reporting of income and expenditure including their sources. There is need also to embrace the best practices of political party financing in order to win public confidence by means of improved transparency and encourage grassroots funding.

On the other hand, the flow of finances into the political process should be scrutinised and transparency is an important element this end and lack of it would lead to political strife which in turn may hinder the principles and values of democracy. The current practice which leaves political parties at liberty to source limitless finances without control and any legal inhibition is a danger to democracy and a country at large as the financiers may influence policies that would favour them. Political parties should employ these attributes in order to have credibility and win trust before those who contribute and donate finances for their activities. The study established that most political parties use financial reports, bank accounts and adhering to the provisions of their party constitution as major mechanisms in order to enhance transparency and accountability. Ohman (2012) in a study conducted in Austria indicated that political parties have financial reports in place in order to enhance transparency and accountability in the way they utilise finances. However, these political parties keep detailed records for the finances which they receive from the government. Political parties also are required to compile annual financial reports on their income and expenditure from their previous financial year. IDEA (2013) notes that in Ghana political parties prepare financial reports which are published in the government Gazette and in the National Newspapers. The Auditor General also monitors and audit political parties in terms of annual returns. This is in accordance with the Ghanaian Political Parties Act of 2000.

Democracies of today require strong party organisations that compete for political power in fair elections. In order to keep the system functioning, political parties need resources to run successful campaigns and support the sustenance of these political parties. In order to attract

enough resources, political parties should embrace the values of transparency and accountability. Over and above, transparency is not just about the supplying and disclosing of information. There must be a demand for it and the information shared needs to be used as part of making the political system more transparent and accountable. In support of these ideas, a study conducted by Ohman (2012) Austria indicated that political parties have financial reports in place in order to enhance transparency and accountability in the way they utilise finances. However, these political parties keep detailed records for the finances which they receive from the government. Political parties are also required to compile annual financial reports on their income and expenditure from their previous financial year. However, the study by Transparency International (2008) on transparency and accountability in political finance provided different views from the study conducted by Ohman. The study revealed that for transparency and accountability to be meaningful in political party financing, the public must be able to clearly identify all individual contributions made by donors and parties including names of contributors. The study further indicated that the relevant actors in the political arena should provide accurate and correct information regarding their sources and how the resources were utilised. The research also discovered that as political parties went about sourcing for funds, they faced numerous challenges which among others included victimisation of Well-Wishers and lack of legal framework. In order to adhere to the principle of transparency and accountability in the management of finances, political parties employed various mechanisms which included among others producing financial reports and keeping books of accounts. It should be noted that where there is no transparency and accountability in political financing, there is no mechanism to detect whether policies are pushing private agendas to repay campaign supporters. However, large private donations if not properly accounted and reported are often a risk for democracy.

5.3 Challenges in Sourcing Funds through victimisation of well-wishers and lack of legal framework

It is important to recognise that political parties face a lot of challenges as they go about to raise finances. From the findings on the challenges, it can be deduced that unguaranteed funds, conditional funding, lack of legal framework, inadequate funds and victimisation of well-wishers were the main challenges that political parties encountered when sourcing for funds. Based on these findings on challenges that political parties face when sourcing for finances, it is clear that these challenges pose another challenge of an unequal political playing field, especially for the opposition political parties. From the findings presented, political parties

faced the challenge of unguaranteed funds due to that contribution from well-wishers were not given as promised. Some political parties revealed that funds promised by individuals which they called friends of the party were not guaranteed as they kept on making follow ups in order to collect the funds but did not yield any results. Many at times political parties face dictation of priorities from donors who may prefer to fund other sectors of society other than political parties. Park (2008) noted that a political party faces challenges in funding when the major donors shift priorities towards economic development other than political parties. This picture of conflicting statements in funding political parties where political party financing is done by donors who have an expectation of a legislative or other benefit may undermine the democratic process or further undermine the public confidence in this process because the political party would be accessing compromised resources. The study revealed that inadequate funds was another challenge that political parties faced. Normally, the finances raised through different means are not enough to run the day to day activities of the party. Due the inadequateness of finances, political parties fail to run their political activities which at times render them threatened being deregistered by the Registrar of Societies.

A study done by Michael (2011) in the Netherlands supports this finding on inadequate finances as a challenge that political parties face. The study revealed that this is a major challenge that political parties face all over the globe. Money is very important in a democratic system because it enables citizens to organise political parties and also it helps them to train new leaders. Without money or inadequate resources in politics, those in power would have an advantage over potential candidates.

Conditional funding was another challenge that the study established. This challenge of conditional funding comes with conditionalities that when the political party wins the elections, it has to favour the individuals, multinationals with awarding of government contracts. However, this challenge even influences the nation to formulate rules and regulations that favour such political parties. In the dynamic donor globe, the funding trends are continually changing. Donors are using basket funding sometimes shift funding from political parties to focus on other government institutions and in this regard, political parties end up competing for the same funds with the government institutions that have resources and capacity to mobilise resources (Bryaman,2012). Mabvuto (2013) states that restrictions given to organisations for example, not allowing them to engage with another donor during the period they are funding the political party is another challenge that political parties faced and this tendency also affects political parties to diversify their donor resources. Putting a legal

framework in place for political parties would enable political parties to disclose information about funds used to finance their activities both during electoral campaigns and generally, illegal funds and influence peddling can be monitored. Further, the accuracy and usefulness of reports on finances will promote accountability and thereby increase information dissemination to the public.

This study has also established that due to the lack of a legal framework on how political parties should raise, spend, report and account for funds, has led to some political parties were being disadvantaged when it comes to the political level playing field. Some political parties even get illicit finances with sources not clearly known. Additionally, the findings of the study established that there was lack of a legal framework, as such, political parties are not regulated on where they should get funding from and they are not duty bound to disclose the sources of funding for their political parties. There is a widely-held view that disclosure and reporting rules and their implementation can provide for adequate transparency of political funds as it allows voters to make better decisions about which party or candidate they want to support.

Studies done by Nassmacher (2003) in support of the lack of a legal framework in South Africa revealed that private donations to political parties were seen as a form of political participation where donors express political support to the political parties. However, just as a democracy would safeguard the secrecy of the ballot, donors should not be required to declare their political allegiances. Further, this argument may carry additional relevance for public officials who are expected to maintain a stance of political neutrality or to business organisations who fear that they might be discriminated against when government contracts are awarded if they are known to have supported a particular political party. Divergent from this assertion, disclosure rules may inhibit contributions to opposition political parties especially in countries with a dominant ruling political party, thereby creating a strong bias in the political system in favour of the incumbent political party. Reflecting on the above information on the lack of a legal framework, studies done by IDEA (2013) in Ghana revealed that the country has a legal framework in place which compels political parties to declare to the public their assets and revenues and their source of funding which are also published in the annual audit accounts. In close opinion in the same area of the legal framework, the disclosures are also published in the Government Gazette and in the National Newspapers as a way of promoting transparency in the financing of political parties.

The study further established that victimisation of well-wishers was another challenge which political parties faced when raising finances. Some well-wishers faced victimisation such as closing their businesses when the political party they supported lost elections. Some foreign donor well-wishers also faced being deported or denied work permits if their preferred candidate or political party could not make it through elections to form government. However, Sarakinsky (2007) has argued that, although secret donations appear at odds with the values of democratic governance and accountability, there has been no empirical evidence which supports the allegation of a connection between the secrecy of funding and the presence of corruption in the absence of a legal framework. A question that comes to mind is whether a causal link exists between the lack of a legal framework and the existence of unlevelled political playing field.

Sarakinsky (2007) contends that the disclosure of the donor's identity prejudices political parties in the formation and thus, skews the competitive playing political field. The argument about the fairness of political party competition has a broader relevance especially for countries with predominant party systems, a feeble institutionalised opposition and a general lack of alternation in power (Saffu 2003). Here, the anonymity of political donations may help the opposition political parties raise funds by protecting the identity of their donors. One issue raised by most of the interviewees was that disclosure requirements would have existed if political parties in Zambia received funding from the State. This deemed the issue of lack of a legal framework irrelevant in the absence of funding from the State. This research was premised on the theory of mass political party. The theory states that the more members a political party will have, the more the volumes of finances. Political parties recruit more members so that they can raise more finances to run the affairs of the party. If a political party has more members, these members will be used even in the fundraising ventures in order to sustain the party. This is what theory of mass political party is all about because political parties cannot exist without members who contribute membership fees. In summing up, the objective, of this study have been achieved

Addressing Challenges in Sourcing Political Finances through state funding and creating legal framework

Political parties face a lot of challenges in sourcing for political party finances. However, there are a lot of means available to mitigate these challenges. The study established that most of the interviewees indicated that creating a legal framework was one way of mitigating the

challenge in sourcing for finances. This finding of creating a legal framework is agreeing with the study done by Mutesa (2002) where the growing influence of money in Zambia's electoral process is unchecked and, therefore, the expected gains of a multiparty dispensation are the preserve of a selected few. Additionally, the findings of the study established that most of the interviewees felt that lack of a legal framework was another challenge which they faced and felt that if this was put in place it would level the political playing field. There is a widely-felt view also that political parties that had a lot of finances had undue advantage over those political parties that had less finances because these political parties used the finances without following any guidelines. The interviewees felt that if the legal framework was to be put in place, those who donate to political parties would be protected and they would be free to donate to any political party of their choice. Transparency would also be promoted if the legal framework was to be put in place as political parties will be restrained from sourcing illicit finances from unknown sources. A study done by TIZ (2010) in Mozambique indicated that the country has a robust legal framework on accountability but lacks enforcement. The other weakness of the legal framework in Mozambique is that when it comes to the scope of information to be submitted to the oversight bodies, the legislation turns out to be ambiguous because the law simply states that political parties must render accounts on all their income and expenditure without specifying which sources of income should be included in those reports.

The study also revealed that introducing State funding to political parties was another mitigating measure for political parties to finance their activities. The interviewees felt that putting a law in the country that would allow the state to fund political parties, would strengthen the democratic dispensation of political parties. The funding of political parties by the state would create a free environment for any citizen to participate in the governance process without experiencing undue influence by other political parties with a lot of resources. Most of the interviewees indicated that introducing state funding to political parties would level the financial playing field between political parties. However, they felt that clear measures were to be put in place when funding political parties by the State. Others felt that only those political parties with representation in parliament would be supported by the State.

A study conducted by George et al (2011) reveals that political parties in the United States are funded by the state. The study reveals that there are two categories of public funding on of which is direct funding which entails the transfer of money directly to a political party and indirect funding which includes providing broadcasting time on state media. Increasing

funding by the State promotes a levelled playing field between political parties and further reduces dependence on private funding. This will also enable political parties to have equal access to financial and non-financial State support like transport, State media, and government property.

One significant study on addressing challenges faced by political parties is that of TIZ (2010) in Mozambique which revealed that political parties in Mozambique are funded by the State. The funding of political parties in Mozambique is regulated by Law 7/91, while the funding of election campaigns is regulated by Law 6/2013 on the election of the President of the republic and that of the deputies of the assembly. The State budget provides designated amounts for funding political parties on an annual basis. The legislation provides clear guidelines on how bookkeeping of political parties in order for them to have organised accounts and an inventory of their assets as well as a bank account. Further, the study reveals that annual party accounts must be rendered to the State supervisory body. As alluded to above, funding by the state levels the political playing field as all political parties will have equal access to the political arena.

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter Five discussed the various findings by bringing out areas of how political parties sourced their finances, challenges which political parties faced as they sourced for these finances and how they complied with the principles of transparency and accountability in the management of the finances which they raised. Literature supporting some of the findings was quoted where necessary. The chapter also links the findings to the theory of the Mass Membership which acted as the pillar of this research. The following Chapter which is Chapter six (6) concludes the research and outlines a number of recommendations regarding Political Party Financing in Zambia in relation to sources, transparency, and accountability.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Overview

Chapter one of this dissertation discussed the background information concerning political party financing in Zambia in connection with the sources, transparency, and accountability. The problem statement, research objectives, purpose, and significance of the study, conceptual and theoretical framework. Chapter Two dealt with the literature review on political party financing from global, region and Zambian perspectives respectively. Chapter Three presented the methodology on how this research was conducted used in the study and Chapter Four presented the findings of the study which were discussed in Chapter Five. This chapter presents the overall conclusion of the findings. The Chapter ends with conclusions and finally, recommendations which include recommendation for further research.

6.1 Conclusion

6.1.1 Sources of Funding for Political Parties through contribution of well-wishers, membership fees and fundraising ventures

The research established that the major sources of funding for political parties were contributions from well-wishers, contributions from members of political parties. It was also established that other sources of funding for political parties were contributions from members of parliament and also fundraising ventures that included dinner galas, golf tournaments and meet the president. The study further established that political parties raised resources through donations from donors although it was very difficult for the respondents to disclose who the donors were as well as the names of well-wishers.

6.1.2 Transparency and Accountability through opening bank accounts and financial reports.

Transparency should ensure that information concerning sources of funding for political parties and how the finances are spent should be available in a timely manner. There is need also to embrace the best practices of political party financing in order to win public confidence by means of improved transparency and accountability and encourage grassroots funding so that democracy can be enhanced. On the other hand, the flow of finances into the political

process should be scrutinised because transparency is an important element to this end and lack of it would lead to political strife which in turn may hinder the principles and values of democracy. Effective oversight of the role of finances in politics requires transparency and accountability. In this regard, it was established that most respondents especially those from political parties indicated at least some reporting systems like financial reports, book keeping and banking all monies received in the bank. However, there were serious causes of concern because political party treasurers were hesitant to provide accurate information about their sources of funding.

The current practice which leaves political parties at liberty to source limitless finances without control and any legal inhibition is a danger to democracy and a country at large as the financiers may influence policies that would favour them. Political parties should employ these attributes in order to have credibility and win trust before those who contribute and donate finances for their activities

The research established that political parties employed various mechanisms to ensure transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances such as preparations of financial reports and banking all funds received. Political parties also reported their financial transactions to their members during their Annual General Meetings and Conventions. Political parties employed various mechanisms in ensuring transparency and accountability. Among the major mechanisms that political parties employed includes, producing financial reports, depositing all monies received, into the banks and by adhering to their constitutional provisions which required that political parties should submit a detailed statement of expenditure within six months during the election period.

6.1.3 Challenges in Sourcing for Party Finances through victimisation of well-wishers and lack of legal framework

While political party financing is a challenge worldwide, Zambia inclusive, the study established that political parties faced numerous challenges in sourcing for funds of which among the major ones are unguaranteed funds where political parties were promised fund by well-wishers and other corporate bodies but the funds were not remitted. The challenge of conditional funding in a situation where the financiers ask the political party in power to reward them when they formed government. In other instances, the financiers would also formulate laws that would favour them in terms of contract award and also influence the government to formulate policies that would work to their advantage. Low levels of

transparency and accountability or Lack of a legal framework was another great challenge which mostly lead to victimisation of donors and well-wishers. The absence of a legal framework in the laws of the country may prompt political parties to source finances from anywhere including questionable destinations. The relative absence of public funding in the provisions in the constitution poses a great challenge to political parties especially those in the opposition. If there are provisions in the constitution, political parties that receive funding from the government would also be compelled to provide audit reports and disclose other sources of funding. However, political playfield should be levelled in order to provide equal platforms to all political players. The legal framework would also protect those who donate to political parties from various forms of victimisation.

6.1.4 Improving Political Party Financing, Transparency and Accountability in Zambia

The research established that most respondents suggested that in order to improve political party financing, transparency and accountability, political parties should receive funding from the state. There should be legal framework that would compel political parties to disclose their sources of funding. This point was supported by one Executive Director when he said the following; Creating a legal framework is the only way that will protect anybody who wants to donate or support any political parties to be able to do so without having to face any kind of victimisation, once you do that, you would actually be creating transparency in our democracy but also accountability in our democracy because everybody will know that if I get certain money I am supposed to use it for these particular issues and those individuals will not get in trouble, so basically creating a very free environment for any citizen to participate in the governance process by way of putting in a place a very enabling legislative framework. (Interview with Civil Society Executive Director, November2015)

If the legal framework is put in place, it would encourage political parties embrace the culture of honest by submitting timely and correct financial reports. By so doing, there would be trust and confidence by those that donate and contribute finances to these political parties. Further, all respondents suggested that political parties with representation in parliament should receive funding from the State which might be one tenth of the total number of parliamentarians. To concretise this point, one of the political party president had this to say, “Well, I think a couple of things needs to be done, there is need for government to consider providing funding to political parties that at least have representation in parliament and this will help level the political playing field” (Interview with Party President, January 2016).

The regulated public funding to political parties comes along with many advantages among others which will be helpful in levelling the playing field. Public funding to political parties would also reduce the reliance of illegal methods of political party financing their parties. It is however, worth noting by the researcher that most of the respondents especially those from political parties were not honest in giving information concerning their sources of funding. In this regard, there is need to inculcate a culture of honest in the political institutions so that members of the public can have confidence in the people that they entrust power with. Looking at what was disclosed by political parties as their sources of funding mainly membership fees, fell short of what is on the ground. It is not clear where their finances come from looking at the huge investments during the campaign period. Most political parties become extremely rich when the time for elections approaches. It can also be indicated here that the information of sources of funding for these political parties is a preserve of the head of that particular political party, the rest of the members are kept out of the information.

6.2 Recommendations

In order to enhance transparency and accountability regarding financing of political parties, the following recommendations should be put into consideration:

6.2.1 General Recommendations

1. The government should put in place a legal framework that will compel political parties to disclose their sources of funding as a way of enhancing democracy.
2. The government should fund political parties with representation in parliament who have one tenth members of the total number of parliamentarians in parliament.
3. The government should put in place a mechanism to allow the Auditor General's Office to audit books of accounts for political parties as a way of ensuring transparency and accountability.

6.2.2 Recommendation for Further Research

Further research on Political Party Financing in Zambia so that an in-depth exploration of the sources, transparency, and accountability can be enhanced and the best practices on political financing in Zambia and the Region.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARY GENERALS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political Party.....

Respondent.....

Age Range

Researcher.....

Location.....

Date.....

1. Running a political party in Zambia is very costly, what are the sources of funding for political parties?
2. As a political party in a democratic dispensation, what challenges do you face when sourcing finances?
3. How best can challenges be addressed?
4. What mechanisms do you have in place to enhance transparency and accountability in the management of finances?
5. How effective are these mechanisms?
6. What is the importance of transparency and accountability in the management of political party finances?
7. What available means do you have in place to report party financial transactions?
8. How often do you report these financial transactions?
9. To whom do you report these financial transactions?
10. What suggestions do you have regarding political party financing in Zambia?

Thank you very much for according me this time.

APPENDIX 2 AUTHORITY LETTER FROM MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

TEL: LUSAKA +260 211 254261/2
TELEGRAPH: MINHOME, RIDGEWAY
TEL/FAX: +260 211 254336
E-MAIL: homeaffairs@zamtel.zm
Website: www.homeaffairs.gov.zm



In reply please quote

No:.....

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

MHA/101/1/59

INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
P.O. BOX 50997
LUSAKA

21st April, 2016

The Chief Registrar of Societies
Office of the Registrar of Societies
LUSAKA

REQUEST TO CONDUCT AN ACADEMIC DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: MR. ADAM DAKA

Reference is made to the above captioned subject.

This serves to confirm that the above named has been granted authority to collect information from your department which will go a long way in helping him effectively complete his **Master's in Education Programme**.

It is important to note that the request has been granted subject to the findings being used for academic purposes only. All publications and academic papers based on the data should be availed to the Ministry.

Please, render him all the necessary support.

Kindly find attached herewith, a supporting letter from the University of Zambia.


Friday Singoyi
Assistant Director- A
For/Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
...em

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Organisation

Respondent Post

Age Range

Researcher

Location

Date

1. Running a Political Party in Zambia is very costly, what are the sources of funding for Political Parties?
2. From the sources of funding that you have stated, what challenges do Political Parties face as they source for these finances?
3. How best can these challenges be addressed?
4. What are in place for Political Parties to enhance transparency and accountability in the management of finances?
5. How effective are these mechanisms?
6. What is the importance of transparency and accountability in the management of finances?
7. How do Political Parties report their financial transactions?
8. To whom should Political Parties report their financial transactions?
9. What information is available concerning audits of Political Parties?
10. What suggestions do you have regarding Political Party financing?

Thank you very much for according me the opportunity to talk to you!

APPENDIX 4: CONSENT FORM

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND LANGUAGES
CIVIC EDUCATION UNIT

Dear Sir/Madam,

REF: REQUEST FOR CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH RESPONDENT

I am a student at the University of Zambia doing a Master of Education in Civic Education Degree. I am hereby requesting for your consent to be one of my respondents to my research on the “Political Party Financing in Zambia in enhancing democracy: Examining sources, transparency and accountability”. This will help me come up with information regarding the sources, transparency and accountability of various political parties in Zambia.

Be assured that the information you will share with me will be confidential and will only be used for academic purposes.

Your consent to this request will highly be appreciated.

Yours Faithfully,

..... (Sign)

Daka Adam – Researcher/Student

Consent by respondent

Having read or heard the information concerning this research, I hereby voluntarily consent to be one of the respondents. In this regard, I reserve the right to end the interview at any time and choose not to answer particular questions if necessary.

Name: Sign:

Date:

APPENDIX 5: RESEARCH BUDGET

1. STATIONARY			
DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST (ZMW)	TOTAL COST (ZMW)
Clips	2 Packets	5.00	10.00
Correction fluid	1	10.00	10.00
Erasers	2	5.00	10.00
Flash Disks	1	150.00	150.00
Folders	5	6.00	30.00
Pens	5	2.00	10.00
Perforator	1	50.00	50.00
Reams of paper	2	30.00	60.00
Stapler	1	50.00	50.00
Staples	2 packets	15.00	30.00
Subtotal			410.00
1. DATA COLLECTION AND PROCESSING COSTS			
DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST (ZMW)	TOTAL COST (ZMW)
Printing and photocopying	-	-	300.00
Research Assistant	1	300.00	300.00
Recording device	1	1,000.00	1,000.00
Transport	10days	200	2000.00
Subtotal			3600.00
2. DATA TRANSCRIPTIONS (AUDIO TO WORD)			
DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST (ZMW)	TOTAL COST (ZMW)
2 transcribers	2	600	1200
Contingency fee	For 10 days	100	1000
Sub Total			2200.00

3. PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND COMPILATION OF FINAL DISSERTATION COSTS			
DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST (ZMW)	TOTAL COST (ZMW)
Poster development	1	500.00	500.00
Binding journal article	1	150.00	150.00
Final dissertation production (printing, binding & other costs)	3	1500.00	4500.00
Subtotal			5150.00
GRAND TOTAL			10950.00

APPENDIX 4: RESEARCH TIME FRAME

APPENDIX 4: WORK PLAN FOR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY	ACTIVITY DETAILS	DURATION	DATES
Proposal Writing	Reviewing related literature and developing draft proposal	Two Months	April and May
Submission and correction of proposal	Making corrections to the draft proposal as advised by supervisor	One Month	June
Proposal presentation	Presentation of proposal for approval	As advised through sessional dates	July
Planning	Raising of resources and preparing research materials	Two Months	August and September

Data Collection	Going into the field to collect data from respondents	One Month	October
Data analysis and Procession	Preparation, analysis and presentation of data	Three Months	November, December and January
Report preparing	Report writing involving typing and editing while meeting the supervisor in the process	Three Months	January to June 2016
Report presentation	Presentation of research findings	As advised	June 2016
Collections	Making corrections to the report as advised	One Month	May
Final Report	Production of the final research report	Two Months	June, July, August
Thesis defence	Defending of research findings	One Day	28 th October, 2016