8th EISA ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM

"Understanding the Causes and Consequences of Political Party Alliances and Coalitions in Africa"

Hilton Hotel, Sandton, Johannesburg
26th - 27th September 2013
Programme

Thursday
26 SEPTEMBER 2013

08:30-09:00 REGISTRATION

SESSION 1: OFFICIAL OPENING

Chairperson: Professor Tom Lodge, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Limerick, Ireland

09:00-09:10 Welcome Remarks: Purpose, Aims and Objectives of the Symposium
Mr Denis Kadima, Executive Director, Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA)

09:10-09:40 Keynote Address and Official Opening
Right Honourable Raila Odinga, Former Prime Minister of Kenya

09:40-10:00 Group photo & tea break

SESSION 2: SETTING THE SCENE

Chairperson: Professor Dirk Kotze, Professor of Political Science, University of South Africa (UNISA)

10:00-10:20 Electoral Alliances and Party Systems in Africa
Presenter: Dr Matthijs Bogaards, Professor of Political Science, Jacobs University, Bremen, Germany

10:20-10:40 Compromise and Contestation: Understanding the Drivers and Implications of Coalition Behavior in Africa
Presenter: Dr Danielle Resnick, Research Fellow, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Washington, D.C.

10:40-11:00 Explaining the Politics of Party Alliances and Coalitions in Socially-Divided States in Africa
Presenter: Mr Denis Kadima, Executive Director, EISA

11:00-12:00 Discussion

12:00-12:30 Panel 1: Party Power-sharing, Continuity and Change in Zimbabwe (2009-2013)
Chairperson: Mr Yusuf Aboobaker, Senior Counsel Mauritius Bar, Chairperson Electoral Supervisory and Electoral Boundaries Commissions, Mauritius
Presenters: Advocate Paul Mangwana, ZANU-PF
Mr Nhlanhla Dube, National Media, Information and Publicity Secretary, Movement for Democratic Change, (MDC)
Honourable Lovemore Moyo, National Chairman, Movement for Democratic Change, (MDC-T)

12:30-13:00 Discussion
13:00-14:00 Lunch

SESSION 3: FRANCOPHONE CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

Chairperson: Mr Miguel de Brito, EISA-Mozambique Resident Director

14:00-14:20 Alliances and Coalitions in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Implications of Alliances on the Party System, the Consolidation of Democracy, the Governance of the State and National Cohesion
Presenter: Professor Philippe Biyoya Makutu, Director, Pan-African Institute of International and Strategic Relations (IPRIS), Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

14:20-14:40 Alliances and Coalitions in Senegal: Implications of Alliances on the Party System, the Consolidation of Democracy, the Governance of the State and National Cohesion
Presenter: Professor Abdoul Latif Aidara, Centre for Diplomatic and Strategic Studies, Dakar, Senegal

14:40-15:10 Discussion
15:10-15:20 Tea break

SESSION 4: SOUTHERN AFRICA

Chairperson: Dr Nandini Patel, Lecturer, University of Malawi, Malawi

15:20-15:40 Causes of Party Alliances and Coalitions and their Effects on the Party System, Democratic Consolidation, National Cohesion and State Governability and Implications for Women, Gender Relations and the Youth in Mauritius
Presenter: Ms Tania Diolle, Lecturer, Faculty of Social Studies and Humanities, University of Mauritius, Mauritius

15:40-16:00 Political Party Alliances and Coalitions in Lesotho: Exploring their Causes and Examining their Consequences on Party Systems, Democratic Consolidation and State Governability
Presenters: Dr Motlamelle Anthony Kapa, Lecturer and Head, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, National University of Lesotho, Lesotho
Dr Victor Shale, EISA-Zimbabwe Resident Director

16:00-16:30 Discussion
16:30-16:45 Wrap-up Session
Professor Tom Lodge, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Limerick, Ireland

18:00-20:00 RECEPTION

END OF DAY ONE
Programme

Friday  
27 SEPTEMBER 2013

SESSION 5: MEXICO and INDIA

Chairperson: Ms Olufunto Akinduro, Senior Programme Officer, EISA

09:00-09:20 A Glance at Political Party Coalitions and Alliances in Mexico
Presenter: Mr Carlos Navarro, Director, International Studies and Projects, Federal Electoral Institute, (IFE), Mexico

09:20-09:40 The Causes of Political Party Alliances and Coalitions and their Effects on National Cohesion in India
Presenter: Dr Alistair McMillan, Senior Lecturer, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

09:40-10:10 Discussion

10:10-10:25 Tea break

SESSION 6: WEST AFRICA

Chairperson: Mr Ebrahim Fakir, Manager Elections and Political Processes, EISA

10:25-10:45 Alliances and Coalitions of Political Parties: Causes and Consequences on the Parties System, the Consolidation of Democracy, the Governability of the State and National Cohesion in Benin
Presenter: Professor Joël Atayi-Guedegbe, Governance expert, Former Vice-chair of the National Electoral Commission, Benin

Presenter: Ms Idayat Hassan, team leader Democratic Governance, Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Nigeria

11:05-11:35 Discussion

11:35-12:00 Panel 2: From Coalition to Merger: The Experience of Nigeria
Chairperson: Dr Victor Shale, EISA-Zimbabwe Resident Director
Presenters: Senator Babafemi Ojudu, All Progressives Congress (APC), Nigeria
Dr Yunusa Tanko, National Chairman, Inter Party Advisory Council (IPAC) / National Conscience Party (NCP), Nigeria

12:00-12:30 Discussion
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<td>12:30-13:30</td>
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<td><strong>SESSION 7:</strong> SOUTHERN AFRICA</td>
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Presenter: Professor Susan Booysen, School of Governance, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa |
| 13:50-14:10  | Causes of Party Alliances and Coalitions and their Effects on the Party System, Democratic Consolidation, National Cohesion and State Governability in Malawi  
Presenter: Mr Samson Lembani, Post-doctoral Fellow, Institute of Development Research and Development Policy, Ruhr University, Bochum, Bochum, Germany |
| 14:10-14:40  | Discussion                                                                |
| 14:40-14:55  | Tea break                                                                 |
| **SESSION 8:** KENYA PANEL                                        |
| 14:55-15:15  | Kenya’s One Decade of Experiments with Political Party Alliances and Coalitions: Causes, Consequences and Prospects  
Presenters: Mr Denis Kadima, Executive Director, EISA  
Mr Felix Owuor, EISA-Kenya Resident Director |
| 15h15-15h35  | Honourable Aden Duale, House Majority Leader, Jubilee Coalition, Kenya  
Honourable. Moses Wetangula, Senate Minority Leader, Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD), Kenya |
| 15:35-16:05  | Discussion                                                                |
| **SESSION 9:** CLOSING SESSION                                 |
| 16h05-16:25  | Wrap-up Session  
Professor Tom Lodge, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Limerick, Ireland |
| 16:25-16:30  | Vote of Thanks and Closure  
Mr Leshele Thoahlane, Chairperson, EISA Board of Directors, Lesotho |
The Rt Hon Raila Amolo Odinga was until March 2013, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya and Member of Parliament for Langata Constituency within the city of Nairobi, Kenya, since 1992. Mr Odinga became Prime Minister following the signing of a National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008 which created the office to facilitate power-sharing between the main protagonists of the controversial 2007 elections in Kenya. Mr Odinga’s has dedicated his life and career to the struggle for freedom and democracy in Kenya, for which he was three times detained without trial. During the 1990s, he worked closely with the International Republican Institute as a resource person for peace and conflict resolution in the then war-torn countries of Mozambique and Burundi and offered similar support to peaceful electoral processes in Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

Mr Odinga earned a MSc in Mechanical Engineering from Magdeburg (now Otto von Guericke University) in Germany in 1969 before beginning his active political life in Kenya. During his political life, Mr Odinga has been a founder member of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy in Kenya (1991), the National Democratic Party (1996), the Liberal Democratic Party (1997) and most recently the Orange Democratic Movement (2005), in which he was elected leader and presidential candidate in 2007. Mr Odinga has been recognised with numerous international awards and degrees including a Doctor of Letters from both Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University and the University of Nairobi. In 2011, Mr Odinga was appointed Special Envoy of the African Union for peace mediation in Cote d’Ivoire and played an important role in resolving the political impasse in the country. Mr Odinga brings not only a lifetime of experience in political activism, but also a rich knowledge of the formation and development of political party coalitions.

Dr Matthijs Bogaards is professor of political science at Jacobs University Bremen, Germany. He received his PhD from the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and his first permanent position was at the University of Southampton in the UK. His research interests center on democracy in divided societies, institutional design, electoral law, and party systems, with a geographical focus on Sub-Saharan Africa. He has published widely in international peer-reviewed political science journal, most prominently in Democratization. Next year, Palgrave Macmillan will publish his comparative study of consociational parties in seven countries.
Dr Danielle Resnick

is a Research Fellow at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) in Washington, DC. She previously worked as a Research Fellow at the United Nations University-World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER) and as a consultant with the World Bank’s Independent Evaluation Group. Her book Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press. She is also the co-editor, with Nicolas van de Walle, of Democratic Trajectories in Africa: Unraveling the Impact of Foreign Aid, which is forthcoming with Oxford University Press. Her work on voting behavior, political parties, and the political economy of development has appeared, or is forthcoming, in African Affairs, Comparative Political Studies, Democratization, Development Policy Review, Journal of Modern African Studies, Party Politics, and World Development. Danielle received her PhD in political science from Cornell University in 2010.

Mr Denis Kadima

Mr. Denis Kadima has been the Executive Director of the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) since December 2002. Before this, he was, among other things, the Senior Regional Programme Manager at the National Democratic Institute in Namibia (2001-2002), Country Director for NDI-Lesotho (2002) and Research Manager at EISA (1998-2000). From July 2010 to July 2011 Mr. Kadima went on sabbatical and joined the United Nations as the Director of the UN Integrated Referendum and Electoral Division, leading a team of 340 staff for the self-determination referendum in Southern Sudan. Subsequently the UN deployed him as the Election Chief Technical Advisor for UNDP-Tunisia to support this country’s preparations for the first post-Arab spring elections.

Mr. Kadima has been involved in over 50 electoral processes, mostly in Africa. He founded the Journal of African Elections in 2000. He has published on electoral systems and processes and party systems in Africa. His doctoral research is on party coalition politics in Africa. Mr. Kadima’s publications include:

- Party Regulations, Nation-Building and Dominant Party Systems in Southern and East Africa in Ben Reilly and Per Nordlund, “Political Party Regulations in Conflict-Prone Societies”, United Nations University press, Tokyo, 2008; and

Professor Philippe Biyoya

PhD in Political Science and International Relations;
Professor of the Theory of International Relations, Geopolitics and International Organisations
- Expert and Consultant in election, governance and regional policy
- Technical Advisor to the Office of Senate’s Speaker (DRC)
- Thematic Advisor to the Technical Secretariat of the National Consultations(DRC)
Professor Abdoul Latif Aidara

is an international expert and consultant. Former Special Adviser to the President of the Republic of Senegal. Professor and lecturer at the Centre for Strategic and Diplomatic Studies/Dakar. Director of the seminar on geopolitics. Analyst of political situations. Member of the board of the Senegalese Democratic Party. Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Liberal Cadres of Senegal.

Ms Tania Diolle

is a Lecturer of Political Science at the University of Mauritius. An MPA graduate from l’Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po Paris), she was awarded the Joint Japan World Bank Graduate Scholarship Programme of the World Bank. Her research interests are in the fields of Political Systems in plural societies and Public Policy.

Dr Motlamelle Anthony Kapa

holds a Ph.D in Politics from Rhodes University, South Africa (2011), a Masters of Arts in Political Science from the University of Toronto, Canada (2005), and a BA Degree in Political Science & Public Administration from the National University of Lesotho (NUL) (2002). He is a lecturer and Head of Department of Political & Administrative Studies, NUL. He teaches courses in Political Science and Public Administration at undergraduate and graduate levels, and also supervises research projects and postgraduate dissertations. He also taught as a visiting Lecturer at Rhodes University, South Africa in 2010. He has conducted research in areas of governance and democratisation, traditional leadership and democracy, political parties, civil society, election-related conflict, democracy protection institutions, political participation and public service delivery. He has been invited by international organisations to conduct research on different topics on Lesotho’s politics. He has published articles in several refereed journals such as African Studies, Africa Insight, African Journal of Public Administration and Management, Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, Journal of African Elections, and African Security Review. He has also been engaged in several other professional activities including examination of Ph.D theses and Masters’ dissertations, briefing several international observer missions on parliamentary elections in Lesotho, making regular media commentaries and seminars on different aspects of politics of Lesotho.
Dr Victor Shale is the EISA Country Director in Zimbabwe. He is formerly Head of the EISA political parties programme. Shale is a conflict management expert versed in conflict management, negotiations and mediation approaches and second-track diplomacy. He has worked with ruling and opposition political parties in many countries on various thematic issues among which election campaigns and intraparty democracy and conflict management rank high. He has researched and written articles in accredited journals and book chapters on various issues including democracy, elections, political parties, international peacekeeping, diplomacy, conflict management and local government. He has also reviewed articles for accredited journals such as the Journal of African Elections (JAE), Journal of Peacebuilding and Development, the Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE) and Journal of Sociology Studies. He is the co-editor of a book “When elephants Fight: Preventing and Resolving Election-related Conflicts in Africa” foreworded by Former President Festus Mogae of Botswana. He has been commissioned as a resource person/trainer and consultant by regional, intergovernmental and international organisations. He has written training manuals on political parties, conflict management and local government.

Mr Carlos M. Navarro

- Mexican citizen.
- He attained a B.A. in International Relations and is candidate to a Master’s degree in Latin American Studies from the Faculty of Political and Social Science at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).
- He became an official of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE by its Spanish acronym) of Mexico in 1993 and is currently Director of International Studies and Projects.
- Authors the publications prepared by the IFE for the international community about the Mexican Political and Electoral Regime, as well as diverse international comparative studies on political and electoral issues, such as systems of financing, oversight and equity conditions in the political-electoral contests; nature, integration and attributions of the electoral management bodies; electoral systems for presidential and legislative elections; regulations on media access; and juridical regime of political parties, among others.
- He has participated in international technical assistance missions in different regions around the world on issues like parties and campaigns financing and oversight; electoral systems; electoral observation and OCV.
- He is also responsible to design and conduct the specialization workshops that the IFE organizes twice a year for representatives of EMB’s from around the world. He has also been speaker at diverse regional, continental and international forums organized by international associations of electoral authorities.

Dr Alistair McMillan is a Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Sheffield, specializing in the study of voting behaviour and electoral systems. He has worked extensively on Indian politics, conducting research on coalition politics, electoral administration, and representation and party competition. His books include Standing at the Margins: Representation and Electoral Reservation in India (OUP 2005) and State of the Union: Unionism and the Alternatives in the United Kingdom since 1707 (with Iain McLean, OUP 2005), which won the UK Political Studies Association WJM Mackenzie Book Prize for Best Book in Political Science.
**Professor Joël Atayi-Guedegbe**

Holder of a Master of Science and Technology in mathematics Joël ATAYI-GUEDEGBE is an expert in communication and governance. He has also been trained in political economy. He was responsible for several missions and governance reports with NDI, USAID, International IDEA, the European Technical Cooperation.

With historian Pierre Metinhoue, he is co-author of an essay entitled “electoral crises of Dahomey to Benin / 1960-2011.”

Associated in various studies and observation of electoral process missions in West and Central Africa

Since 1998 he is is he is a trainer of political organisations and electoral management bodies such as Mali’s INEC.

Elected as the Vice-President of the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENA) in 2007, Joël ATAYI-GUEDEGBE was in 2010 the Chairperson of the Special Working Group set up following the political consultations on the disputes over the process of the Computerised Permanent Voters’ Register (LPR).

Actor of the Beninese civil society he has led coalition and advocacy campaign. It is for this reason that since 2012, he was appointed by the professional media associations of Benin in the Observatory of Ethics in the Media (ODEM).

**Ms Idayat Hassan**

is the team lead, Democratic Governance at the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD). Idayat focus is on deepening democracy in Nigeria and West Africa. She is a lawyer by training.

**Professor Susan Booysen**

is Professor in the Graduate School of Public and Development Management (P&DM), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Her areas of specialisation include South African and Southern African politics and policy, comparative politics of Southern Africa (with a special emphasis on democracy, governance, policy and elections) and research methodology. She is the author of The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power (2011); Local elections in South Africa: Parties, people, politics (ed., 2012) and The ANC’s March on Mangaung (2012). She has co-edited Democracy and Elections in Southern Africa (2009) with Denis Kadima. She holds a D.Litt. et Phil. from the University of Johannesburg (1988). She obtained both her Masters and Honours degrees cum laude. She has held some major research fellowships, including a post-doctoral fellowship at the Southern African Research Program (SARP) at Yale University, USA. She is also past president of the South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS). Booysen has published more than 40 refereed academic articles (both in national and international journals), chapters in books and monographs. She has concluded more than 30 full-scale research projects and has presented well over 50 papers at national and international conferences in Political Studies, Policy Studies and related disciplines. She works as media commentator and analyst. She is on the editorial board of the South African Journal of Political Studies, Politikon, is a contributing editor to the Johannesburg newspaper The Star and columnist for The Sunday Independent.
Mr Felix Odhiambo Owuor

is currently the Country Director of the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa in Kenya (EISA Kenya). He has 15 years experience in the field of governance, democracy and human rights, specializing in elections, constitutional and legal reforms, civil society development and political parties strengthening. Mr. Owuor has participated and given presentations in national and international forums on topics such as electoral systems, political parties in Africa, electoral reforms, electoral system and women political participation. He has also authored papers and publication on the politics of party coalition in Africa, electoral laws and process in Kenya, funding of political parties in Africa, analysis of 2007 general election in Kenya and democracy assistance in Africa. Mr. Owuor has participated in international election observation missions in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Namibia, South Africa, Lesotho and USA. As part of the constitutional implementation process in Kenya, Mr. Owuor participated in the discussion and made comparative presentations that led to the development of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Bill, Elections Bill and the Political Parties Bill. Mr. Owuor holds a Bachelors of Law Degree (LLB) from the University of London, a Post Graduate Diploma in Law from the Kenya School of Law and a Masters Degree in International Studies and Conflict Management from the University of Nairobi. He is a member of the Law Society of Kenya and an Advocate of the High Court of Kenya.

Mr Samson Lembani

has worked as country director for the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Malawi for 10 years. He completed his PhD in International Development Studies at the Ruhr University Bochum (RUB) in Germany (2013). He holds a masters degree in Development Management from the University of the Western Cape (UWC), South Africa (2006); and another masters degree in Development Management from RUB, (2005). His research interests are institutions and democratisation, development management, elections, floor-crossing, intra-party democracy, parliaments in Africa and political coalitions. Contact: slembani@yahoo.com
Since its inception in July 1996 EISA has established itself as a leading institution and influential player dealing with elections and democracy related issues in the African continent. The organisation’s Strategic Goals are:

- Electoral processes are inclusive, transparent, peaceful and well-managed
- Citizens participate effectively in the democratic process
- Political institutions and processes are democratic and function effectively
- EISA is a stronger and more influential organisation

The vision of EISA is “an African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment”. This vision is executed through the organisational mission of “striving for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, a human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa”.

For the past eight years, EISA has held an annual symposium, each of which focused upon a selected democracy and governance issue. The first Annual Symposium, in November 2006, examined the challenges of conflict, democracy and development in Africa. The second, in October 2007, focused on policy discussion around the prospects for sustainable democratic governance in Africa in an environment of dire socio economic conditions and entrenched poverty. The third, in October 2008, dealt with the challenges facing civil society engagement with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The fourth Symposium focused upon the problem of persistent, violent election related conflicts in Africa with a view to understanding their causes, magnitude and consequences for democratic governance. The fifth, in November 2010 provided a platform for political parties from across Africa to develop benchmarks to support political parties in institutional development and to enhance democratic systems of governance through political parties. The sixth Symposium, in November 2011 explored the role of ICT in promoting political change in Africa. It provided a platform for stakeholders from across the continent to share experiences and learn best practices on the use of ICT, democracy and elections. The seventh Symposium, in March 2013 reviewed two decades of election observation in Africa since the dawn of multi-party elections.