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Pathways to Senegal's National Assembly: *The Costs of Securing A Seat*

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List of Acronyms

APR – *Alliance pour la République* - Alliance for the Republic

BDS – *Bloc démocratique du Sénégal* - Senegalese Democratic Bloc

BMS – *Bloc des masses Sénégalaises* - Senegalese Masses Coalition

CERAG - *Centre d'études et de recherche action sur la gouvernance* - Centre for Study and Research Action on Governance

FAS – *Front pour l'alternance* – Alternate Front

FNS – *Front National du Sénégal* – Senegalese National Front

MAC – *Mouvement Autonome Casamançais* - Casamancian Autonomous Movement

MPs – Members of Parliament

MRS – *Mouvement Républicain du Sénégal* - Senegalese Republican Movement

PAI – *Parti de l'Indépendance du Sénégal* - African Independence Party

PDS – *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* Senegalese Democratic Party

PRA-Senegal – *Parti du Regroupement Africain-Sénégal* - Party of the African-Senegal Union

RADI – *Réseau Africain pour le Développement Intégré* African Network for Integrated Development

RDA – *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* - African Democratic Union

REWMI - 'the Country' in the Wolof language of Senegal

SFIO – *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* -French Section of the Workers' International

SSP – *Parti de la Solidarité Sénégalaise* - Senegalese Solidarity Party

TEKKI: – 'Succeed' in Wolof

UDS – Senegalese Democratic Union

UPS – *Union progressiste Sénégalaise* - Senegalese Progressive Union

WFD – Westminster Foundation for Democracy

I. 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 CFA or over 26,000 GBP.

Senegal has had a long history of multiparty 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)¹, which were fully recognized 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. This includes: the *Union démocratique Sénégalaise* (UDS, Senegalese Democratic Union), 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

¹ The Four Communes of Senegal refer to the four oldest colonial towns in French-controlled West Africa.

movements, such as the *Movement autonome Casamançais d'Assane Seck* (MAC, Casamancian Autonomous Movement).²

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 authorises 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 particular 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 (e.g. meals, drinks, gifts of cloth, t-shirts, caps, making of banners, etc.); and making contributions to various family ceremonies of constituency voters, etc.

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 unfortunate 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 of 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.

The interviews we held with a sample of 13 MPs from the current parliament in Senegal, as well as one unsuccessful candidate, indicate that many have financed their electoral campaign with the use of "their personal finances, donations, loans, sales of assets, jewels, etc.". This is particularly the case for candidates from 'smaller parties'. Candidates affiliated with a

² Tine A. "De l'un au multiple et vice-versa ? Essai sur le multipartisme au Sénégal." (1997) - From one to multiple and vice-versa? Essay on the multiparty system in Senegal.

party or coalition can benefit from state resources (car fleets, access to a petrol allowance, pooling resources with ministers from the same region or town, etc.). This highlights the patrimonial manner in which state resources are used to 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 own use in order to serve his election and assure victory for his 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 500 million, I can set up a parliamentary group', said one MP.

The monthly basic salary of a Member of Parliament is 1.3 million francs, with a petrol allowance of 300 litres wherever his constituency is located.³ The chairs of Committees also receive a supplement to their salary. The National Assembly itself has 50 million francs available in special funds each month. The annual budget is 16 billion francs, of which 8 billion is relegated to the salaries of the Assembly's 150 members.

Regarding the upcoming parliamentary elections in 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

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 perhaps be reviewed on the basis of less discriminatory criteria.

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.

A. Research Logic

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, 2 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 size 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, their personal observations as well as their recommendations on mitigating the high cost of politics. Once this is done it is possible to establish more refined research hypotheses based on identified trends.

B. Methodology

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 is at the centre of their power structures and thus are often contentious. As aforementioned, this report takes a **qualitative approach**, based on transcription and triangulation, in order to examine MP behaviour during election campaigns. A transversal analysis of the results has been made on the basis of a drafting structure proposed by WFD.

The information used in the drafting of this document was collected from individual interviews with thirteen 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?

We have undertaken a literature review on the cost of politics in Senegal and West Africa in order to illustrate and set our study within a wider research context. We found that there are few publications in Senegal on this thematic issue.

The documents we used 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”.⁴

To demonstrate the relevance of the issue, the author of the report refers to a recommendation made at the 3rd Conference of political parties of West Africa⁵ 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 in 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 (venues, materials, transport, etc.), but also secret funds available to certain higher institutions at their discretion.

In general, the parties considered as large parties that have more money have leaders 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

⁴ Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie, 36th session, Dakar, 5th and 8th July 2010, no. 5, *Commission des Affaires Parlementaires*. The report was drawn up and presented by Mrs. Martine Bondo on “the funding of political parties”.

⁵ Held on the 12th and 13th of September 2008 in Bamako, on the theme: “*the public funding of political formations: the path to follow*”.

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.”

In his doctoral thesis, El Hadji Omar Diop (2006)⁶ 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.

II. 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 (e.g. traders & entrepreneurs) 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 (e.g. Member of Parliament, Mayor, sometimes the head of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Chairman of the Board, etc.). 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.

With the entry of the Senegalese Democratic Party (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

⁶ ‘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.’

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.

This push toward a multiparty system in the National Assembly continued with President Diouf, who institutionalised a fully functional multi-party system and pushed for increased democratisation- with its up and downs it brings.

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 that is vulnerable to internal or external destabilisation; the creation of multiple political parties might be a source of disorder and anarchy. Likewise, the state needed 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 the 19th of 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:

- 4) The Senegalese Progressive Union (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.
- 5) Le PDS (Senegalese Democratic Party) adopted the label 'liberal democratic'.
- 6) The African Independence Party (PAI) of Mahjemout Diop, founded in 1957 and banned in 1960, had come 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.

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 had changed his 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 its 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 to power of Abdoulaye Wade in 2000, there was an inflation of newly created political parties.⁷

A. Factors that Influence the Cost of Politics

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 800,000 francs CFA (approx. 10,400GBP) in political funding that is voted 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.

⁷ Tamba M. (2010). "Political Changes in Senegal : Balance Sheet After 50 Years of Independence (1960-2010), Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

In fact, any opposition party that seeks to compete with the ruling party needs to have substantial means available to them; 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 the 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.

B. 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 (Art. 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, who 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.

Another example is the research carried out by the African Network for Integrated Development (RADI) and its partners.⁸ This is a study that took six months to carry out focusing on three categories of subjects: the local populace, civil society organisations and political parties. This comprehensive study 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. The quota method was

⁸ African Network for Integrated Development (RADI), the Study Circle on the role of money in politics (CERAP), the National Democratic for International Affairs (NDI), Senegal, Funding of political parties, Why and how?

used to undertake a survey amongst people of voting age in 8 regions of Senegal. Some of the main results of the survey can be summed up as follows:

- 70% of those surveyed think 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 admit 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;
- The secret funding of political parties is admitted but is difficult to prove. Even if it is not practised in all parties, all those interviewed recognise its existence and its danger (fairness for all taking part in the election, credibility of the political class, sovereignty, etc.);
- The political parties have drawn attention to the need to organise greater transparency in the funding of the parties. This supports the recommendations made by the members of parliament we met with;
- The civil society organisations consulted as part of this study by RADl 'found that the relationship between money and politics has taken on new proportions given the difficult conditions for local communities.⁹

III. Factors that Cause an Increase in Costs Linked to Parliamentary Politics.

All Members of Parliament interviewed in the sample study believe that the costs involved in parliamentary elections and while serving as a member of parliament are constantly increasing. Amongst the factors identified, those most often cited are:

- The logistics involved in visiting local venues:
 - 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 trail of various parties

⁹ Consequently, the communities have correspondingly high expectations and demands of prospective and elected politicians.

and/or coalitions spans 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 petrol costs etc.

- Communication and marketing policy:
 - 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 can dress himself in clothing that presents a 'positive' image (this involved purchasing suits and ties, fashionable boubous, traditional clothing, etc.). Those standing up 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, catering costs, etc.
- 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 is 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 (e.g. clothes, t-shirts, caps, etc.). 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.”

- Costs after the election:
 - 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, patronage of cultural, religious or sports events, etc.. These are events in 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.”

A. Obstacles Impeding the Entry into Political Campaigning

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 have very limited chances of entering or succeeding in a political campaign.

Financial resources are not the only trump card that leads to successful elections, according to the parliamentarians that we spoke to, but 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 20 million francs - 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 is over.

B. Factors that Influence the Costs of Electoral Campaigns

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 communications are widely used (e.g. opinion polls, marketing and advertisements, publicity campaigns, travel costs, etc.). 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 (e.g. member contributions, gifts, legacies and special events).

In the aforementioned study undertaken by RADI and its partners,¹⁰ it appears that the groups surveyed were unanimous in recognising that money plays a very important role in politics. Yet 80% of them do not know the sources of political financing, and 70% thought that there is a lot of secrecy around the use of money in politics and there is a link between corruption and politicians that cross the aisle.

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.

¹⁰Funding of political parties: why and how, put an end to the buying of consciences, Senegal, RADI, CERAP, NDI, 151p.

IV. Looking Ahead

A. Trends in the Cost of Politics in Senegal

The survey that we carried out with a reduced sample size 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 political parties. By way of example, former President Wade and his party, the PDS, used a certain 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 become institutionalised practices which all male or female candidates are forced to do.”Mouno téyyé sa poss (trouser pocket), téyyé say cartes,”¹¹ 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 Member of Parliament 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

¹¹ In Wolof, it means “you cannot ‘keep your pocket’ (not spend anything) and have many voters for you”.

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.

B. Current options available for reducing the role of money in political campaigns

On August 7th, 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.

During interviews with MPs, many of them reported on the importance of money in electoral campaigning. Some made its significance relative to other factors, such as the scope and vision of the programme, and their proximity to local voters, which are more important to them. For them, it is social legitimacy that is decisive in a campaign. Nevertheless, the weight of electoral expenses was openly discussed by most of the sample.

We found that none of the interviewees could provide us with data from their campaign account. When reference was made to hard data, only estimates were given, but none were exact.

Options that can effectively reduce the role of money in politics include: keeping proper accounts; submitting a balance sheet; 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. This behaviour has now come under questioning.

If this measure were 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.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

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, the patron-client relationship candidates have with their party and their voters, etc.;
- 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 expressed for training and support in carrying out parliamentary work (e.g. training modules and parliamentary assistants);
- A difficulty during interviews in establishing a clear picture of campaign expenditure;
- 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 Members of Parliament to have political funds available to them in order to meet the requests from local communities;
- The need to communicate more on 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 put forward the following recommendations in its report:

- Draw up objective criteria for the formation and statutes of political parties, favouring inclusive representation and regular participation in elections;
- Install 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 on transgressors.

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Annexes/

Annexe 1: Table of Interviewees

Number	First name and surname	Status and political affiliation	Sex
1	Mamadou Lamine Diallo	Member of Parliament, Tekki	M
2	Mamadou Cisse	Member of Parliament, Pds	M
3	Djibril War	Member of Parliament, Apr	M
4	Seynabou Wade	Member of Parliament, Bokk Guiss Guiss	F
5	Thierno Bocoum	Member of Parliament Rewmi	M
6	Sira Ndiaye	Member of Parliament Apr	F
7	Fatou Thiam	Member of Parliament Pds	F
8	Aminata Gaye	Member of Parliament Pds	F
9	Pape Biram Touré	Member of Parliament Apr	M
10	Cheikh Omar Sy	Member of Parliament Bes Du Niakk	M
11	Hélène Tine	Member of Parliament Bes Du Niakk	F
12	Mame Khary Mbacké	Member of Parliament Apr	F
13	Moussss Tine	Unelected, Alliance Penco	M

Annexe 2: Agenda

Initially, it will focus on a phase of documentary research on the financial costs of politics:

- Emphasis will be placed on the use of reports from national and international institutions, notably from civil society organisations. This will be followed by an analysis of the academic literature on the cost of politics. One of the underlying weaknesses in the existing literature is that it focuses on the evaluation of costs. The majority of studies favour a qualitative approach instead of a quantitative one.
- An analysis of the institutional context, candidacies and the results of the 2012 parliamentary elections;

The next step will be a series of interviews with electoral candidates, in particular elected members from the ruling party, the opposition and a candidate who did not win a seat in the last elections. The interviews will cover a variety of themes such as gender and youth. They will also take into account the current method of voting, including electing members from the national list and department lists. The objective here is to collect information on the financial costs

of politics on the one hand, and on the other to understand the financing mechanisms in place in Senegal. In this phase, we will use a guide for interviews. The sample will be composed of 12 elected members of parliament and of one failed candidate, according to the following criteria:

1. **Age**: for this study, it is important that there should be one or two selected from amongst the youngest in Parliament. The same applies for the longest-serving members in order to understand from the latter how campaign costs were managed over a long period of time;
2. **Gender**: Senegal ratified the Law on Equality and it is important that the sample for this study should be made up of at least 40% women;
3. **Location**: we will try and select at least 60% of the interviews with MPs representing regions outside of Dakar;
4. **Knowledge**: Some parliamentarians have been rather outspoken on this issue;
5. **Party Membership**: members from the ruling party and the opposition will be selected.

Taking these criteria into account, we were able to generate the following sample (subject to confirmation of availability):

- Mr Djibril War, (APR; in-government)
- Mr.Thierno Bocoum, (Rewmi, in-opposition)
- Mrs Awa Diop (PDS, in-opposition)
- Mrs Aminata Diallo (PS, in-government)
- Mrs Hélène Tine, (Sell, in-government)
- Mr Pape Biram Touré (APR, in-government)
- Mr Mamadou Lamine Diallo (Tekki 2012, in-opposition)
- Mr Cheikh Oumar Sy (Bes du Naak, in-government)
- Mrs Garmy Fall (APR, in-government)
- Mr Doudou Issa Niasse, (PS, in-government)
- Mrs Seynabou Wade (Bokk Gis Gis, in-opposition)
- Mr Mamadou Diop Decroix (AJ PADS, in-opposition)
- Mr Mamadou Cissé (PDS, in-government)
- Mr Moussa Tine (Alliance Pencoo, unelected, in-opposition)
- Mr Mbaye Niang, (MRDS, in-government)

Project Timeline:

- 16-21 November:
 - Drafting of letters requesting interviews with members of parliament;
 - Sending letters to addressees;
 - Confirmation of appointments;
 - Documentary review.
- 22-29 November:
 - Carrying out of interviews.
- 30 November – 4 December:
 - Study and use of data, analysis and production of the first draft.
- 5 December:
 - Send the first draft.
- 5-15 December:
 - Receive comments, make corrections, draft final document and final approval.
- It has been proposed that Mr Abdoul Wahab Cissé should present the results of the research in English.

Annexe 3: Guide for a Semi-structured Interview

Primary data:

- Age; Sex; Religion:
- Profession:
- Department or commune represented:
- Legislature :
- Parliamentary group belonged to:

List of Questions:

1. In your opinion, what are the main criteria that are most important to get elected?
2. What were the main difficulties you encountered during your election campaign?
3. What kind of support could you count on to help you get elected?
4. What do you do to mobilise the funding you need to conduct your campaign?
5. What kind of financial requests were you subjected to?
6. Is the degree to which you could meet these requests related to your chances of being re-elected?
7. Is the financial cost of your investment in politics (before, during and after the election) the subject of discussion among colleagues in parliament?

8. Do your salary and parliamentary privileges allow you to respond to the financial expectations of your voters?
9. What is your assessment of the way electoral costs for parliamentary elections have evolved from year to year?
10. Can you identify three **primary** sources of funding for parliamentary campaigns in Senegal?
11. Does the main burden for funding campaigns lie with the candidate or the political party?
12. Can you give an estimate of **the** average cost of running an electoral campaign in Senegal? (Insist on obtaining a figure)
13. Do you have a campaign budget?
14. Do you have a campaign account?
15. Do you think that money plays an important role in an electoral campaign? Does it allow you to win?
16. What do you think about the unregulated financing of electoral campaigns?

Annexe 4: Examples of Interviews Conducted with Senegalese Parliamentarians

Interview with Honourable Mamadou Lamine Diallo, Tekki, Independent

Mr Diallo is an engineer/economist by profession. He is sixty years old and is the Secretary-General of the TEKKI party.¹² According to him, the Senegalese political system is a presidential one, since the President controls the National Assembly. He appoints the parliamentary candidates of his coalition and it is he who allocates resources.

The deposit for parliamentary candidates is 20 million CFA; this is extremely high in a poor country with a populace that has less than two dollars per inhabitant. He and his party had spent close to 60 million francs in 2012 (with the deposit included) to obtain two parliamentary seats.

¹² "Success" in Wolof.

It is worth noting a worrying change in the political culture for many political actors: parties are owned by individuals and financed by the 'Secretary-General'. Political activities are discussed as if one was dealing with stocks.

Among the challenges raised by the Mr Diallo is the ever-increasing cost of running elections. And this is a trend that has become more entrenched and was mentioned frequently by many of the parliamentarians interviewed. Elections in Senegal today are played out in the field of communications. In fact, candidates spend additional resources on communications, beyond the communications support provided to them by the state in keeping with electoral law. For instance, neighbourhood visits have become a common practice used by many parliamentary candidates to gain respect and legitimacy in the local communities and obtain their vote.

Former President Wade and his party, the PDS, used this practice as part of their strategy in the 1998 elections, when they developed the "blue market" theory, going door-to-door in each neighbourhood of Dakar. But these neighbourhood or courtesy visits do not happen without the financial solicitation of voters or the act of handing over envelopes with large sums of money to religious or traditional leaders.

Senegal is a country where religious or traditional leaders command influence and legitimacy which places them at the heart of electoral 'bartering'. Without their support or blessing, it is difficult for candidates to get elected, especially in regions where religion plays an important role.

The interview also highlighted the role of money in the functioning of Parliament. Even the strategies for forming parliamentary groups highlight the role of financial resources in the ability of the politicians to form and maintain a parliamentary group. "With 500 million, I can form a parliamentary group," said the MP. The monthly salary of an MP is 1.3 million, including a petrol allowance of 300 litres wherever his constituency is situated.¹³ The Chair of a Commit-

¹³ 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 perhaps be reviewed on the basis of less discriminatory criteria.

tees receives a supplement to his salary. The National Assembly has 50 million francs available in special funds each month. The annual budget is 16 billion francs of which 8 billion is set aside for the salaries of 150 MPs.

The Tekki list that Mr Diallo was a part of in 2012 kept a campaign account. This does not seem to be the case for many candidates. He pointed out that there is a tendency to obscure what happens when it comes to mobilising funds for campaigns.

Having laid out the facts and analysed the factors influencing campaign costs for candidates, Mr Diallo put forward some proposals aimed at regulating expenditure:

- The first proposal, which is, in fact, an old demand made by the Senegalese opposition, is to define political party financing according to criteria of governance and transparency. But the MP stated that the plethora of political parties (some 250) needs to be regulated;
- Regarding MPs, a fund should be created that they could access once elected into office. The management and allocation of these resources should respect the criteria of transparency, fairness and efficiency;
- There should be increased autonomy of the Parliament vis-à-vis the Executive, which has long inhibited the capacity of Members;
- There should be public financing for the lists for parliamentary elections;
- The election of MPs should be based on a majority vote in two-ballot rounds.
- Strengthen the Independent National Electoral Commission before the next cycle of elections by capacitating it with new staff contracted under oath and properly trained in the functioning of polling stations.

Interview with Mr Madou Cisse MP (PDS, in-opposition, Liberal Parliamentary Group)

The 50-year-old Member of Parliament was elected under the banner of the PDS (Democratic Party of Senegal) in a land-locked region, Kedougou. He is an economic expert in the mining sector by profession as his region hosts one of the largest mines in Senegal. He was also President of the regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry before being elected as a Member of Parliament. He had won his seat with the ruling coalition, which mobilised significant financial resources with the help of the elite from the region. He attributes his success to his 'closeness' with the local community. The presence of a local politician, whether male or female, at family ceremonies (funerals, baptisms, weddings or festivals) is seen as an important

political investment in elections. “I became Mayor even before the elections were held. People vote for a person and not for a party.” He considers this factor as decisive in the choice of male or female politicians for local communities. However, it should be added that Mr Cissé had significant financial resources available, which allowed him to attend many events in his constituency and gain the appreciation of the local people in Kedougou. He gave an estimate for his daily campaign budget: 1 million 500 francs.

The role of money plays an important role in parliamentary work. The large number of demands has forced some MPs to avoid staying too long in their constituency, or to retreat to their office to avoid the people who seek them out. The alternative for some is to spend their time meeting with activists, listening to grievances, trying to respond to daily requests, and preparing for the next election. All this prevents them from engaging in parliamentary work. “I am scared to switch off my phone because if I switch it back on, my voicemail is full, and constituents who cannot leave a message become frustrated and think that I am filtering their calls.’

The strategic importance of financial resources for the control of the political base is, according to members, a factor that explains what is called ‘political migration’,¹⁴ otherwise known as crossing the aisle.

Mr Cissé put forward proposals to counter the cost of politics:

- Equip MPs by providing them with parliamentary assistants, or an office and secretarial services.¹⁵
- Political funds for Members should be institutionalised (at least 500 thousand francs a month)
- Public financing schemes that are regulated can help mitigate the cost of politics.
- Require the submission of campaign accounts for all candidates to a regulatory authority for all candidates for approval after the elections.
- Exclude parties that do not partake in elections or do not meet the electoral threshold for seats in the National Assembly.

¹⁴ It is a neologism used in African politics to describe the act of crossing the aisle from one party to another for opportunistic and self-serving reasons.

¹⁵ 60-65% of MPs cannot read or write.

- Set up a timetable in the Assembly to examine parliamentary bills.
- Introduce a majority voting system based on two ballots.

Interview with the Member Of Parliament Cheikh Omar Sy, Bes Du Niakk (Benno Bokk Yakaar, Coalition in Power)

Mr. Sy, in his fifties, has worked in a variety of NGOs before entering politics. He is a member of the Citizen's Movement Bes Du Niakk, which succeeded in obtaining three seats in Parliament in 2012. He is part of the majority coalition in Parliament and is seen by observers as a young MP whose parliamentary activity has found much admiration.

On his main priorities is to regulate funding, in particular the deposit that must be paid by candidates for parliamentary elections, which he considers to be too high for a poor country like Senegal. This situation makes it difficult to identify the donors for certain candidates. This has serious ramifications because donors can exert influence over Members of Parliament. "The deposit for Members of Parliament of the Citizen's Movement Bes Du Niakk was collected through goodwill payments, bank loans, sales of property, jewellery etc.). Given that we obtained three seats, we are repaying out debts through our salaries." The high cost of electoral campaigns was confirmed by Mr. Sy: "The budget for two weeks of campaigning is high. Campaigning in the regions, organising meetings and courtesy visits to the religious authorities, etc. This is what limits our ambition to cover several regions in the country."

However the most difficult thing has to be the religious dimension in campaigning. Senegal is a country with a strong tradition of Sufi Muslim brotherhoods. The Gamou and other religious ceremonies are celebrated in each town or village. This means that the local Member of Parliament is one of the people most sought after for providing material and financial support for these ceremonies. On top of the financial or logistical support that is requested, often the MP is also expected to attend these events, especially if they take place in his or her constituency. Any MPs who do not have the means available to them to meet these requests sometimes turn for help to the President of the Assembly, Chairs of Committees or a minister. This then creates "loyalties out of debt" wherein the Member is beholden to powerful politicians, and this transcends the ideological divide between parties. One main consequence of this is the difficulty for Members to critically and objectively scrutinise the budgets of ministers, for example. As a result, the work of Parliament suffers.

Mr. Sy proposed developing a legal framework for political party financing. Moreover, he called for setting up training modules to help MPs carry out their work in an effective manner. He also

noted that after each election, there is a turnover of more than 90% of MPs in office. This poses a challenge for the sustainability of the Parliament's work on existing projects.

Annexe 5: Article 58 of the Constitution of Senegal

“Article 58. – The Constitution guarantees the right to political parties who are opposed to the policies of the Government to oppose it.

The Constitution guarantees to the opposition a status which will allow it to carry out its tasks.

The law defines this status and lays down the related rights and duties as well as those of the head of the opposition.”