

**THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT FOR NOMINATION OF WOMEN AS
PARTY CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE THESIS

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MA (POLITICAL SCIENCE) THESIS

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This work is dedicated to God in a spirit of thanksgiving for his matchless grace.

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DECLARATION

I the undersigned hereby declare that this thesis/dissertation is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Where other people's work has been used acknowledgements have been made.

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Certificate of Approval

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ABSTRACT

Most members of Parliament including women were at first nominated by a particular political party as electoral candidates. Understanding the nomination process in political parties is therefore critical in the understanding of the low representation of women in parliament. This study is an institutional analysis of the context in which some women were able and others were unable to be nominated as party candidates for the United Democratic Front party in Malawi for the 2004 general elections. It is a qualitative exploration that seeks to find out whether and how the institutional context was different for successful and unsuccessful women in selected constituencies. The study particularly addresses the interaction of formal and informal institutions in the nomination processes. It is found that formal institutions for candidate nomination were unwritten and at times vague. This allowed powerful informal institutions to thrive and influence the outcome of the process. As a result of this the process would easily serve particular interests. On the overall, the institutions in operation were able to ensure that some women candidates succeed and other women candidates do not succeed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFORD	Alliance for Democracy
CONU	Congress for National Unity
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPTP	First past the post
MAFUNDE	Malawi Forum for Unity and Development
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDP	Malawi Democratic Party
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
MGODE	Movement for Genuine Democracy
NEC	National Executive Committee
NCD	New Congress for Democracy
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NSM	National Solidarity Movement
NUP	National Unity Party
PETRA	Peoples Transformation Party
PPM	Peoples Progressive Movement
PR	Proportional Representation
RP	Republican Party
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
UDF	United Democratic Front

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents a substantive and comparative perspective of the broader problem of poor representation of women in parliament. It discusses the problem at hand, reveals the objectives of the study and describes the study design. Finally it presents an outline of how the thesis is organized. It will however start by giving a general introduction to the study.

1.2 Introduction

This study investigates the institutional context for candidate nomination in the United Democratic Front (UDF) for selected constituencies in the year 2004. Institutions are according to the standard definition “rules and procedures both formal and informal that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors behaviour” (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004:727). The overall outcome of interaction of these institutions is what is here referred to as the institutional context. The institutional context for candidate nomination is investigated so that it may provide an explanation for the success and failure of selected women who sought the party nomination. The study focuses on party rules both formal and informal. These rules further involve the use of political party resources, political

party activities in the nomination period and the people involved in the candidate nomination process.

The study seeks to answer the following question. Did the formal and informal institutions produce a scenario where successful women had advantage over men in the nomination process? The motivation of the researcher in studying this problem is based on two factors. First, the UDF was one party that expressed commitment to ensuring gender equality in all sectors of development through its electoral manifesto. It is therefore important to know what happened in practice. Secondly, UDF was the party that sent the largest proportion of women candidates to parliament in the 2004 general election as compared with all other parties in Malawi. What happened in the party to enable it achieve this? The study investigates the lived experiences of the selected women in light of these two factors. The table below outlines the number of women nominated by the UDF in relation to other political parties in the 2004 elections.

Table 1.1: Female candidate nominations for Malawi political parties and female independent candidates in 2004 elections.

	2004 elections	
	Female Candidates	Total Candidates
Independents	46	363
UDF	32	165
NDA	23	185
RP	16	110
MCP	11	175
PPM	6	110
AFORD	5	39
PETRA	5	18
NUP	3	9
MAFUNDE	2	21
NCD	2	21
MGOODE	2	22
MDP	1	10
CONU	0	2
PFP	0	2
NSM	0	1

Source: MEC: 2004 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Data

The study is built around the assumption that women and men are treated differently by political institutions. There was therefore need for affirmative action for the ground to be levelled.

1.3 A Substantive and Comparative Perspective

In most parliaments of the world women have been underrepresented. At the start of the 21st century according to Norris (2000:1) only 10% of the world's Members of Parliament were women. The goal of nominating more women candidates is to increase their numbers in parliament as indicated by arguments for substantive and symbolic representation of women. The first argument

(substantive representation) is that women have a distinct point of view compared to men and so they should be represented proportionately. The second argument is for symbolic representation, it stipulates that women are approximately half of the population in most societies. As such they should make up approximately half of parliament if its decisions are to be fair.

There are three related categories of explanations for the small numbers of women in parliament namely political factors, socio economic factors and ideological factors according to Shevdova (2005:34). This study focuses on the political factors, primarily the contribution of political parties to the successful nomination of women candidates.

Political parties as candidate nominating organizations are important in the understanding and analysis of representation of women in parliament. Lowe Morna (1999:163) suggests that political parties should be the main source of support for women candidates if they are to meaningfully contribute to parliament. Ballington (2004:1) agrees that parties are responsible for the ‘most strategic’ aspect of candidate’s selection to parliament. This strategic aspect involves the selection of candidates to compete on that party’s ticket. Ballington (2004) further argues that in most legislatures of the world, candidates come from political parties. It is therefore crucial that any study on women’s representation should examine the crucial role of these political parties. However, in many cases according to Randall (1987:94) as well as Ballington (2004:1) political parties

view women as electoral liabilities and therefore will be reluctant to field them or will discourage them altogether. Ballington adds that political parties behave in this way based on the assumption that voters are sexist though there is no conclusive evidence that voters will treat men and women differently. Kelley and McAllister (1983:374) as well as Kilfoil (2007:38) agree in arguing that the low representation of women is not a problem of the electorate as much as it is a problem of the people making selections in political parties. It is based on this background that political parties are implicated in the prevailing situation where there is a low representation of women in parliament. Norris (2000:3) has gone as far as declaring that if we are to see any change in the representation of women in politics, we should have women in major political parties and they should not be competing on unwinnable seats¹.

According to Norris (2000:2), there are three ways in which parties can support women candidates and these are to do with rhetorical strategies, affirmative action and positive discrimination. Rhetorical strategies mainly involve speeches by party leaders suggesting guidelines for inclusion of women as part of party rules. These will only work according to Norris (2000:2) if they influence the people who make the candidate selections. Some parties seeking to increase women representation in parliament have gone beyond rhetoric and taken affirmative policy action. Affirmative action is practical and involves measures like training opportunities, provision of financial assistance and removal of

¹ Political parties will sometimes nominate women in constituencies where they do not expect to be successful or where candidates are hard to find because of the nature of the competition. These are the unwinnable seats.

practical barriers for women candidates as explained by Norris (2000:2). Caul (1999:80) agrees with the idea of affirmative action in her suggestion that women will better be represented when parties adopt certain policies to promote women. Parties can also support women through the use of party quotas that reserve certain seats or a certain number of seats to women candidates. Reserved seats were used by the British Labour Party in the 1997 general election. Labour party was contesting in a FPTP electoral system without any constitutional or legislative quotas just like the Malawi case. According to Norris (2000:3) half of certain critical seats in Labor Party were reserved for women nominees. Women had to make up half of candidates for ‘inheritor seats’ that is to mean seats where a member of parliament from the party had retired or ‘strong challenger seats’ which means the most winnable seats. Labour party was able to double the number of women parliamentarians in just one election from about 9% to 18% by applying this policy. In Malawi the highest ever representation of women was achieved in the one party era; 1982 parliament. In this Parliament, Malera (2004:30) explains that the then Head of State Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda nominated 23 women in addition to the 8 that were elected bringing the total to 31 and marking a 32.97% representation of women in Parliament. In multi party Malawi there has been a slow increase in numbers of women in parliament compared to the case of the British Labour Party. According to MEC 2004 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Data in the 1994 parliament, 10 women were elected; in 1999, 16 women were elected and in 2004, 27 women were elected from all parties combined. In 1999, 81% of women Members of

Parliament were newcomers while in 2004, 74% of women Members of Parliament were newcomers. It can therefore be seen that few women get re elected and many women had to challenge incumbent male candidates in the political parties to make it to parliament.

Compared to other countries globally, the representation of women of Malawi in Parliament has been low. Some other countries have managed to have more than 40% women in parliament while Malawi is yet to achieve the 30% mark set by SADC IN 1997 presently revised to 50%. The two tables below present the countries with the highest representation of women as of 1999 and 2004. In the tables, Malawi is compared to the countries with the highest representation of women in parliament worldwide.

Table 1.2: Countries with the highest representation of women in parliament globally compared to Malawi as of 10 June 1999. World Average: 12.7%.

Rank	Percentage of women for both houses or single house.	Electoral System	Quotas Present
1. Sweden	42.7%	List PR	Political party quotas
2. Denmark	37.4%	List PR	Political party quotas till 1996
3. Finland	37.0%	List PR	None
84. Malawi	5.6%	FPTP	None

Source: International Parliamentary Union (IPU) website

Table 1.3: Countries with the highest representation of women in parliament globally compared to Malawi as of 31 December 2004. World Average: 15.7%

Rank	Percentage of women for both houses or single house	Electoral System	Quotas Present
1. Rwanda	48.8%		Constitutional quota and election law quota
2. Sweden	45.3%	List PR	Political party quotas
3. Norway	45.3%		Political Party quotas
63. Malawi	14.0%	FPTP	None

Source: International Parliamentary Union (IPU) website

As it can be seen from the tables above, countries using proportional representation (PR) in particular List PR electoral systems have performed better when it comes to sending women to parliament. Political party quotas have also been a common feature in these countries. Political parties therefore remain important in ensuring increased numbers of women candidates even in PR electoral systems.

Compared to other countries in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region with a similar electoral system, Malawi improved from 1999 to 2004 but still remained below the United Republic of Tanzania tables as seen in tables 1.3 and 1.4 below.

Table 1.4: Representation of women in SADC countries with a FPTP electoral system compared to Malawi as of 10 June 1999.

Rank	Country and electoral system	Percentage of women for both houses	Quotas Present
33	Tanzania, United Republic of	16.4%	Constitutional quota and election law quota
67	Botswana	8.5%	Political party quota
84	Malawi	5.6%	None

Source: International Parliamentary Union (IPU) website

Table 1.5: Representation of women in SADC countries with a FPTP electoral system compared to Malawi as of 31 December 2004.

Rank	Country	Percentage of women for both houses	Quotas Present
33	Tanzania, United Republic of	21.4%	Constitutional quota and election law quota
67	Botswana	11.1%	Political party quota
84	Malawi	14.0%	None

Source: International Parliamentary Union (IPU) website

1.4 The Research Problem

This study is about the candidate nomination process in the United Democratic Front (UDF) political party in the year 2004. It explores this process in order to explain whether the formal and informal institutions provided an outcome that gave advantage to successful women in the nomination process. This was at a time when promotion of women candidates had become a key

development theme² in all sectors public and private and the UDF had recognised this. The UDF (2004) Manifesto is a reflection of this recognition of gender as a development theme. This is seen in a chapter dedicated to “advancing gender equality and the vulnerable.”

There is a common perception in Malawi that political parties do not promote women candidates even though they have the power to do so as suggested by Mwakasungula, Sichali and Nkuna (2001:9) as well as Malera (2005:35). Malera conducted a desk study in which she sought to address the socio- legal status of Malawi women in politics. She suggests that there is not much substance in women promotion policies of political parties. These policies are mere rhetoric and symbolism. Her findings have reinforced the findings by Mwakasungula et al. (2001:53) who claim that political parties are to blame when it comes to the failures of women in politics in general and at elections in particular. These studies are both exploratory in nature and provide an oversight of the circumstances faced by women in the pursuit of parliamentary office but fail to provide a detailed insightful account from the women themselves. The findings are further lacking in the sense that they do not collect information from the ordinary political party member who is a key player where candidate nomination is involved.

² The UDF led Government had gender principles in the constitution, was party to the SADC declaration on gender of 1997 and also had facilitated the coming into place of the national gender policy (2000).

The study is being conducted because little attention has gone to exploring why few women fail to be nominated by political parties. The findings may provide an explanation as to why there were more women contesting as independent candidates compared to candidates for any other political party in the year 2004. Many solutions for increasing numbers of women in parliament have been proposed such as quotas and changes to the electoral system, however there is need to clarify why women fail to be nominated as candidates in good numbers in the first place. This is important because solutions such as quotas and electoral system changes even when implemented may not work if there are other underlying problems that have not been adequately understood and addressed.

1.5 Objectives

1.5.1 Main Objective

To examine the institutional context affecting selected women's candidacy and strategies successful women used to overcome constraints at UDF primary elections in 2004.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

- 1) To examine the rules that were followed in nominations of the women candidates and how those rules affected women's candidacy.
- 2) To find out whether and what party resources were required to facilitate successful candidate nomination and how the availability of those party resources affected women's candidacy.

- 3) To find out whether and what party activities were undertaken in candidate nomination and how the party activities affected women's candidacy.
- 4) To examine the roles of individuals and groups of people involved in candidate nomination and how those people affected women's candidacy.

1.6 Study Design

The study takes a qualitative approach in order to gain in- depth understanding of the particular experience that the women who sought the party nomination had gone through.

1.6.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the nomination process. There are three cases of individual women who succeeded in getting party nominations as well as three cases of individual women who did not succeed in getting party nominations for the party. This implies that six individual processes are explored.

1.6.2 Sampling Method

Purposive sampling is done; the selection criteria is intended to produce a sample with characteristics that are relevant to the problem as suggested by Mack, Woodson, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005:5). The sampling is done separately for the cases of successful women and those of unsuccessful women as follows:

1.6.2.1 The cases of Successful women

1. Names of all women who contested in the 2004 parliamentary election from all political parties are selected from data provided by the Malawi Electoral Commission.
2. The names of women who had won the election are selected in order to avoid cases where women were nominated for unwinnable seats.
3. The names of women who contested for the first time are selected so that incumbent women candidates are excluded. Incumbent women are excluded because according to Clark (1991:74) they have an advantage at subsequent elections due to factors like name recognition and access to more resources.
4. Then names of women who contested where the seat was previously held by a Member of Parliament from their party are selected. This is done so that only women who challenged an incumbent from their party are left. This step produced six cases. Three from UDF in three different constituencies and districts and three from MCP also in three different constituencies and districts.
5. The three cases from UDF are all selected.

1.6.2.2 The cases of unsuccessful women

2. Through UDF party leaders at the district level in the three districts identified in step 4 above, names of women who were unsuccessful in the primary in other constituencies are identified. This strategy is deliberately adopted in order to minimize the number of districts involved in the study.

1.6.3 Data Collection

1.6.3.1 Primary Data Sources

1.6.3.1.1 Interviews

Interviews were done with party leaders in order to gain an understanding of the rules that were followed by the party, how the rules are known and how they are enforced. Qualitative interviews were chosen as part of the methodology as they allowed the researcher to probe important issues arising in the interviews. The categories of interviewees were as follows:

- I. Three members of the constituency committees in all six constituencies, three members of the district committees in all three districts. Three members of the two regional committees and three members of the national executive committee. These were interviewed for the normal expected rules, resources, activities and people required for a successful nomination bid for the year 2004.
- II. Interviews were also done with three women who won nominations in the three constituencies and three women who lost nominations in the three constituencies. Open interviews were done in order to narrate their experience of the primary election in terms of the role of the political party vis-à-vis the rules, resources, activities and people involved.

1.6.3.1.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

FGD were conducted in all six constituencies with party members who had voted in the primary elections. These were also interviewed for the rules,

resources, activities and people involved vis-à-vis the role of the party in their particular case. Groups of 10 participants were used. The groups comprised of half men and half women. These were identified through party officials and came from different areas in every constituency. The researcher facilitated the discussion assisted by a note taker³. FGD were important as they allowed the respondents to correct and remind each other thereby recalling a comprehensive narrative of what happened.

1.6.3.2 Secondary Data Sources

Further data was sought from newspaper reports on the process of candidate nomination in the election year 2004. This data was used in order to generate a general idea of what happened to women UDF candidates in the six constituencies as well as other constituencies.

1.6.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis involved a combination of content analysis and process tracing. Content analysis was initially done for the data collected from interviews with party leaders. Content analysis is explained by Berelson (in Stemler, 2001: [1]); as ‘a technique for compression of many words of text into fewer categories based on explicit rules of coding’. Throughout the data collection period the researcher was engaged in a continuous process of compressing words, sentences and their contexts portrayed by respondents into categories. According to Stemler (2001:

³ The note taker enhanced the quality of the FGD reports by comparing notes with the researcher after every session to ensure that nothing of importance was missed in the researcher’s notes.

[1]) a category is “a group of words with a similar meaning or connotation.” At the end of the data collection the data categories were reviewed to ensure that they are mutually exclusive and exhaustive.

The content analysis was followed by process tracing. This involved going through the narratives of all the respondents and making an individual case analysis in order to understand the causal processes as explained by Falleti (2006:[1]). The findings from each case were compiled into a report from that constituency. Special attention was given to underlying institutional arrangements. The researcher was particularly attentive to the rules that made a difference in facilitating the success or failure of each candidate. This method enabled the researcher to obtain a full understanding of the entire nomination process.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The limitation of the study lies in the fact that only one political party is studied and in one election. The study could have gained more depth by including more political parties and drawing from results of more than one election.

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

This paper is organised in five chapters. The next chapter lays out the literature review and theoretical framework for the study. Chapters three and four present the empirical findings. Chapter three presents and discusses the

institutions that guide candidate nomination from the perspective of senior party leaders and also media reports on related events in other constituencies. Chapter four presents and discusses the nomination process in the six particular cases involved. Chapter five lays out a conclusion and suggests implications arising from the study.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents previous research related to the current study organized in two key sections. The first section presents the conceptual and theoretical framework. This is followed by a presentation of several related studies on the process of candidate nomination in political parties as it relates to women candidates. This includes some related empirical literature from Malawi and other countries.

2.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The institutional approach to politics acknowledges that institutions affect the outcome of any social interaction. Institutions are defined by North (1991:97) as “humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction.” They include formal as well as informal constraints. This definition of institutions is simplified by Helmke and Levitsky (2004:727) who state that they are “rules and procedures both formal and informal that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors’ behavior.” An important feature of institutions according to Helmke and Levitsky is their twofold nature. The two writers argue that political actors will respond to a combination of the formal and

informal institutions. Informal institutions are “socially shared rules, usually unwritten that are created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels” (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004:727). This entails that formal institutions are created, communicated and enforced inside officially sanctioned channels. Besides being twofold in nature Leftwich (2007:10) explains that institutions have three additional characteristics. They are never neutral; they serve particular interests and are slow to change. Institutions are not neutral in the sense that they will place some people at an advantage and others at a disadvantage. Institutions serve particular interests because “they express the ideas, interests, purposes and power of those who designed and supervise them...” (Leftwich, 2007:10). Institutions are slow to change as they develop and last over long periods of time. The institutional context as used in this paper is the overall outcome of interaction of institutions that are in place at a particular time, it is a combination of formal and informal institutions, and it places some actors at an advantage and others at a disadvantage, serves particular interests and is slow to change.

Nomination of candidates for parliamentary election is an important function of political parties in a democracy. A political party is according to Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo (in Matlosa, 2004:2) “an organized association of people working together to compete for political office and promote agreed upon policies” Candidate nomination is not a one day event confined to primary elections but rather one that encompasses all the activities of coming up with one

candidate out of all aspirants for the political party. The nomination process is created, communicated and enforced within a particular institutional context. It affects every aspiring candidate in a different way.

This study uses the theory of institutions as suggested by Helmke and Levitsky (2004) for the understanding of the problem. The theory of institutions by Helmke and Levitsky (2004) is about the interaction of formal and informal institutions. It stipulates that the interaction of the two types of institution will lead to convergent or divergent outcomes. Convergence means “the degree to which following informal rules produces a substantively similar result compared to following formal rules” Helmke and Levitsky (2004: 728). Divergence is therefore the degree to which following informal rules produces a substantively different result to following formal rules.

Table 2.1: Illustration of Helmke and Levitskys' Institutional Interaction.

	Effective Formal Institutions	Ineffective Formal Institutions
Convergent Outcomes	Complementary	substitutive
Divergent Outcomes	Accommodating	competing

Source: Helmke and Levitsky (2004:728)

Complementary interaction is where institutions work together and reinforce each other. Accommodating interaction mean there is a contradiction of the spirit of the rules without any direct violation. In substitutive interaction entails that the informal replaces the formal institution without any difficulty while in competing institutions the informal presents the formal institution and directly violates its spirit. This framework is adopted in this study because of its ability to illustrate the institutional context typically characterized by the interaction of formal and informal influences. The framework has provided for the comprehensive definition of institutions and organization of the findings according to this definition. It has also facilitated the interpretation of a particular 'institutional context' depending on how the institutions interact thereby laying out a basis of comparison for the six cases involved in the study. The framework by Helmke and Levitsky (2004) is of use as previous studies suggest that there is a lot of informality in the candidate nomination process particularly in Africa. As such it

is important to understand the combined effect of formality and informality in candidate nomination.

2.3 Studies on the Institutions in Political Parties and Women's Candidacy

Different approaches have been taken in related studies on the nomination of women in political parties. Ballington (2004) has addressed the question of why women are nominated in some cases but not in others. Caul (1999) looks at the question of what kind of political parties are able to nominate more women candidates. Finally, Sanbonmatsu (2002), Kunonvich and Paxton (2005) and Drake and Gallagher (2007) enlighten on the circumstances under which political parties will nominate women candidates.

On the question of why women are nominated in few cases Ballington (2004: [2]) in her presentation has argued that Political parties are under pressure from internal and external sources in their choice of electoral candidates. She finds that parties will be worried about how voters will perceive the candidate in the actual election, they want a candidate who will get maximum votes and therefore women are left out for fear that they may lose votes. The parties are therefore concerned about the aspiring candidates' track record, activism in the party and visibility in the community. Given such concerns, she argues that it becomes important that rules are written and formalized otherwise women candidates will find it difficult to enter into positions of power.

According to Caul (1999) political parties are important in ensuring that women are nominated as candidates for parliament. She sought to find out what kind of political parties are able to influence the nomination of women candidates. She studied political parties in 12 industrial democracies based on the premise that parties do differ in their encouragement or discouragement of women who seek election to parliament. She argues that “one might expect that women will be better represented when the party leaders can effectively make an effort to promote women candidates through the use of particular party policies” (Caul, 1999:80). She therefore proposes a need for deliberate action on the part of political parties in promoting women candidates. She suggests four variables that affect the ability of the party to affect women’s nominations. These are (i) the party organization structure, (ii) ideology, (iii) presence of women party activists and (iv) gender related candidate rules. Caul tests the argument that a centralized and institutionalized political party, a party that is inclined to the left on the ideological scale, has more women activists and has adopted gender related candidate rules will be better able to promote women. The study findings however indicate that there is a weak link between party organization and leftist egalitarian ideology on the part of the party and its ability to promote more women candidates. She however finds a connection between the presence of large numbers of women party activists, gender related candidate rules and a larger number of nominated women candidates.

Political parties select candidates if they have certain motivations according to Sanbonmatsu (2002) as well as Drake and Gallagher (2007). According to Sanbonmatsu the alteration depends on the seat concerned. Sanbonmatsu seeks to find the alternate explanation as to why there are few women elected to parliament besides ideology, political culture and electoral rules. Rooted in dual theoretic base comprising the theory of political opportunity structure and social eligibility pool theory, she finds that the party does in fact affect women candidates' success in obtaining a party nomination. It is said that the in the United States of America, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party will have different classes of eligible candidates in different states; this is the social eligibility pool. This means that there is an institutionalized filter as to who can become a candidate right at the beginning; primary elections. In most cases the prescriptions as to who can make an ideal candidate were found to exclude women. According to the findings the party organization is built around the drive to win a particular seat and as such for every office contested, there will be a different opportunity structure faced by aspiring candidates. In some cases women are nominated simply because candidates are hard to find. Kunonvich and Paxton (2005) in a related study discuss the filter points for women in the electoral process. They find that "relatively little is known about candidate selection methods because it is a power few party elites want to share with the general membership" (Kunonvich and Paxton, 2005:509). However there are certain variables that affect the nomination outcomes for women. These are to do with (i) party centralization, (ii) extensiveness of participation by party members and (iii)

the degree of objectiveness or subjectiveness of the criteria for candidate selection. They conclude that candidate selection is not a neutral process but one of inclusion and exclusion. Drake and Gallagher (2007) have similar findings to Sanbonmatsu (2002) in the sense that they all argue that political party tactics will depend on the seat involved. Drake and Gallagher (2007) seek to find out how political parties nominate women candidates. In their analysis they find that the literature provides contradictory evidence on the subject. There is evidence that strong centralized parties will actively nominate women and there is evidence that parties as gatekeepers filter out certain women from candidacy. There is also evidence that the type of party is irrelevant to its ability to nominate women candidates. As such they propose a theory of strategic political parties.

“We argue that parties will strategically recruit female candidates depending on the district the party is contesting. Voters tend to view female candidates ... differently than males even when the campaign substance is the same.” (Drake and Gallagher, 2007:8).

These three studies by Sanbonmatsu (2002), Drake and Gallagher (2007) and Kunovich and Paxton (2005) form the point of departure for the present study. The present study explores their suggestions in greater qualitative detail. Given the Malawi scenario does the theory of strategic political parties apply? Also in line with Kunovich and Paxton’s study is this strategic behavior operational due to favorable conditions in terms of high party centralization, lack of extensiveness

of participation by party members and subjectiveness of candidate selection criteria? Is the party really motivated by the drive to win a seat in the candidate selection process?

2.4 Related Empirical Studies

Studies by Compaore (2005) and Geisler (1995) have revealed that political parties present a varied institutional context for different women candidates. This is achieved in different ways. Compaore (2005) conducts a survey in which it is found that parties in Burkina Faso will use various means to play a selective role in the candidate nomination process. According to the findings political parties may request the payment of an exorbitant nomination fee that women who have limited resources may not afford, demand candidates from a specific geographical area or seek to nominate a woman in order to attract female voters in the actual election. In some cases personal ties to a party leader may assist a candidate to get a party nomination. Such criteria for nomination are criticized as “unclear, changeable and a deterrent for those women who are interested in obtaining a party nomination” (Compaore, 2005:134). This survey by Compaore provides a basic idea of how political parties can affect the nomination process. The methodology however raises concerns of validity as only 20 interviews are done for the whole country of Burkina Faso. Geisler (1995) on the other hand reports on case studies on women and politics in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, she finds subjective criteria being applied to the selection of women candidates as party candidates. In Zambia, the dress code of candidates, manner of speaking, the

way a woman relates to men and marital relationships have been taken into consideration on candidate selection, Geisler (1995:567). In all three countries such practices are common. A woman who complains risks being branded as “difficult” Geisler (1995:569). Geisler finds that women end up nominated in areas where the seat is hard to win due to the nature of the competition. She concludes that “what constitutes merit for women is decided by the party leadership, reflecting and reinforcing male informal notions of women’s inferior and dependent status.” Geisler (1995:570). In Malawi there are according to Khembo (2005) problems related to shortfalls in political party organization that have led to controversial candidate nominations. Issues such as poor organizational lines of communication, poor reporting relationships and unidentifiable party members create loopholes for manipulation of the candidate nomination process. He argues that parties in Malawi have lacked a well organized gender policy that encourages women in general.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented literature that has guided the study. It has presented theoretical and empirical literature. The present study builds on the ideas of Sanbonmatsu (2002), Kunonvich and Paxton (2005) and Drake and Gallagher (2007) by seeking to find out whether the institutional context was different for particular women who were successful and how that context came to be different.

CHAPTER THREE: CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS

RULES

3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter is the first of two chapters presenting the findings from the study. The chapter presents the empirical findings on the rules or formal institutions that operated in the nomination process in the UDF party regardless of the constituency concerned. These formal institutions as defined in the previous chapter are institutions that are created, communicated and enforced inside official channels.

Interviews were done to find out what these institutions were. Newspaper reports were also analyzed in order to gain an idea of related developments in other constituencies. The findings are organized in two sections. The first section comprises results of a series of interviews with 3 National Executive Committee members, 3 Regional Executive Committee members from the Central and 3 from the Southern region, 3 District Committee members from each of 3 Districts and 3 Constituency Committee members from each of 6 constituencies. This created a total of 36 respondents all officeholders in 2004. Interviews were planned for three District Commissioners who are Government administrators in every district. Two of them refused to comment on the study as they claimed not to

know anything about internal affairs of political parties. The other District Commissioner could only comment that he had received complaints of violence and fist fights in one constituency and claimed to have no mandate over internal matters in political parties. The second section presents newspaper reports of some of the problems that the UDF party ran into in the year 2004 that had a bearing on the formal institutions for candidate nomination.

3.2 Organization of the Primary Elections

The first and most noteworthy observation from the interviews was that the formal rules followed in the primary election were not written. All party leaders were unable to provide a written outline of the rules that they followed when nominating candidates in 2004. According to their responses, the rules followed were formed when the party was formed. They were devised by the first National Executive Committee of the party and then were communicated down the party hierarchy to constituency leaders at party meetings. These meetings were held only when it was necessary to do so. Probed on who clarified the rules when they were not clear, all respondents indicated that the party president had the mandate to clarify the rules but the rules are so clear that there is usually no need for clarification and enforcement. The box below gives a list of the rules that were described by party officials as the rules governing candidate nomination. The number of times each response was given is indicated in square brackets.

Box 3.1: The rules guiding candidate nomination as narrated by party officials.

1)	The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place. [36 respondents].
2)	The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice. [36 respondents].
3)	The primaries took place at a location or locations as advised by the constituency committee [30 respondents]. The constituency committee did not advise but chose the place for primaries [6 respondents]
4)	Constituency committee members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day [20 respondents]. Members of the youth section of the party were responsible for maintaining discipline [6 respondents].
5)	The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office. [36 respondents].
6)	Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded or covered with a cloth and the voters lined up behind them. [36 respondents]

7)	Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates. [36 respondents].
8)	Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed. [36 respondents].
9)	Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved. [6 respondents]. The results were approved by the National Executive Committee [6 respondents], party president [24 respondents] while others said ‘in Limbe (the party National Secretariat) without naming any persons [6 respondents].
10)	Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows:
a)	Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. Strangers were not acceptable. [36 respondents]
b)	The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. [36 respondents]
c)	The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs.[36 respondents]
d)	The candidates had to be good public speakers and be able to make convincing arguments in public.[12 respondents]
e)	Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. [30 respondents]

f)	Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. This commitment was verified by the area leader from the area where the candidate was coming from. [12 respondents]
g)	Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. [9 respondents]
h)	Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts. [2 respondents]
11)	Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency. Constituencies have varying numbers of areas. [36 respondents]
12)	Voters in the primary election had to be party members; these are people who were registered in the area register [15 respondents].These are people known because they regularly attended party meetings [21 respondents]
13)	There were varying numbers of voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.

The findings 1-13 in the table above show that the leaders share an understanding of some rules but not all of them. There was agreement on things like responsibility of organizing the primaries, scheduling of the primaries, presiding officer, voting method, counting of votes. However, there was less agreement on some matters that are very important. These include location of the primaries (3), discipline (4), and endorsement of candidates or official acceptance of results (9), candidate qualifications (10) and identification of party members (13). This is a result of the

unwritten nature of the formal rules. There are two possible causes of this. Some formal rules are absent and so improvised by leaders by making additions. Or else some rules are forgotten intentionally or not.

3.3. Resources Required in the Candidate Nomination Process

Here respondents were asked to name the resources required for a successful nomination process.

Box 3.2: The resources required for successful candidate nomination as narrated by party officials.

14)	There was a rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency. Therefore in order to convince the voters, the candidate needed to have a home in the constituency and also spend time (at least weekends) in that home. Candidates were expected to open their homes to party guests especially those coming from the areas. [36 respondents].
15)	Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs. It was further expected that the candidate should be willing to lend the vehicle to other party members who are in need. [36 respondents]
16)	Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts. [36 respondents].

The findings in the box above indicate a full agreement as to what resources are required for successful candidate nomination.

3.4 Activities involved in the Candidate Nomination Process

Here respondents were asked to name the activities involved in a successful nomination process apart from the actual primary election.

Box 3.3: The activities required for successful candidate nomination as narrated by party officials.

17)	Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes. Campaign volunteers ⁴ would visit some areas for the candidate if the candidate was unable to visit all areas. [36 respondents].
18)	Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper Sundays ⁵ so that they could sell themselves to voters in the primary as well as general elections. [36 respondents].

The findings in the table above indicate full agreement as to what activities are done in the candidate nomination period.

⁴ Campaign volunteers were mostly youths from the party who supported and traveled with the aspiring candidate of their choice.

⁵ Paper Sunday is an event in Christian churches where large sums of cash offerings are made.

3.5 People involved in the Candidate Nomination Process

Here respondents were asked to name the individuals and groups of people involved in a successful nomination process apart from the actual voters.

Box 3.4: The people required for successful candidate nomination as narrated by party officials.

19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity. [12 respondents]
20) Constituency committees as a group of people. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries. [36 respondents]
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.[13 respondents]
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs. [4 respondents]
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.[2 respondents]
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates. [3 respondents]
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice. [all 36 respondents]

From the findings in the table above, it can be seen that there is lack of full agreement on the role of certain people in the party. Some respondents indicated that party leaders as individuals are allowed to recommend and support a candidate, while others did not agree to this. Local chiefs, Traditional Authorities, Businessmen and Women party members were also mentioned by some respondents as people important in the successful nomination process. This is also a reflection of the unwritten nature of the rules. The varying responses suggest that there have been additions and/ or subtractions to the original rules.

3.6 How the Rules Played out in Practice: Media Perspectives

According to reports in various newspapers in the 2004 candidate nomination period, it is found that the UDF party ran into a number of problems in the nomination process for women candidates in some other constituencies. These problems were to do with contradiction of its own gender policy position in its manifesto and the favoring of some candidates over others.

The UDF is on record for contradicting its gender policy of promoting women in positions of decision making through remarks made by the party Secretary General. The newspaper had asked him on what the party was doing to promote women candidates. The Secretary General referring to a woman candidate he was competing against said that:

“ I am not shaken in any way that there is a woman aspiring candidate in my constituency and there is no way she is going to win the primaries. If these women want to have seats they should just ask the President for special seats because there is no way we can give them a chance” UDF Secretary General cited in the Chronicle Newspaper.⁶

There were also reports suggesting that the party favored some candidates over others. The case of Ms Anna Kachikho illustrates this as there was a lot of confusion surrounding her nomination. In March 2004, Kachikho resigned as deputy Mayor in the City of Blantyre in order to contest as a Member of Parliament in her home District of Phalombe⁷. In April 2004 it was reported that she had won the primaries but a re run was ordered by the party⁸. In another paper it was suggested that she had resigned and was supporting another candidate in the election⁹. The party leader at this time announced that Kachikho had pulled out of the race but she denied this, “I have never withdrawn from the race”¹⁰. The constituency leader in the concerned constituency indicated that people had accepted the announcement that she had withdrawn only out of respect for the president. Kachikho went on to contest as an independent candidate and eventually won the general election.

⁶ Nyirongo, W. 2004. UDF not ready for more Women MP's. *Chronicle Newspaper* April 2008:5.

⁷ Nyirenda, D 2004. Bt Deputy Mayor quits post, to run as independent *Daily Times* 15 March:1

⁸ Namangale, F. 2004. UDF Dresses Down Kachikho. *Daily Times* 6 May :5

⁹ Mwafulirwa, S. 2004. Kachikho Surrenders in Parliamentary Race. *Daily Times*, 14 April:3

¹⁰ Mwafulirwa, S. 2004. Muluzi was fooled. *Daily Times*, 26 April:2

The other case is that of Margaret Mbilidzi who was contesting in the City of Blantyre. In her case it was reported that the candidate who won the primary election was paid to withdraw from the race¹¹ and the runner up was eventually imposed. It was reported that the Secretary General for the Party had told the withdrawn candidate that he was not welcome as a candidate because he was coming from the northern region of the country. As such voters from the southern region could not vote for him.

3.7 Conclusion

Media reports shown so far suggest a weakness of the formal institutions that guide the primaries. The rules are not well known by all party leaders. As such there was room created for possible additions and subtractions. Media reports illustrate instances of confusions due to this lack of commonly understood rules. Further to this, the findings in this chapter therefore confirm the scenario laid out by Kunonvich and Paxton (2005) where centralization, lack of participation and subjective criteria affect nomination process and allow the manipulation of institutions. Some of the rules outlined from the interviews especially on candidate qualifications lack objectivity and as such the selection criteria used by the party was one likely to be manipulated. There was also evidence of a centralized party rule as in the case of Kachikho who was removed as a candidate out of respect for the president. It was found that the final endorsement of candidates was left to the party president in such a way that gave him too much

¹¹ Namangale, F. 2004 Campaign Intensifies in Ndirande Malabada. Daily Times, 20 April:3 and Chikoko, R. 2004 UDF Pays Candidate to Withdraw from Race. Malawi News, 1-7 May:2

power over candidate nomination. It is therefore concluded that the formal institutions were poorly understood and applied institutions that opened the nomination process to manipulation. The next chapter presents and discusses the findings from individual cases studied in the light of the findings in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: CANDIDATE NOMINATION IN PRACTICE

4.1 Chapter Overview

This is the second chapter presenting the findings of the study. The chapter presents and discusses the turnout of events in the nomination process of six individual women candidates in six different constituencies. The first three candidates contested in constituencies where they successfully challenged an incumbent male Member of Parliament. The last three candidates contested where they unsuccessfully challenged the male Member of Parliament. The findings reflect the experiences of the six candidates. The results also incorporate insights from local actors who in some way took a part or were knowledgeable of the process. These include the local chiefs in each constituency, the Traditional Authorities for the respective areas and 10 party members in every constituency who were active in the nomination period in 2004.

4.2 Candidate 1

Table 4.1: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 1 for Candidate 1

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
1	female	63
1a	male (incumbent)	209
1b	male	Less than 20
1c	male	Less than 20
1d	male	Less than 20
1e	female	Less than 20

Compared to the rules 1 to 13 on organization of the primary election laid out in the previous chapter, there were some irregularities in the nomination of the woman candidate. First of all there was evidence that constituency leaders favored the woman candidate over the incumbent male candidate. In this constituency all candidates had been introduced to the constituency committee by area leaders from their constituencies. The study found that party leaders at the constituency level held meetings every Wednesday. At this meeting it was reported that they impressed upon Area Chairmen to tell voting members not to vote for the incumbent candidate as he was proud and disloyal to the party. The second irregularity involved changing the date for primaries twice. It was reported that the first change was made because representatives of the national organizing

secretary were attending a funeral. On the second date voters found a deserted polling station. The constituency chairman called some of the members to say he was attending an emergency party caucus in Lilongwe over 300km away. As a result of these changes, a number of voters were angered and decided not to turn up for the next scheduled date. There was no formal communication and the actual date was kept secret by constituency leaders until a day before. It was said that the leaders did not know when the National Organizing Secretary would send his representatives. The third irregularity surfaced after the actual voting. On the same day after the vote results were delivered to head office by the representatives of the National Organizing Secretary. The candidates that lost the primary also sent a complaint to the party head office that there were some voters who were not supposed to vote because they were unknown members. It took 4 and in some accounts 5 days for the result to be officially announced. The final outcome was that candidate 1(the woman) was declared a winner as some areas had been disqualified by the party leadership at the head office for sending unqualified voters. The candidate who had won the election was declared a runner up. The whole process of recounting votes was at the total discretion of the office of the party Secretary General. This meant that the voters as well as contestants had no proper understanding of the rules that were used to decide the winner.

On resources required for successful nomination, it was disclosed that all candidates spent a lot of financial resources for the campaign. The candidates themselves refused to disclose the amounts. Candidate 1 however stated that she

donated drugs to the local clinic and a container to be used as an office for the local Police unit. She would not disclose her source of funding as she claimed to be sponsored by an anonymous well wisher. The well wisher was sponsoring her because she was a qualified woman. This well wisher she explained that was a member of her party. This member she however said was not holding a leadership position in the party. According to party members' accounts, she was sponsored by a cabinet Minister from her party who frequently visited the constituency. This scenario of unknown sources of campaign funds further casts doubt on the role of the party and its senior leaders on the nomination process. This is more so as the eventual runner up claimed there was rigging of the primaries.

Activities for all candidates in the constituency involved traveling to the areas. All candidates traveled extensively to the areas.

In this constituency, the key people that played a role were the campaign volunteers for candidates 1 and 1a were violent against each other, in one area they fought and about five supporters of candidate 1a were arrested. It was not known who had reported the matter to the Police. The arrests were perceived as unfair for supporters of candidate 1a. They had expected that all people involved in the fight would be arrested. All the arrested were later released without charge prompting suspicion that supporters of other candidates were being intimidated. This is a reflection of the absent means of settling disputes in the party.

It can therefore be concluded that in this constituency, the rules that were followed led to confusion and the coming in of unusual practices in the nomination of the eventual winner. Party leaders openly favored her over the others. Organization of the primaries also proved problematic, as dates were changed for very simple excuses in situations that the party could have easily rectified. The excuse that delegates of the National Organizing secretary were attending a funeral was not convincing. The emergency caucus was not convincing either as in both cases other delegates could have been sent. The absent and/or ineffective rules for recounting of votes and dispute settlement as well as sourcing of funding were also leading to outcomes that were unpredictable for the candidates

4.3 Candidate 2

Table 4.2: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 2 for Candidate 2

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
2	female	155
2a	Male (incumbent)	Withdrew voluntarily
2b	male	Less than10
2c	male	Less than 10
2d	male	Less than 10

In this constituency there were suspicious circumstances in organization of the primary elections. First of all the man who had previously held the seat simply withdrew from the race a few days before the voting day because he wanted to give room to the woman candidate. The man refused to participate in the study and answer the researcher's questions. He referred the researcher to the District Governor. There was however an allegation in the findings that this particular candidate was given cash in order to withdraw from the race. The candidate remained a senior party member and held a leadership position in the constituency after the primary elections were done. Secondly, some informants reported that candidate 2 hired armed police for her security. This was unusual as security is provided from within the party according to rule 4. Some of the people who voted explained that they felt intimidated by the policemen present. This particular constituency is in a rural area where the police are feared and as such with a lining up voting system the situation was alarming. It was reported that the mood on the day was very sober and there was no instance of the usual singing and provocative debates at primaries. Thirdly, this was also the only district in the study with a register of members kept by the District Governor. A thorough job of verification of members' names was done; those who did not appear in the register were not allowed to vote. This was problematic in itself as some people who expected to vote by virtue of membership were not allowed to vote as they had 'not been seen' at party meetings and did not appear in the register. The register was marked at the end of every meeting by one of the area leaders who was most often the area secretary.

This whole scenario of voluntary withdrawal of the incumbent to pave way for a woman, strict identification of voters by the register and presence of armed police at primaries does not relate to the rules in the previous chapter. The rules followed had therefore produced unanticipated outcomes.

The use of campaign resources in the nomination period was also unusual for the winning candidate. On resources used in the nomination period, the winning candidate herself admitted to have spent a personal MK4.5 Million for her entire campaign from the primaries to the general election. The other candidates were reported to have spent very little in his campaign that went to gifts for chiefs and area leaders. She claimed to have paid school fees for 50 orphans coming from all areas. This gave her extra mileage as she was supported by local chiefs who urged voting party members to support her so that she continues paying the school fees. The fact that the rules in the previous chapter allowed her to use any amount of her resources therefore gave her advantage that can not necessarily be seen as unfair as the resources were personal. However, the unfairness came with her involvement in party cloth distribution. Prior to the primaries, candidate 2 was reported to have distributed party cloth from the party president. This gave her unfair advantage as some recipients reportedly felt bound to vote for her especially in a lining up system.

This candidate did not undertake any area visits as the other candidates as she preferred to campaign at the district level. This was a result of her financial strength as she was able to invite leaders to her home. This is still unusual as the rules in the previous chapter suggest that travel is part of every campaign. Constituency leaders complicated things further by organizing the visits the candidates' house. Voters reportedly felt obliged to vote for her.

In this case it can therefore be concluded that a number of factors in the rules worked to this particular candidates' advantage and not any of the others. The incumbent withdrew to pave way for her. Also the constituency committee allowed her to have Police security at the primaries and to distribute party cloth. In the eyes of the villagers, this made her appear important and made them feel obliged to vote for her. The adherence to the names in the register brought in a lot of discretion whereby the supporters of some candidates could have easily been excluded. This is against a background of candidates voting for a candidate from their area and surrounding areas. The rules were as such leading to outcomes unlike what is expected by going through the rules in the previous chapter.

4.4 Candidate 3

Table 4.3: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 3 for Candidate 3

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
3	female	111
3a	Male (incumbent)	77
3b	Male	Less than 5
3c	Male	Less than 5
3d	Male	Less than 5
3e	Male	Less than
3f	Male	Less than 5

In this constituency unusual circumstances surfaced in the organization of the primary election. First of all, the woman candidate who won the primary was a close personal friend of the District Governor who vigorously campaigned for her nomination. The woman District Governor had been a long time respected leader of the women's wing in the party. She contested for the position of District Governor for the party and was successfully elected. As a leader she was found to have encouraged women to take up challenging posts. She had openly campaigned for and assisted candidate 3 with resources required for candidate nomination as outlined in rules 14 and 15. The Governor allowed the candidate 3 use of her home to accommodate party visitors. Candidate 3 at the time did not

live in the constituency but only spent Fridays and Saturdays there. The Governor who was a business person with a fleet of lorries supplied the candidate with a lorry and also allowed a 1 ton pick up owned by the party to campaign for Candidate 3. The Governor accompanied candidate 3 on all her visits to areas. The other remaining candidates were accompanied at times by other leaders in the constituency but not the Governor. Candidate 3 was also accompanied to weddings and funerals where she was introduced as the recognized shadow Member of Parliament for the area before being officially nominated. Secondly, and related to the first factor; it was reported that the candidate 3 won most votes. It was also noted that she had a lot of support from women party members. All the other candidates did not get many votes from female voters. Approximately over half of candidate 3's voters were reported to be women.

This candidate had benefited much from the endorsement she got from the Governor, Constituency committee and also from chiefs in the area who had supported her. This was a clear case of the party through the District Governor giving unfair advantage to the winner. The rules in the previous section were not directly violated but they produced an outcome that was not in line with their spirit. What happened in the eyes of the other candidates was favoritism by the party.

4.5 Candidate 4

Table 4.4: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 4 for Candidate 4

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
4	female	70
4b	male (incumbent)	81
4c	male	36
4d	male	Less than 10
4e	male	Less than 10
4f	male	Less than 10
4g	male	Less than 10

There were two problems in the organization of the primaries in this constituency as well. Firstly, the District Commissioner for this particular district reported to have received reports of physical fights in different areas at area meetings but did not react in any way as he argued that sorting out political disputes is not part of his mandate. He said he referred the disputes to courts but usually the complainants lack the time, money and persistence to go through the court system. The rules reported in the previous chapter stipulate that discipline is the responsibility of the constituency committee; there are no further clear channels of resolving intra party disputes. Secondly, the date and venue for the primaries was not given to party members on time. The final date was known late

on Wednesday for primaries to take place on the following Saturday. The venue also changed on the same two days prior to the primaries. This is against the requirement of a two week notice of impending primaries. These changes resulted in a situation where voters gathered at two venues about 8km apart. One group of voters did not vote. The confusion was reported to have been blamed on the constituency secretary who did not remind voters on time. The voters who voted were mostly from the area where the winning candidate came from and its surrounding areas

Activities in the campaign involved area visits as stipulated in rule 17. What transpired was that all other candidates besides the incumbent were made unwelcome in 5 of the 41 areas involved. Their supporters were beaten. The area chairmen did not do anything about it. This was when some candidates including the woman candidate complained to the District Commissioner.

There was therefore an outcome that differed from the spirit of the rules in chapter three. The containing of violence was a problem and supporters had nowhere to go after being turned down by the District Commissioner. On the other hand there was also direct violation of the rules as the need for a two week notice of impending primaries was not adhered to. The nomination process was therefore unpredictable and largely worked to the advantage of the incumbent.

4.6 Candidate 5

Table 4.5: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 5 for Candidate 5

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
5	Female	80
5a	male (incumbent)	96
5b	Female	Less than 10
5c	Male	Less than 10
5d	Male	Less than 10
5e	Male	Less than 10
5f	Male	Less than 10
5g	Male	Less than 10

In this constituency there were two women contesting. These women were different in the sense that only one woman who was a wealthy business person posed a significant challenge to the incumbent candidate. The incumbent however was allowed to verbally discredit both the women challengers at meetings in the presence of constituency leaders. He was supported in this by the local constituency committee. The women were accused of being proud town women who had little experience of life of the ordinary Malawian. This was disqualifying them based on the expectations raised by rule 10c.

The woman candidate who had posed a greater challenge candidate 5a complained that demands for extensive travel and cash were placed on her by a senior cabinet minister who came from the district. She complained that she felt like she was being used by the party. She ended up spending close to MK 2 million for the nomination race alone.

On the actual day of primary elections, the District Governor verified all voters names in the members register. The people whose names did not appear were allowed to vote. There were a number of people who attended meetings but were not in the district register, these were sent back. This meant that the District Governor retained discretionary powers in accepting voters in the primaries. The incumbent candidate was accompanied by two National Executive Committee members and also four armed men at the primaries. The voters were told that the firearms were for security of the incumbent at the primaries. The presence of firearms was also reported to have unsettled many of the villagers who were not used to seeing guns. As such in a lining up system they may have been intimidated into voting for the incumbent.

In this case it is therefore also seen that the events in the nomination process are beyond the rules in the previous chapter. The party leaders allowed the incumbent to discredit others and they actually agreed to this. Demands for cash from specific candidates by the party were also against the rules as there was no requirement that a candidate must fund party activities. The presence of firearms

was also outside the rules suggested in the previous chapter. It is therefore the case that the incumbent man was placed at an advantage in the nomination process by the party unlike all the other candidates including the women who were unsuccessful.

4.7 Candidate 6

Table 4.6: Results of Primary Elections in Constituency 6 for Candidate 6

Candidate	Gender	Number of votes
6	Female	Less than 10
6a	Male	126
6b	Male	Less than 10
6c	Male	Less than 10

In this constituency, the organization of the primaries also proved problematic as respondents recalled. The date for primaries was not given in good time. The final date was confirmed to party members at a constituency meeting on a Friday, and the voting was done on a Saturday. However nothing unusual occurred on the voting day where it seemed all requirements set out in the previous chapter were met.

It can be concluded for this case that even though primaries went on smoothly, the rules were still not adhered to fully. The two week notice of impending primaries as not respected. According to the respondents, this had no effect on the outcome of the votes. However, the scenario still provides a loophole for manipulating results as dates can be set to inconvenience particular voters.

4.8 Conclusion

It has been found that each nomination process was unique and raised its own rules. In all cases except for candidate 6, there was evidence that the rules favored the candidate who won. This should suggest that in the first three cases the women were placed at an advantage and won. In the next two cases, the women were placed at a disadvantage and lost while in the last case there was no convincing evidence that the woman who lost was placed at a disadvantage.

The question of how some candidates were placed at an advantage unlike others on the other hand has a different answer in each case. This should mean that the rules were not violated in an organized manner but rather circumstantially. What comes out clearly is that some rules are absent and others are ineffective and as such the outcome of the nominations became uncertain and unpredictable.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter draws a conclusion for the study in relation to the findings presented in the previous chapter. There are two major issues being highlighted. First of all, it is found that the formal rules in place are unwritten. The respondents in the study had what they referred to as a set of formal rules that they could recall. The respondents believed that this set of formal rules was being used in all constituencies and was accepted by all party members.. Secondly, it is found that in the nomination process, party leaders could ensure the success of a chosen candidate be it a woman or a man. Furthermore, there was no systematic strategy of placing women at an advantage in the nomination process.. It is therefore being argued that the nomination process is governed by powerful informal institutions working alongside the formal institutions, The chapter then suggests recommendations that may be useful for academics, women active in politics as well as those aspiring to join politics, governments and the private sector particularly organizations that seek to promote women in politics.

5.2 Primacy of the informal over the formal institutions

The rules of candidate nomination laid out in chapter three can be classified as ‘formal’ in the sense portrayed by Helmke and Levitsky (2004:727). They clearly point out that formal institutions are those “created, communicated and enforced through channels widely accepted as official.” The rules that were outlined by the various party leaders were regarded as the official guidelines. The coordination of the nomination process was formalized and vested in the office of the national organizing secretary.

However, what happened in practice was an extension of the formal rules into something else not set out as the intent of the formal rules. Leftwich (2004:10) declares that “informal political institutions are unwritten agreements, conventions, practices and habitual procedures which operate behind, within or alongside formal institutions.” Clearly, there was another set of institutions with particular interests behind them and running behind, within or alongside the set of formal institutions. This was possible because some of the formal rules were subjective or to put it bluntly vague. A good example of this is the requirement that a candidate must not be proud. The implication is that the formal rules may have been deliberately left to be vague to keep the process flexible enough to accommodate certain interests.

5.3 Implications on Helmke and Levitsky's Theory

The theory by Helmke and Levitsky (2004) can therefore be modified a step further, considering the outcome of this study. It can be argued that formal institutions can be deliberately left to be ambiguous to open the nomination process to other influences. These influences take shape as informal institutions. In this case it was particularly helpful to maintain the institutions in an unwritten form as they are then difficult to access and critique. What this means is that the rules for candidate nomination in a strict sense are difficult to classify as formal institutions or informal institutions. The term 'formal institution' covers more ground to include some practices that are not necessarily written.

5.4 Candidate Nomination, Informality and Women Candidates at Primary Elections

The findings suggest that the women candidates who were successful managed to succeed clearly circumstantially by being the preferred candidate among the candidates contesting. They did not succeed for the reason that the party was promoting women candidates. The findings are as such in agreement with Sanbonmatsu (2002), Kunonvich and Paxton (2005) as well as Drake and Gallagher (2007). The party is seen to have been behaving strategically, selecting women in some cases but not in others as argued by Sanbonmatsu (2002) and Drake and Gallagher (2007). The findings are also in line with those of

Kunonvich and Paxton (2005). These authors argue that certain types of parties easily filter out candidates in the nomination process. The parties are centralized, use subjective criteria for candidate selection and lack extensive participation by members. The party had centralized powers as evidenced by power of endorsement of candidates resting in the office of the Secretary General. Further to this, some of the criteria for selecting candidates are subjective criteria especially those to do with candidate qualifications.

The findings outlined in the previous chapter clearly show that the candidate nomination process was overall an unpredictable process. This is a reflection of the powerful informal institutions affecting the process. Due to unwritten and vague rules, candidates and party leaders were able to bring in additions and alterations to the interpretation of the rules. These additions and alterations included, open favoring of particular candidates by party leaders, flexibility in changing dates and venues for primaries, unexplained withdrawing of candidates, use of firearms for security at primaries, use of a particular aspiring candidate to distribute free party cloth and demanding cash to fund party activities from particular candidates.

5.5 Recommendations

There are two important recommendations arising from the study. First of all, if UDF party as well as other parties are to nominate more women candidates there is a need for political parties to make the process more predictable by

introducing clear as opposed to vague institutional constraints. .Secondly, there is a need to introduce a policy for promotion of women candidates. The policy must guide the party leadership particularly through the office of the General Secretary and the constituency leadership. These are the two offices that have a lot of influence over the candidate nomination process. The same offices have the power to facilitate the nomination of more women candidates.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has concluded the study by arguing that there were powerful informal institutions filling in the gaps created by vague formal institutions. These gaps arose because the formal institutions were framed in a way that keeps their interpretation flexible. This allows certain interests to be served reinforcing the argument by Leftwich (2004) that institutions are seldom neutral. What happened in the end was that successful women made it only on the chance that they were the preferred candidate by the local and national leadership. However, despite that the national leadership had the last say; the local leadership had more influence on the shape that the institutional context took. At the end of the day it was these informal institutions that mattered in shaping the nomination process and thereby deciding the winner.

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APPENDIX I

Interview Guide: Formal Rules for Candidate Nomination

Good day, my name is Anne Sainala Thindwa. I am a student at the University of Malawi, Chancellor College studying for an MA in Political Science. I do not represent the government or any political party.

I am studying the successes and failures of women as they seek nomination as candidates for parliament and would like to discuss some important issues with you. Results of this study will lead to compilation of a thesis that will be submitted to the University of Malawi. The discussion should take less than an hour.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that interview responses will only be discussed by team members and I will ensure that any information that is included in my report does not identify you as the respondent.

I will be taping the session because I do not want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking notes during the session, I cannot possibly write fast enough to get it all down, because we are on tape please be sure to speak up.

You do not have to talk about anything you don't want to and may end the interview at any time.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Objective one:]

To examine the rules that were followed in nominations and how those rules affected women's success or failure.

1. How did your party come up with a pool of contestants for primary elections for your party in 2004?
2. What were the important characteristics that made candidates acceptable to your party at the time?
3. What were the important characteristics that made candidates unacceptable to your party at the time?
4. Looking back to 2004:
 - Who was allowed to vote?
 - What were the election rules with regard to the actual counting of votes?

- Who presided over the primary elections?

Objective two:

To find out what party resources were made available to support candidate nomination and how the availability of those resources affected women's candidacy.

5. What resources did a candidate need to successfully go through the nomination process in 2004?

Objective three:

To find out what primary election campaign activities were undertaken in the party and how those activities affected women's candidacy.

6. What campaign activities were undertaken for a candidate to successfully go through the candidate nomination process in 2004?
7. Who was involved in the activities?

Objective Four:

To examine the roles and profiles of the people that were involved in candidate nomination and how those people affected women's candidacy.

8. What people inside the party played a role in assisting any candidate go through the candidate nomination process?
9. What people outside the party played a role in assisting any candidate go through the candidate nomination process?

APPENDIX II

Focus Group Discussion Guide

Good day, my name is Anne Sainala Thindwa. I am a student at the University of Malawi, Chancellor College studying for an MA in Political Science. I do not represent the government or any political party.

I am studying the successes and failures of women as they seek nomination as candidates for parliament and would like to discuss some important issues with you. Results of this study will lead to compilation of a thesis that will be submitted to the University of Malawi. The discussion should take less than an hour.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that interview responses will only be discussed by team members and I will ensure that any information that is included in my report does not identify you as the respondent.

I will be taping the session because I do not want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking notes during the session, I cannot possibly write fast enough to get it all down, because we are on tape please be sure to speak up.

You do not have to talk about anything you don't want to and may end the interview at any time.

FGD GUIDE

Objective one:]

To examine the rules that were followed in nominations and how those rules affected women's success or failure.

1. What were the important characteristics that made candidates acceptable to your party at the time?
2. What were the important characteristics that made candidates unacceptable to your party at the time?
3. Looking back to the day of primary elections:
 - Who was allowed to vote?
 - What were the election rules with regard to the actual counting of votes?
 - Who presided over the primary elections?

Objective two:

To find out what party resources were made available to support candidate nomination and how the availability of those resources affected women's candidacy.

4. What did the woman candidate need to successfully go through the candidate nomination process?
5. In your opinion how did the successful candidate acquire these resources?
6. In your opinion what resources were lacking in the campaigns of the unsuccessful candidates?

Objective three:

To find out what primary election campaign activities were undertaken in the party and how those activities affected women's candidacy.

7. What campaign activities were undertaken by the successful aspiring candidate to successfully go through the candidate nomination process?
8. Who was involved in the activities?
9. In your opinion what activities were lacking in the campaigns of the unsuccessful candidates?

Objective Four:

To examine the roles and profiles of the people that were involved in candidate nomination and how those people affected women's candidacy.

10. What people inside the party played a role in assisting the successful candidate stage a successful primary election campaign among party supporters?
11. What people outside the party played a role in assisting the successful candidate stage a successful primary election campaign among party supporters?

APPENDIX III a

Table: i: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 1 for the nomination process of candidate 1.

	FINDINGS
ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	There was confusion over dates. The dates were changed twice; some voters went to a deserted voting station. The final date was known two days before the actual voting.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	The notice was not adhered to.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	This criterion was met.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	This criterion was met.
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	After the vote, blindfolds were removed so that candidates could see the voters for themselves.
7) Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer	This criterion was met.

with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The results were not approved as expected because the NEC said some voters were not qualified as voters so votes had to be subtracted. Disqualified voters came from other areas. it took 4 to 5 days to approve the results
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria.
11) Voters in the primary election	There were allegations that

came from the areas in the constituency	some voters came from outside the constituency.
12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	There was a problem here as there was no register so it was hard to verify members.
13) There was an uncertain voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 350 voters, some alleged to be from outside the constituency.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	This criterion was met.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	Candidate was sponsored by an anonymous well wisher
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	This criterion was met.
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper	This criterion was met.

Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the primary as well as general elections. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	A senior cabinet Minister was seen to frequent the home of the candidate and the constituency Governor.
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met.
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	They received money from all candidates in amounts that would not be disclosed but spoke highly of the candidate.
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	This did not happen
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	The candidates' supporters fought with supporters of the incumbent. The incumbents' supporters were hospitalized and later arrested.

APPENDIX III b

Table: ii: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 2 for the nomination process of candidate 2.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	This criterion was met.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	This criterion was met.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	This criterion was met.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	On the day of primaries there were hired policemen in uniform providing security. The police were hired by the candidate.
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	This criterion was met.
7) Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer	This criterion was met.

with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The criterion was met
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria.
11) Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency	This criterion was met

12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	There was a members register, some voters did not appear in it and so were not allowed to vote.
13) There was an uncertain number of voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 200 voters.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	This criterion was met.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	Candidate was involved in a lot of charity work unrivalled by any other candidate. She was paying fees for over 20 orphans from all areas.
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	Candidate did not travel to any area but called area leaders to her home at the District center.
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the	This criterion was met.

primary as well as general elections. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	All area chairmen had spoken in support of this candidate
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met.
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	All local chiefs spoke highly of this candidate.
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	This did not happen
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	This took place.

APPENDIX III c

Table: iii: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 3 for the nomination process of candidate 3.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	This criterion was met.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	This criterion was met.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	This criterion was met.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	This criterion was met.
7) Votes for each candidate were	This criterion was met.

counted by the presiding officer with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The results of the vote count were announced on the same day and winning candidate made an acceptance speech soon after the announcement
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria.
11) Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency	This criterion was met

12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	The voters were identified as people who attended party meetings.
13) There were 500 to 1500 voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 900 voters.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met. The candidate also had the home of the District Governor for her use.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	This criterion was met. The candidate also had the party 1 ton pick up truck and the Governor's personal 5 ton lorry for her use. The Governor fuelled the vehicles for her.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts.	This criterion was met
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	This criterion was met.
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the	This criterion was met.

primary as well as general elections.	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	All area chairmen had spoken in support of this candidate
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met.
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	All local chiefs spoke highly of this candidate.
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	The candidate benefited from the services of a female District Governor who mobilized support for her.
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	This took place.

APPENDIX III d

Table: iv: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 4 for the nomination process of candidate 4.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	There was some confusion as the date for primaries was not given in good time. The final date was released only a day before the actual voting was done.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	This criterion was met.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	There was confusion over the location of primaries as venues kept changing. The result of this was that people gathered at two venues about 8km apart and the bigger group did not vote in the primaries.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a	This criterion was met.

lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	
7) Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	This criterion was met.
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The results were hastily announced on the same day and local leaders declared the winner on the day.
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria.

11) Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency	This criterion was met
12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	
13) There was an uncertain number of voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 250 voters.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	Candidate was not welcomed in 5 out of the 13 areas where her supporters were stoned.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts.	This criterion was met
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals,	This criterion was met.

weddings and church paper Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the primary as well as general elections..	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	Candidate did not have support of any party leaders.
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met.
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	Candidate did not have support of most of the chiefs
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	This did not happen
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	This took place.

APPENDIX III e

Table: v: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 5 for the nomination process of candidate 5.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	This criterion was met.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	This criterion was met.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	This criterion was met.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	Additional security was provided by the candidates' challenger who came with a total of four armed men.
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	This criterion was met.
7) Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer	This criterion was met.

with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The results were counted and announced on the same day soon after voting without referral to senior leaders.
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria. She was however accused of being a proud town woman by local leaders
11) Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency	This criterion was met

12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	There was a members register, some voters did not appear in it and so were not allowed to vote.
13) There was an uncertain number of voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 250 voters.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	This criterion was met.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	This criterion was met.
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the	This criterion was met.

primary as well as general elections. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	The candidate did not have support of any party leaders as individuals. She complained of demands for extensive travel and cash placed on her by a senior minister. This made her feel as she was being used.
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	The candidate did not have support of any of the local chiefs.
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	This did not happen
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	This took place.

APPENDIX III f

Table: vi: Summarized Findings from Data collected in constituency 6 for the nomination process of candidate 6.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION	
1) The responsibility of organizing the actual primary elections rested with the office of the National Organizing Secretary. This is the office that set the date for the primaries in all constituencies and arranged that the primaries were announced on the radio, in the newspapers and in the actual constituencies where the primary election was to take place.	This criterion was met.
2) The primaries would usually be scheduled for Saturday mornings with a two week notice.	This criterion was met.
3) The primaries took place at a location as advised by the constituency committee.	This criterion was met.
4) Constituency committee/ youth wing members were responsible for maintaining discipline on the day.	This criterion was met
5) The presiding officer was a representative of the National Organizing Secretary and was a party leader from the national or regional office.	This criterion was met.
6) Voting was done by means of a lining up system where contestants were blindfolded.	This criterion was met.
7) Votes for each candidate were counted by the presiding officer	This criterion was met.

with the help of another party member chosen and trusted by each of the candidates.	
8) Campaigning or discussing candidates on the day of voting was not allowed.	This criterion was met.
9) Results of the vote count would be announced publicly after they were approved in by the NEC/ Party Chairman/ in Limbe.	The criterion was met
10) Candidates Qualifications for the primaries were as follows: a) Candidates were supposed to be people who were well known in the constituency. b) The candidates had to seek nomination themselves or be approached by party members in which case they had to accept nomination. c) The candidates were supposed to be well behaved according to the local customs d) The candidates had to be good public speakers. e) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are development conscious. f) Candidates had to demonstrate that they are committed to the party and therefore not likely to defect to another party when elected. g) Candidates were supposed to be people who were not proud. h) Women candidates were supposed to be women who did not wear trousers or mini skirts.	Candidate lived in the constituency and was well known. They satisfied all the criteria.
11) Voters in the primary election came from the areas in the constituency	This criterion was met

12) Voters in the primary election had to be party members, these are people who were registered in the area register, or were known because they regularly attended party meetings.	This criterion was met.
13) There was an uncertain number of voters in the primary election depending on the constituency and the number of areas involved.	There were about 200 voters.
RESOURCES IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
14) There was an unspoken rule that a good Member of Parliament is one who resides in the constituency.	This criterion was met.
15) Extensive travel took place, as candidates campaigned in the areas so they required a strong vehicle, fuel and cash for other vehicle maintenance costs.	This criterion was met.
16) Courtesy to party leaders in the form of buying them groceries like bread, sugar and soap was expected. Such courtesy included cash handouts. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	This criterion was met.
ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE NOMINATION PERIOD	
17) Candidates were expected to visit the areas that make up the constituency for campaign purposes.	This criterion was met
18) Candidates were expected to attend as many funerals, weddings and church paper Sundays so that they could sell themselves to voters in the	This criterion was met.

primary as well as general elections. All 36 respondents agreed on this.	
PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS	
19) Party leaders as individuals. These would recommend and support a candidate in their personal capacity.	The candidate did not have support of individual party leaders.
20) Constituency committee. Responsible for hosting primary elections and accepting candidates to contest the primaries.	This criterion was met.
21) Local chiefs. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	The candidate had support of 1 out of 6 local chiefs.
22) Traditional Authorities. Candidates were expected to be in good terms with these senior chiefs.	This criterion was met.
23) Local Businessmen. Would support a candidate and request the Secretary General to nominate a particular candidate in their areas.	This did not happen.
24) Women party members. These were called on to support other women candidates	This did not happen
25) Campaign volunteers. These were youths from the party who assisted a candidate of their own choice.	This took place.