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AN ASSESSMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES' ADHERENCE TO GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

RESEARCH REPORT

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in 25% fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management).

ABSTRACT

Political parties are prominent in the development of democracy in South Africa. Therefore, it is critical to expand knowledge about the governance of the major parties in the country in order to reflect on the future of democracy. The framework based on key functions - membership recruitment, policy formulation and organisational complexity performed by political parties facilitate an incisive assessment of adherence to governance principles - participation, accountability and transparency.

Various sources, which include constitutions, interviews and focus group discussions of political parties, were central in the assessment of the governance principles of parties. The study revealed that the visions, missions, regularity of meetings, quorums requirements for meetings, diverse representation and structures are instructive in assessing and understanding the prevalence of governance principles within the operations of political parties. These areas are revealed in the study and they also provide insights in a future perspective of South African democracy.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public Policy) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Sibongile J. Besani

DATE: 19 November 2016

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my late mother, Nontlaleleko Suzan ‘Kay'kayi’ Besani.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would to acknowledge the professional support and patience of my supervisor, Mr Salim Latib.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

NEC..... National Executive Committee
NWC..... National Working Committee
BEC ..... Branch Executive Committee
BCT ..... Branch Command Team
CCT ..... Central Command Team
PDMT..... Provincial Daily Management Team
NMC..... National Management Committee
RCT ..... Regional Command Team
PCT ..... Provincial Command Team
NPA ..... National People's Assembly
RGC..... Regional General Council
PC .. .. Provincial Council
CC .. .. Constituency Committee
CEC ..... Constituency Executive Committee
RC .. .. Regional Council
SG .. .. Secretary General
FC .. .. Federal Council
NA .. .. Not applicable

1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The articulated and operational governance practices of political parties in South Africa are of central importance to the performance of political parties since the transition to a democratic political system in South Africa. The premise of this study is that governance practices within political parties are articulated clearly when giving attention to the functions that parties perform (Stoker, 1998).

In this study, the assertion is that democracy posits a context in which the existence of parties elucidates the political system in place. Therefore, governance practices should find relevance within the political system because values and principles should also underscore these practices. It is therefore logical in this study, to assume that governance practices will illuminate internal democracy of political parties.

Many scholars and institutions that support democracy-related programmes attach value in the prominent role of political parties to consolidate democracy. This view is supported by a multi-party electoral system, which has is also a standard bearer to assess democratisation (Osaghae, 1999:9). However, in South Africa, the studies on political parties give considerable attention to the role of parties in government. There is inadequate attention to functions and governance principles within political parties. Therefore, a limited focus on specific functions and governance principles leads to limited knowledge on best practices within parties.

In this study, the premise is that the internal functioning of parties is also central to consolidating democracy. Secondly, the dedicated focus on governance principles and specific functions is independent of the role of parties in government in order to enable equal treatment of parties. The ruling party in South Africa has been the major beneficiary of many scholarly works. The other parties are only

receiving this scholarly attention in the context of being in opposition. Therefore, this kind of attention is skewed towards parliamentary politics and broader questions of race and class.

In this study, the relationship between structure and function in an organisation is critical in illuminating governance practices. This premise of structure-function, will also accentuate specific governance principles, namely transparency, participation and accountability at different levels of the organisation. It is in this context that the structure,function and governance principles within political parties is assessed. It is argued in this study that the rigour and systematic execution of these functions should illuminate the degree of best practices in a democratic context.

1.1 Background and context

Huntington's third wave discourse (Osaghae, 1999:5; Fombard 2011:2) preceded the advent of democracy in South Africa. Therefore, the emergence of many new political parties is an outcome of this new democratic dispensation. In this context, the constitutional status of political parties with regard to a multi-party system and electoral contest is affirmed (Fombad, 2011:3). However, it is argued that this is inadequate to explain the governance practices of political parties in a democracy in relation to structure, function and governance principles - the central focus of the study.

The records of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) confirm the registration of just over two hundred political parties. However, only about thirty of these parties participated in the 2014 National and Provincial elections. In addition, only thirteen parties are represented in the national assembly. The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), has achieved above sixty per cent of the electoral support since 1994, winning in all provinces but one. The prominent participation of political parties in elections is attributable to the dominant party system (International

IDEA, 2007:48). In South Africa, the phenomenon of the dominant party system coincides with the growing support for the official opposition party, the Democratic Alliance- (DA). This context of growth, which is punctuated by increased support of the opposition, and the sustained grip on power by the ruling party, is assumed to be capable of expanding existing knowledge.

Media reports and party documents are explicit on the salience of the numerical and hegemonic strength of parties in South Africa. Therefore, the growing numbers are evidence of the recruitment of people to join political parties. The media reports also attribute the numerical growth of parties to the relevance of their policies. The smaller numbers of members do not bother other political parties, but their appeal to various sectors in the communities is reported as their basic strength. Therefore, the study investigates how political parties involve their members and various stakeholders, including how members influence the direction of their respective parties.

The phenomenon of small parties in South Africa evokes two perspectives; firstly, that there are parties that are consistently present in parliament because of their electoral support. It is also important to understand the extent to which these parties benefit from support that is regional and sectoral; meaning how they use tribal links, common religion as the basis for their support. In South Africa's democracy, coalition control is minimal because of the dominant party phenomenon. However, where it existed - coalition control - it was shaped by smaller parties, especially in Kwa-Zulu Natal, namely ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and in the Western Cape's Metro, the Independent Democrats (ID) and the DA.

The second perspective of the small party phenomenon in South Africa is contemporary and is illuminated by new smaller parties like Congress of the People - COPE (Lotshwao, 2009:902) and Economic Freedom Fighters - EFF. These parties have emerged from splinters within the ruling ANC in a

period of five years. It is argued that both parties have shown minimal existential resilience, but managed to muster electoral support that guarantees their participation in government. The emergence of new parties was derived from acute differences in policy approaches and management of internal affairs within the ruling party, especially the COPE, EFF and the UDM. Therefore, the focus on some of these smaller political parties is more insightful with regards to whether there is a new narrative of governance practices emerging within parties or old ways are resurfacing, especially in the policy space.

Some studies on the ruling party in South Africa highlight the growing patterns of undermining the democratic platforms within the party. These also relate to some limitations within the ruling party, especially with regards to low membership participation in the policy direction and conflation of party and the state (Lodge, 1999; Southall, 2010). However, these notions do not go far to outline the rigour of governance principles in organisations with regards to the structure, and function perspective, especially the functions of recruitment and policy formulation. Equally, the studies that interrogate the insistence of ruling party on its liberation movement status (Darracq, 2008) are limited in assessing governance principles along structure-functions basis.

The study argues that the constitution of SA has been resilient and steadfast in illuminating governance practices within political parties. Various media reports indicate that there is interference with governance during periods leading to conferences of political parties and thereafter. Therefore, the study seeks to explain the performance of party governance practices as related to the constitution.

1.2 Problem Statement

This study asserts democracy as a socio-political phenomenon that prevails beyond the confines of state institutions. Accordingly, this overaching feature of democracy is operationalised through governance practices. Therefore, governance of political parties in a democracy refers to management of their internal affairs. It is in this context that management of parties' affairs should be underscored by standard governance principles. In accordance with this assertion, the emergence of new parties in SA explains the salience of political parties in a democracy despite limited focus on specific structures and functions.

Modern parties define their roles within parliamentary politics (Fombad, 2011: 29; International IDEA, 2007: 43) despite their claims to be committed to extra-parliamentary programmes. Other studies that focus on internal democracy in South African political parties, generally assume that democratic centralism is bad for democracy and a federal approach is good (Lotshwao, 2009: 905). These assumptions are more ideological, but inadequate in outlining specific structures created to execute specific functions in political parties - the thrust of the study. Therefore, governance has no ideological bias and can explain how organisational structures are used to perform specific functions.

The dominance of political parties in a democracy similar to South Africa's requires organisational complexity, which should reveal governance practices. Organisational complexity is better articulated by understanding goals that need to be achieved, structures in place, functions performed and the role of various key players in the party, in particular, the members. Therefore, governance should also facilitate openness, giving feedback and participation, in order to create a level of legitimacy to various organisational processes. All these also point to the importance of principles of accountability, transparency and participation.

The focus on governance practices should extend to other smaller parties, not the

ruling party only. The focus on smaller parties should inform the understanding on how the political terrain is generally shaped within political parties. Therefore, comparative studies of political parties across a range of similar key functions is important for South Africa as a contribution to understanding how democracy will be consolidated.

There is growing interest in how political parties in South Africa manage their internal affairs. This interest is inspired by the need to understand the future of SA democracy because of the dominance of political parties. However, there are a lack of empirical studies that seek to understand the governance practices of parties with regards to their specific functions.

There is limited focus on the overall governance (participation, accountability and transparency) practices of political parties, especially as they relate to their organisational complexity, policy formulation processes and membership recruitment.

1.3 Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to compare political parties in South Africa across a range of common key functions and use principles of good governance as the basis for assessment. The focus on the key functions of parties is intended to illuminate structures in place and how various key actors in the party and various organisational levels take part in the life of the party. The purpose is also to investigate how principles of governance prevail at all levels of the political parties. Accordingly, this study utilises a framework based on defined principles of governance across organisational levels using selected functions performed by political parties.

The framework is important in understanding the rigour of internal processes and governance practices of political parties. Therefore, the study contributes towards understanding how democracy is consolidated under the leadership of political parties. In the context of new emerging parties, this model also facilitates

an understanding on how small parties may be preserved. Most importantly, this study, through this framework elicits best practices that may be useful for political parties.

1.4 Research Question

The research question is premised on the understanding that the study focuses on specific principles of governance, namely accountability, participation and transparency. Secondly, specific functions that have been identified for this study are policy formulation and recruitment. Therefore, the research question is couched in broad terms to illuminate its essence.

How do dominant political parties in South Africa apply and comply with basic governance principles when they perform specific functions?

Related questions are:

- Are core governance principles reflected in the overall organisation of dominant SA political parties?
- Are core governance principles reflected in the recruitment function of political parties?
- Are core governance principles reflected in the policy formulation function of the dominant parties?

1.5 Conclusion

South Africa's journey of consolidating democracy is explicitly expressed in the role of political parties. There are various studies that demonstrate the central role of parties though dedicated investigations relating to their structures and functions remain relevant. The area of further studies is accentuated in the problem statement that " There is limited focus on the overall governance...practices...". Therefore, the study is anchored on assessing governance principles in relation to functions that political parties perform.

2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The review focuses on the concept of governance and illustrates the principles associated with it. In the light of the broad and elusive nature of defining governance, the study also intends to narrow its conceptualisation. This review focuses on a few principles of governance, namely accountability, participation and transparency. The basis on focusing on the principles of governance is to highlight their importance in explaining the rigour of organisational processes.

The focus on specific functions of political parties is informed by the need to manage and minimise overlaps that may complicate the study. In this case, the functions are key drivers of principles in an organisation. The selected functions are outlined and more explanation on why and how they are performed in political parties is given. The premise in this study is that structures of organisations are also critical in accentuating the coherent execution of functions.

The review also captures the contemporary debates relating to political parties and their functions in a democracy. Accordingly, this section deals with direct debates affecting parties in South Africa. The assumption in this study is that the historical aspects of the debates are important in order to accentuate how democracy has evolved in the country and as a projection of the future.

2.1 Political parties

International IDEA provides a contemporary concept of political parties as voluntary and informal associations that are established on the basis of sharing common goals, political values and that operate within a specific economic and social context (International IDEA, 2007:19). In a democratic context, these parties co-exist with one another within a multi-party democracy. Therefore, to arrive at shared values and shared political attitudes, the associations have to

develop capacity to aggregate societal needs through adopting relevant policies. Other parties have started as social movements but, over time, have evolved to contest for state power (International IDEA, 2007b:7). This contest for state power differentiates political parties from the civil society and other non-profit organisations

In order for these associations to become meaningful, the parties therefore perform specific functions not limited to recruitment and policy formulation (International IDEA, 2007b:7). These functions are also central to the process of parties legitimising themselves through the electoral process and policy development (International IDEA, 2007b:7). It is on this basis that dedicated attention to specific functions and governance principles will shed light on the commitment of parties to democratic consolidation.

2.2 Constitutional Democracy

Democracy refers to the unrestricted will of a united people (Fombad, 2011:6). This version of democracy is broad and does not explain how democracy is operationalised within the organisations. In a liberal context, the unrestricted will of the people requires a medium of law (Habermas, 2001: 767), hence constitutional democracy. Democracy and constitutionalism are interdependent and 'co-original' in a liberal context (Habermas, 2001: 767). In this context, democratisation is a political process whereby people are empowered to transform the state and society through responsive forms of governance (Osaghae, 1999: 3). The central focus of the study is the political parties as part of society and the forms of governance within them. This study argues that 'responsive forms of governance' are articulated by dimensions and principles of governance.

In this study, the focus is on governance principles and party functions and is intended to explicate how decision-making is operationalised. Accordingly, this focus goes beyond the popular notion of democracy. Therefore, a constitutional but liberal democracy is far more advantageous to showing these

principles (Osaghae, 1999: 3; Fombad, 2011: 6). Again, constitutionalism is about rules that should be observed by people, both as groups and individuals, to enable efficient operations and being accountable to citizens (Fombad, 2011: 5).

The prominence of political parties in the body polity of many countries accentuates the central importance of governance, especially in the context of their constitutional status (Fombad, 2011:15; Teshome, 2009:1). Therefore, regulation of political parties is a given in a constitutional democracy. The study asserts that social organisations in South Africa are obligated to demonstrate principles of governance because of having adopted a constitutional democracy.

The legislation that promote this multi-partyism and pluralism is generally intended to allow the free flow of ideas in society and body polity (Fombad, 2011: 15). This narrative gives credence to the common cause that poor participation of members in their parties is tantamount to weakening democracy within the organisations.

Teshome (2009) goes further to indicate that democracy is unlikely to be strong without political parties hence they are central to giving full meaning to any form of democracy (Teshome, 2009: 1). The opposition parties are also central to ensuring that democracy is meaningful because they play a role of limiting the arbitrariness of incumbent parties (Teshome, 2009: 2). It is in this context that everyone taking part in the political parties should be guaranteed participation, accountability and transparency by leaders. Therefore, this expectation can also be enforced from outside the political party. Voluntary application of these principles gives legitimacy and popularity.

2.3 Governance

The basic theorisation of governance involves ‘how’ decisions are taken, for ‘whom’ they are made and for ‘what’ purpose (Powley & Anderlini, 2004;: 36 Graham *et al,* 2003: 1). Governance is about how social organisations interact,

how they relate to citizens and how decisions are taken (Graham *et al,* 2003: 1). In this way, governance deals with the rationale of performing specific functions and how they are being carried out. This means that; once organisations have defined their mission and vision' they put up structures and allocate functions.

The overarching nature of governance is expressed by its prevalence in private, public and voluntary institutions and action that is both self-regulatory and collective (Stoker, 1998: 18). This characterisation articulates governance as a neutral phenomenon which is not ideology-laden. The voluntary institutions are important because they are also found in the realm of tackling collective of communities on their own (Stoker, 1998: 21: Fombad, 2011:15). It is this conceptualisation that locates governance in political parties because they are also voluntary organisations with the capacity to self-regulate.

The principles that characterise governance include transparency; accountability, implementation and participation (Powley & Anderlini , 2004: 36 ; Graham *et al*, 2003: 3).The rigour and prevalence of these principles explain the level of efficiency and quality of governance, especially good governance in the organisations (Powley & Anderlini, 2004: 36). Therefore it can be deduced that when the operations of political parties are poor in espousing these principles - participation, transparency and accountability - there will be failure in the distribution of benefits for members and relevant stakeholders. It is logical for this 'rigour' of governance to align with the needs of members.

Institutions like political parties should develop the capacity to run their affairs in a manner that allows them to achieve their goals (Gibson *et al*, 1983: 198). Bureaucracy in political parties is not confined to achieving efficiency but also to sustaining them against external turbulances (*ibid).* This capacity to run their own affairs in political parties involves the adoption of tasks,

performing
functions, embarking on programmes, the creation of structures (Gibson, *et al*, 1983 : 198), which results in pockets of power emanating from given responsibilities, meaning the creation of authority in the organisation. Governance has a strong organising perspective because it also denotes parameters for various people in the organisation and how resources are to be utilised and applied (Stoker 1998:18). It should be noted that organisational resources include people, finances, rules and policies, to name but a few.

2.4 GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

This enables the investigation to be predicated on how these principles find expression in the function of political parties. As indicated earlier, governance has dimensions that are articulated as principles thereof. The theoretical basis of principles of governance - participation, accountability and transparency - is outlined in this section.

2.4.1 Participation

In a democratic context, participation of citizens is inherent and evinced by the basic notion of the rule of the people by the people and for the people (Fombad, 2011: 6). A more comprehensive approach to participation involves giving people more voice and ensuring that they are part of deliberations through innovative ways of consultations and engagements (Gaventa, 2002: 1). The participants at any level of organisation should derive benefits and be empowered (Blair, 2000). It is therefore logical to expect such benefits to be outlined in what the parties have committed to achieve to assert that participation cannot take place for its own sake - it has to be meaningful.

The political narrative of participation suggests an active role in policy formulation (Gaventa, 2002: 1) and therefore extends beyond direct beneficiaries. This means the principle of participation is no longer confined to

projects that stand to benefit direct participants. This principle of participation is also about an inclusivity because people that are generally excluded from processes now stand a chance to shape the direction of their organisations.

It is also important to note that evolution of participation has equally shaped forms of participation. This means as universal of notions of citizenship emerged, so have the spaces for participation, especially being more inclusive (Gaventa, 2002: 5). Therefore, participation is created in spaces that are traditional - top to bottom - and decentralised spaces in modern times but predicated on the need for direct engagement (Gaventa, 2002: 7). The inclusion narrative is also premised on the liberal conceptualisation of citizenship, which assumes people are also active as individuals and not only collectively active.

It is important to outline the constituencies of political parties because this provides a strong basis to understand the context of inclusion. The liberal notions democracy allows for representative participation (Gaventa, 2002: 6). This could be explained in an ethnic, class and religion basis, depending on what the party claims to represent (Gaventa, 2002: 7). Other organisations are bold to use nation-state citizenship to accentuate their inclusivity. In these instances, there is always an intention to broaden support and membership and hence the emergence of ‘catch-all parties’.

The claims that parties make in relation to representation are central to the platforms of participation created by political parties. For example, popular representation asserts that parties claim to represent constituencies with fixed ideologies and there is emphasis on bottom-up, namely the specific class or ethnic group and religious group (Saward, 2008: 275-276). The cadre parties have low participation because of low focus on membership but are dominated by elite groups, which generally represent certain classes (Wolinetz, 1991: 144) that may share certain common beliefs and ideologies, as in the case of popular representations. The statal representation denotes

political parties that broaden their claims of representation by asserting that; their views are linked to variegated constituencies in an area, namely a nation (Saward, 2008: 277). This clearly shows that organisations become mass parties and ensure high level of participation (Wolinetz, 1991: 144). Therefore, statal representation and mass party relate insofar as the party being able to outgrow its traditional support base and constructing ways of appealing to broader constituencies.

In all these cases, there is a shift from a specific constituency to 'catch-all', which is generally facilitated by electoral competition (Saward, 2008: 273).While these modes of representation are abstracted separately, in practice there are many overlaps depending on the political context of political parties. When parties are vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking (Wolinetz, 1991: 161) they create a range of platforms for participation. It is argued that by broadening support beyond the traditional base, the parties are showing capabilities of also creating a diverse membership. Therefore, such a membership is prone to a variety of platforms of engagement.

2.4.2 Accountability

The contemporary conception of accountability is central to the responsiveness of institutions and organisations (Gaventa, 2002: 1). Therefore, accountability is both political and administrative, hence all organisations should demonstrate in principle and practice the work they do to achieve their set goals. Once more this asserts not only a populist notion of democracy but also infuses a procedural democracy. It is therefore important to understand structures in place to ensure that accountability is placed within political parties.

Accountability that is predicated on devolution of powers and decentralisation (Blair, 2000: 22; Powley & Anderlini 2004: 37) can be traced to the liberal notions of democracy. This means that accountability brings to the fore the role of members with regard to giving them some authority to question their leaders.

Therefore, a thorough focus on organisational design and specific functions may provide insights on how political parties apply the principle of accountability.

Accountability refers to leaders being answerable to their members, and hence from a rights perspective, accountability is about obligation to promote and protects the very same rights (Gaventa 2002: 2). Therefore, in this instance, accountability closes the gap between those given responsibilities, especially leaders and their constituencies. This further allows for checking the conduct of leaders in relation to their performance and constraining any possible arbitrariness on the part of the elected and the appointed. This study asserts that the logic of answerability also limits constituencies because it is premised on the agreed objectives and goals of the organisations.

Mechanism for accountability are not limited; conducting an oversight, giving reports and any form of communication that is aimed at giving information, meetings, elections, procedures and surveys (Blair, 2000: 31). It is therefore critical for the study to investigate how various parties in South Africa go about ensuring that various platforms of accountability are in place. The notion of answerability involves ensuring that the leadership of political parties act in the best interest of their members.

In other areas, accountability is best experienced when technical expertise is available, especially when conducting oversight (Powley & Anderlini, 2004). It is also in this context of expert skills that accountability overlaps with representative participation. The premise of this understanding is that whilst participation can be accessed, it would make logical sense for functions requiring specialised application to be explained to constituencies possessing similar capabilities. Such constituencies are generally small in number but representative of the public or the broad constituencies. This evinces legitimate reporting and accountability because representatives have been chosen, elected or appointed by the broader constituency.

Accountability is also enforced in all areas of the organisation, politically and administratively, from a perspective of upholding human rights (Gaventa, 2002: 8). Therefore, this requires that information should be packaged in a manner that is understood by various constituencies who participate at different levels of the organisations or political parties. Secondly, accountability should also serve to adapt the political parties to changing situations, thus ensuring that accountability becomes a strategic tool for the party. Therefore, various platforms of accountability serve a diverse range of strategic objectives and goals.

2.4.3 Transparency

Transparency also refers to ‘openness’ about organisational processes in decision-making and ‘being open to scrutiny’ (Powley & Anderlini, 2004: 36). It can therefore be deduced that transparency accentuates the quality of accountability because it does not seek to limit the participation of stakeholders, members and supporters of the organisation, and assumes a position that values the contribution of everybody in the organisation. In this context, the value of transparency seeks to fight organisational mishaps in an open decision-making manner.

The key areas of transparency are about openness, ascertaining accountability and aversion to secrecy and privacy (Ball, 2009: 293). In this context, it would be logical for an investigation on the organisational design of parties to cater for areas of transparency. Another aspect is that transparency is strongly linked to accountability, thus describing the quality of ‘answerability’.

The notion that transparency is about openness does not give away the presence of secrecy and privacy (Ball, 2009: 298). This means, in parties that differentiate between the general public and members, various platforms for specific information is made available. Therefore, members who are

closer to party activities are likely to access information on organisational activities and programmes in a better way than the general public. The study focuses on the members of the organisation and therefore it is this area of stakeholders that is given prominence.

Transparency is put in place to deal with individual systemic issues (Fox, 2007: 666), the latter being the focus of the study because it accentuates institutional focus or goals. Secondly, transparency should be clear in terms of what it seeks to communicate and the relevance of stakeholders receiving such information (Fox, 2007: 667). This means that even technical information should be simplified to allow constructive scrutiny and that in some cases, stakeholders should have relevant skills and expertise to understand information that is being given. It is this context that political parties establish various committees, sub-committees and all kinds of meetings to inform various stakeholders and members of the party. These platforms are the twin tasks of accountability and transparency.

2.5 FUNCTIONS

Political parties are known to focus their goal around vote-seeking, policy-seeking and office-seeking (Scarrow, 1994: 55; Wolinetz, 1991: 151-153). These goals set in place various functions and are informed by the political context, especially that of democracy. The political parties do not always organise themselves around one goal, hence others have declared themselves as mass parties, which go beyond the scope of office and vote-seeking (Scarrow, 1994: 53; Wolinetz, 1991: 151). Therefore, the focus on the functions of political parties posits organisational coherence and institutionalisation in a democratic context.

Modern political parties are explicit in participating in government and they generally represent the needs and demands of society better than many organisations (International IDEA, 2007: 19). Therefore, the functions they

perform, namely recruitment, policy development and interests aggregation, are important for democratic pluralism (International IDEA, 2007: 19). In this context, parties are required to ensure that management of their affairs is underpinned by processes and structures that can be accessed by their members, hence the centrality of governance.

2.5.1 Organisational Complexity

The notion of organisational complexity denotes a systematic approach in performing various functions. This is outlined in a functional-structural perspective whereby functioning depends upon parts and the interactions of those parts within the organisations (Grieves, 2010:13). Therefore, the parties with strong organisations should have significant structures with regularised procedures, clear division of labour and a high level of programmatic capabilities (Gibson et al, 1983: 197).

Governance perspectives in a democracy should illuminate inclusivity, centralisation and institutionalisation (Scarrow, 2005: 5). These areas respectively underscore the importance of expanding participation in decision-making, the importance of authority through devolution of responsibilities or centralisation and the formalisation of rules and procedures through organisational structures (*ibid*). Therefore, the organising dimension of governance is important in understanding the resilience of modern parties in the ever-changing political landcape.

Organisations also have to replenish themselves so that they inject new energy and adapt to new external conditions. Therefore, as social entities, organisations should mitigate against possible extinction through acquiring specialised skills and expertise to improve efficiency in executing tasks (Grieves, 2010:14). Parties that professionalise execute their political programmes beyond election season to ensure continuous interactions with their constituencies. It is in this context that; the political

parties, which are also considered as social movements also professionalise through building capacity to engage in extra-parliamentary activities and programmes (Gibson *et al,* 1983: 201).

The hiring of full-time staff at various levels of the party commits political parties to operationalise political decisions. When appointing people on a full-time basis, political decisions are administered; administration and research capacities (Gibson *et al*, 1983:199-201) are developed and enhanced. Therefore, this allows them to develop structures that are geared towards executing specific functions (Gibson *et al*, 1983: 199), namely policy formulation and recruitment of membership. The intention of the study is to show how identified functions have been institutionalised through organisational structures.

2.5.2 Recruitment of Membership

The political parties are generally informed by the power of their ideas to shape politics and attract support (Fukuyama, 2014). There has been a trend to redefine the role of members in politics in order to counter the declining numbers of people joining political parties (Scarrow, 1994: 826). Members are a critical resource for political parties because they bring new ideas and expertise; they also build loyalty and militancy around party positions, especially where electoral participation is strong (Scarrow, 1994: 826; Scarrow 2007:12-13). Therefore, members are instrumental in shaping the direction of political parties and ensuring that parties can adapt to a changing political landscape. It is in this context that constitutions of parties have been adapted to these new conditions (Scarrow, 1994: 826; Whitely, 2011: 26). Consequently, the ontological basis of members in a political party is also constructivist.

It is always important to differentiate between members of political parties

and supporters. In some democracies, political parties treat the issue of membership differently, meaning in some instances, subscription fees and submitting to policies and principles of parties denotes membership (Whitely, 2011: 24). In other cases, people are only expected to indicate their support for the party during the elections (Whitely, 2011:24). Accordingly, recruitment of membership is context specific and is the subject of governance narrative.

Political parties do not only recruit members to improve their quantitative strength but also develop incentives directed at specific type of members (Scarrow, 1994: 828: Scarrow 2007: 13). Therefore, it is important to underscore the goals and objectives of political parties because this will facilitate understanding of the profile of members joining specific parties. The existential basis of political parties is critical because it also explains the thinking of members and how their participation in the party should unfold.

When people invest their resources in a party, especially time and education, they expect the political regime to preserve their interests Therefore, members also derive some benefits from their parties, and these include material gains that are derived from party policies and the opportunity to be elected to positions (Scarrow, 2007: 13). Political parties also define social structures they wish to represent and use ideological positions in their recruitment and policy approach. This is in line with party declarations of their bias to youth, women, lower class, middle class and the working class. This stratum approach informs the basis for recruitment. The party platform also creates candidates for electioneering, and this holds all possibilities to inform societal leadership.

The general decrease of party memberships is attributed to their preoccupation with acquiring state power, increased media platforms and limited internal platforms of parties (Scarrow, 2007: 10). The dwindling of these platforms to engage party members is associated with the collapse of the legitmating myth (Scarrow, 2007: 10). Therefore, the membership

registers with smaller numbers in the context of improved technology are a matter of significant debate. It is important to investigate how responsive political parties are to technology.

2.5.3 Policy Formulation

Policy formulation process in the political parties is linked to their ideologies and goals, namely vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking (Wolinetz, 1991: 151). It is in this context that political parties establish differentiated platforms to cater for participation of differentiated constituencies and members to formulate policies. In the modern democracies, political parties are inclined to increase support by developing policies that go beyond their traditional support. Therefore, it is critical to illuminate how such broad approaches are internalised and operationalised within the parties.

Whilst decline of membership has been experienced, political parties have been active in advocating for more membership, especially in democratic countries (Whitely, 2011: 26). This advocacy should involve policy debates at various platforms without compromising governance principles – this is the argument of the study. Therefore, differentiated platforms that engage members can minimise the decline and may serve as an incentive to join the parties. This also explains the existence policy committees and various consultation platforms to engage on various policy matters within political parties (Scarrow, 2005:10-11).

2.6 MAJOR DEBATES AND THEIR GENEALOGY

The debates in South Africa are informed by the need to understand the future and the centrality of political parties to lead in the consolidation of democracy. The liberal narrative of South African democracy asserts that ideology-laden parties are also central to weaker accountability, especially

parties with socialist inclinations and central management of party affairs (Lotshwao, 2009). However, this has not stopped the emergence of ideology-laden parties.

2.7 The opposition parties

The opposition politics of South Africa are premised on understanding the racial configuration of the country, black and white, which is further reduced to majoritarianism that should protect minority rights (Herman Giliomee *et al*, 2010: 174). This emphasises the premise that political parties are yet to improve their support base beyond race and strong historical sentiment. Therefore, the South African political landscape remains mired in the politics of racism and liberation struggle sentiment.

The dominant narrative about opposition parties is that they are fragmented (Southall, 2010: 3; Teshome 2009: 3). This means that political parties in South Africa are divided into many parties and therefore lack coherence in becoming an effective opposition, especially in parliament. In this context, there is a dominant one party system in South Africa, which is premised on monopolising state power (Southall, 2010: 2). This narrative confines itself to parliamentary politics and fails to explain the govenance practices of parties in relation to their functions. This narrative lacks appreciation of internal processes that prevail within political parties and how they seek to shape and be shaped by the broader political landscape from within.

The opposition fragmentation is expressed through regionally based parties, common tribe and personality cults (Southall, 2010:11; Teshome, 2009: 3; Lotshwao 2009: 902). These are social cleavages, which are also perpetuated through urbanisation that has created diverse communities that become difficult to unite, poor financial resources and personalities that make it difficult for parties to institutionalise their processes. However, the major parties in this study grapple with this shortcoming incrementally. This means

they are successful in different areas, especially in ensuring geographic spread. The fragmented opposition parties and the dominance of one party haveimpeded sound governance principles on the African continent (Teshome, 2009: 3; Lotshwao, 2009: 902). A flourishing democratic system also requires that opposition parties should ensure checks and balances in the form of governance principles like accountability (Teshome, 2009: 2). In this context, the study argues that; dealing with fragmentation also requires serious consideration of governance of opposition parties rather than mere calls for coalitions. Another argument is that with the focus on opposition parties and their governance, the quality of consolidating democracy is illuminated.

Another putative point about opposition parties relates to their lack of policy alternatives to incumbent parties and inability to attract important sectors of their communities, especially women (Teshome, 2009: 5&6). Consequently, they generally advocate their hollow claims of being able to perform better than incumbent parties (Teshome, 2009: 6). In the light of the demographic significance of women in many societies, the exclusion of women in various party platforms means constraining participation of the dominant sector of society in the life of the political parties (Teshome, 2009: 7), especially policy platforms. The study argues that; the role of women and the youth section of society in the South African political landscape is a discourse that impacts on how parties democratise and adapt their governance systems.

2.7.1 The ruling party and its mass character

There is consensus that liberation movements generally decline in engaging people in policy positions, especially after attaining state power (Lodge, 2004: 190). The decline in membership statistics in between ANC conferences are some indications that the mass character of the party was beginning to weaken because of a range of manipulations (Lodge, 2004:193: Booysen 2011: 7). Therefore, these patterns of participation are more convenient and inconsistent with deepening accountability and

transparency. In fact, it can be argued that they are elitist and consequently marginalise the core constitutency of the party.

Another organisational aspect that suffered is policy formuation in the ANC. Some key policies were also adopted with little involvement of its various structures and members (Lodge 2004: 199). Policy issues ranging from the economy to the fight against HIV and AIDS were highly contested and illuminated individual views rather than the collective views of structures, especially the views of President Mbeki on HIV/AIDS (Vincent, 2011: 8; Lodge, 2004: 201). This demonstrates that a policy process that is poorly managed creates serious instability for political parties. Poor policy process impacts on participation in many ways because it affects members and other partners or alliances. Another aspect is that it creates difficulty in collective ownership of decisions and challenges of legitimacy.

Despite all these weaknesses and vulnerabilities of the ANC, some studies observed the efforts to improve participation through *letsema, Imvuselelo* campaigns and 'organs of people's power' (Lodge 2004: 196; Booysen 2011: 9). Accordingly, these initiatives and approaches are geared towards improving governance, in particular accountability, transparency and participation. These programmes are about the revival of party structures and the participation of members. They generally seek to engage communities in a manner that is responsive to their needs.

The counter-position to these extra-parliamentary activities is that activities to engage communities have dwindled significantly to the extent that party and the state are now conflated (Lodge 2004: 190; Southall, 2010). The party structures are preoccupied with government related issues, namely deployments of cadres into state institutions (Lodge, 2004:190 ; Booysen, 2011: 7). Therefore, careerist tendencies within parties become central to the undermining of governance practices through the manipulation of processes. The fact that vulnerabilities persist indicates that the purported initiatives were not smoothly executed and hence this investigation to assess

governance within parties. Whilst these limitations are confined to ruling parties, the study seeks to understand how other major parties manage their governance practices.

2.7.2 The policies of political parties

Many scholars regard the notion of 'democratic centralism' as a major source of alienating members from major decisions of the ruling party (Lotshwao, 2009: 902). The leadership is more involved in key decisions but various sectors, eg. the youth and women in the party remain on the periphery of decision-making (Lotshwao, 2009: 902). These assertions by some of these scholars challenge the very nature of the ANC organisational design and approach to policy. However, the assertions can be tested in the realm of practice and experience with the party. Lotshwao (2009) argues strongly that democratic centralism is responsible for the unresponsive ANC, unaccountability within the party and the poor participation (Lotshwao, 2009: 903).

Accordingly, the 'legitimating ritual' is unsustainable because there is a lack of ownership of organisational decisions because they emanate from inadequate discussions by members (Lotshwao, 2009: 904). This 'legitimating ritual' asserts that the policies of the ANC are not influenced by participation of members. Secondly, it is the leaders; especially those of winning factions at conferences, that determine the policy direction of the party. Therefore, policy platforms within the ruling party are beginning to lose legitimacy because of stifled debates.

2.7.3 Membership in the ruling party

The ANC was on a drive to recruit one million members during its centenary celebrations of 2012 to demonstrate the popularity of its programmes and policies amongst the masses (Booysen, 2011: 7). However, this growth in

membership is associated with lack of qualitative membership participation and the central leadership losing control on the organisation (Booysen, 2011: 7). There is growing concern that the membership growth of the ANC coincides with elective conferences and the decline is significant when there are leadership contests (Lodge, 2004:193; Booysen, 2011:7). This convenient and well-timed membership growth indicates the party has become a vehicle for self-enrichment and careerism. Another aspect is that this type of growth indicates that democracy in the party is becoming more nominal than substantive.

2.8 Conclusion

The review is elaborate in outlining the conceptualisation of governance, especially in relation to the principles. It is important to note the basic and contemporary tenet of governance as that of understanding how political parties manage their affairs. Flowing from this theorisation, the extensive literature on governance principles and functions of political is explored and consulted. The major debates are also unpacked in order to faciliate deeper understanding of the political context. The argument advanced is that the review sets a strong basis to investigate the rigour parties' processes in setting solid governance principles when perfroming their functions

3 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

Having discussed at length the governance principles and major debates and their genealogy in the previous chapter, the focus is now on outlining the research methodology. The research design, ethical considerations and trustworthiness is discussed at length.

3.1 Qualitative research

According to De Vos *et al.,* (2011), a qualitative research is holistic in nature and aims to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life (De Vos *et al,* 2011: 497-499). Qualitative research elicits participants' accounts of meaning, experience or perceptions and produces descriptive data in the participants' own written or spoken words, hence it is phenomenological.

As these are phenomenological traditions, which illuminate meanings of social reality (Bryman, 2012: 30) to party members, the epistemological considerations of the study involve contemporary notions of governance in a democratic context. It is important to note the interpretivist nature of the study because the democratic context has evolved in such a manner that popular democracy or the majoritarian feature of democracy is inadequate to explain how political parties respond to their reality.

The study is inductive in approach because it places interpretations of people into scientific knowledge (Bryman, 2012: 26). Therefore no new theories are attempted and at the same time, the correctness of existing ones will not be proven. The central focus is how reality is interpreted and how key stakeholders align their conduct to their social realities. South African constitutional democracy is a social reality that parties continuously interpret, hence no broad theorisation of democracy. Secondly, management of political decisions posits and evinces governance.

The analysis of the data for this study is inclined to use the Straussian grounded theory, which focuses on usage of concepts than the development of theory (Bryman, 2012: 567). The basis for this approach is informed by the prominent use of concepts from the literature review and whether such concepts are expressed in the investigation. Secondly, this approach is inductive because of the need to give more meaning to the concepts. The tools that facilitate proper use of this grounded theoretical approach include coding and constant comparison to ensure that the connection between data and conceptualisation is not lost.

The ontological considerations in this study are both objectivist and constructivists because they are about how human beings act to align with their social entities and how they interpret the phenomenon under investigation (Bryman, 2012: 32-33). This explains that members of political parties are expected to align their conduct with party policies and constitutions. Equally, these members are capable of shaping the visions and direction of their parties. In this case, political parties can shape or influence democracy or a democratic context can also influence how internal processes are operationalised.

3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Decision-making takes place at various levels of the organisations and it is therefore, premised on clearly defined organisational structures. These structures are informed by strategic decisions, in this case political imperatives, the need to operationalise decisions, and to affirm authority and leadership.

In this study, the framework borrows from Čular (2004) in relation to presenting the basic structures of the party at all levels to illuminate organisational complexity. This requires that; the structures at all levels of the party are defined and assessment on how they compare is undertaken (Čular, 2004: 3). Čular (2004) asserts the importance of ensuring that; the main characteristics of organisational model should include direct role of members in

internal processes, role of women, youth and affiliations (Čular, 2004: 4). Holding of public office or state power by the party is not central to the study and hence this area will only receive attention where relevance is assumed.

Čular (2004) goes further to investigate the level of internal democracy in Croatian parties by focusing on two dimensions of internal democracy, namely autonomy and inclusion (Čular, 2004: 8). Both dimensions relate to how the decision making process is undertaken within parties, especially in relation to how structures and members are given freedom to influence decisions of the party (Čular, 2004: 7). As is outlined, these dimensions are governance principles. Therefore, in this study these dimensions are treated as the principles of governance, namely participation, transparency and accountability. As stated earlier, the focus on principles of governance illuminates the prevalent rigour of processes and thus goes beyond the narrative of popular democracy.

The investigation of this 'rigour' will also involve determining levels participation, transparency and accountability within parties, meaning whether they are low or high. This approach also fits Booysen's (2011) determination trends in the core domain of ANC power, which indicates whether it is low or high (Booysen, 2011:15). Scarrow (2007) experiments with internal democracy to determine whether organisational tendencies are low, medium or high (Scarrow, 2007: 15). It is argued that the tendencies referred to in Scarrow (2007) - individual representation, notable, dominant leader, etc. - are directly linked to governance principle espoused in this study. Therefore, the framework in place should be bold in seeking to understand the views of participants on the rigour of governance principles.

The framework limits the focus on governance principles to specific functions, namely recruitment and policy formulation. Čular's dimensions of internal democracy targets the political parties in broad terms (Čular,

2004:13). The framework asserts that each function is performed and managed differently. Once more, this calls for the framework to illuminate how principles find expression in these selected functions, namely recruitment and policy formulation.

In order for the framework to achieve deeper understanding of the party governance, it is important to target participants who are immersed with organisational matters, in particular, leaders and members. This is underscored in Lodge (2004), whereby both leaders and members of the ruling party are interviewed to understand how it is evolving in the new democratic dispensation (Lodge, 2004: 191).

The focus on members and leaders facilitates the assessment of the governance of parties in the following:

- Understanding how leaders of parties are able to give feedback to their members about the performance of the party,
- Understanding the role of members in the decision making process and programmes of the party
- Policy formulation within the political parties take place in a transparent manner and allows for extensive participation of members.

Table 3.1: Summary of framework

Principles	Policy formulation	Membership recruitment	Organisational components
Accountability	This is about understanding how the party is structured to perform the function of policy formulation.	• Understanding how the party is structured to perform the recruitment function.	• Understanding the broad organisational structures
Transparency	Understanding mechanisms in place for parties to exercise transparency when performing the function of policy processes to their members.	Understanding and exploring mechanisms in place to exercise transparency in performing the recruitment function	Exploring a broad understanding of transparency in the parties.
Participation	Understanding and explaining how members and some key stakeholders participate in policy formulation in their parties.	Understanding the levels of participation of members in performing the recruitment function	• How does the conduct of leaders promote participation in party processes? • How do leaders provide direction in performance of the functions?

3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGIES

The study is a qualitative work and interpretivist because existing theories and concepts are used extensively (Bryman, 2012: 30) to develop the framework aimed at understanding how processes within parties manifest themselves. Secondly, the interpretivist feature illuminated by the study is grounded on context and how participants are able to explain (ibid) their experiences.

Document analysis, interviews and focus group discussions on political parties are central to this study, especially those that articulate and provide guidance on recruitment, participation and organisational complexity. The focus on these specific functions is to enable alignment with the framework of this study. Most importantly, official documents are instructive in understanding how selected political parties have evolved, including their current attitudes on their organisational development aspects. This may also give an indication on how selected functions and governance principles are institutionalised.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND MANAGEMENT

Since this approach allows for personal interaction, the perspective and the experiences of the participants to emerge as suggested by Nicholas, Rautenbach and Maistry (2010), the researcher engaged a minimum of 24 participants from three (3) political parties, especially the parties that are in parliament, namely the ANC, DA, and the EFF. The political parties that are the central focus of this study include the ruling party – ANC; the main opposition party - DA and the new party, the EFF. This selection of parties is informed by the need to understand the internal dynamics of smaller parties and includes the ruling party from a governance perspective.

3.5 PROCEDURE

Data was collected from the participants by means of open-ended questions. The procedure to collect data involved the interviews with leaders of the party, focus group discussions with members of the parties and collecting data from some of the major documents of the party. There are dedicated sections for interviews, questionnaires, focus groups and documents, which provide more details on the procedure.

3.5.1 Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured , in order to allow more in-depth information to come out, and to avoid repetitions (Kothari, 2004: 98). This means that the questions are prepared in advance but there is freedom for the interviewer to seek more clarity and participants are also given the freedom explain themselves. As indicated earlier, it is only the two leaders from each party that were interviewed separately and individually. The semi-structured interviews were conducted to enable a better understanding and clarity on official party positions and current developments with regard to selected functions.

The time allowed for the interviews is influence by the number of questions. There are twelve questions and therefore it is proper for interviews to be conducted for a maximum of one hour. The questions only served to guide the discussions and may not all be used. The location of the interviews also depended on the convenience of the participants. However, it was required that the interviews should not be interrupted or postponed in the middle.

It should be noted that interviews were conducted with leaders of the political parties (see more details on section dealing with ‘Sample’). The appointments with party leaders were made. The researcher asked permission to record the interviews on tape or voice recorder and be allowed to

take notes. In cases where permission to record was not granted, notes were kept and verified with leaders.

3.5.2 Discussion guides

A discussion guide was developed to ensure that interviews with individual party leaders were the same. The guide focused on basic information of participants, functions and governance principles, respectively. Basic information of participants was intended to get an understanding on the proximity of participants to organisational processes, and a short history with the party.

Bryman (2012) asserts that open questions allow for an exploration of the salience of issues raised by the respondents or participants (Bryman, 2012: 247). The interview guide questions were open-ended and sought to get a better understanding of the practices in the party from the perspective of leaders. This also facilitated an understanding of areas that were not known to the researcher.

There was also a guide for group discussions, which was modelled on the same format as interviews for party leaders. However, the questions were formulated differently from individual interviews. These guiding questions minimised regurgitation official positions but allowed members to share their experiences. Accordingly, the purpose was to investigate the members understanding on how principles find expression in these organisational components. The gaps and limitations may be highlighted wherever they exist.

3.5.3 Documents

The premise of the study is that all parties have national structures and operate from the basis of their common constitutions. Therefore, the primary

documents for this study are the constitutions as adopted during the last conferences of parties. Secondly, organisational reports that were presented at the most recent national conferences were also used.. The policy documents and statements, relevant for the study also formed part of the study.

The coding of data emanating from the documents is presented in order to illuminate common features and differences from the political parties. The basic rules of coding as stated in Bryman (2012) include that of ensuring developing categories are complete and cover all possibilities (Bryman 2012: 248). Therefore, where applicable, tables were developed in order to simplify data that may be presented in an unstructured way. It should be noted that categories of data would also apply to the data derived from the focus group discussions and individual interviews.

There was minimal use of media reports and other documents that are not directly developed by the political parties. In the instance of using reports, only documents from the courts of law in South Africa were considered but only when they were judgments and were somehow referred to during the interviews or discussions.

3.5.4 Sample

According to Gravetter and Forzano (2015), a sample is defined as a cluster of individuals sharing the same characteristics selected from the population to represent the population in a research (Gravetter & Forzano, 2015: 138,143). The population on the other hand, refers to the collection of research components on the whole group of people interested and who have equal chances of partaking in a research (Creswell, 2013: 155-156). The researcher ensured that there are eight participants from each party classified as two individual leaders from each party and a focus group of between six and eight participants from each party. Both genders were represented in each of the focus groups.

3.5.5 Party Leaders

The researcher ensured that all three selected parties are part of the interviews, especially two party leaders from each organisation. There was a focus on leaders that are involved with party structures. Therefore, the study gave preference to relevant provincial leaders. There was no significance to the geographical location because the topic is over-arching.

This means interviews were conducted with six individual leaders. The leaders were approached on the basis of their role and experience on the issues to organisational machinery, including their tenure in the party.

An understanding of governance principles can be expressed comprehensively by targeting participants and respondents who are conversant with organisational processes. This does not discount the role of the general membership of selected political parties on governance of their organisations. Therefore, those who are currently in leadership of their parties are central participants. The former leaders with experience in these matters were considered if there was difficulty in securing current leaders. However, these former leaders should still be members of the parties relevant to the study.

3.5.6 Focus group participants

There was a minimum of six participants in a focus group of each political party. They were selected with the help of the party leadership or by the researcher alone. The preference was given to party leadership to indicate their assistance in selecting participants.

The focus group participants were convened at a central place agreed by all or at the offices of their parties. The venue allowed for uninterrupted discussions, as they could not be postponed once they had been started. The

participants were also asked for permission to voice-record the discussion. The discussions were allowed to go for at least one and half hours.

3.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS

The trustworthiness of qualitative research generally is often questioned by positivists, perhaps because their concepts of validity and reliability cannot be address in the same way in naturalistic research (Shenton, 2004: 244). According to Lincoln and Guba's model (1985), the following criteria: credibility, neutrality and transferability, should be taken into consideration by qualitative researchers in pursuit of trustworthy research (Guba & Lincoln, 1985: 170).

3.7 CREDIBILITY

According to Shenton (2004), one of the key requirements addressed by qualitative researchers is that of internal validity which ensures that their study tests or measures what it was intended to measure; this is referred as credibility. They believe that internal validity is based on the assumption that there is a single noticeable reality to be measured.

Internal validity in a qualitative study of this nature is typified by ensuring sources of information and data are diverse. Therefore, triangulation tools involved sources like official documentation of selected political parties, namely the constitutions, guidelines, reports. The study assumed a view that constitutions of political parties outline policy approaches to dealing with reality. Secondly, the reports of political parties facilitated a deeper understanding of how that reality has been experienced and constructed. These official sources are central to internal validity.

Internal validity was made stronger by interviewing leaders or executive members of party committees that are responsible for organisational machinery and members who are conversant with organisational matters. It was assumed that executive members of all parties

represent advanced component of party leadership, therefore any executive member of a party is eligible for participating in the study. However, the priority focused on those responsible for organisational machinery because of the specific focus of the study

External validity is minimal but an option existed whereby external reports from courts of law might have been relevant for the study. These should apply in instances where members are involved and issues relating to the study are relevant, namely governance of recruitment processes and policy formulation. Therefore, the general outlook of the parties might thereby be elaborated.

The ordinary members participating in focus group discussions were important to elicit concrete views about party governance practises. Members also enabled the study with deeper understanding on their experience with practices of their parties. The discussions and interviews explained how congruent official positions are with social reality.

3.8 NEUTRALITY

Neutrality refers to the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the participants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivation and perspectives (Christian *et al,* 2006: 400). Berg (2004) is of the view that in qualitative research, objectivity is the requirement of neutrality and is achieved through a proper distance between the researchers and subjects that minimises biases (Berg, 2004: 44).

In this study, the researcher maintained objectivity or value-free research, as it is the criteria for the scientific method in research by asking questions that address the governance principles.

3.9 TRANSFERABILITY

Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applicable to other situations (Shenton, 2004: 250). Creswell (2013) postulates that transferability is achieved when the findings of the study fit into contexts outside the study situation and when its audience views its findings as meaningful and applicable in terms of their own experiences (Creswell, 2013: 179).

3.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

It should be noted that the factors like changes in leadership are beyond the writers' control and therefore interviewees' profile are outlined so that information received cannot lose integrity. Generally, incumbents are prone to projecting a positive picture even in instances where such does not prevail.

The research is conducted when there is heightened activity because of local government elections, therefore this might have provided information that was more recent than capturing what prevails over a period of time. However, this may be moderated by official reports submitted by the political parties and those in the public arena.

3.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen and Walker (2013), ethical considerations are concerned with the protection of the rights and interests of research participants. These rights include the right to privacy, the right to confidentiality, the right to informed consent as well as the right to voluntary participation or not to be compelled to participate in the study (De Vos *et al*; 2011: 405). The researcher abided to ethics issues by employing the following measures:

- Consent was also administered to the participants prior the research study. The researcher gained access through the political parties' executive management's permission. In other words, the letter detailing the purpose of the research was sent to political parties.
- Advantages of the research study were explained to the participants. Participants were given an opportunity to withdraw from the study if they so wished.
- In terms of assuring anonymity and confidentiality, participants were not requested to write or give their names but rather participant numbers were used during filling of the open- ended questionnaires that were assigned to them during the study. The notes were utilised to ensure safety and confidentiality. When the report was completed, it would also be distributed to relevant parties as requested. It was optional for leaders who participate in the study to disclose their names
- Only the party names were disclosed and not the names of participants. The guiding questions were not used as the basis to disclose names of people in the focus groups.
- Therefore, it was only when participants give written permission that their names could be disclosed

Data collection should also be premised on the permission of political parties in order to maintain the highest levels of ethics, especially the permission from participants. The questions were presented in clear terms and were not used to trick the participants. The researcher is a member of the ruling party, the ANC and commits to being objective in conducting the study. The questions were probing ones and efforts were made to avoid expressing personal views. Records were kept safely and could be accessed on request. All findings were also communicated to the participants and feedback was permitted.

3.12 CONCLUSION

The methodological approach is articluated clearly with respect to its qualitative nature. Therefore, philosophical considerations are elaborated in manner that allows ease of reference and usage. In addition, the framework developed in this study is derived from existing literature though adapted to achieve goals of the investiagtion. As outlined, the framework is based on understanding the prevalence of governance principle when parties perform specific functions. There is acknowledgement of a range of many governance principles, hence the study focuses on participation, transparency and accountability. The reason for this specific and dedicated focus is based on manageability of the study. This section gives special attention to specific sources of data to allow for consistency in data collection. The significance and improtance of ethical approach are also expressed in clear terms.

4 CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the political parties in South Africa, namely the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Therefore, these three parties were selected to ensure manageability of the study in the light of time constraints. Secondly, these parties are selected on the basis of their participation in the parliament of South Africa.

The data collection is based on source documents, such as the constitutions of parties, resolutions and organisational reports at parties' elective and policy conferences. These source documents were central in highlighting and understanding how governance principles prevail in political parties, both at practical
and ideal level.

The interviews with all leaders of the parties were conducted. These interviews were based on guiding questions in order to ensure that there is a consistent focus. As indicated in the methodological section, the interviews were semi-structured to allow more discussion relating to seeking clarity. The focus groups' members of political parties were also conducted as required in the methodological section. These were also based on planned semi-structured questionnaires.

This section is intended to present data that is derived from source documents and interviews and data that is central for analysis. The basis for this presentation is to lay the foundation in terms of understanding official positions on governance principles in relation to selected functions. Thereafter, the interviews and focus group discussions facilitate

understanding and experiences of participants. This outline and structure is intended to retain the flow of logic, as enunciated in the literature review.

The central focus of the study is to assess governance principles and therefore, the presentation of data is aligned accordingly. Therefore, elucidation on functions mainly serves to ensure that the rigour of governance is focused and in line with the adopted framework of the study. It should be noted that; in practice, there are overlaps and in some instances, data presentation and analysis are handled separately. The narrative presentation of data is extensive though it is accompanied by tables to ensure elimination and minimisation of undue repetitions.

4.2 DATA SOURCES

The major documents that were scrutinised and analysed are the constitutions of all three parties and official reports. The focus has been on the functions of membership recruitment, policy formulation and organisational complexity. Therefore, this section highlights what is broadly covered by these documents and details are given attention when dealing with specific political parties relevant for this study.

The basic coding approach as outlined in Bryman (2012) has been used to ensure that data is presented in coherently. Therefore, the narrative reports are presented and at the end, there is categorisation, which is applicable to all parties. These tables reflect these categories and also serve as coding schedules; therefore these are not part of the annexures where they are presented as part of the data. These tables have been developed based on the data collected from all sources, namely party documents, interviews with leaders and focus group discussions.

4.3 CONSTITUTIONS

The constitutions are generally elaborate in their visions and objectives. In relation to membership recruitment, all constitutions of political parties are detailed on the members they wish to attract and the administration processes of joining the party. In this regard, there are dedicated chapters for membership in all party constitutions. These visions and missions corroborate the fact that political parties are voluntary associations that are premised on shared values and political attitudes (International IDEA, 2007: 7).

Table 4.1: Visions and Missions of parties

Themes from visions, mission and values of parties			
ANC	DA	UDM	EFF
National Democratic Revolution	Open Opportunity Society for All	Respect South African constitutional democracy	Economic Emancipation in Our Lifetime

The policy formulation function is unique because it is premised on understanding relevant structures, regularity of meetings and their purposes or objectives. On this basis, the area of organisational complexity is inherently given attention. Therefore, as principles of governance are outlined, whether in the narrative or table, the organisational structure relating to a specific function is also illuminated.

The section dealing with organisational complexity is mainly presented in table format. The reason for this approach is to eliminate repetitions, which may arise from the narrative. Political parties have unique structures, centralised and federal. Therefore, in order to accentuate and illuminate this uniqueness, organisational complexity is without specific focus on policy formulation. The data presented on organisational complexity is intended to illuminate governance principles.

4.4 REPORTS

The parties produce various reports and many of these are accessible through the Internet on the official websites. The researcher has been able to ascertain these official websites with the party structures and leaders. In fact, all constitutions are also on these websites and all the relevant parties have this technology platform. The reports that have been accessed are those relevant for the study. It was ascertained that in some instances, there are reports that are not for public consumption. In this case, the extent of relevant information withheld cannot be determined, except in an instance where membership statistics were not reported for ‘strategic reasons’.

4.5 INTERVIEWS

Interviews with each party were conducted and two provincial leaders participated separately. These interviews were conducted at different times because of availability and location of the participants. All interviews involved direct personal interaction with the researcher. Aspects that refer to inputs of participants in these interviews are references in line with parties, namely: ANC leader 1, ANC leader 2, DA leader 1 and DA leader 2, EFF leader 1 and EFF leader 2.

The participants are executive members in their parties. However they function at different levels, mainly provincial. In cases where a leader is at branch level, they also have a strong history of being provincial leaders of the party and being experienced on the topic for this study. In all the interviews, the researcher took notes and the participants were allowed to confirm if the notes reflected their views. This was also done through sending the notes to participants in order to correct where relevant. It should be noted that in all the interviews, the leaders did not agree to be recorded on tape and hence this approach of ensuring that notes are checked.

4.6 FOCUS GROUPS

The issues that refer to focus groups are referenced in line with their parties, namely ANC focus group, DA focus group, EFF focus group. However, similar issues expressed by all interviews and focus groups are referenced as 'Interviews & Discussions'.

The focus groups for all parties were conducted and all of them had six participants. Generally, the participants are ordinary members, but have significant history in the party. They were leaders in the party and others were public representatives in government, especially local government. The participants remain active in the party.

The focus group discussions were recorded through notes of the researcher and on tape. Participants had no problem with these types of recordings. In some cases, the leaders recommended participants in the focus groups. Therefore, both the researcher and the leaders chose participants. This helped with regard to time and ensured that relevant people took part in this study.

4.7 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The functions are outlined and elaborated in the constitutions of parties. The reports provide more information on the implementation of these functions. The interviews and the focus group discussions are explicit in outlining the views of the members and leaders on the governance principles. Therefore, this section presents all the relevant data from each party as outlined in the earlier section.

The study is about the rigour of governance, therefore elaborate data gives attention to principles of governance. The literature has adequately explained the functions of parties, especially those relevant for the study. Therefore, a broad outline of functions that is applicable to parties is presented. However, governance principles are attended to comprehensively for each party.

4.7.1 Membership Recruitment

It should be noted that in all constitutions of parties, recruitment is presented as voluntary action. This notion of voluntary joining does not disregard the fact that parties do engage in various programmes to recruit members. In the focus group discussion, it was clear that parties embark on door-to-door campaigns and target the public areas to recruit members This recruitment also involves promoting the policies of the political parties.

The constitutions of the parties were clear in articulating the importance of recruiting members. Equally, the focus groups were also very explicit in discussing the importance of recruiting members. The importance of recruiting has further affirmed Scarrow (1994), which outlines the mutual benefits derived by the party and its members. In these discussions, there is strong reference to 'growing the party', performing party duties and platforms to groom leadership. Table 4.2 presents the discussions relating to the importance of recruitment, as articulated in the groups and leaders' interviews.

Table 4.2: Importance of membership recruitment

ANC	DA	EFF
For sustainability and change of leadership through elections To sustain democracy that is based on the people More members also means electoral success Members are able to influence policies directly Certainty of our (ANC) strength To renew mandates	To grow the organisation To hold the ruling party accountable To pursue dreams of the party Platform to grow leaders There are programmes to develop leaders/grooming	To strengthen the Party - need more people to gain popularity To grow the party - human capital To gather numbers that will perform party work To ensure that people are not just consumers To conscientise people
		To validate and legitimise decisions of the party To acquire power

Gibson *et al* (1983) indicates that the adopted tasks that are associated with the main functions facilitate an understanding of the structure, bureaucracy, efficiencies in place and division of labour (Gibson et al, 1983: 197). The data collected from all sources of political parties indicate that the function of recruitment involves a number of tasks performed by various people and structures. Flowing from the data sources, especially the constitution of parties, these tasks are presented in narrative and table format. The table relating to membership recruitment focuses on the key tasks, structures responsible and how governance principles prevail. The table can also be regarded as a summary of data presented and seeks to align to the framework of the study. The example of the table template is as follows:

Table 4.3: Membership Recruitment

Key recruitment tasks	Responsible Structure/Person	Role of the structure	Accountability	Transparency
Campaigns	Members	Recruit through policy promotion	Submit form to the Branch Secretary	Manual signing of form.

4.7.2 Policy formulation

This function is mainly expressed as a process. Therefore, it follows that structures that are directly involved in policies should be highlighted, especially their role in the policy process. This is also in line with Gibson *et al* (1983) because it illuminates segregation of duties and understanding, what Gibson *et al* (1983*)* call 'division of labour'. All focus groups made reference to the structures that are involved in policy formulation and they also outlined the bottom-up and top-down configurations (Interviews & Discussions). Similarly, a table template is used to illuminate these aspects but is preceded by a narrative presentation of collected data.

Table 4.4: Policy formulation

Policy Platform	Who Participates?	Period	Accountability
Branch General Meeting	All members	Monthly	Discuss and submit policy proposals to higher structures

4.7.3 Organisational complexity

As indicated earlier, organisational complexity is overarching and therefore it is considered as governance principles relating to functions that are elaborated. This means that organisational structure is explained in relation to functions relevant to the study. Once more, data for each party is presented separately and only in some parts of the analysis sections are parties treated simultaneously. However, the main section that deals with organisational complexity is presented in table format because the narrative version would have been treated in the area that focuses on functions and governance principles. Various tables are therefore presented in this section.

4.8 THE ANC: FUNCTIONS AND GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

This section focuses on data collected from relevant sources of the ANC, namely the constitution and reports of the party, interviews and group focus discussions. The areas that are relevant for the research are mainly highlighted in this section.

All parties, except for a partial response from the ANC, did not answer question 11 on the interviews with leaders. The ANC only answered a follow up question, which needed an explanation on the rating. The explanation was almost similar because it made strong reference to top-down decision making and democratic centralism (ANC Leader 1 & 2). The reason answering is generally that there is always room for improvement. However, the membership rates governance principles of the party as moderate because of lack of implementation and poor activism (ANC Focus group, 2016).

4.8.1 Membership recruitment

In Rule 2 of it's the constitution, the ANC outlines its aims and objectives and commits itself "To unite all the people of South Africa" (ANC constitution 2012: 5). Most importantly, Rule 4 of the ANC constitution is more elaborate on the management and administration of membership. Rule 4 further outlines the values that should be espoused by prospective members, the importance of gender representativity, the age of joining the party and the structures responsible for approval of membership (*ibid*).

In Rule 4, the administration of membership recruitment is activated from the point of joining to full membership registration. In this constitutional section, membership is phased-in because a new member becomes provisional and it is after six months that full membership is acquired (ANC constitution 2012: 5-6). Table 4.5 outlines how key tasks and responsibilities that are performed to ensure successful recruitment.

4.8.2 Accountability

Gaventa (2002) indicates that organisations that are responsive use specific structures to perform their functions (Gaventa 2002: 1). In this regard, accountability is illuminated through constitutional structures that are involved in performing the function of recruitment. Most importantly, the constitution confers authority in different ways to these structures. For example; the Branch Secretary accepts the application forms and presents them to Branch Executive Committee, the BEC and the role of the national executive in deciding on approving membership is optional "...the NEC may...from time to time decide on applications, may accepts or refuse any application for membership..." (ANC constitution 2012: 5). The Branch Executive Committees - BECs - have the responsibility of reporting new members to the Branch General Meetings and should allow members to express their views in relation to accepting or rejecting the members (ANC constitution, 2012:7).

The membership audits are generally conducted towards conferences, Bi-Annual General Meetings for branches, Regional, Provincial and national conferences (Focus group, 6 January 2016; ANC organisational report 2012:39). This is an area where accountability fails because names of members can disappear without any explanation and hence gate-keeping that is aimed at influencing political decisions (ANC focus group; ANC organisational report 2012:39).

Another limitation on accountability that is expressed in the party reports relates to the delays in membership cards (ANC Focus group, 2016; ANC organisational report 2012: 40). This limitation, according to the focus group remains despite the many party resolutions on improving the membership system and investing in technology (ANC organisational report 2012:40). The reports and participants highlighted that these challenges of delaying membership cards

are more political than technical, hence the strong reference to gate-keeping in both the reports and group discussions (ANC Focus group, 2016; ANC organisational report 2012: 40).

4.8.3 Participation

In Rule 4, provisional members participate in structures and programmes of the party without voting rights (ANC constitution 2012: 6). However, the participation of members in organisational programmes is stated in generic terms and it is accentuated in Rule 5 of the constitution, which deals with Rights and Duties of members (ANC constitution 2012: 7).

The focus group discussions and reports make reference to membership 'gate-keeping' (ANC Focus Group, 2016; Organisational report 2012: 38). The reports explain 'gate-keeping' as deliberate exclusion of certain members in party processes in order to achieve certain political objectives and characterise gate-keeping as a political tendency (Organisational report 2012:38). However, the discussions asserted that all members of the party are allowed to recruit and report new recruits to the branch leadership despite the challenges of gate-keeping (ANC Focus Group, 2016).

In response to Q3 (*Why is recruitment of membership important to your political party?)*, the views of participants coalesced around the significance of recruitment in the party being to sustain democratic participation, creating certainty in the body politic of the country and growing the popularity of the party numerically and in terms of policies (ANC Focus Group, 2016).

4.8.4 Transparency

Once more, Rule 4 is explicit in stating that; the general membership is allowed to accept or reject new members and that the new members can also appeal to higher structures (ANC constitution 2012: 6). Therefore, the

administrative aspects of transparency are translated into political responsibility of general membership. In the case of membership being rejected, the constitution requires that the Secretary General should give the affected members reasons in writing (ANC Constitution, 2012: 6).

The focus group participants agree that the recruitment process of the party is riddled with many fraudulent activities, which hamper its ability to be transparent (ANC Focus group, 2016). The fraudulent activities find expression in the poor management of expiry dates for members by the Branch Executive Committees, which impact on renewal of membership (ANC Focus group, 2016). The group also indicated that these are not problems of capacity but also a dominance of factions in the party (ANC Focus group, 2016). This is also corroborated in the resolutions of 2012, which pronounced on the political nature of gate-keeping in the ANC, which avails no information on the membership status of people deliberately (ANC resolution 2012).

Membership audits only focus on creating registers for branches to enable them to convene elective meetings (ANC Focus group, 2016). However, the participants indicated that powerful factions in the party manipulate membership registers (ANC Focus group, 2016). In the context of these limitations, membership audits are used to marginalise and exclude other members from party activities (ANC Focus group, 2016: ANC organisational report 2012: 39).

In the court case of Ramakatsa against Magashule and others, the Constitutional Court found that the ANC's National Executive Committee acted in a manner that hindered participation of members in the party by failing to deal with reported irregularities on audit processes (Constitutional Court case CCT109/12/2012: 27). The majority judgment found the irregularities to be a disturbing feature in South African body politic because party constitutions are important to facilitate and regulate participation by members in the activities of a political party (Constitutional Court case CCT109/12/2012: 27).

Table 4.5: ANC Membership Recruitment

Key recruitment tasks	Responsible Structure/Person	Role of the structure	Accountability	Transparency
Campaigns	Members	Recruit through policy promotion	Submit form to the Branch Secretary	Manual signing of form.
Signing forms	New recruit	Pay subscription. Sign declaration and pledge	Submit forms to branch	Register online. Payment made at the bank
Screening	Members and leaders at all levels.	Induction of new members.	New recruits introduced to all members by the BEC	Information made public at the Branch General Meeting
Approval	Branch/local structures	Invite members to party activities and meetings.		
Rejection	Members and leaders	Give reasons to rejected recruits.	Only valid reasons should be accepted	Members can openly reject the new recruit
Appeal	Higher structures	Review or sustain the rejection	Inform lower structures and the affected member of their decision	New recruit also allowed to make presentations to higher structures

Printing of cards	National office	Auditing and Data capturing. Issuing of cards to relevant provinces	Regions report members to higher structures, which later print cards and distribute them	No time lines

4.8.5 Policy formulation

This area is articulated broadly because there is no specific section dedicated to policy formulation in the ANC constitution. However, Rule 2, which deals with Aims and Objectives of the party, is the starting point to understand the policy inclinations of the ANC (ANC constitution 2012: 5). For example in Rule 2.6, the constitution stipulates the aims and objectives of the ANC being “To promote economic development for the benefit of all...” (ANC constitution, 2012: 5).

4.8.6 Accountability

Specific reference to accountability and policies is articulated in Rule 3.2, stating that; the ANC “...policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to its membership in terms of the procedures laid down in this constitution” (ANC constitution 2012: 5). The procedures laid down by the constitution in relation to policy formulation include but are not limited to Rule 11.1, which clearly states that the National Conference has the duty to “ Decide and determine policy, programmes and the Constitution of the ANC” (ANC constitution 2012: 9).

Rule 16.1.1 of the constitution of the ANC specifically stipulates that the President of the party is responsible for explaining the policy of the party. All these functions are performed under the supervision of the NEC. However,

Rule16.4.1 goes further to indicate that the National Chairperson of the ANC is the custodian of adopted policies.

It is important to note that other structures at all levels, namely BGMs, RGCs, PGCs and NGCs are also part of the policy process hierarchy, but always stipulated in general terms in the constitution. It should be noted that members in the focus groups also referred to these structures as platforms to discuss policy (ANC Focus group, 2016). At a higher level, there is a policy conference that is convened six months before the national elective conference and discussion documents are distributed to branches for inputs in advance (ANC constitution, 2012: 10). There is also the National General Council that is convened mid-term of the National Executive Committee, which considers the progress on policy and other matters (ANC constitution, 2012: 9). However, the National Conference, that is convened every five-years adopts and reviews policies (ANC constitution, 2012: 10).

The focus group decried lack of implementation of policies, especially by public representatives and lack of decisiveness of the part of ANC leadership (ANC Focus group). The lack of organisational capacity at regional and branch level shows poor monitoring and evaluation and thus impacts negatively on accountability (ANC Focus group, 2016).

4.8.7 Transparency

Discussion documents are distributed to all structures in advance to allow for inputs from all members of the party. The members decry the quality of debates at the branch meetings, regional councils and provinces because of limited time, resulting in rushed policy discussions (ANC Focus group, 2016). This concern alludes to the fact that the branches do not always discuss policy matters extensively, whereas higher structures are in a better position to do so (ANC Focus group, 2016).

4.8.8 Participation

The National Policy Conferences, National General Councils and the National Conferences enunciate participation in the policy process of the ANC. This is accentuated by the diverse involvement and participation of organisational structures and Alliance partners of the ANC, namely, the branches of the party, ANC Veterans, Youth and Women's Leagues, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party (ANC constitution, 2012: 8).

The other ways used by the ANC to involve the public in policy processes include the hotline to engage the public in drafting of manifesto during elections (ANC Focus group, 2016, ANC Leaders 1 & 2). There are also listening campaigns during local government campaigns, which are intended to help the ANC in improving its policies (ANC Focus group, 2016).

The policy process of the ANC also involves the participation of structures of the ANC and Alliance partners through strategic meetings called Makgotla and summits (ANC organisational report 2012:57). These meetings deal with policies relating to governance and finding co-ordination and agreements on policy matters (ANC organisational report 2012:57-60).

The participants indicated that rushed discussions also contribute to limited and selective participation of members in the policy process (ANC Focus group, 2016). Reference was also made to dominant factions that disregard important views from the general membership, thus resulting in weak policies (ANC Focus group, 2016). In the same vein, the participants were agreeable insofar as the principle of democratic centralism is concerned, which they explain as ensuring that lower structures carry out their duties under the supervision and guidance of higher structures (ANC Focus group, 2016). This is regarded as a sign that efforts are made to ensure that every member participates in the policy process (ANC Focus group, 2016).

Table 4.6: ANC Policy formulation

Policy Platform	Who Participates?	Period	Accountability
BGM	All members	Monthly	Discuss and submit policy proposals to higher structures
Provincial and Regional conferences	Branch delegates and partners at this level	Once every 4 years and 3 years, respectively	Promote, discuss and implement policy
NGC	Branch delegates	Once every five years	Assess policy implementation
National Policy conference	Branch delegates and partners as national level	Once every five years	Discuss new policy and recommendations to national conference
National Conference	Branch delegates and partners as national level	Once every five years	Adopts policy
PEC/REC	PEC and REC members	On-going basis	Implement policies
National Executive Committee (NEC)	NEC members	Once every five years	Convene policy conference
President	Articulates policy in public platforms	On-going basis	Accounts to the NEC
National Chairperson	In all meetings of the NEC and conferences	On-going basis	Accounts to the NEC

4.9 THE DA: FUNCTIONS AND GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

This section focuses on data collected from relevant sources of the DA, namely the constitution and reports of the party, interviews and group focus discussions. The areas that are relevant for the research are mainly highlighted in this section.

4.9.1 Membership recruitment

The DA stipulates that the basis of recruitment is to attract people who are loyal to the South African constitution and who share their vision of 'Open Opportunity Society for all' (DA constitution, 2015:10). Therefore, the organisational structure and policy process should be anchored in the narrative of constitutionalism that posits freedom of choice and access.

4.9.2 Participation

In the DA, it is mandatory for those who join the party at the age between sixteen and thirty-five should belong to the youth structures of the party (DA constitution, 2015:22). The party insists on accepting members that do not belong to other parties. However, the constitution makes provision for allowing dual participation provided that is sanctioned by the Federal Executive (DA constitution, 2015: 26).

The participation of members starts thirty days after the payment of the subscription fee (DA constitution, 2015: 23). Once people have been declared members, they can participate fully and serve in the structures of the party and they can also be public representatives of the party (DA constitution, 2015: 29).

The participants in the group indicated that whilst leaders and staff generally control membership books, during the campaigns ordinary members access the books especially when new recruits have to be signed (DA focus group, 2016). The form on the book is in triplicate, one receipt is for the new recruit and it is also proof of payment, the second copy is for the province and the third one is for national office. The group also indicated that, those who join and pay are given membership immediately (DA Focus Group, 2016).

The participants in the focus group were always made reference to explaining their policies to people they are recruiting to join the party (DA Focus group, 2016). They further indicated that their office gives members support, especially those who will be taking part in the recruitment campaigns. During the campaigns, there are always info-tables to ensure that people are properly informed. There are also door-to-door campaigns (DA Focus group).

The signing of the Anti-Racism pledge is taken seriously and all participants made strong reference to this (DA Leader 1; DA Focus group, 2016). In the interviews, this is explained as a new development that is aimed at demonstrating that participation in the party is diverse and that the party has earnestly embarked on a journey to rid itself of being a white only party (DA Leader 1).

In response to Q10 (*Can you give your view on how does the growth/decline in membership affects the principles of governance?),* the interviews indicate that the growing participation in the party involves various sectors in the party, for example people who advocate for gay rights and those who advocate environmental issues (DA Leader 1). The party regards this kind of participation as enriching diversity and growth of the party in many respects (DA Leader 1 & 2).

There is a drive to recruit members from the ruling party – ANC - in order to counter perceptions about the DA being a white party (Interview A, 24 January 2016). The participant was unequivocal that the DA recruits in a manner that seeks to unseat the ruling ANC and become the governing party (DA Leader 2).

The interviews also outlined a campaign to search for young and talented people (DA Leader 2). The interview response to Q7 (*How do functions of membership recruitment and policy formulation promote accountability?*)

indicates that part of the process is to ensure that those recruited for leadership positions should make presentations on why they join the party (DA Leader 2). This induction takes place in the form of workshops and is conducted by the Constituency Officer and the Political Head (DA Leader 2).

4.9.3 Accountability

The constitution requires that members should belong and participate in the branch where they reside. However, members may choose to belong to a different branch provided they show good cause to the Provincial Executive Committee. Interviews with DA leaders showed that new recruits are expected to sign affidavits to confirm that they do not belong to other parties (DA Leader 1).

The focus group participants indicated that the constituency offices are central to the programmes of their party. There are membership books for recruitment purposes and only leaders of the party in the province, Constituency Head, approved candidates, staff and public representatives, especially councillors have access to them (DA Leader 1; DA focus group, 2016). However, ordinary members can report new recruits to people with membership books. The Provincial Office is charged with the responsibility to report on progress of membership recruitment (DA Leader 1). The purpose for limiting access to membership books is the need to avoid and minimise fraud (DA Leader 1).

The membership audits are a critical part of monitoring the integrity of the existing membership system and therefore need to be conducted on a regular basis. The audit takes place on the 31st March of every year and is linked to reconciliation of finances (DA constitution, 2015; DA Leader 1). The national office sends weekly notices on new recruits to provinces and later the province sends the information to the branches to update their registers (DA Leader 1).

The interviews also demonstrated that accountability is experienced when is

strategic planning take place under the leadership of Provincial Leader, Managing Director, Field Manager who is responsible for overseeing the operations constituency (DA Leader 1 & 2). These sessions are also capable of providing interventions like, increasing budget allocations for constituencies where recruitment is under-performing, increasing activities like door-to-door to improve contact with ordinary people (DA Leader 1 & 2). These activities are reviewed on a quarterly basis (DA Leader 2**).**

4.9.4 Transparency

Membership recruitment is conducted in different platforms, namely online and manually. This means people can access application forms online or get the forms from another member to join manually. As indicated earlier, there are membership books that are only accessed by specific people, namely, the staff, the office bearer, approved candidates and councillors. Whilst general members are allowed to recruit, they have to report their new recruits to those with membership books.

The participants in the group highlighted that the DA adheres to its policy of 'Opportunities for All' and emphasised that the appointments are made on merit. They further indicated that there are various panels that interview people for various opportunities and generally feel that successful candidates are always chosen amongst the best.

The subscription fees are public and determined by the Federal Council. The process of subscription fees is linked to accepting members and signing application forms.

Table 4.7: DA Membership Recruitment

Key recruitment tasks	Responsible Structure/Person	Role of the structure	Accountability	Transparency
Campaigns	Members and leaders. Head of constituency. Public representatives	Recruit through policy promotion. Head of constituency issue membership books to public representatives	Member report new recruits to public representatives	Manual signing of form.
Signing forms	New recruit	Pay subscription. Sign pledge against racism	Submit forms to the provincial office or public representative	Register online. Payment made at the bank
Screening	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable
Approval	Branches and can join at the provincial office	To register and sign new members	Province should submit details of new recruits to the branch. Weekly reports to structures	Acquire full membership after 30 days
Rejection	Executive of the constituency, Regional and provincial executive	Reject new recruit within 15, 30 days of payment of subscription fee, respectively.	There are time limits within which to reject a members	

Appeal	Higher structures	Review or sustain the rejection	Inform lower structures and the affected member of their decision	New recruit also allowed to make presentations to higher structures within
				five days of receiving information.
Printing of cards	Constituency offices and members	Give membership cards after paying and sign forms immediately	Immediate printing of cards	Cards are given immediately and they are part of the membership form

4.9.5 Policy formulation

Similarly, the DA has adopted a policy process that cuts across all structures. Therefore in this section, the primary document is the constitution, reports, interviews and focus group discussions.

4.9.6 Participation

The active role of members in policy process of the DA is enunciated in a manner that outlines how participation in the process is set in motion:

> *In years when no Federal Congress is held, the Federal Council must invite provinces and regions to submit resolutions concerning policy, ...for consideration and decision by the Federal Council but those decisions may not repeal or alter this Constitution (DA constitution, 2015: 47).*

However, the leader of the party is also central to interpreting policy and

making policy pronouncements when Congress, Council and Executive Committee are not in session (DA constitution, 2015:52).

The public representatives are more active in the area of policy formulation, especially with regards to service delivery policies (Interview B, 9 February 2016). The process involves making submissions to national office for consideration by the national executive, thereafter the party can take a stand on the matter and share the submission with other structures throughout the country (Interview B, 9 February 2016). Therefore, there are policy positions that are developed in the process of public representatives doing their work (Interview B, 9 February 2016).

The other structures, like the Constituency Committee, are central in helping public representatives in implementing the policies of the party (DA constitution, 2015: 36). The branches play an important role in communicating the policies of the party to the members (DA constitution, 2015: 29). The participants in the group discussion highlighted the central role of Constituency offices in convening members to meetings to discuss policy proposals to and from high structures (DA focus group, 2016).

The Federal Chairpersons and Spokespersons for the committees are responsible for receiving policy resolutions from provinces fourteen days before the Federal Council sits (DA constitution, 2015: 47). Participation in the policy process is under the custodianship of the Chairperson of the Federal Council that is convened regularly to ensure that structures and leaders take an active part (DA constitution, 2015: 52).

4.9.7 Accountability

The Federal Congress is the highest decision-making body whereas Federal Council becomes the highest decision-making body when congress is not in session (DA constitution, 2015:16). Therefore, this level of the organisation makes amendments and repeal of policies take place (DA constitution,

2015:16).

The DA constituencies are central to the implementation of policies because they support the public representatives in this regard (DA constitution 2015:36). The Spokespersons oversee the policy formulation by caucuses and integration of party policies into parliamentary programmes (DA constitution, 2015:59).

4.9.8 Transparency

The structures of the DA are allowed to meet on a regular basis to consider various reports, including the election of leaders and hence the Federal Council must convene the Congress every three years (DA constitution, 2015:42). Representation at this Congress is elaborately stated as follows: Members of Parliament and Legislatures, Local government Councillors and the 35% of delegates from the branches (DA constitution, 2015:42).

Representation of public representatives at congresses is also aligned to the votes that were received during the elections - national and local (DA constitution, 2015:42). This means representation at congress is open to scrutiny and can be predicted (DA constitution, 2015:42).

The deadlines for submissions of policy proposals are an open matter and therefore should be received by national leadership, in particular the Federal Chairperson, all members of the Federal Council and Parliament appointed as national spokesperson for the portfolio (DA constitution, 2015: 42).

Table 4.8: DA policy formulation

Policy Platforms	Who Participates?	Period	Accountability
Federal Congress	Delegates from branches, public representatives - Members of parliament and legislators	Once every 3 years	Supreme policy Making body
Federal Council	Elected members; provinces and regions	When Federal Congress is not in session. Three times a year	Invites regions and provinces to submit policy proposals.
Leader of the party		Regularly when Federal congress and Council are not	Interprets and makes policy. Spokesperson of the
		in session	party Reports to the Federal Council
Federal Chairperson		14 days before Federal Council	Co-ordination and alignment of policy. Receive policy resolutions from other structures. Performs his duties in consultation with Leader of the party
Constituency Committee	Public representatives		Ensure implementation of policy
Public Representatives	Councillors, members of Parliament and Legislators		Submit proposals to federal Chairperson and constituency offices

Provincial Congress	Delegates, public representatives		Adopt policies within their competency
Branches	Members and public representatives		Communicate principles and policies of the party
Members	All		Make submissions to constituencies and provincial offices

4.10 THE EFF: FUNCTIONS AND GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

This section focuses on data collected from relevant sources of the EFF, namely the constitution and reports of the party, interviews and group focus discussions. The areas that are relevant for the research are mainly highlighted in this section.

4.10.1Membership recruitment

The EFF defines itself as a militant and radical party, which advances Marxist-Leninist and Fanonian philosophies (EFF constitution, 2015:1). The party also asserts its pre-occupation with economic emancipation and revolutionary means of taking power (EFF constitution, 2015:1). Therefore, process and content of policy should affirm the expressed strategic outlook and should be evinced in the loyalty and vigilance of members to the aims, objectives, principles and policies (EFF constitution, 2015:2).

4.10.2Participation

The members recruited for EFF should be 18 years and above and should pay the full subscription fee. The participation in the EFF is open to the general public but a strong bias towards workers and peasants is highly recommended, (EFFconstitution, 2015 *s4.1).*

The Branch General People's Assembly is a normal meeting of members where they participate in discussions of the affairs of the party on a quarterly basis. The Branch Command Team – BCT - of the EFF is established when there are a hundred registered members and all members should participate and belong to a branch. Participation of members is elaborated in the party declaration, which new members sign upon joining and it states that, members:

> *...will participate in the life of the Economic Freedom Fighters to strive towards total emancipation of South Africa...further declare to defend the proud and militant legacy of the fallen heroines and heroes ..... Defend the African revolutionary tradition against all forms of tendencies that promote hatred, division, underdevelopment, corruption and social discords... (EFF constitution, 2015:6)*

The participation of members in the structures of the EFF should be underscored by strong observance of the policies and decisions of higher structures (EFF constitution, 2015:6). This is affirmed in the duties and rights of members (EFF constitution, 2015:6).

The basis for participation in the EFF is strong activism, which should find expression in the battle of ideas. These should embrace collective engagement and decision-making, especially with regard to matters of development (EFF constitution, 2015:7). It is in this context that the constitution of the EFF accentuates the central task of the structures to include "...To take in new EFF members, enforce discipline, constantly consolidate the EFF membership strength and to get rid of the rot and take in new energy so as to maintain the purity of the organisation's ranks." (EFF constitution, 2015:18). Participants indicated that recuitment is conducted in a 'traditional way'. When asked to explain this 'traditional way'; they explain that it about going out and explaining the policies of the party to people and making them fill in application forms. Participants outlined programmes that are aimed at recruiting new members as that of target highly congested area in towns and

where the party is weak. The have ‘Red Friday’ to recruit members to the party. Lists of members recruited are later send to relevant areas or branches (EFF focus group, 2016).

4.10.3Accountability

All parties in the study give special attention to management of membership recruitment and maintenance of registers. Management of membership involves membership acceptance and membership audits. It is therefore important to understand the platforms of accountability in relation to the specified functions.

The members that join the party are required to have absolute loyalty and they are also not expected to participate in the activities of other parties. Most importantly, section 4(2) of the EFF constitution requires that; “All members shall comply with the provisions of this Constitution as well as with the Aims, Objectives, Principles and Policies of the EFF, and shall sign the

> *“...declaration, which shall be in each membership form...” (EFF constitution, 2014:4).*

The party is committed to putting in place an efficient membership system (EFF resolutions, 2014:4). During the interview, the importance of recruitment was outlined as maintaining the relevance of the party, keeping the party closer to the communities and ensuring that the party is visible to both members and the communities (Interview C, 9 December 2015).

When membership forms have been approved, it takes a period of three months to distribute the membership cards (Interview C, 9 December 2015). Administration of membership is important because members always have copies of payment, which could be used as evidence during the audit of membership (Interview C, 9 December 2015).

The resolutions of the party noted the recruitment success in the short period since its formation (EFF resolutions 2014:4). However, the resolutions decried the fact that membership forms were still not availed in time and the tendency for branches with membership of more than 100 to only submit hundred members for audit in order to manage attendance at conference (EFF resolutions 2014:4).

Many members of the party were not properly inducted on the values and policies of the party conference (EFF resolutions 2014:4). The drive for induction, therefore, ensures that there are strong 'leadership cores' (EFF resolutions 2014:4).

The party resolved to establish a youth command structure at all levels at the party conference (EFF resolutions 2014:5). It was also resolved that members for this structure shall be recruited from the age of 14 to 35 years (EFF resolutions 2014:5). Other structures to be established are the student command that recruits young intelligentsia and the Women's Command structure (EFF resolutions 2014: 6).

4.10.4Transparency

The approach is to understand who is involved in the structures of accountability in order to understand the level of transparency. Therefore, openness to scrutiny is the focus of transparency.

The members are required to consult with the masses in order to ensure that they have a better understanding of their reality (EFF constitution, 2014:7). Internally, it is expected that members will be able to provide constructive criticism (EFF constitution, 2014: 8). Transparency is rated high by participants in the focus group and they indicate it is because everything thing is done with the full knowledge of the members (EFF Focus group, 2016).

The period leading to the National People's Assembly experienced a tendency that saw branches with membership of more than 100 failing to

disclose new members for audit (EFF resolutions 2014:4). This was aimed at managing the quorum for Branch General Assemblies that were electing delegates to conferences (EFF resolutions 2014:4).

Table 4.9: EFF Membership Recruitment

Key recruitment tasks	Responsible Structure/Person	Role of the structure	Accountability	Transparency
Campaigns	Members and leaders. Head of constituency. Public representatives	Recruit through policy promotion. Campaigns target highly populated public areas	Report recruited members to branches	All members participate in recruitment
Signing forms	New recruit	Pay	Submit forms to	Register online.
		subscription. Membership declaration	the branch Secretary	Payment made at the bank
Screening	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable
Approval	Branches	To register and sign new members		
Rejection	Not applicable			
Appeal	Not applicable			
Card Printing	Province and Central Command	Audit and data capturing	Reports submitted to lower structures. Cards printed within 3 months of joining	Auditreports submitted to lower structures

4.10.5Policy formulation

This function gives attention to how the party approaches the process of policy-making. The idea is not to focus on specific policies but the general policy process. However, specific cases only serve to illuminate specific features of the process. All the parties in this study claim that their processes are bottom up, meaning they involve all their members in the processes of policy-making. These claims are pervasive in the parties‘ constitutions where participation is punctuated by direct and proportional representation. This is further affirmed in their constitutions and interviews with the leaders (Interview C, 19 December 2015).

4.10.6Participation

The participation in policy process in the EEF is underscored by strong ideological inclinations of Marxism, Leninist and Fanonian philosophy, which should be internalised by all members (EFF constitution, 2014:2). This entry to policy approach is set as the basic level of political consciousness and how the world should be interpreted (EFF constitution, 2014:2). The party members take part in the National People’s Assembly - NPA, which is the highest decision making body and adopts all policies of the EFF (EFF constitution 2014:11). It should be noted that participation by branch members is through elected delegates to the NPA (EFF constitution 2014:11).

Currently, the EFF has adopted radical policies; as a result they have also adopted a policy to lobby the strong support of lawyers (EFF resolutions, 2014: 6). Equally, there is acknowledgement of the need to improve capacity of policy implementation, hence the drive for ideological training and recruitment of relevant professionals (EFF resolutions, 2014: 6). The focus group participants also indicated that some of their policies are controversial but resonant with the general public (EFF focus group, 2016). There was also indication that relevance of some policies to local issues is limited because of

‘democratic centralism gives to command’ (EFF focus group, 2016).

The policy process is based on ensuring consultation with members and the public in order to get a ‘buy-in’ and relevance of the party with regard to ‘economic freedom in our lifetime’ narrative (Interview C, 9 December 2015). The Chair of committees (Commissar) initiates drafts discussion papers for all structures (Interview C, 9 December 2015). This is followed by policy workshops at provincial and national level (Interview C, 9 December 2015). The People’s Assemblies at both regional and provincial level are also platforms for consolidation of policy discussions (Interview C, 9 December 2015).

In the light of various radical economic campaigns and the perceived hostility by the incumbent party, the EFF resolved at the National People’s Assembly to mobilise various sectors of society (EFF resolutions, 2014: 7). These sectors would be
encouraged to participate in ‘Jobs for all’ campaigns and the following sectors were also identified, namely, the progressive trade union movement, the professional young middle class, the non-monopoly capital and society in general to advance the seven cardinal pillars (EFF resolutions, 2014: 6).

The 1st National People’s Assembly indicated that participation of branches in
policy formulation would also serve to make communities aware of adopted policy positions (EFF resolutions, 2014: 58). Therefore, the Branch Command Teams – BCT - are locally elected structures, which are expected to convene workshops and conduct political education training to conscientise society around the centrality of the economy in a democracy (EFF resolutions, 2014: 58).

4.10.7Accountability

The principle of democratic centralism guides the EFF and requires that all structures should be accountable to the National People’s Assembly (EFF

constitution, 2014:4)**.** Group participants further expressed views around the fact that participation is guided on commands and hence democratic centralism. The participants rate participation in the party very high because majority of members take part in organisational programmes (EFF focus group, 2016). In the light of the democratic centralism, the regular General People's Assemblies at various levels are structures on accountability on any matter including membership recruitment (EFF constitution, 2014:8).

The platforms for accountability are illustrated in the organisational structure of the party, namely the National People's Assembly, Central Command Team and other structures (EFF constitution, 2014:11). Accountability also applies to members because they also have the duty "To observe and respect the Policies, Resolutions, Decisions of the National People's Assembly, Central Command Team, all constitutional structures and the Rules and Regulations of the EFF." (EFF constitution, 2014:5).

The focus group also made strong reference to Plenums, which are meetings convened to discuss policy issues. In these Plenums, the programme includes writing of tests for leaders. These tests are intended to assess the understanding of leaders on party policies (EFF Focus groups, 2016).

Accountability is accentuated by regular meetings and periodic platforms where reports are presented, and views from outside the organisation are also discussed (EFF constitution, 2014:8). This involves the right of members to express their views on any position constructively and directly engage national office, especially the Commander in Chief (EFF constitution, 2014:8). The focus group participants approved of democratic centralism but also decried the fact that higher structures do not account properly to lower structures, especially the CCT.

The Central Command Team (CCT) directs the implementation of EFF policies and makes policy pronouncements through the political head of the party, who is the President and Commander in Chief (EFF constitution, 2014:13). Accordingly, the Commander in Chief should also account by way of reporting to the National

People's Assembly when he presents a comprehensive statement of the state of the country, continent and the political situation internationally (EFF constitution, 2014:13).

4.10.8Transparency

The regular meetings also express levels of transparency because various sectors and constituencies play an active role. Therefore, the level of openness is enhanced through integrating opinions from internal members and the general public (Interview C, December 2015; EFF constitution, 2014:17). The level of scrutiny also involves proper supervision from structures of the party and the public (EFF constitution, 2014:13). This also shows that the party is not expected to be inward looking but should strive to engage with society at large.

The party encourages that the immediate structure should handle all matters in their jurisdiction, however the process are open to members to refer matters directly to national leaders (EFF constitution, 2014:7).

Table 4.10: EFF Policy formulation

Policy Platforms	Who Participates?	Period	Accountability
National People's Assembly	Branch delegates and leaders of structures	Once every 5 years	Approves and decides on policy
Central Command Team	Elected leaders	On-going	Directs policy implementation and reports
Chair of Committees (Commissar)	Members and Leaders	Period leading to National People's Assembly	Submits draft policy proposals for discussions to structures
President (Commander In Chief)	Public and members	On-going	Makes policy pronouncements to the public and members. Presents Policy statement at the National People's Assembly
People Assemblies (Province and regional)	Delegates and leaders in the relevant locations	Period leading to National People's Assembly	Discuss and make policy proposals
Branch Command Team	All members		Conduct policy workshops

4.11 ALL PARTIES: ORGANISATIONAL COMPLEXITY

This section focuses on the organisational structures in place for political parties and seeks to understand how they have professionalised or modernised. Therefore, the purpose remains that of understanding the prevalence of governance principles.

It should be noted that some aspects of organisational structure have been attended to during the data presentation on governance principles. However, this was only in line with specific functions. Therefore this section only presents data in table format in order to eliminate repetitions.

The table is such that it outlines the principles of governance. It should be noted that structures of the organisations also denote platforms of accountability. Regular meetings organised by the structures explain the regularity of accountability. The participants in these structures at different times are critical for the principle of transparency. The principle of participation is inherent and can be illuminated through the nature of engagement, namely, whether there is discussion, election, approval, etc.

The source of information remains the same as in other sections of this study, namely, the constitutions, reports and resolutions, interviews with leaders and focus groups discussions. (See attached annexures, Interviews A, B, C, Focus group discussion, and party constitutions, party resolutions and reports).

4.11.1Political Management Administration management

All parties outline their structures that are responsible for the overall activities and programmes in their constitutions. Table 4.11 provides an outline of parties relevant for this research. The table is not exhaustive especially with regards administration because the central focus of the study is the political structures.

Table 4.11: Political and Administrative structures

	ANC	**DA**	**EFF**
Political Structures	Branches	Branches	Branches
	Branch Executive Committees	Branch Executive Committees	Branch Command Teams
	Regional Executive Committees	CCs	Regional Command Teams
		CECs	
	Regional Working Committee	Regional Executive Committees (Optional)	Provincial Command Teams
	Provincial Executive Committees	PCs	Central Command Team
	Provincial Working Committees	Provincial Executive Committees	War Council
	National Executive Committee	Federal Council	
	National Working Committee	Federal Executive Council	
Administration structures	National Working Committee	Constituency Chairperson (At Constituency level)	War Council
	Secretary General	Chief Executive Officer	Secretary General
	Provincial Secretaries	FEC	
	Regional Secretaries	NMC	
		Chairperson of the Federal Council	
		Federal Finance Committee	

4.11.2Regularity of meetings

As indicated this table on regular meetings illuminates Gaventa's notion of 'responsiveness' of parties in order to explain accountability (Gaventa 2002:1). This information is taken directly from the party constitutions.

Table 4.12: Regularity of meetings

Structures	**ANC**	**DA**	**EFF**
Branches	Once a month		Once every 2 years
Branch General Assembly/AGM	Once in two years	AGM – once a year. General meetings as per notices and invitations	Every 3 months
BEC/BCT	Monthly	Once a quarter	Every fortnight
District Council	N/A	N/A	N/A
District Executive Committee	N/A	N/A	N/A
Regional Congresses	Once every 3 years	Depends on provincial constitutions	Once every 3 years
Regional Council	Mid-term	Depends on provincial constitution	
REC/RCT.	Monthly	Provincial constitution	Once a month
Provincial Congresses	Once Every 4 years	Depend on provincial constitution	Once every 4 years

Provincial Councils	Mid-term	Provincial constitution	N/A
PEC/PCT	Monthly	Provincial constitution	Once in 2 months (6 times a year)
National /Federal Congresses	Once Every 5 years	Once Every 3 years	Every 5 years
NGC/	Mid term	N/A	N/A
NEC/FC/CCT	Bi-Monthly	3x times a year	Once every 3 months
Federal Executive/War Council/National Working Committee	Every fortnight	Meet whenever called by the Leader or Chairperson	N/A

4.11.3National Meetings

The political parties use different terminologies to explain their national meetings, especially where they elect or renew their mandates. This table explains levels of participation of members and other structures in these meetings. It also explains levels of openness or transparency to the key gatherings of the parties

Table 9: Representation at national congresses

	ANC	DA	EFF
Members	90%	35%	90%
Public representative		24xMPs, 24xMPLs, 24xCouncllors,	
Other structures	10% shared by ANCYL, ANCWL, COSATU, SACP, ANCVL	Leaders of youth, women and student structures	10 % shared by youth, women and student command structures

4.11.4Quorum of meetings

Governance relates to management of affairs of organisations and how they arrive at decisions (Powley & Anderlini , 2004: 36; Graham *et al,* 2003: 1). The quorums of parties explain the standards that parties set themselves to arrive at decisions. Therefore this is about participation, accountability and transparency.

Table 4.13: Quorums of meetings

	ANC	DA	EFF
Branch Membership	100	25	100
Quorum	51%	51%	51%
BEC, BCT quorum	51%	51%	51%

4.11.5Communication

All parties have communication channels and platforms. The ANC and the EFF continue to use press conferences extensively, especially after their national meetings. All parties make use of press conferences when there are major events or political developments in the country.

Table 4.14: Communication platforms

		Technology	**Audience**
ANC	Spokesperson for the party	Website Facebook page, twitter, Make use of sms to communicate	Public
DA	Leader of the party is Spokesperson for the party, Spokesperson for the Leader of the party	Website, Facebook page Make use of sms to communicate	Public
EFF	Spokesperson for the party	Website, Facebook page, twitter	Public

4.12 CONCLUSION

In this section there is extensive focus on data sources that were identified during the development of the methodology. Therefore, the identified data sources , which include constitutions of identified political parties, conference reports , court documents where applicable, focus groups and interviews of parties' leaders are

pivotal to the study. The data presentation is strong in its narrative outline but it has also been enhanced by tabular form. The premise for using tables is to ensure that the adopted framework is consistently applied and important data is not lost.

5 CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

As indicated in the methodology section, the data analysis makes use of the Straussian grounded theory. This approach focuses on the interpretations of concepts rather than the development of theory. Secondly, this approach is inductive because of the need to give more meaning to the concepts. The major themes and concepts in this study remain the functions performed by political parties and the governance principles. The analysis is consistent in maintaining major themes from these two areas of the collected data. Therefore thematic analysis is derived from the coding and the framework adopted during the collection of data (Bryman, 2012: 579).

Habermas (2001) articulated the neoliberal context of constitutional democracy. This is the context in which assessment of governance principles are investigated. However, in attempting to derive deeper meanings of concepts, the analysis is not advanced as advocacy for neo-liberalism nor attempt to cleanse concepts of their neo-liberal features, wherever such exists. The essence is interpreting the data and underscoring how successes and limitations of political parties are attributable to governance principles. The theoretical issues are only given attention where they make relevant to findings of the study.

As indicated in the literature review, the contemporary conceptualisation of a political party, as expressed by International IDEA (2007) has been adopted in the study. Therefore, whilst the study has focused on parties outside their role in government, it has also noted that some of the parties are established in a manner that overlaps both roles, namely parliamentary and extra-parliamentary.

5.1 MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

As explained in the introduction to the study, governance is better articulated through understanding how functions are performed. Membership recruitment is one of the functions selected for the study of the political parties and from which specific tasks are derived. The tasks identified are developed in line with Gibson (1983) and these vary from one party to the next. These differences in the tasks of the main function are generally driven by Gibson's notion of division of labour, which influences the bureaucracy of the organisations (Gibson et al, 1983: 197).

Textually, membership recruitment is simply a combination of a noun and a verb. However, the deeper meaning denotes the state of belonging - membership - and the act or process of finding a person - recruitment. Therefore, for people to belong to a party, the process to find or ensure that they are part of the organisation has to be recruitment. All these processes were presented in the data section and the related tasks were given attention. This function is decoded further to allow better meaning of the concept of Membership and Recruitment.

Membership: In outlining the importance of the membership recruitment, Wolinetz (1991) outlines benefits that members derive from their parties that include, but are not limited to, being elected into a position of power. These benefits are linked to what the party seeks to achieve, namely, vote-seeking, office-seeking, and policy-seeking. In this context, the membership of a party denotes a strong identity with the party, commitment to performing specific duties on behalf of the party and expecting a beneficial outcome in the relationship. The relationship between the members and the party is formal and well regulated.

In this study, the parties studied indicated that they also have supporters but these have highly open-ended relationships with the party. This means that their relationship with the political party is not highly regulated. However

political parties, in their quest to maximise participation and expand their influence, have become very innovative in developing partnerships and alliances with other organisations. These partnerships are also derived from the formation of other targeted structures by the parties themselves. Therefore, membership can also be derived indirectly. It is argued that ultimately the benefits are also derived mutually.

5.1.1 Membership in practice

In both the ANC and EFF, people join where they reside, that is, at a branch level. The DA allows for members to join the party even at the provincial and national office. However in the DA, reports on new recruits are submitted weekly to relevant provinces. In the ANC, the Branch Secretary is central to registering and keeping records of members. This is administratively understandable because it elaborates the aspect of identifying members. At a political level, this has implications of facilitating smooth political processes; in particular, for elective meetings, delegations can be allocated properly.

In all parties in this study, the ANC, DA and EFF there are subscription fees, which are determined by higher structures. These fees are regulated and not determined randomly. Once membership is approved, the role and rights of members are improved and well stipulated in the official documents and constitutions of these parties. In the ANC, full membership is not immediate but there is six months' probation, which only enables the new member to participate without voting rights in the party. When probation is lifted, the full membership is declared and the member has all the rights, including voting.

A membership card is evidence of the strong identity of a member to the party and is linked to regulations of political parties. In the DA, the issuing of the membership card is immediate after filling of forms is completed and the payment of the subscription. In the EFF the issuing cards take three months and in the ANC, there will be delays because the probation is longer than in other parties. It is important to note that various reports of the ANC and the comments from the

ANC focus group alluded to the fact that the delays issuing membership cards are more ‘political’ than technical. The delays that are ‘political’ are explained as serving the purpose of denying members their rights and benefits, which means manipulating the process for political ends.

Recruitment: The textual approach to ‘recruitment’ is very operational and hence in the data collected, this is made functional by tasks articulated in party campaigns. Therefore, these tasks illuminate the organising feature of ensuring that people become members of the party. When people are recruited, they are basically being asked to join the party or they voluntarily join the party. The parties develop deliberate programmes to recruit people to join them. In this case, they become members and their membership is processed, as explained in the earlier section. As in the case of membership, those recruited and those who join, agree to submit to rules and regulations of the party.

5.1.2 The practice of recruitment

The task is highly political because it is informed by the programmes of political parties and decisions that individuals take to join the parties of the their choice. The EFF has articulated a bolder programme of ‘Red Fridays’ to recruit new members. In the EFF, the recruitment programmes target highly populated areas when people are moving, especially the taxi-ranks. This means people branches are allowed to recruit everywhere on these Fridays and submit new recruits to relevant structures.

The ANC has programmes like *Imvuselelo* to engage people and recruit members. The DA embarks on door-to door campaigns to promote its policies and recruit members. Therefore, new recruits in the ANC undergo induction in order for them to be socialised around these party positions and operations. Equally, parties like the ANC allow for longer period of screening the new recruits and educating them prior to full membership.

5.1.2.1 The target groups

As argued earlier, membership recruitment is both direct and indirect and results in a range of outcomes, which are mutually beneficial. The notion of Catch-All parties as espoused by Wolinetz (1991) seems to underplay the role of groups that parties target and the associations created. It is uncontested that electoral periods require that parties enhance their numerical strength at the polls. However, membership recruitment continues to find prominence in the context of building sustained relations, as is explained later.

In their policy documents, the political parties are specific in the type of members they wish to attract. Strong reference is made to the effect that they should be people who share the same values and principles. However, during the focus group discussions the narrative of growing the parties numerically is dominant amongst all parties (see table C). Some parties, especially the DA and the EFF, also make strong reference to their support at the polls to demonstrate growth of the party. This finding confirms the notion of Catch-All parties, which indicates that political parties are inclined to increase support, not members, in order to attract more votes.

All the parties in this study recruit members from the ages of 14, 16 and 18. These differences are only used to express participation in the youth structures. However, the general rule is allowing participation in the mother body from the age of 18 years. This coincides with the legal voting age. Therefore, this recruitment should enable members to participate in election campaigns for their parties. Therefore, it is argued that direct involvement of youth in politics will improve the staying power, longevity and continuity of the party.

The focus on the youth between the age of 18 and 35 is informed by the necessity of ensuring continuity. It is in this context that all parties have youth and student structures. On this basis, it can therefore be argued that political

parties always find ways to regenerate themselves when they recruit in a targeted way. The DA has created talent search programmes for the youth. The interviews with the leaders of the DA indicate that once a talented young person is identified and recruited, s/he is expected to make a presentation to the leadership, especially at the constituency level. This is also attached to leadership training for young leaders.

The women structures are also in place to mobilise and advocate for gender issues especially those affecting women. Therefore, the focus on both youth and women attests to the fact that parties approve of the notion of diversity, recruiting various sectors in society. This similarity is found across all parties in this study. The diversity is not only numerical but also improves that content of the discourse in the party and thus ensures diverse policy articulation.

The indirect membership, which involves other associations, is also critical because it also improves specialisation in the policy arena. For example, participation of labour in conferences of parties like the ANC, may enhance its economic policies, especially those related to labour. Old parties will also need organisational memory and therefore will also put the experienced to good use. This is relevant in instances of the ANC Veterans League and Mkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA).

5.1.2.2 Governance principles and membership recruitment

The parties attach the same value to membership recruitment and this is outlined in table C, which indicates that all parties grow their members numerically, they want to have numbers to perform party duties, to ensure participation and popularise their policies. The political parties in this study have similar platforms of recruitment, namely, the manual filling of applications forms and joining the party online. This means that political parties in South Africa are in principle, open to be joined by everyone. This

level of openness also denotes participation. Therefore political parties, in

their policy articulations and constitutions, seek to adhere to the principle of participation and transparency.

Generally, the efficiency or membership systems are tested by their timeous production of membership cards. The ANC has adverse judgements from courts of law in relation to issues of membership audits. The ANC reports presented at national conferences also make strong reference to the notion of gate-keeping, which relates to the difficulty of people acquiring membership of the ANC. Therefore, whilst the ANC process comes across as rigorous, it is not fairly controlled and managed because it is manipulated to serve political ends. The administrative tasks related to these tasks are poorly executed because political intentions override the administrative systems in place.

In table D, a template is developed to outline the tasks that are related to membership recruitment. The table is elaborated for various parties especially in Tables 1, 3, and 5. In terms of these tables, significant differences relate to the screening process, which is not applicable in other parties, namely the DA and the EFF. As indicated, it takes a long time to become a full member of the ANC, that is six months. However, the process to approve membership of the ANC is open to scrutiny of the general membership, including at Branch General Meetings. It takes a month to become a member in other parties, especially the DA. In other parties, the scrutiny of approving members is stated but the extent of its openness is not clearly described. Therefore, it is assumed that members are allowed to raise their objections in any other form without specific detail.

5.2 POLICY FORMULATION

The data collected focused on platforms and a range of participants involved in developing the policies of parties. This approach subscribes to the description of governance as that of understanding how organisations manage their affairs and take decisions (Powley & Anderlini , 2004: 36; Graham *et al,*

2003: 1). This function is simply about how parties establish policies. Most importantly, it is about the manner in which they engage various stakeholders in developing policies.

The generic approach to policy formulation is therefore associated with broader goals, missions and visions that political parties adopt. The structure-function perspective of organisations is also sustained in a manner that ensures convergence to the strategic outlook of the organisation (Grieves, 2010). Therefore, the vision statements of various parties are powerful themes that inform the prevalence of governance principles within political parties. These mission statements facilitate and guide the political parties on the kind of policies to be adopted and how the process should be undertaken. The substance of policies is the thrust of the study.

This study has not considered the fact that members and other stakeholders possess different interests and may choose to take or not to take part in the development of some policies. The limitation of focusing on this general approach to policy development is that participants in the process are treated as homogenous. This is unintended, however, the fact is that parties are committed to policy development and have adopted these generic processes.

5.2.1 Policy formulation in practice

A matrix on policy formulation in the data collection section illuminated the responsibilities, authority and distribution of power (see Table E as the template). In all selected parties, policy process is a two-way stream because inputs can be received from the bottom of the organisation and at the top. This takes place despite the DA's notion of being federalist and the ANC and EFF's nation of democratic centralism.

The hold of higher structures on the parties' operations is illuminated by the

fact that these structures give guidance with regard to initiating the policy processes and final approval (see Table 2, 4 and 6). Policy processes are linked to key events like elective conferences and therefore regularity of dealing with policy also preceded these meetings. Draft policies are send to lower structures and inputs are consolidated to update the drafts. The political parties give emphasis to various structures in the area of policy formulation. In the ANC and the EFF, the delegates from branches are central to taking part in the official platforms. In the DA, the role of public representatives in policy formulation is prominent. However, in all these cases the general membership is allowed to make inputs.

The focus groups of all parties in this study were able to confirm that policy processes do take place as indicated in their constitutions and policies. However, there are mixed views on the quality of participants in policy process. In the DA, public representatives use their proximity and role in government structures to continuously develop relevant policies. The ANC focus group indicated the quality of policy processes is underscored by rushed discussions. The EFF focus group went further to indicate that the Plenums have been able to test the knowledge of leaders and delegates on the adopted policies. However, the EFF focus group also decried the need for ensuring that delegates still need training in understanding the policies under discussion.

Whilst the constitutions of parties makes reference to devolution of powers or federal structures and democratic centalism, in practice, consultations on policy formulations are modelled the same. It is argued that the game changer is the type of policies under discussion because in practice policies will not receive the same attention.

5.2.2 Policy formulations and governance principles

The structures of parties and in this case, the platforms for policy formulation exist at all levels. This means at local, regional, provincial and national levels. However, in the DA, there is option for provinces to decide their own policies provided that they are in line with Federal prescripts. In the ANC and EFF, democratic centralism is the basis of adopting policy and hence they are adopted nationally and other structures are expected to submit to adopted policy through implementation and advocacy.

The policy space in many parties is very intensive and supported by sub-committees, which convene regularly to discuss matters. This is an area where specific skills and expertise play an important role. In many cases, both elected and non-elected members of the parties, especially in the ANC, constitute these sub-committees. The participation at all levels in the ANC is elaborate, despite the purported short time for discussions. Secondly, there are special policy platforms in the ANC at all levels, for example, the national policy conference is preceded by branch, regional and provincial policy conferences.

In addition to these special policy platforms, the ANC convenes the National General Council (NGC) to undertake a mid-term evaluation of policies and other programmes. Branch meetings, regional and provincial general councils, also precede the NGC. Therefore, the NGC articulates the principle of accountability of leadership to membership. The focus group also indicated that policy discussions are also discussed publicly by experts who are non-members in media platforms. The process leading to the elective conference is punctuated by the overlapping application of governance principles, namely participation, accountability and transparency.

In other parties, the process of constituting these committees is left to the leader, especially in the DA. The elective meetings or federal congress is basically used to discuss and approve policy. However, group discussion and

interviews demonstrated that other policies are related to the role of public representatives in government, therefore policy formulation becomes an on-going task to respond to local issues. Therefore, this also explains the federal character of the DA. The DA's focus on influencing government has facilitated policy process that are predicated on promoting the role of public representatives. The DA constituency offices support public representatives and caucus ensures that policy inputs from party structures are integrated into government policy. In this context, the DA's application of transparency, participation and accountability is premised on the drive for the party to connect the party role to its role in government. It is therefore argued that the approach is more outward looking than the approach of the other parties. The ANC and EFF approaches to policy are punctuated by the focus on engaging structures first and later whereas the DA can be said to run policy processes in a multi-pronged
manner.

The principles of governance, especially participation, are further accentuated through representation at the conferences of various parties. This is the context of representative democracy espoused by Saward (2008). The ANC and EFF ensure that representatives from branches constitute 90% of total representation at the conferences whereas the DA only allows 35% from their branches. It is therefore deduced that this implies no attenuation of participation, but an explanation on the level of technicality that parties seek to infuse in handling policy issues.

In all political parties, policy formulation is given high priority because senior leaders are required to champion policy direction. In the DA, the leader of the party and the Chairperson of the Federal Council play central roles, namely, the Leader makes pronouncements and the Chairperson receives policy proposals and processes them. In the ANC, the President is required to make policy pronouncements and the National Chairperson is regarded as the custodian of the policies. Similarly, the EFF policy pronouncements are the competency of the Commander In Chief, that is, the President of the party.

It should be noted that the notion of custodianship of policies is not explained in the constitutions of all parties. However, accountability is well articulated because lines can only be blurred in the arena of practice. Therefore, it is argued that it means during sessions and meetings presided by the Chairpersons, the gatherings should be in line with party policies. Policy pronouncements are therefore the most active part because they relate to taking out policy to members and explaining them to broader society. It is the Presidents and Leaders of parties that should perform this task.

5.3 ORGANISATIONAL COMPLEXITY

The structure-function perspective espoused in Grieves (2010) is once more posited because organisational complexity seeks to outline structures in place to perform specific function. In this study, organisational complexity has been given attention at two levels, namely, with regard to selected functions in order to allow focus on governance principles, and in broad terms, to show how governance principles are generally considered in the political parties.

As indicated earlier, these structured are predicated on organisational visions and these are articulated in party constitutions. Therefore, it remains logical that specific functions are undertaken to ensure the realisation of these visions, missions and values of political parties (see Table B). This study argues that these missions are powerful themes that communicate the ideological stances of parties. Secondly, these themes are also powerful in informing the public discourse on a continuous basis, as discussed in the literature review.

5.3.1 Communication

The parties struggle to integrate technology in their membership systems because of political interests. All parties allow members to join the online

platform to join the party and they all have websites to access their official documents. The official statements of parties are regularly put on these sites. However, dominance of the manual processes attest to slow use of technology.

There is little evidence that political parties acknowledge the rising usage of social platforms to communicate and discuss political issues. There is overreliance on press conferences to make statements. The ANC focus group decried inconsistent general meetings and the availability of leaders to inform them of their decisions. Therefore, members depend on media to know decisions of their party because there are still many without access to modern technology.

The minimal use of technology also creates problems for printing of cards. The political interests are complicit in creating delays in the production of membership cards, especially in the ANC. This is also corroborated by challenges of manipulating membership registers and disputes that have landed in the courts of law. The other issue is that membership systems are highly controlled, including in the DA where statistics are not open to public scrutiny.

5.3.2 Governance principles and organisational complexity

Quorums: The insistence of party meetings to quorate at all levels shows the importance of transparency because decisions are not confined to a select few as outlined in Table 10. In all the parties, quorums at meeting are determined when there are more than half of the registered members in attendance. The quorums are linked to the required standard of forming the branch; the DA requires twenty-five members to form a branch, the EFF and the ANC require a hundred members. This explains the varied standards that parties set for themselves to legitimise their decisions.

The low numbers required in establishing a DA branch are in line with its approach to ensure immediacy in participation. This means it is quick to acquire twenty-five members and form a branch. Membership is also approved in a month's period and allows for immediate participation in the party activities. Therefore, participation is not highly bureaucratised. Expert participation in policy formulation is guaranteed by the prominent role of public representatives in platforms, especially provincial and national congresses (see Table 9). This is also consistent with low representation of branches members at congresses. The focus group discussions and interviews have also indicated that the DA attaches value to numerical strength because of the proportional representation at the congress and polls. The means areas that get higher votes in past elections are allocated higher representatives at the congresses. Therefore, the DA is unambiguous in its endeavour to acquire state power and hence its internal operations express this objective through rewarding performance in this area.

The higher numbers set by both the ANC and the EFF are in line with the purported mass character, as espoused by their visions. This is also attributable to high membership numbers, which requires increased participation and thus evincing transparency (see Table 9). The focus on high representation from the branches further asserts the class character of these organisations, namely the poor and the working class. Accordingly, these parties attach value to participation that is premised on allowing lower structures to have a say in decision making. Therefore, democratic centralism is derived from extensive participation of lower structures than imposition that is top-down.

All parties also experience challenges with regard to their governance practices. The DA is less transparent about its membership figures because it avoids exposing its strategies to its rival parties. The ANC and EFF are open about their membership statistics and this illuminates their popularity with ordinary masses. The ANC suffers the challenge of gate-keeping, which is

explained as excluding participation of other members in the party processes.

The structures of accountability are equally platforms of participation because they are incisive in explicating key participants and purposes of the platforms. For example, at the Bi-Annual General Meeting of the ANC branch, the Branch Executive Committee (BEC) is expected to present a report on the state of the party at that level to the membership. The membership is also expected to discuss the report and elect new leadership, which essentially renews the mandate of the BEC. This principled approach applies to all parties from local to national platforms or structures, namely regional to Federal Congresses of the DA, regional to national conferences of the ANC, Branch People's to national People's Assemblies of the EFF. This also underlines the point that South African political parties are organisationally similar, though differ in areas of emphasis.

The regularity of convening the structures, herein referred to as platforms of accountability is also important for transparency and highlight the responsiveness of parties (see Table 8). Most importantly, the platforms are also segmented at all levels of the organisation and thus create another level of regularity of meetings. Accordingly, transparency is improved at every level of the party. The administrative and the political dimensions of the parties give credence to accountability, which also impacts on the level of transparency. For example, the roles of the CEO in the DA, the Secretaries General in the EFF and the ANC require that they report at weekly and monthly meetings of the National Management Committees in the DA, the National Working Committee in the ANC and the War Council in the EFF.

The quality of accountability denotes transparency. In this way, the interviews and focus group discussions are also better placed to assess transparency. In the ANC, the focus group discussion was unanimous on the issue that policies are rushed at local level and regional structures lack capacity in

dealing with policy related issues. Therefore, despite being a process that involves everyone, policy formulation lack rigour in terms of content, at local level. However, the lack of capacity in dealing with policy issues can also be traced to the design of branches because they are created to focus on responsibilities like embarking on campaigns and co-ordination of activities.

5.3.3 Party missions and governance principles

This section is intended to explain themes that have been derived from the data presented and the analysis. The themes are not exhaustive because some are not directly connected to the thrust of the study. The main themes that have been referred to include, but are not limited to the visions, mission and values of political parties. It is assumed that this illuminates a better understanding on the basis of the adoption of specific structures and highlights the basis of policy processes in various parties.

5.3.4 The National Democratic Revolution

The pursuance of the National Democratic Revolution upholds the values and principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy (ANC constitution, 2012: 5). The National Democratic Revolution is the theoretical basis that underscores mass participation and bottom-up decision-making. This further asserts policy development with a bias towards vulnerable groups in society. Therefore, socialist policies are implied, though underpinned by pragmatic approaches.

In the ANC, recruitment is also intended to achieve the historical mission of the party, which is to end apartheid and all forms of discrimination. It is in this context that people who are interested in joining the party should identify with these positions.

5.3.5 Open Opportunity Society for All

This mission carries strong liberal ideology premised on individual choices and rights espoused by Habermas (2001). The assertion is that the constitution of the country is a powerful basis for access to opportunities and to deal with social ills of any form (DA constitution, 2015: 10). The current constitution of the country provides a strong basis for good governance, in particular participation, accountability and transparency. Therefore, society is rallied behind the constitution of the country in order to limit arbitrariness and favouritism in various institutions. The South African constitution is a panacea for many social and economic challenges. The DA's political basis for recruitment is to respond to the current political environment, which is premised on constitutional democracy. Therefore, loyalty to the constitution of the country is the foundation for building the party.

5.3.6 Economic Emancipation in our Lifetime

The aims and objectives of the EFF is to transform the economy and take power through revolutionary means and placing Africans as the main beneficiaries (EFF constitution, 2014:3). In its preamble, the EFF defines itself as militant and radical and it also commits itself to Marxist-Leninist ideologies. There is also a mass and class participation that is strongly inpired by the party.

Militancy and robust policy articulations are strongly recommended. Therefore participation in EFF activities, including recruitment, requires engagement that are not limited to uncoventional means. The current approach that simply submits to the constitution of the country is considered inadequate to give attention to prevailing economic and social ills. This also explains why the youth are more attracted to the party.

5.3.7 Other themes and governance principles

There are themes that are inspired by party ideologies and they inform the attitudes and approaches to governance principles. In the case of the ANC and the EFF, the involvement in politics is theorised along ideological inclinations, which are expressed in the notions of 'National Democractic Revolution' and Marxist-Leninist philosophies, respectively. The long history of the ANC has also necessitated evolution of its ideology, hence it advocates for mixed economic approaches. However, the EFF commits itself to political ideology such as socialism, which is radical and militant. The realisation of historical redress is encapsulated in the ideological stance of both parties but its emphasis on tactics that draws a distinction between them.

5.3.8 Constitutionalism and governance principles

In both the EFF and the ANC, there is no direct reference to recruit people on the basis of the South African constitution. However, the principles of the constitution find adequate expression in the outline of aims and objectives of the parties, especially in the ANC. The radical approach of the EFF suggests that the constitution does not fully enable the achievement of their goals, and therefore the party – EFF - is cautious about projecting the constitution as the panacea for all social challenges of South Africa. Therefore, EFF has also positioned itself as a party that demands accountability from the ruling party using unconventional means.

The basis for recruitment in the DA is mainly informed by adherence to the constitution of the country. The constitutional status of the political parties enables multi-party democracy to flourish (Fombad 2011) through rigorous participation. Therefore, these two parties focus their recruitment to enable their members to participate in formal structures of the state, especially parliamentary politics.

In response on Q3 of the interviews and focus group, the political parties are more practical when making reference to the importance of recruitment. There is acknowledgement of the importance of the numerical strength, ensuring participation in electoral campaigns because of their competitive nature and the need to stay relevant through giving proper attention to service delivery related issues. These kinds of responses are relevant to all parties interviewed.

The current dispensation is considered inadequate to empower society economically. But, equally the constitutional character of South African democracy should be embraced insofar as allowing exercise of the Bill of Rights. Therefore, the EFF seems to argue for a dispensation that asserts economic benefits in the most radical manner, not incrementally. The EFF asserts a strong ideological basic set of solutions to the current challenges, hence the call for socialism.

5.3.9 Democratic centralism

In all the parties, the lower structures are not designed to formulate policies but to implement these and campaign for the parties. The influence of central leadership in policy process is conspicuous and unequivocal. This is despite lower structures being represented in policy fora of political parties. In the case of parties that advocate for democratic centralism, members decry the policy processes that are rushed and lack capacity to handle policy issues at regional and branch level. The consultation processes on policy have tended to be rather the mastering and regurgitation of policy drafts than meaningful inputs to policy proposals. This is also traced to capacity at national level that submits drafts that are well considered to the general membership

Democratic centralism is dominant in the ANC and the EFF because the centrality of higher structures is unambiguous. In Lotshwao (2009), this principle is described as higher structures imposing their will on lower

structures. However, members of the ANC in the focus groups do not literally understand the democratic centralism principle to mean top-down, but they understand it to also embrace the majority rule. The case in point is the 90% representation of branch delegates in platforms that formulate policies from region to national. It should be noted that the EFF has similar representation of branch delegates in the platforms of policy formulation.

The dominance of national structures in the EFF and the ANC is also conspicuous because draft policies are a national competence. In the EFF, the Head of Policy in a specific committee, the Commissar, has the responsibility to draft policies and thereafter, the draft is distributed to lower structures to workshop and discuss them. This is similar to the ANC approach whereby policies are drafted by Sub-committees and thereafter distributed to structures for discussions and inputs. However, EFF members are grappling with the notion of democratic centralism in a manner that suggests that it has authoritarian features, hence they made reference to the effect that they operate by command.

5.3.10Politicised and neutral bureaucracy

The study observed that DA does not seem to give significant attention to the political and administration nature of some functions. This is shown by the fact that membership recruitment is performed by both administration staff and politicians. Administration staff is allocated some representation when leaders are elected and public representatives feature strongly in congresses of the party. This has the potential to impair governance because staff that deal with operations of the party may have undue influence on processes that impact on their interests. In this way, the blurred lines of politics and administration are emerging. This posits a bureaucratic approach to politics of the party and explains the need for specific skills that may have been missed by election process, namely legal expertise.

In the ANC and EFF, the role of elected leadership is distinct from administration. However, some of the elected leaders, namely Secretaries General have the responsibility for managing politics and administration. Therefore, administration is always given political context and should be championed by politicians. Administration staff is only expected to execute in line with political mandates and account accordingly. The creation of sub-committees gives credence to the importance of political expertise.

5.3.11Same policies and different tactics

The glaring structural and political similarities between the EFF and the ANC necessitate analytical attention. The fact is that the ANC has been in existence for about 104 years and the EFF is only two years old. At a policy level, the ANC and the EFF have adopted the Freedom Charter as their guiding policy document. The governance principles in all structures are modelled in the same way for both parties. The sizes of branches and quora are the same, the representation at higher level is also similar and the role of their Officials, especially the President and Secretary General are also similar.

Unlike the ANC, the EFF has adopted an ideological position of Marxism, Leninism and Fanonian philosophy. The ANC is not hostile to these ideologies and is in Alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. However, the ANC does not pronounce explicitly in favour of these ideologies. Therefore, both parties interpret the political context differently from each other because part of the ANC's basis to recruit members is to ensure that they accept the historical mission of eliminating apartheid and that the democratic government is not hostile. However, the EFF asserts the need to radically deal with socio-political ills.

Flowing from the identified similarities and differences between the EFF and the

ANC, it can be deduced that the EFF's formation is inspired by perceived ideological weaknesses in the ANC. It is in this context that the EFF's rhetoric and narrative in its documents and interviews are punctuated by radical and militant polemic.

The dominance of public representatives in the policy processes of the DA creates conflation of party and parliamentary work. This conflation has left the DA with weakness of failing to give attention to racial cleavages in the country, especially with the party. Hence it belatedly adopted an anti-racism pledge, which must be signed by every member. This shows that parliamentary success does not always translate into party strength.

6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The study acknowledged at the onset the dominant role of the political parties in many democracies, hence it problematised limited knowledge about governance of political parties. It is this problem of 'limited knowledge about the application of governance principles that inspired the assessment of parties. Therefore, in order to facilitate the focus in the study, three parties, namely the ANC, DA and the EFF were considered. Secondly, specific principles of governance and functions were also given attention. Thirdly, a basic but elaborate framework was adopted to carry out the research work.

The literature review is extensive in outlining the conceptual context of governance in relation to functions performed by political parties. Therefore, the South African political context, which is underscored by constitutional democracy, was accentuated. In accordance with this context, the constitutional status of political parties unleashed multi-party democracy and thus put a premium on the role of these parties. In addition, the focus on governance principles and party function is consistent with the pursuance of constitutional democracy. The review has also been bolder to reflect on contemporary debates impacting on the subject investigated.

The data collected was primarily accessed through available documents on official sites of political parties, interviews of leaders and focus group discussions, which were constituted by members of political parties. These official documents have been helpful in outlining the official positions of the selected parties. Equally, the interviews and discussions provided deeper meanings, interpretations and shared experiences on the social reality and thus expanded our knowledge on the governance of parties. Presentation of the data has been captured in both narrative and tabular form to enable simplicity to the reader and reflect understanding of the researcher.

The data analysis also focused on the central issues of the study, namely the

governance principles and party functions. The Straussian grounded theory was central to the analysis, which focuses on meanings of concepts and connecting themes and codes (Bryman, 2012: 568-569). Unlike the Glaserian grounded theory, the Straussian grounded theory does not develop new theory, and hence understandings and interpretations of both leaders and members of parties through interviews and focus groups. Accordingly, the reflections on the themes are adequate to formulate elementary views and connection with governance principles and functions related to the study. Most importantly, this grounded theory approach has been insightful in expanding the limited knowledge, especially in integrating other political parties without bias to the ruling party. The political parties have demonstrated that professionalising the organisations requires some form of governance on structures and functions. Most interestingly, political parties are rigorous in engaging their members and performing their functions because they learn from each other and hence strong similarities in performance of some of their functions. However, the study has also demonstrated that party ideological positions are also central drivers of governance practices.

The legal and constitutional status of political parties in South Africa is well established through promoting freedom of choice, the right to associate and the multi-party system. Therefore, institutionalisation of functions, supported through specific structures, has been illuminated throughout this study. However, the involvement of the courts of law in party affairs is attributable to the inconsistent prevalence of governance principles within parties. This means disaffected members resort to external means to resolve challenges relating to failure in governance. The limitations in observing good governance in parties like the ANC are inspired by political interests, which constrain participation of members.

The principle of participation in the EFF demands of its members to engage in activities in unconventional ways. The adoption of unconventional methods includes the means to hold other parties, especially the ruling party

accountable. It is in this context it has sustained the image of a protest movement. The other findings that explain areas of divergence amongst parties relate to tactics in dealing with the social discourse. The EFF is even bolder in articulating its policy framework as that of being militant and radical. This militancy is also reflected in its structural configuration, which puts the Central Command Team and War Council at the centre of running its affairs in between national assemblies.

The DA is explicit on its use of constitutional means to remain accountable. It is in this context that the DA has developed an anti-racism pledge, which should be signed by every member of the party. The ANC and the EFF insists on its mass character and working class to allow for increased participation in extra-parliamentary activities. Therefore, both the 'activist' and 'constitutionalist' have evolved to cater for the changing political landscape.

The observed models of participations in major political parties involve members differently at all levels; general meetings where each member is allowed to take part, conferences, congresses, councils, assemblies and plenums are attended by elected delegates to accentuate representative democracy. In this representative form of democracy, the study has demonstrated that the parties differ slightly in applying proportionality. Therefore, participation is both direct and indirect. Other forms of participation depend on the partnerships and associations in place. The various tables in the data section are more elaborate in enunciating the principle of participation.

In relation to accountability, various platforms at all levels of the political parties were unpacked. These platforms were also illuminated in the context of explaining how specific functions are operationalised. The study was also elaborate in outlining the general organisational structures of the selected parties and their role in decision-making processes. The study went further to reveal the overlapping prevalence of accountability and transparency through

explaining the regular feedback sessions and meetings. These feedback platforms are punctuated by monthly, quarterly, annual and the once-in-every-five year's meetings.

6.1 PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The formation of new political parties is currently inspired by implosion within their parent parties. Secondly, this supports the view that new parties are products of implosion of the ruling party (Lotshwao, 2009: 902). Therefore these are an expression of failure in managing internal affairs. The formation of COPE and EFF are instructive in this regard. This also demonstrates that new parties will not emerge from new ideological grounds. Therefore, ideological gaps are narrowing because new parties will differentiate themselves through best governance practices. The formation will not halt as South African democracy consolidates.

The tactics of political parties in South Africa are coalescing towards enforcing the constitutionality and mass actions. This is despite their proclaimed acute differences. The EFF relies heavily on protest marches with unconventional tactics and it is keen to use courts of law to challenge perceived/alleged poor governance. The DA is slowly adopting similar approaches to mass programmes, mass rallies and marches. The ANC as the ruling party, is placed in the position of relying on constitutional legal means, mass programmes and mass rallies. Therefore, parties make all efforts to punctuate their activities with constitutionality and activism.

On the other hand and contrary to the above, the country is also flirting with instability. The constitutionalist and activist approaches are relevant political discourses in South Africa because they are characterised by the desire of parties to capture state power through participation in competitive elections - multi-party democracy. However, political parties are known to abdicate their activist role to civil society once they attain state power. This attenuation of

activism results in loss of trust in political establishments, namely political parties. Consequently, the persistence of weakened activism introduces robust and confrontational relations between the ruling parties and other parties. The emergence of militancy and radicalism in South Africa, especially through the EFF, demonstrates terse relations, which border on the verge of instability.

There are many technology-based platforms to engage and inform members. Millions of South Africans have access to technology facilities, especially cell phones and can access many social media networks. Therefore parties have to develop elaborate technologies to communicate privileged information directly to members. Failure to develop these technologies will result in members losing out the critical benefit of information. This will impact negatively on attracting people to join parties as members. Therefore, developing clear Information Technology policies and formalising these platforms through integration in party constitutions will also enable quick internal access of information to bona fide members.

In line with the need for improved usage of technology, a consideration for virtual structures and members should be made because of mobility and the youthfulness of the population. This notion of convening meetings to discuss policies is no longer the only solution for participation. There is evidence that many of these meetings do not quorate and are manipulated. Therefore, use of technology can also contrive against 'legitimating ritual' by localising policy formulation and improving skills and expertise. Technology will improve participation in the policy space.

The social challenges are pervasive and require political parties that develop strong extra-parliamentary programmes. This means parties should also develop organisations that enable them to tackle national issues outside the confines of government. For example, the DA is finding it difficult to extricate itself from the image of being a white party despite growing electoral support during the last two elections. The introduction of the anti-racism pledge in

the middle of heightened emotions against racism traced to its members, is indicative of the DA being caught off guard. Therefore, South African political parties still have a long way to go to define themselves outside historical and national questions of race and racism.

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