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# **The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in Senegal**

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## Introduction

The aim of this study, undertaken jointly by Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) and the Centre for Study and Research Action on Governance (CERAG), is to provide substantive data on the costs of parliamentary work in Senegal. This was done as part of WFD's research programme on the cost of politics, which seeks to establish a mechanism for comparing factors that drive the increasing costs of engaging in politics across a span of countries, as well as assessing how they fit within existing regulatory frameworks and political systems in order to identify key trends.

In Senegal, parliamentary candidates are facing increasing costs linked to their investiture, their election and their legislature. For example, candidates face the issue of having to pay large deposit fees for their candidacy - some 20 million West African francs (CFA) or over £26,000.

Senegal has had a long history of multi-party elections. For example, during the colonial period the *Section Française de l'Internationale ouvrière* (SFIO, French Section of the Workers' International) and the *Bloc Démocratique du Sénégal* (BDS, Senegalese Democratic Bloc) stood against one another in the 'Four Communes' of Senegal (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque and Gorée)<sup>1</sup>, which were fully recognised by France. The MPs who were elected sat in the French Parliament. In the legislative elections of 1963, there were two opposing blocs: that of the *Union progressiste Sénégalaise* (UPS, Senegalese Progressive Union) and the *Parti du rassemblement Africain-Sénégal* (PRA, Senegal Party of the African-Senegal Union).

Multi-party contests are an old story in Senegal. In addition to the well-known parties of Blaise Diagne, Galandou Diouf, Lamine Guèye and Senghor, other political forces existed. These include: the *Union démocratique Sénégalaise* (UDS, Senegalese Democratic Union), formed from a dissident territorial section of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (RDA, African Democratic Rally); the *Parti de la solidarité Sénégalaise* (SSP, Senegalese Solidarity Party) led by the young marabout Cheikh Tidiane Sy; and other regional or ethnically-based movements, such as the *Mouvement autonome Casamançais* of Assane Seck (MAC, Casamancian Autonomous Movement).<sup>2</sup>

Except for the period from 1963 to 1976 when the country experienced a single-party system, elections have always been hotly contested since independence, and even during the colonial period beforehand. In fact, the selection process for MPs involves intense competition from several competing parties or coalition groups. The various candidates seeking election under the banner of their party or coalition are then expected to campaign to mobilise their supporters. The new changes to the constitution in 2016 now authorise individuals to take part as independent candidates in all elections.

However, to get elected to parliament, candidates are expected to undertake certain activities which require the availability of vast financial resources, and this issue is the focus of this study. These activities include, among other things: frequent travelling with the campaign team in order to stay in touch with voters; regular visits to religious and traditional authorities which cannot be done without giving gifts; running costs for political rallies (for example, meals, drinks, gifts of cloth, t-shirts, caps and banners); and making contributions to various family ceremonies of constituency voters, and so on.

It is clear that money is a resource of prime importance for all candidates in legislative elections in Senegal. There are more and more cases of electoral candidates who are facing judicial inquiries because of loans they had taken out to run their campaign and are unable to pay back. This is not an issue unique to Senegal. The degree of a political actor's access to financial resources seems to be a determining factor in his or her likelihood of being elected to parliament, and in his or her capacity to win over a portion of the electorate. In other words, money helps candidates to influence the political stakes in their favour, whether locally or nationally.

Interviews were held with a sample of 13 MPs from the current parliament in Senegal, as well as one unsuccessful candidate. They indicated that many have financed their electoral campaign with the use of, as one interviewee put it: 'their personal finances, donations, loans, sales of assets, jewels and so on'. This is particularly the case for candidates from 'smaller parties'. Candidates affiliated with a larger party or

coalition can benefit from state resources - car fleets, access to a petrol allowance, or pooling resources with ministers from the same region or town. This highlights the patrimonial manner in which state resources are used for the benefit of the ruling party or coalition.

The result is that the power of the state and its resources are used to strengthen the power of the political actors who control it. During election campaigns, the political entrepreneur, as a representative of the state, puts public resources to his or her own use in order to serve the purpose of being elected and assure victory for his or her party. For example, President Macky Sall instructed the heads of public enterprises and other state programmes to invest politically in their hometowns for the benefit of the party. In such cases, there are potential risks that public resources can be used to finance political activities.

Even the strategies for setting up parliamentary groups within Parliament highlight the role that financial resources play in the capacity of individuals and groups to set up and maintain a parliamentary group. 'With CFA 500 million, I can set up a parliamentary group,' said one MP.

The monthly basic salary of an MP is CFA 1.3 million, with a petrol allowance of 300 litres wherever his or her constituency is located.<sup>3</sup> The chairs of Committees also receive a supplement to their salary. The National Assembly itself has CFA 50 million available for disbursement through special funds each month. The annual budget is CFA 16 billion, 50% of which is for the salaries of the Assembly's 150 members.

Regarding the upcoming parliamentary elections of 2017, the MPs we interviewed expressed their concern about their ability to raise enough funds to help them get re-elected; most of them referred to the high cost of political campaigns. This is coupled with the fact that they consistently receive requests from their constituency. The voters seem to think that elected members must repay a debt, and therefore all their needs should be met by those who they helped get elected.

This exploratory report aims to reflect on what MPs have said about their own election costs, the manner in which they dealt with their voters' solicitations, and their proposals for making their parliamentary work more efficient. Looking to the future, the last part of this study will deal with the effect of the cost of politics on democracy.

## **Methodology**

This study is considered to be exploratory for two main reasons:

1. The sample is not exhaustive. With a sample size of 15 political candidates, 13 were interviewed. Two were selected but the interviews could not be carried out before the report was written due to a lack of availability. One unsuccessful candidate was interviewed.
2. The data collected from these interviews can serve as a structured guide for interviewing a larger and more representative sample as part of a more detailed study, with the possibility of using closed questions that would facilitate the collection of statistical data.

This report's research logic favours a more qualitative approach, which has allowed the MPs interviewed to present a 'living narrative' of the situations they experienced during election season. This allows us to assess the main challenges they faced, through their personal observations as well as their recommendations for mitigating the high cost of politics. Once this is done it is possible to establish more refined research hypotheses based on identified trends.

The sensitivity of the subject matter is a dominant feature that needs to be taken into account, as taking an interest in the financing of political parties involves analysing parties' private financial sources, which are at the centre of their power structures and thus are often contentious.

The information used in the drafting of this document was collected from individual interviews with 13 parliamentarians and one unelected candidate, through a semi-structured interview guide. The selection of interviewees was based on a specific set of criteria, including party membership and the type of political party (presence in the country, ideology, and citizens' movement); gender; religion; electoral area; ruling party or opposition; age; and availability.

Most of the interviewees were selected from the coalition movement in power, Benno Bokk Yaakar, and the remaining subjects were selected from the main opposition parties, the PDS and Rewmi. However, due to the last minute unavailability of three parliamentarians selected, the study was forced to reduce the size of the original sample. It should be stated that the study was undertaken during parliament's examination of the ministerial budgets.

The main questions which allowed us to structure the interviews can be summarised as follows:

- What are the factors that influence the cost of your campaign? In terms of financial costs, what are the obstacles to engaging in political campaigning?
- Could you provide an estimate of the amount needed to run a successful parliamentary election campaign? How do you mobilise funding?
- What are the types of expenditure and requests that you have to deal with once elected?
- What proposals could you put forward in terms of costs to be covered in order to succeed as a Member of Parliament?
- What approximate figure would you give for an average campaign budget for a parliamentary candidate?

To supplement the interviews a literature review covering the cost of politics in Senegal and West Africa was conducted in order to illustrate and set our study within a wider research context. We found that there are only a few publications in Senegal on this thematic issue.

We used the documents to touch upon different aspects of party funding in Africa. For example, the 2010 report presented to the *Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie* (the parliamentary assembly of French-speaking communities) found the following: 'funding politics in general and political parties, in particular, has changed substantially over the last few decades with the introduction of new communication techniques. Running political parties and their electoral activities have led to ever-increasing costs, and the means of funding them often reach limits set in the legal framework of several countries.'<sup>4</sup>

To demonstrate the relevance of the issue, the author of the report refers to a recommendation made at the third Conference of Political Parties of West Africa<sup>5</sup> by representatives of political parties in Benin, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. The Conference invited states that have not adopted laws authorising the public funding of parties to do so, as soon as possible, whilst favouring a consensus amongst political players.

The documentary research has substantiated this observation of political life in African countries. Indeed, in many African countries, this issue remains a major concern in the democratic process. At the national level, the ruling parties enjoy a real advantage over opposition parties, using state facilities and supplies but also secret funds available to certain higher institutions at their discretion. In general, the parties considered to be large parties that have more money are led by those who have occupied high positions in government.

However, it is difficult to quantify these privileges, as they are a taboo subject which those involved do not want to discuss. But there is no doubt that their effect on electoral outcomes is decisive.

One of the first writers to raise the question of funding electoral campaigns in Senegal, Professor El Hadji Mbodji, has illustrated well the challenges associated with this issue:

'The cost of politics is a repeated concern of national actors and partners in democratic development, in so far as it is increasingly acknowledged that a prerequisite of democratic consolidation is the strengthening of the capacity of political actors, in particular, political parties. This must focus on mitigating or systematically eliminating the inequalities that result from these disparities through the fair allocation of public resources and the adoption of accompanying measures that are aimed at cleaning up political standards, fighting against excesses associated with money in the political space, fighting against opaque financing sources for political parties and, finally, obliging candidates and political parties to present transparent annual accounts.'<sup>6</sup>

In his doctoral thesis, El Hadji Omar Diop (2006)<sup>7</sup> underlines that the role of political parties in financing election campaigns is also a concern of development partners who support the various national electoral committees.

## I. Historical context

Historically, MPs from the ruling party in Senegal have always benefited from opportunities to mobilise financial resources. In fact, the political elite that move into politics have always benefited from the support of the ruling party which, through the sale of party membership cards, has been able to build up financial reserves. Prior to independence, the commercial sector provided significant financial support to candidates for both local and legislative elections.

Once elected, MPs obtain access to funds which can be used for future elections, by exploiting the influence that comes with their titles. This client-based system has allowed the party in power to win the vote in each legislative election with a large majority in the National Assembly. According to some of the MPs interviewed, the voting model in use also contributes to maintaining a parliamentary configuration which allows little room for promoting political pluralism.

Since 1960, Senegal's political space has been marked by the creation, dissolution and banning of political parties. From 1960 to 1973, Senegal only had one official party, the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), which was created in 1958 by Leopold Sédar Senghor and Lamine Guèye.

The argument put forth for a single-party system was that Senegal was a young independent state, vulnerable to internal or external destabilisation, and the creation of multiple political parties might be a source of disorder and anarchy. Likewise, the state sought to ban interest groups that were set up to protect a language, racial or ethnic group; a gender or religious group; a religious sect or regional group. The purpose of this prohibition was to protect national unity and thus the integrity of the country. Consequently, certain parties such as the *Bloc des Masses Sénégalaises* (BMS, Senegalese Masses Coalition) and the *Parti du regroupement Africain* (PRA, African 'Regroupment' Party) ended up joining UPS. Others were dissolved or banned, such as the *Parti Africain de l'Indépendance* (PAI, African Independence Party), which had a Marxist-Leninist inclination, and the *Front National du Sénégal* (FNS, Senegalese National Front).

In 1974, under pressure from students, clandestine political groups and the international community, President Senghor authorised the creation of the Democratic Senegalese Party (PDS) of Abdoulaye Wade.

On 19 March 1976, a constitutional amendment increased the number of official political parties to three, representing different trends of political thinking:

1. socialist and democratic;
2. liberal and democratic;
3. communist or Marxist-Leninist.

From this constitutional revision, three parties were recognised:

- UPS took the 'social-democratic' label. In December 1976 it adopted the name of *Parti Socialist* (PS, Socialist Party), and a month later it became a member of the Socialist Internationale.
- PDS adopted the label 'liberal democratic'.
- PPAI, founded by Mahjemout Diop in 1957 and banned in 1960, came out of hiding and claimed to follow 'scientific socialism'.

On 28 December 1978, another constitutional revision changed the number of political parties to four. The fourth party, supposedly representing the centre or conservative party, was the Senegalese Republican Movement (MRS) founded by Boubacar Guèye. With the entry of the PDS as an opposition party after the 1978 elections, one can observe the emergence of new campaign funding strategies for candidates. The PDS has relied on the sale of membership cards, donations, and logistical support from Liberal International or the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for example, as well as from the social class opposed to Senghorian politics, and certain fringe groups of the Marabout class. This was all done in an opaque or secretive manner so as to avoid reprisals from the ruling party.

Two years later, in 1980, with this limited multi-party system in place, President Senghor stepped down from power and his Prime Minister, Abdou Diouf, succeeded him. Under pressure from trade unions, student movements and political parties who had been the victims of Senghor's authoritarianism, the new President changed political strategy. In the same year, the law on the four types of parties was replaced by a law setting up a full multi-party system. This law on political parties defined legal status based on three criteria: conditions for formation; rules for their function; and controls in place for party activities.

From 1981 to 2000 many political parties were formed and registered. With the *Front pour l'Alternance* (FAL, Alternate Front), and the arrival into power of President Abdoulaye Wade in 2000, there was an inflation of newly created political parties.<sup>8</sup>

Systemic factors like how parties are created and function in the political space have been identified as having a strong influence on the cost of politics. One MP interviewed described Senegal's political system as a one-party system that benefits from the support of the President. The President has a substantial sum of CFA800,000 (approximately £10,400) in political funding that is voted on by the National Assembly. According to the MP, this money has not been earmarked for anything, and thus he concluded that it was set aside exclusively for the ruling party.

In fact, any opposition party that seeks to compete with the ruling party needs to have substantial means available to it; this helps to explain the ever-increasing cost of politics. According to this MP, the dual function of being President and Secretary-General of the ruling party gives the head of state access to unparalleled financial resources for elections in his pursuit to lock in a second mandate. This characteristic of the political system influences costs, as the other parties are bound to mobilise substantial amounts of funding in order to contend with the coalition in power.

### **Previous examples of research on the cost of politics**

From our literature review, the main piece of research on this subject that we came across was a paper written by Professor El Hadji Mbodji on the financing of electoral campaigns and political parties in francophone African states. This research describes certain funding mechanisms that have been applied by the state in multiple elections in Senegal. Among them, the government is responsible for printing and handing out voting cards at the cost of the state according to Article L50 of the Electoral Code. Apart from ballot papers, the printing of party manifestos, lists and candidates' personal statements is fully covered by the state, which organises and regulates contracts for printing companies through tenders, in the presence of political parties.

The state also organises special free advertising spaces for candidates or lists of candidates, in the form of posters, testimonials and leaflets. Representatives of parties send requests for advertising to the governor, head or deputy head of the district to be registered before being transferred to the devolved local authorities.

Research carried out by the African Network for Integrated Development (RADI) and its partners<sup>9</sup> provides results that can help better our understanding of the significance of money in the practice of politics and offers innovative proposals for regulating political activity which could, in the long run, provide a legal framework for political party financing. The study was carried out using a sample of 700 people. 70% of those surveyed thought that secrecy defines the role of money in politics and believe that there is a link between corruption and politicians crossing the floor. The vast majority of political parties admitted that money plays a dominating role in politics, affecting political outcomes. Money is in effect used to buy consciences and votes, which is furthermore corrupt practice in the political arena. In short, the civil society organisations consulted as part of this study by RADI 'found that the relationship between money and politics has taken on new proportions given the difficult conditions for local communities'.<sup>10</sup>

## **II. Current drivers of the costs of parliamentary politics**

In modern democracies, the quality of political speeches is no longer enough to win over the hearts of voters. Political messaging has to be effectively conveyed to far-reaching corners of the country. Such constraints in electoral campaigning explain why new means of communication are widely used. These expenses take such a large portion of candidates' and party budgets that it is impossible for them to be covered by traditional means of financing (member contributions, gifts, legacies and special events).

All MPs interviewed in the sample study believe that the costs involved in parliamentary elections and while serving as a member of parliament are constantly increasing.

### **Local venue logistics**

This factor is by far one of the more decisive ones, listed by more than half of the sample size (60%), since electoral campaigns today are also conducted close to local communities. The campaign trails of various parties and coalitions span across the country, depending on the logistical resources available to them. Some have the means to cover the whole country, in particular the party or coalition in power that often uses state resources. Others choose to tailor their campaign according to the funds available to them and only cover areas where their candidates have a stable voter base. In turn, campaigning in local communities relies on the use of loudspeaker vehicles and other vehicles, which increases things like petrol costs.

### **Communication**

The MPs interviewed highlighted the increasing use of new communications technology, which plays a major role in influencing voters. One failed candidate explained to us for example how important it was for him to change his wardrobe so that he could dress himself in clothing that presents a 'positive' image (this involved purchasing suits and ties, fashionable boubous and traditional clothing). Those standing for election link up with expensive communications agencies or specialists who help them 'look after' their image. The use of banners, disc jockeys, and other 'griots' (entertainers) are some of the costs that candidates or their party have to pay for.

### **Running costs**

The local committees supporting the candidates' campaign events have to organise 'tea-debates'. This includes handing out envelopes with different amounts of money for purchasing drinks, using sound equipment and tarpaulins, and providing food.

### **Payments to representatives in the voting offices**

The MPs from smaller parties and the opposition that we met emphasised the difficulties of being represented in voting offices because they did not have enough money available to pay representatives and provide them with food and transport.



## **Gift giving**

The social system in Senegal was unanimously depicted by all interviewees as promoting the custom of gifts to religious and traditional leaders during courtesy visits by all those involved in politics. However, these gifts, or the expectation of gifts, are no longer limited to local authorities. According to the MPs, all sorts of players expect gifts from politicians, especially during election season. These gifts, which some call 'buying people's consciences' have become institutionalised in the social and political system. One of the individuals involved informed us that an election campaign is considered by certain social groups as a time of wealth redistribution, a unique occasion to make money or to receive gifts in general; such as clothes, t-shirts, or caps. The comments by this MP demonstrate the decisive role that gifts play, as well as the 'personalisation' of local power. He added: 'I became Mayor before the elections were even held. People vote for a person and not a party.'

## **In-office costs**

Once elected, the parliamentarians interviewed say that they are given numerous requests, not only from those they identify as their voting base, but also from other groups. Senegalese society places importance on all sorts of ceremonies: baptisms, marriages, deaths, and patronage of cultural, religious and sports events. These are events at which the attendance of politicians, in particular those in power, is highly desired. The politicians interviewed said that they felt bound to honour all these requests for their patronage links. One MP put it this way: 'When we were in power, I said yes to all patronage requests made to me, as I benefited from the financial support of the President, my fellow ministers and parliamentary colleagues. Now I turn them down because I no longer have the means to keep my promises.' One other member stressed: 'I am scared to switch off my phone, because when I switch it back on my voicemail is full, and anyone who has not been able to leave a message will be frustrated thinking that I have filtered calls.'

## **Barriers to entry**

The obstacles that prevent access to political campaigning are linked to the factors cited above. Any player or candidate who does not have the means to gather large sums of money has very limited chances of entering or succeeding in a political campaign.

Financial resources are not the only trump card leading to successful elections, according to the parliamentarians that we spoke to, but as one interviewee stated, they 'enable us to undertake the activities on the ground that we need to in order to be elected.' One MP from the Alliance for the Republic (APR) also stated that 'although money plays an important role during elections, it is not the only determining factor. If that were the case, President Wade would not have been beaten in 2012.'

At the same time, the increase in the deposit to be paid for each parliamentary election list - some CFA 20 million - has been identified by the majority of the sample as an obstacle to becoming a candidate, and also as a major factor that led some candidates into debt once the election was over.

## **III. Outlook**

The survey that we carried out highlights the increasing costs of politics. All the MPs we met unanimously agreed on this negative trend. Their opinion is substantiated in particular by the parliamentarians surveyed who had served in at least two parliaments. According to them, the costs involved in electoral campaigning and in serving in parliament have increased due to the diversity of strategies developed by campaign teams and the high number of parties standing for elections - over 250. By way of example, former President Wade and his party, the PDS, used a tactic called 'the blue market' in the 1998 parliamentary elections, where they went from door to door in each neighbourhood of Dakar. But these courtesy visits were not conducted without the financial solicitation of voters or the act of handing envelopes filled with money to religious or traditional leaders.

Senegal is a country where religious or traditional leaders still enjoy a certain level of influence and legitimacy which places them at the heart of electoral 'bartering'. Without their support or blessing, it becomes very difficult for candidates to get elected, especially in religious regions.

The tendency of local communities to make their vote a transaction exacerbates the cost of politics. In fact, 'purchasing their conscience' or giving gifts have become institutionalised practices which all male or female candidates are forced to do. 'Mouno téyyé sa poss, téyyé say cartes,'" said one candidate interviewed during the study. Another went further by saying: 'The budget for two weeks of campaigning is high, with campaign trips in the regions and the meetings and courtesy visits to religious authorities. This, in fact, limits our ambition to cover several regions in the country.'

However, the most difficult thing remains religious lobbying. Senegal is a country with a tradition of Sufi Muslim brotherhoods. The Gamou and other religious ceremonies are celebrated in each town or village. This means that the local MP is one of the people most sought after to provide material and financial support for these ceremonies. On top of the financial or logistical support requested, quite often the parliamentarian is expected to attend these events, especially if they take place in his or her constituency. Any MP who does not have the means available to meet these requests sometimes turns for help to the President of the Assembly, chairs of committees or a minister. This then creates a 'loyalty out of debt' wherein MPs are beholden to more powerful political players, transcending ideological divides between parties and the coalition, between those in power and those in the opposition. One consequence of this is the difficulty for members to critically and objectively scrutinise the budgets of ministers, for example. In turn, it is the work of parliament that suffers.

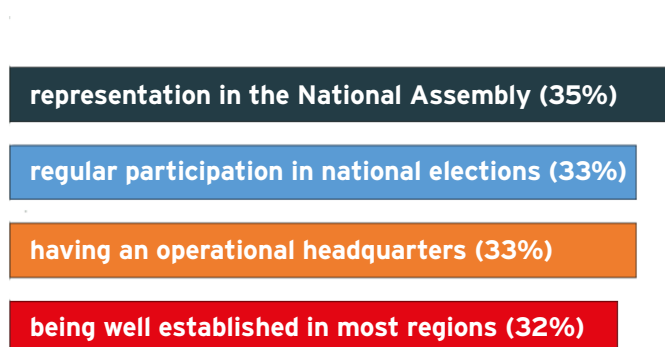
So what are some of the options available for reducing the role of money in political campaigns in Senegal? On 7 August 1998, a Commissioner was appointed by decree No. 98-657 to submit recommendations to the President on the status of the opposition, as well as on the terms and arrangements for the funding of political parties under the state budget.

Options that can effectively reduce the role of money in politics include: keeping proper accounts; submitting a balance sheet; and full transparency in the sources of funding for all political organisations competing in parliamentary elections.

The Law on Political Parties in Senegal requires political parties to submit their accounts to the Ministry of the Interior at the end of each year. This measure has never been enforced simply because there is an informal consensus among political parties not to address this issue. But this behaviour has now come in for questioning.

If this measure was to be enforced, it would have a strong impact because it would provide accurate data on party expenditures. It would also identify sources of financing and eventually place a ceiling on party expenditures. Notwithstanding, there is already a requirement for candidates to submit their tax clearance to the Ministry of Interior in order to validate their candidacy.

**Figure 1: Percentage of MPs surveyed who believed that these factors should be in place in order for a political party to stake a claim to public funding:**



In this study, the MPs surveyed believed that in order to stake a claim to public funding, a political party should:

- Have representation in the National Assembly (35%)
- Regularly take part in national elections (33%)
- Have an operational headquarters (33%)
- Be well established in most regions (32%)

Those surveyed also suggested that any party that benefits from public funding should be obliged to submit a regular financial report, implement programmes on behalf of local communities, publish campaign accounts after each election, have operational headquarters, and hold regular meetings on their statutory status.

#### **IV. Summary**

At the end of this study, we have drawn the following conclusions based on cross-referencing of the interviews carried out with the sample:

- There has been a clear increase in the cost of running election campaigns due to several factors, including the number of political parties, innovations in communications technology, the increase in candidate fees to be paid and the patron-client relationship candidates have with their party and their voters.
- There is a need to strengthen a legal framework that monitors expenditure during campaigns.
- There is an interest in putting in place public funding schemes for political parties and electoral campaigns.
- There is an increased risk of electing candidates with vast financial resources over more progressive and innovative candidates.
- The MPs overwhelmingly believe that social legitimacy is more important than money in political transactions.
- A strong desire was expressed for training and support in carrying out parliamentary work.
- Establishing a clear picture of campaign expenditure was a difficulty during interviews.
- The establishment of a link between public funding schemes and the reduction of the number of political parties.
- The entrenchment of a patron-client relationship between the electorate and politicians.

The recommendations to mitigate the high cost of politics that have been identified are as follows:

- The need for MPs to have political funds available to them in order to meet the requests from local communities.
- The need to communicate more about the role of MPs to put an end to the misconception of politicians being 'social charities'.
- Provide the Independent National Electoral Commission with staff contracted under oath and trained in the functioning of a voting station in order to counter the lack of capacity of political parties to represent themselves in different voting stations.
- Include political party representatives in committees for carrying out the revision of electoral lists, the distribution of voter cards, and in voting stations.
- There is an expressed wish to see the regular scrutiny of party accounts by a neutral and independent public institution.
- Enforce the Law on Political Parties.
- Ban parties that do not enter elections, and exclude those that do not meet the electoral threshold to secure representation in a legislature.
- Hold a timetable in the Assembly to examine all types of parliamentary bills.
- Introduce a majority-vote system based on two ballots.

The documentary research carried out as part of this study also allowed us to identify certain recommendations that we think should be listed separately in our concluding statement.

For example, the draft resolution on political party financing in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Francophonie, which recommends to Member States that they set up measures of scrutiny for the accounts of political parties and the effective application of sanctions for transgressors.

Likewise, the EU's Election Observation Mission in Senegal<sup>12</sup> put forward the following recommendations in its report which are applicable:

- Draw up objective criteria for the formation and statutes of political parties, favouring inclusive representation and regular participation in elections.
- Instal a public funding mechanism for political parties and campaigns as envisaged in Article 58 of the Constitution.
- Impose a ceiling on overall expenditure in campaigns.
- Oblige political parties to use a single current account for all their transactions.
- Give the Court of Auditors the legislative power to examine political party financing and impose sanctions or seek punitive measures for transgressors.

## Endnotes

1. The Four Communes of Senegal refer to the four oldest colonial towns in French-controlled West Africa.
2. Tine A. (1997). 'De l'un au multiple et vice-versa? Essai sur le multipartisme au Sénégal.' *Journal Polis, Revue Camerounaise de science politique*.
3. This is discriminatory as the MPs from the capital Dakar have less kilometres to cover than those elected from Casamance or Fouta. The petrol allowance should be reviewed on the basis of less discriminatory criteria.
4. Bondo. Martine. (2010). 'Report on the funding of political parties', presented at Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie, 36<sup>th</sup> session, Dakar, 5 and 8 July 2010, no. 5, *Commission des Affaires Parlementaires*.
5. Held on the 12-13 September 2008 in Bamako, on the theme: 'the public funding of political formations: the path to follow'.
6. Diop El Hadji Omar. (2011). 'Political parties, democracy and social realities in Senegal', CREDILA,
7. 'Political parties and the democratic transition process in black Africa: research on the legal and sociological implications of multi-party systems in certain French-speaking countries.'
8. Tamba M. (2010). 'Political Changes in Senegal: Balance Sheet After 50 Years of Independence (1960-2010)', *Konrad Adenauer Foundation*.
9. African Network for Integrated Development (RADI). (2012). 'Funding of political parties; why and how to put an end to purchases of conscience', National Democratic Institute.
10. Consequently, the communities have correspondingly high expectations and demands of prospective and elected politicians.
11. In Wolof, it means 'you cannot "keep your pocket" (not spend anything) and have many voters for you'.
12. European Union. (2012). 'Final Report: Presidential Elections Senegal 2012'