

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PROMOTING GOOD GOVERNANCE
AND DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO: A
CASE OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEMOCRACY
(PPRD) AND THE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS UNION (UDPS)

BY

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Abstract

This research examines the role of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) party in promoting good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Following more than two decades of Multipartyism and after the wars that have affected the Democratic Republic of the Congo especially from 1996 to 2002, the status of good governance and democracy is still of big concern while Multipartyism was introduced with the aim of fostering good governance and democratic principles. The Democratic Republic of the Congo has seen Congolese creating several hundred political parties but in fact good governance and democratic principles are not yet in place in the country inspite the fact that the Democratic Republic of the Congo experienced its first pluralistic elections in 2006 and 2011. The constitution adopted through a referendum held in 2005 and which came into force in 2006 has created a framework allowing for political pluralism and mechanisms for political participation, yet political participation still is a problem in the DRC especially the participation of opposition parties. On the promotion of good governance and democratic principles political parties and of course the PPRD and the UDPS are failing due to various causes, from the lack of internal democracy to the lack of financial resources. This research is a case study that uses structured and unstructured interviews. Robert Dahl's theory of power is used to explain the extent to which the PPRD and the UDPS contribute to the promotion of good governance and democratic principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This study recommends a rethinking of political parties settings and financing as they have the potential to bring democracy and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

DECLARATION

I Mwema Ngandu Jean-Felix hereby declare that this research is my own work except where sources have been acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be submitted to another university for the awarding of a degree.

Signed:

Student.....Date.....

Supervisor.....Date.....

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DEDICATION

To all the Congolese people who have hope and work for a better future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

ABAKO	Association of the Bakongo
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFP	Agence France Press
AI	Amnesty International
ANR	National Intelligence Agency
ASADHO	African Association of Human Rights Observers
AU	African Union
BALUBAKAT	Association of the Baluba of Katanga
CENADEP	National Support Central for Development and the Peasant Participation
CENI	National Independent Electoral Commission
CODHO	Committee of Human Rights Observers (Commite des Observateurs des Droits de l’Homme)
CONAKAT	Confederation of Tribal Association of Katanga
DGM	Direction Generale des Migrations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo (The)

GLTV	Great Lacs Television
IDA	International Development Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MNC	Congolese National Movement
MP	Presidential Majority
MPR	Popular Movement for Revolution
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
OHADA	Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa
PPRD	People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy
RENADHOC	Réseau National des ONG d'Observation des Droits de l'Homme au Congo
RFI	Radio France Internationale
RLTV	Radio Lisanga Télévision
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SET	Support to Tshisekedi
SMS	Short Message System
UDPS	Democracy and Social Progress Union

UNDP United Nations Development Program

USA United States of America

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

The relationship between political parties, democracy, governance and the roles of political parties in democratic settings have been for very long a focus of discussions, reforms and investments in the world. Most of the researchers agree on that political parties are an essential element in democracy. Parties are said to have the capacity to mobilize citizens behind particular visions. They give citizens avenues for political participation and opportunities to shape their future. Political parties influence the daily life of citizens in a country. They also provide leaders who assume governance role in governing systems. They are a key element in a country's political life.

Schattschneider (1942) argued that political parties created democracy and that modern democracy is unthinkable without political parties. This is a position taken by many other scholars who believe that political parties are good for democracy. Among other roles such as selecting persons to present as candidates during elections; developing political programmes; establishing the connection between citizens, social groupings and the political system,...(Hofmeister & Grabow,2011, p. 15) political parties have an important role to play in promoting good governance and democracy in developing countries (Foresti & Wild, 2010, p. 2).

The development of a country, the level of democracy and the nature of governance depend at a certain point on the way that political parties are organized and play their role in educating citizens, influencing them and promoting good governance. In this regard, democracy is only achievable where political parties, civil society organizations and citizens play significantly their roles. Rakner.et al (2007) argued that in the developing world, for many years political parties were neglected preferring to concentrate on human rights and civil society as ways to deepen democracy. They further noted that political parties are crucial for long term political development in emerging countries.

In recent years, however, political parties are being taken more seriously. It is more and more understood that in the pursuit of healthy democracies, political parties cannot be neglected. The United Nations Development Program, the World Bank and the British Government's Department for International Development are with other important development agencies increasingly recognizing the place of parties on the wider development agenda.

In general opinion, political parties do not have a good press in both mature and emerging democracies. People who run them are said to be in pursuit of their own interests rather than those of the people they seek to represent. Unfortunately, in emerging democracies things are even worse. However, it would be a big mistake to

neglect political parties just because they do not always work well. Without well-functioning political parties that form a pivotal institution in a healthy democracy governments and legislatures have very little chance of representing wider society in a meaningful manner. Political parties in democracy serve to translate society's demands into political ideas and programs. They also hold governments to account on society's behalf. Viable political parties and effective party system are fundamental to building democracy. Therefore, supporting the development of well-functioning political parties that understand their roles and party system in new democracies should constitute a major priority.

Narratives on the Democratic Republic of the Congo have tended to focus on wars, the corruption of the elites, the human rights violation, environmental impacts, the natural resources "curse", however there is little that has been written that captures the narrative of the political parties involvement in fostering good governance and democracy principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This research therefore seeks to explore the role of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union in promoting good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

1.1 Background to Political parties and democracy in the D.R.C

Up to 1958, the Belgians, avoiding radical political ideas from neighbouring countries to contaminate the Congolese had prevented the creation of political parties and this, in contrast with the policies of the French and the British who encouraged the development of one or two large national parties in their colonies (Purcell, J.P, 1999, p. 5). When the Congolese were authorized to organize politically, Belgians were immediately confronted with a large number of small parties loyal to various tribes. Many political parties such as: the Association of the Baluba of Katanga (BALUBAKAT), the Confederation of Tribal Associations of Katanga (CONAKAT), the Association of the BAKONGO (ABAKO) were then created to promote intra-tribal unity and to counter perceived threats from other tribes (Libois, J.G, 1966). The Congolese National Movement (MNC) of Patrice Lumumba was the only political national movement at the time of the Independence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

From 1960-1965, political parties in Congo were allowed to exercise in respect of the laws that prevailed in the country within that period. But in 1965, when Mobutu proclaimed himself president of the republic, he suspended political party's activities. From 1965, Mobutu dominated the political life of the D.R.C, restructuring the state on more than one occasion. By 1967, Mobutu has consolidated his rule and proceeded to give the country a single party, the POPULAR MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION (MPR) in French Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution, which was the most reaching change, marking the emergence of the politically organized, rather than being the

emanation of the state. The state was henceforth defined as the emanation of the party. Thus, since October 1967, party and administrative responsibilities were merged into a single framework, thereby automatically extending the role of the party to all administrative organs at the central and provincial levels, as well as to the trade unions, youth movements, and student organizations. Every seven years, the MPR elected a president who was at the same time was automatically elected to a seven year-term as president of the republic. Every five years, a single list of MPR candidates was returned to the National Assembly. This gave the president of the MPR, Mobutu, and complete control over the country.

Any attempts to contest the legitimacy of the MPR or to create a political organization different from the MPR were severely reprimanded. A number of political leaders not in good boots with president Mobutu left the country and some where even publicly killed. Mobutu instituted an authoritarian regime that hindered democracy.

1.1.1 Background to democratization and pluralism in the D.R.C

The democratization process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo started when, president Mobutu, weakened by internal unrest and external pressures as the cold war came to an end, announced a series of reforms including: the end of the one party-rule system, opening up to a multi-party system, the separation of state powers, trade union pluralism and a transitional period to democratic rule. These reforms saw emerging in

the political framework of the D.R.C, then Zaire, a multitude of political organizations. Although political parties before January 24th 1990 were not free to exercise their activities some political parties were already existing and active such as the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) founded in 1982. Unfortunately, this democratic process was interrupted by a series of war in the D.R.C, especially from 1996-2002. In May 1997, Mobutu was overthrown and his successor, Laurent Désiré Kabila suspended political party and association activities throughout the country. After several agreements and multiple cease fire, 2002 saw warring parties coming to a series of agreements that allowed the country to renew with the democratic process started a decade earlier. A new Constitution was then drafted, passed through referendum and promulgated. This constitution has created a framework allowing for political pluralism and created mechanisms for political participation.

1.1.2 Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS)

The Democracy and Social Progress Union in French (Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social) “UDPS” is a center left political party founded on February 15, 1982. The Party believes in Social Liberalism, Social Democracy and Progressivism as ideology. The Party is affiliated to the Progress Alliance, Socialist International and to the Democratic Union of Africa. Its colours are Yellow, Red and Blue. The party has the lengthiest record of continuous operation in the D.R.C and contains the most registered members of any political organization as of 2008, 45 million of members in the D.R.C. The party has 41 seats over 500 in the National Assembly. The party boycotted the polls

of the General Election held in 2006, complaining of fraud. Etienne Tshisekedi, leader of the Party, ran for president in the 2011 General Election and came second, according to the results proclaimed by the National Independent Electoral Commission in French Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante (CENI). UDPS is composed of 3 National organs: the Congress, the Presidency and the Democratic Convention of the Party and 3 Basic Organs: the Internal Federation, the External Federation, and the Democratic Federal Convention. The party head quarter is based in Kinshasa.

Etienne Tshisekedi, president and cofounder of the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) is a former public figure of the MPR and one of the first in the DRC to publicly oppose to president Mobutu. Etienne Tshisekedi was several times arrested but still continued to fight against Mobutism from within the country. In the early 1990s as the country started its transition to a democratic rule, Etienne Tshisekedi occupied the post of Prime Minister for three short times. In May 1997, Laurent Kabila became the president of the DRC and suspended political parties and association's activities. He also arrested Etienne Tshisekedi who accused him of authoritarianism.

1.1.3 People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD)

The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy in French (Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie) "PPRD" is a center-left political party founded in 2002. The PPRD believes in Social Democracy ideology and has Yellow and Blue as its colours. The Party was initiated by actual president of the Democratic Republic of the

Congo, Joseph Kabila although for the last two elections he contested as an independent candidate. The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy won 111 over 500 seats in the National Assembly, thus it is the Party with most Members of Parliament and it has 22 seats over 108 in the Senate.

The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy is a member of the Presidential Majority in French Majorité Présidentielle (MP), which is a political alliance formed by supporters of president Kabila following the 2006 general elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This bloc currently holds the majority of seats in the National Assembly, 332 out of 500 seats. The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy is the ruling party and the most powerful party in the DRC.

1.2 Background to the Study Area

1.2.1 Location, Geography and Political Administration

The Democratic Republic of the Congo in French République Démocratique du Congo not to be confused with the neighbouring People's Republic of the Congo is a country located in the African Great Lakes region of Central Africa. The Democratic Republic of the Congo was formerly known as, in chronological order, Congo Free State, Belgian Congo, Republic of the Congo and Zaire. It is the second largest country in Africa by area and the eleventh in the world. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is sometimes referred to as DR CONGO, CONGO-KINSHASA, DROC or RDC. With a population estimated to over 75 million according to the Central Intelligence Agency (2013), the

Democratic Republic of the Congo is the nineteenth most populous nation in the world, the fourth most populous in Africa as well as the most populous officially Francophone country.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo borders the Central African Republic and South Sudan to the North; Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in the East; Zambia and Angola to the South; the People's Republic of the Congo, the Angolan exclave of Cabinda, and the Atlantic Ocean to the West; and is separated from Tanzania by Lake Tanganyika in the East. The country lies between latitudes 6° N and 14°S, and longitudes 12° and 32° E. It straddles the Equator, with one-third to the North and two-thirds to the South. The size of the D.R.C is 2.345.408 square kilometers (905,567 sq mi). The Congo experiences because of its equatorial location high precipitations and has the highest frequency of thunderstorms in the world. The annual rainfall can total upwards of 2.000 millimeters, (80 in) in some places, and the area sustains the Congo Rainforest, the second largest rain forest in the world, after the Amazon. The Country experiences equatorial and tropical climates.

The Congo River occupies nearly the entire country and a area of nearly, 1.000.000 km² (390.000 sq mi) (Vanden and Bernacsek 1990, pp. 338-339). It is according to Oberg (2008), the world's deepest river with measured depths in excess of 220 m (720 ft) and the second largest river in the world by volume of water discharged. Its overall length of 4, 700 km (2. 920 mi) makes it the ninth longest river in the world. The entire Congo

River is readily navigable in sections and a lifeline in a land with few roads or railways. Because of its drainage basin area that includes both north and south of the Equator, its flow is stable, as there is always at least one part of the river experiencing a rainy season. The Congo River is the most powerful river in Africa and opportunities for the Congo River and its tributaries to generate hydropower are therefore enormous, calculated to be thirteen percent of global hydropower potential.

The rainforests of the Congo contain great biodiversity, including many rare and endemic species, such as the common Chimpanzee and the Bonobo, the African forest Elephant, mountain gorilla, Okapi and White Rhino. The D.R.C is the most diverse African country in terms of resources and wildlife. Despite the fact that the D.R.C is widely considered to be the richest country in the world regarding natural resources; more than 30% of the world's diamond and 70% of the world's Colton for example, Congolese citizens are among the poorest in the world, having second lowest nominal GDP per Capita.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo gained its independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960 under the name of "Republic of the Congo", in French "République du Congo". Since its independence the D.R.C has numbered 4 presidents: Joseph Kasavubu, from 1960 to 1965; Mobutu Sese Seko, from 1965 to 1997; Laurent Désiré Kabila from 1997 to 2001 and Joseph Kabila from 2001 to now. According to the

Constitution that came into effect in February 2006, the Democratic Republic of the Congo consists of Kinshasa and 25 provinces which poses legal personality. But in practice, the D.R.C still consists of 11 provinces as in the past.

The D.R.C has a bicameral legislature consisting of a Senate and National Assembly. The executive is concomitantly undertaken by the President and the Government, led by a Prime Minister, appointed from the party able to secure the majority in the National Assembly. Although the new constitution of the D.R.C established a democratic framework and recognized pluralism in the D.R.C, the country still struggles to establish a vibrant democracy and good governance. Looking at different rankings from international organizations and structures, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is still ranked as one of the least democratic countries, where good governance is not yet a reality and the D.R.C is one of the twenty lowest ranked countries on the Corruption Perception Index.

Political organizations, civil society organizations, nongovernmental organization, armed groups point the lack of good governance and democracy as the major causes of wars in the Democratic, Republic of the Congo.

The D.R.C is a country affected by successive wars, especially since 1996. The second Congo war that started in 1998 devastated the country and is sometimes referred to as the “African World War” because it involved 9 African nations and more than 20 armed

groups. Gaye (2012) argued that despite the signing of a series of accords fights continued in the East of the country. Gaye (2012) noted again that the prevalence of rape and sexual violence in the D.R.C is the worst in the world and that the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is the deadliest conflict since the Chinese civil war, killing more than 6 millions of people.

Although the country is located in the Central Africa, UN Sub region, the country is also economically and regionally affiliated with Southern Africa as a member of the Southern African Development Community. The D.R.C is also a member of the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa (OHADA).

1.2.2 Economy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

According to a Report of 2010 of the National Support Centre for Development and the Peasant Participation in French Centre National d'Appui au Développement et à la Participation Paysanne (CENADEP) the Democratic Republic of the Congo was at the time of its independence the second most industrialized country in Africa after South Africa. It boasted a thriving mining sector and its agriculture sector was relatively productive. But wars, political instability, corruption have been a severe detriment to further growth. The economy of the DRC has declined drastically since the mid- 1980s, today leaving the DRC which is home to a vast potential of natural resources and

mineral wealth with an untapped deposits of raw minerals estimated to be worth in excess of US\$ 24 trillion, with the world's lowest GDP per capita.

In fact, the recent conflicts which began in 1996, have dramatically reduced national output and government revenue, have increased external debt, and have resulted in deaths of more than five million people from war, and associated famine and disease. Malnutrition affects approximately two thirds of the country's population of the DRC. Although the country is rich in minerals and its economy relies on mining, it has a difficult history of predatory mineral extraction which has caused the worst problems within the country for many decades. Much of economic activities, however, in the DRC occurs in the informal sector and is not reflected in GDP data.

Poor infrastructure, uncertain legal framework, lack of openness in government economic policy and financial operations, insecurity remain a brake on investment and growth, although the relative improvement in the economy of the DRC. A number of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank missions have met the new government to help it develop a coherent economic plan but associated reforms are still on hold. The DRC also ranks 181 on the low end of the ease of doing business scale as ranked by the World Bank. (World Bank 2013)

1.2.3 Demography and the Social Context of the DRC

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has a population estimated to be over 75 million according to the Central Intelligence Agency (2013). And about a half ('48 percent in 2007) of the population is younger than 15, and the UNDP, estimates life expectancy at birth (in 2010) at 48 years. A third of the population lives in urban areas according to the National Ministry of Plan (2011).

Poverty in the DRC is widespread and over 70 percent of the population live below the poverty line. People have limited access to health and education services because of limited facilities, poverty, and low quality of services, Health and education are fee-based and the contribution of the State is insufficient. Water coverage is limited, especially in rural areas, while sanitary coverage is extremely weak. The transport infrastructure of the DRC nearly completely disappeared after decades of war, neglect and misuse. The country fell apart into a set of enclaves. Policies on social protection are incoherent, and the few social protection schemes only benefit a limited number of people. Although efforts put on gender based violence, especially in the Eastern provinces of the DRC, this focus fails to tackle the large socio-economic, political and cultural gender inequalities.

Akitobi & Cinyabuguma (2004) and also Putzel et al. (2008) noted that, in the last decade, the DRC has managed, under the watchful eyes of International agencies to end a period of economic decline which started in the 1970s. But still, the large majority of

the population are not benefiting from these stabilization measures and economic restructuring.

1.3 Statement of the problem

There are many groups and institutions that try to support and promote good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Among these groups, are political parties. But democracy and good governance in the DRC are not yet been seen. It is my view that political parties have a crucial role to play in promoting good governance and democracy in the Congo. Therefore, this study looked at the work and the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) towards the promotion of good governance and democracy in the DRC.

Ngoma-Binda, P.; Otemikongo, M.Y& Moswa, M.L (2010) noted that although the new constitution of the DRC establishes a democratic framework which satisfactorily allow citizens to participate in the country's political life, establishes procedures to ensure the effective separation of powers between institutions and provides for institutions that support democracy and are responsible for ensuring compliance with democratic oversight mechanisms and for strengthening the conditions of political participation, in practice democratic procedures and the mechanisms for political participation face a major effectiveness challenge. Institutions supporting democracy struggle to play their

part in monitoring democracy and some see their credibility seriously questioned. They noted, in particular, that the Parliament oversight role over the executive is exercised with less and less effectiveness and its credibility as an independent counterweight institution is constantly questioned due to the increasingly obvious influence of the executive, through the ruling party, on the parliamentary majority: The Presidential Majority (MP) formed around Joseph Kabila after the 2006 general elections to secure a majority in the National Assembly and also that although the adoption of a law on the status of political opposition, the role that political parties, especially the opposition, can play as a force for proposals and criticisms is limited by their lack of resources and lack of internal democracy. Seeing that Multipartyism was introduced with the aim of fostering democracy and good governance the researcher was motivated to establish the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in promoting good governance and democracy.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the role and the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in fostering good governance and democratic principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of this Study are to:

1. Examine the relationships between political parties, democracy and good governance
2. Assess the role of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in promoting good governance and democracy in the DRC.
3. Evaluate in regard to the nature of political parties, the contribution of the Peoples Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) to the democratic framework of the DRC.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What are the Relationships between political parties, democracy and good governance?
2. How do the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union promote democracy and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo?
3. What is the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) to the democratic framework of the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

1.7 Research Assumptions

This research assumes that:

- i. Political parties, democracy and good governance have clear relationships
- ii. Political parties have a key role to play in promoting democracy and good governance in developing countries and in the specific case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Parties for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) have a key role to play in fostering democratic and good governance principles.
- iii. In order to deliver effective political goods, the resources, their nature and structures of political parties matter a lot.
- iv. Democracy and good governance are still an issue in the Democratic Republic of the Congo despite the name of the country.

1.8 Significance of the Study

This research will add to existing literature on the role of political parties in fostering democracy and good governance in developing countries in general and in the DRC in particular. This research aspires to show how the Robert Dahl theory of power can be used to explain the contribution of the PPRD and the UDPS to the democratic framework of the DRC looking at the power dynamics. It is hoped that this research will reveal the applicability of the democratic theory based on the attempt to identify the factors by which democracy and good governance principles are established and

sustained in the DRC political framework. This study will contribute to the new awakening among academics that innovative ways have to be found to assist political parties of developing countries in their activities than to condemn them. The study will add voice to calls amongst politicians that more consultations and working synergies between institutions are an imperative rather than a choice. The study will inform policy makers in the implementation of laws on the activity of political parties and on political participation. This research will also court the attention of the civil society, the international community and the donor aid agencies to the challenges face by political parties in playing their roles in the DRC. This research will again open the path to further researches on political parties in the DRC. It is hoped again that this study will offer findings that will help to reinforce mechanisms of citizen's participation through political parties and contribute to the solution of social political and educational problems.

1.9 Definition of terms

Good Governance: is “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development”. (World Bank, 1992)

Democracy: is government “of the people, by the people and for the people”. (Abraham Lincoln, 1902)

Political Parties: are “permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and programme, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive”. (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

1.10 Delimitations

Baron (2008) notes that: “Delimitations are factors that affect the study over which the researcher generally have some degree of control. Delimitations describe the scope of the study or establish parameters or limits for the study. Frequently, setting limits on the sample size, extent of the geographic region from which data are collected, response formats included in data-collecting instruments, or time frame for the study makes the study feasible for the researcher”. He also notes that such delimitations should be noted in this section.

The study was confined to two political parties: the Peoples Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union. The DRC has more than 500 political parties, therefore, to produce an in depth and well detailed paper, this study focused on two political parties not taken randomly but because these two parties are the major ones. The People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy is the ruling party in the DRC, the party that decides and which has more seats in the National Assembly. On the other hand, the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) is the major opposition party not only because it has the lengthiest record of political parties

continuous operation in the DRC, it also contains the most registered members of any political party in Congo and also because it comes second in terms of seats in the National Assembly after the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD). It goes without saying that these two political organizations are the major shareholders in the political framework of the DRC. This study was also confined to the work and the contribution made by the PPRD and the UDPS within a period that goes from 2003 to 2013. Due also to the large number of potential participants in the study population, the population involve in the current study focused only on members of the executive committees of the two political organizations.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

The study was constrained by time to have had extensive inquiry of the phenomenon which was under study. Failure to access other informants such as the high profiled members of the political parties under study was also another limitation which however was beyond the researcher's control as the high profiled members of the PPRD and the UDPS are not easily accessible. This limitation was compensated by the use of secondary sources such as party's official documents (constitutions and reports of activities) and by the use of other informants, member of the executive committees of the two political parties, whom their views are sufficient and actually representative. This study was also constrained by the fact that the researcher could not conduct interviews himself and used internet to gather the data. This limitation however was

compensated by the use of a research assistant who knows the requirements of an academic research.

1.12 Structure of the study

Chapter 1 gives a historical background of the political parties and democratic settings of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and a general background of the geographical area of the study. Chapter 2 reviews literature within the framework of good governance, democracy and political parties. Chapter 3 explains the research design, data collection instruments and methods. Chapter 4 presents, analyze and interpret data. Chapter 5 discusses findings and makes recommendations.

1.13 Conclusion

The democratic setting of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was discussed to reveal the extent to which democracy and good governance are embedded in the DRC. A historical background of the state of democracy and pluralism in the DRC was provided in order to establish the general state of democracy in the DRC. This background revealed that there are since the 1990s efforts made to establish a vibrant democracy with mechanisms for citizen's participation. The background of the study area, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was also discussed to show the push factors for political parties to join the other institutions and organizations in promoting good governance and democracy in the DRC.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Political parties, democracy and good governance are not a reality peculiar to the Democratic Republic of the Congo but a global phenomenon which has been a subject of discussions for very long. The scholarly literature that examines political parties is enormous. According to Bartoloni et al. (1998), since 1945, approximately 11500 books, articles and monographs have been published that deal with parties and party systems in Western Europe. Ostrogorski (1964), Michels (1962), and Weber(1968) noted that parties were among the first subjects of analysis of the modern political science with extremely important works published over the years by scholars such as Mernan, 1922; Schattschneider, 1942; Key 1949. But, studies of party fully blossomed as a subject in political science in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Scholars such as Duverger (1954), Ranney (1954), Neumann (1956), Eldersveld (1964), and LaPalombara (1966) established the conceptual and empirical basis for countless studies in comparative politics.

In recent years most of the studies on democracy focused on the debate around the triumph or the deficit of democracy in the world. According to the triumphalist view democracy has spread as never before. At the end of the twentieth century, countries said to be electoral democracies were 120 out of the 192 existing countries, of which some 85 were thought to be full democracies, in the sense that the respect for the rule of

law and civil and political rights was provided. Freedom House even declared the twentieth Century, the “Democratic Century” (Freedom House, 1999). From the other sources, democracy is said to be in crisis, facing a series of challenges, deficits which are questioning the vitality of democracy. Good governance has also been a topic of discussion in the international arena and particularly in the field of development assistance. The Scholarly literature on good governance mostly reflects the views of international donor agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and the United Nations through the UNDP. Good governance is then placed as a prerequisite for aid in developing countries.

This chapter reviewed literature on political parties, democracy and good governance in relation to one another. The Chapter reviewed literature on the relationships between political parties, democracy and good governance. The Chapter also reviewed literature on the roles of political parties and It also reviewed the literature on the nature of political parties and their contribution to a democratic setting. In pursuant of this end the review of this literature was premised within the framework of the Robert Dahl theory of power. The Robert Dahl theory of power was embraced to explain how the power dynamics play an important role in the shaping of the activities of the People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS). This theory was also embraced to show to what extent the political parties under study can contribute to the democratic framework of the DRC in relation to the power of each organization.

2.1. Political parties, Democracy and Good Governance: Relationships

2.1.1 Political parties and democracy

Parties have always been among the handful institutions whose activities are absolutely essential for the proper functioning of representative democracy. Bryce (1921) argued that parties are inevitable, and that no free democracy has been without them and no one has shown how representative government could work without them (p. 119). In the same way, Schattschneider, (1942) succinctly summarized their importance by stating that modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of political parties (p. 1). Similar words were used by other scholars to illustrate the central role played by parties. Stokes (1999,) described parties as “endemic to democracy, an unavoidable part of democracy” (p. 245). Americanists for example have always believed that “political parties lie at the heart of American politics” as mentioned by Aldrich (1995, 3). Western Europeanists have also asserted that “European democracies are not only parliamentary democracies but also party democracies” (Muller, 2000, 309). Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) argued that without political parties, a modern representative democracy is not conceivable (p. 8). They further argued that only the parties ensure that the citizens are permanently capable to act politically (p. 8).

In line of the above, the research study was meant to establish the role of the People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy and the Democracy and Social Progress Union in promoting democracy and good governance in the DRC.

Frequent assertions in recent years present parties as declining institutions. Parties are said to have entered into an irreversible process of decline according to some scholars. These Scholars demonstrate in the most recently published books on parties that these venerable organizations have been forced to confront a wide variety of new challenges. However, what is not clear is the extent to which parties have failed to meet these challenges and have therefore begun the decline in importance as institutionalized in democratic politics. Scholars such as Strom and Svasand, (1997a); Dalton and Wattenberg, (2000 a); Diamond and Gunther, (2001); and Gunther, Montero, and Linz, 2002, support this position on the decline of political parties. Strom & Svasand (1997b) noted that “doom- gloom treatises” on political parties have become a growth industry over the past decades.

A number of challenges faced by political parties have along the years nurtured these speculations on the decline of society. For example the greater participation of women in the labor force has both placed new demands on the policy agendas of parties, and created a transformed constituency in need of party representation. Other challenges to parties have emerged as consequences of higher levels of personal resources possessed by citizens. Better educated individuals who had never experienced economic deprivation have tended to adopt post-materialist values that both conflicted with the traditional ideologies of many parties and have given rise to participatory expectations better suited to new social movements, single-interest groups, and unconventional forms of political involvement. Still other challenges have their origins in technological

developments. The mass-communications media have opened new channels for direct access between citizens and their political leaders of that need not pass through traditional partisan channels.

The researcher was interested in finding out if the challenges faced by the PPRD and the UDPS are not hindering them in fostering democracy and good governance. Many democratic theorists claim that democracy induces governments to be responsive to the preferences of the people. According to Dahl (1971) “Continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens is a key characteristic of democracy” (p. 1). However, just as responsiveness of governments to the people’s will is normatively controversial, the degree of responsiveness of elected governments is disputed. (Stokes, (1998a); Przeworski et al 1999). Post war democratic theory often asserts that political parties transmit popular preferences into policy. Key (1958) for example, wrote that an “essential function” of parties is to obtain “popular consent to the course of public policy (p. 12). Unlike others who claim that parties make governments unresponsive.

2.1.2 Political parties and good governance

Rahman (2005) argued that the four major elements of good governance: accountability, transparency, people’s participation and predictability, conceptually tend to be mutually supportive, but as he further argued, people participation is the central element amongst these four. In other words, a people participatory government ensures more transparent,

accountable and predictable governance for its people. Manowong & Ogunlanu (2006) argued that the concept of good governance “has to be not just pro-people or people-centered; it has to be owned by people” (p. 345). This argument thus recognizes that the level of good governance increases through people’s heightened participation in developmental programs and that good governance is the foundation of participatory development inasmuch as it provides the government roles needed to encourage participation, enhances the transparency of the development works, the accountability of the implementing authority, and compliance with the local laws, which consequently establish good governance. People’s participation and good governance are inseparable from each other.

2.2. Nature of Political parties

2.2.1 What are Political Parties?

Churchill (1963) noted that, as early as the 18th Century, Edmund Burke described a political party as a body of men united for promoting, by their endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. Hague & Harrop (2007) noted that the Burke’s definition of political parties lacked three characteristics of modern political parties: Modern political parties have become more organized and centralized institutions with bureaucratic structures, secretariats and paid staffers; they do not necessarily work towards a national interest, but any kind of interest, including

regional, ethnic, racial, religious or economic objectives; Political parties are largely organized with the sole objective of competing for and capturing political offices.

Political parties generally refer to groups or organizations of people with similar political aim and opinion that seek to influence public policy by winning government power through elections or other democratic ways. (LaPalombara & Weiner, 1969; Dalton, 1996; Duverger, 1996; Panebianco, 1988) Political parties are fundamental in a democratic framework. Mohamed Salih and Per Nordlund (2007) argue that in their very nature, Political parties are representatives institutions that endow regimes with legitimacy; provide ideologies that represent social, economic and political interests and produce leaders who through democratic elections form the machinery of government(from Parliament to the political executive) or opportunities for political participation, or a combination of all three. Political parties also intermediate and create opportunities for upward social and political mobility, the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain development.

Hofmeister & Grabow, (2011) argue that political parties are special form of social organization that should not be confused with associations, federations, and social clubs. Downs, wrote that “A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election”. And Giovanni Sartori defined a party as: “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections,

and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office” (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). In line of Down’s definition of political parties, the researcher was interested in finding out to what extent the People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in their attempt to control the government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are fostering democracy and good governance.

For the purpose of this study political parties are described as “permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and program, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems ”(Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

2.2.2 Why do parties exist?

Hofmeister & Grabow (2011) argued that within every society there are different opinions, needs, expectations and views over daily issues; likewise “big” questions on the social organization, its norms and procedures also exist. They further noted that, something like a common will of the people or a predetermined common good does not exist and that in contrast with the homogeneity theory influenced by Rousseau. In every society there are rivaling interests that often collide very hard. Most Scholars, therefore agree that in order to peacefully mediate conflicts, the formation of political views must

take place in an open process of debate between different opinions (Eckhard, 1993). A minimum of common conviction is necessary. This is the common sense of democracy. It is based on the principle that each citizen has the right to represent his opinion and conviction in a peaceful competition of minds. This assumption of conflicting interests within every society, which in principle are legitimate, is called pluralism or “competition theory” of democracy. This theory poses that the formation of political opinion in the pluralistic society is achieved through an open process of competition between heterogeneous interests. Due to the diversity of opinions and social conflicts there is no perfect solution to problems.

Pluralism means that decisions have to be made on the basis of consent and approval of a majority of the citizens although even majority decisions may imply deficiencies or even injustice in some cases. Nevertheless, there may be no “tyranny of the majority” that offends democratic rules and violates inalienable human rights. Therefore, to avoid what is sometimes refers to as tyranny of the majority, a distinct and constitutionally guaranteed protection of minorities on the one hand, as well as the recognition of voting or election defeat of the losing side on the other hand, provided that it is a (largely) free and fair poll, are constitutive elements of this concept of democracy.

Political parties represent particular interests within the context of democratically managed conflicts of interests. It is only possible to form political compromises in an appropriate manner and resolve conflicts of interests in a society when political parties

agree principally on the democratic Constitution prevailing in that society, when contrasting interests can openly be expressed and when the parties accord other parties the right to represent particulars too.

The researcher was motivated to look at the reasons why political parties exist in the DRC and if they principally agree on the Constitution of the country to see how to formulate recommendations that could help parties in promoting good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

2.2.3 Political party systems

The entire group of parties in a country is referred to as the political party system. The party system reflects the pattern of relationships between individual parties in relation to each other. The composition of a party system mainly depends on two factors. On the one hand it is the structure of social conflicts and interests. Classical conflicts are for instance those between capital and labour or those between secular and religiously oriented parties. On the other hand, the party and electoral laws also exercise considerable influence on the configuration of the party system depending on how liberal and free or restrictive the creation of new parties have been laid out and if the electoral system facilitates the representation of a larger number of parties in the parliament or not (Bryce, 1921; Ostrogorsky, 1964). Yet, in pre-democratic times the existence of one party provoked at least the emergence of another party. Throughout

history, party systems have in principle developed along social and/or ideological lines of conflict.

Party systems can be classified by different criteria. Most frequently it is the number of parties that are fighting for power that serves as the criteria for the description of a party system. In this way, one can differentiate one, two and multi-party systems. In a “single-party” system only one party dominates and there is practically no political competition between parties. A “single party” system is, as mentioned before, a contradiction in itself since a “party” should only be part of a larger group. Single-party systems are therefore characterized by the oppression of political competition and democratic freedom. “Two-party system” means that two parties primarily dominate the political competition, while other, smaller parties only play a subordinate role. In a “multi-party system”, more than two parties have an effect on the political competition. (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

2.2.4 Parties and Party Systems

The existence of a party system (two-party or multi-party) depends on several different factors: political traditions, the development of political institutions, the socio-economic circumstances, and the relevance of regional cleavages, and ethnical or confessional conditions. The specifications of the electoral law can have a certain, but not decisive influence on the composition of the party system (Giovanni, 1976; Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). The majority voting systems (first-past-the-post-systems) rather favour the evolution of a two-party system (or a system comprising only of a few dominant

parties), whereas a proportional voting system is more likely to favour a multi-party system. However, there is no distinct connection between electoral and party systems. The system of government influences the development of parties and party systems insofar as a parliamentary system offers more influence for political parties because the government emerges directly from the parliament, which is dominated by the parties. In a presidential system, it is the head of government, the president, who is directly elected by the people and thus its legitimacy is based not primarily on the parliament.

In addition, he mostly exercises, beside the parliament, also legislative and other functions, and he normally has a right to veto parliamentary decisions or even has the authority to dissolve the parliament. So, at first glance, in presidential systems parties play a minor role. On the other hand, in presidential systems the separation of powers is usually more evident because the parties are not linked so closely with the government. In parliamentary systems, however, the identity and especially the relationship between the government and the ruling party or parties are greater. Even so, in a presidential system the president also needs the approval of parliament and a parliamentary majority. The relative independence from the government which the parties enjoy in a presidential system is of considerable relevance. The number of parties represented in parliament is only slightly influenced by the system of government. This is rather a question of social cleavages, eventually also the ethnic and other cleavages in a country, the structure of conflicts and interests and the electoral system.

2.2.5 Typologies of political parties

Likewise party systems, also the political parties itself can be distinguished by certain criteria. Such typologies help to sort the heterogeneity of social phenomena, in order to better understand it. To identify parties, one can consider the characteristic features in order to note commonalities and differences between individual parties. Parties can be classified according to a number of different criteria: according to their level of organization, their socio-political targets, the social classes that they want to represent and approach, or their positioning towards the political system. Some parties can be classified also by their names, which often express special socio-political objectives that the parties are pursuing. By their names, parties demonstrate how they want to be perceived, and that means how they want to be classified (Neuman, (1956); Michels, (1962 (1911); Eldersveld, (1964); Panebianco, (1988); Kitschelt, (1989, 1994); Katz and Mair, (1995); Wolinetz (2002). This confirms that the classification or construction of typologies is not a mere academic exercise, but part of the political competition of parties. The typologies emerged initially in view of the multi-party systems in Europe but can also be applied to other regions.

2.2.5.1 Differentiation of parties by their degree of organization:

Electorate parties are the parties that attach less importance to a large membership, but are particularly active in the scope of elections. The bond of the voters to such a party is usually weak. Membership parties: such parties seek a large membership, preferably in all parts of the country. Traditionally, it is usually the popular parties and labour parties

that strive for a well-organized party apparatus and a large membership (“mass political party”). At the minimum, this facilitates the financing of the party through membership fees. (Panebianco, 1988)

2.2.5.2 Differentiation by socio-political objectives:

With regard to the criteria of socio-political objectives, which are aspired to by political parties, one can distinguish between those parties that seek social or political changes in the frame of the existing democratic order and parties that strive for changes by radical, extremist or revolutionary means (Michels, (1962) ; Eldersveld (1964)). The first group is composed of conservative, liberal, Christian democratic, social democratic, in-part socialist, and also parties that define themselves by religion or confession as long as they do not represent extremist positions. To the second group belong mainly extreme rightist or leftist parties and among those the communist parties, beside others. Conservative parties: such parties want to retain the “approved” order or restore it; they are skeptical of innovations and changes, for instance, with regard to the perception and the role of the family, and alternative models of life (for example, same-sex marriages). They also do not like the transfer of national sovereignty to supranational institutions, but they do acknowledge that traditional ideas, values and principles cannot be continuously maintained without moderate reforms.

Liberal parties: such parties espouse the rights of individual freedom and emphasize the democratic character of the constitution. Traditionally, they are anti-clerical and mostly

committed to a free market economy. Social democratic parties: such parties mostly emerged in close relation to the labour movement and their political concepts are based on social equality of the people; they assign the state with a strong regulating role in the economy and society. Socialist parties: such parties also emerged in close contact to parts of the labour movement, but they represent a more radical approach to achieving social equality; the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and a state-driven economy are central targets of these parties (Duverger, 1954).

Parties defined by religion are special forms of parties that are characterized by their social-political objectives. Worldwide, a vast number of parties are more or less strongly based on religious convictions. There are Christian or Christian democratic, Islamic and Hindu parties that establish their programs on the values and standards of their religion or confession. This can lead to considerable differences in the political programs and political objectives of such parties, depending on how individual parties consider their respective religion's stand with regard to individual human rights and individual freedom or to political democracy. The European Christian Democratic parties, for instance, are committed to individual freedom, social solidarity and justice, self-responsibility of the citizens and a discrete role for the state under the supervision of economic and social actors. Extreme right-wing parties: such parties preach nationalistic ideologies, which are often inter-mixed with a vague ethnic ideology and possibly racist perceptions. Communist parties: such parties propagate the dictatorship of the proletariat and assume a predetermination of history.

2.2.5.3 Differentiation according to the social classes which they intend to approach

Popular parties are parties that attempt to consider the interests and needs of as many social groups as possible and therefore try to integrate as many citizens as possible of various social origins within their party rank and file and to aggregate different social and political aspirations in their program. Parties of special interest: such parties feel responsible for the interests of a very specific group (a social, confessional, or regional group) and do not claim to be equally eligible for all parts of the population (Neuman, (1956)).

2.2.5.4 Differentiation according to their positioning towards the political system

Parties conforming to the system: such parties accept the political system in which they are active and wish to either stabilize the political order or improve it gradually with reforms. Parties opposed to the political system: such parties do not accept the basic principles of their political system and pursue a change of the system, mostly with aggressive programmatic proposals. Political parties rarely correspond completely to one of these classifications. There are fluent transitions and mixed forms. A membership or mass party for instance can also be an “interest party” if it represents only the interest of a certain social sector or class (the labour class for example). Furthermore, other criteria are also possible: for example, government and opposition party, regional party, protest party, etc.

Nevertheless, the classifications allow the identification of the typical attributes of a party, which is a relevant element in the process of political competition.

According to Beck (1997), nearly all of the existing typologies of political parties were derived from studies of West European parties over the past Century and a half. Accordingly, some of their distinguished features are products of that particular temporal and geographical context. Parties that have emerged more recently, as well as those functioning in other parts of the world have been substantially affected by greatly different social and technological environments. This is certainly true of parties in developing countries whose population exhibit considerable ethnic, religious and/or linguistic diversity. Upon which competitive parties have most commonly based. It is also true of the United States, whose two highly decentralized parties fit uneasily with most party typologies. The development of certain medium of political communication between candidates and voters such as television, in nearly all modern democracies has affected the party typologies developed more or less a Century earlier.

2.2.5 Roles of political parties

To participate successfully in the political process and to contribute to the consolidation of democracy, political parties have to demonstrate certain capacities. According to Hofmeister & Grabow (2011) in political science, these capacities are called “functions”:

- *Political parties articulate and aggregate social interests: Parties express public expectations and demands of social groupings to the political system (function of political opinion-making).*

- *They recruit political personnel and nurture future generations of politicians: They select persons and present them as candidates for elections (function of selection).*
- *They develop political programs: Parties integrate various interests into a general political project and transform it into a political program, for which they campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority (function of integration).*
- *They promote the political socialization and participation of citizens: Parties create a link between citizens and the political system; they enable political participation of individuals and groupings with the prospect of success (function of socialization and participation).*
- *They organize the government. They participate in elections to occupy political charges. Normally in party democracies, a good part of government authorities arise from political parties (function of exercising political power).*
- *They contribute to the legitimacy of the political system: in establishing the connection between citizens, social groupings and the political system, the parties contribute in anchoring the political order in the consciousness of the citizens and in social forces (function of legitimating).*
- *They aggregate and articulate needs and problems as identified by members and supporters.*
- *They provide political education to voters and citizens in the functioning of the political and electoral system and the generation of general political values.*
- *They respect opposition parties demands and convert them into general policies*
- *They strengthen power of local government to ensure good governance.*

It is a reality that in modern societies, the process of political opinion-building has become a polymorphic process in which the mass media, social organizations, associations, citizen's initiatives, religious communities and the modern form of electronic communication via Internet, sms, Facebook, Twitter and other virtual communities play an important role, exercising enormous influence on political opinions and political decisions. Nevertheless, political parties are still the principal agents to aggregate public opinion and represent it in the political decision-making process, and also to take the political decisions through their representatives in the parliament and

government. It is largely agreed upon that citizens in most cases orientate themselves politically through the parties. They follow the work of the parties, perceiving and evaluating party's argumentation during political debate. Furthermore, through engagement with a party, every citizen can exercise some influence on the political decision-making process. Besides its candidates, the political program is the "merchandise" of a party, which it offers to the voters. The party programs are meant to fulfill in particular two main functions: on the one hand, they shall articulate the interests of the population, parties understood as "organs" of the people and on the other hand, they orientate and influence the opinions of the citizens. With regard to the party program the voters can evaluate if a party has sufficient sensibility for societal problems and if they are able to propose adequate suggestions for the resolution of problems and challenges. Oppositional parties have the function to criticize the government, control it and put up constructive alternatives. This function is of great significance for a democracy, because without opposition a government tends to drift towards complacency and presumptuousness and fails to search for alternatives. This is very true in countries that have experienced autocratic governance.

By fulfilling these functions, political parties are providing important services for the democratically organized society. The quality of the "delivery" that is, the way they comply with their functions, contributes decisively to the reputation and the potential of the political parties. According to Shakil and Marzia (2013) the strengthening of democracy and good governance requires more than well-functioning elections,

parliaments, an independent judiciary and other institutions and processes. It also requires a strong culture of democracy with robust, transparent, internally democratic and accountable political parties. Political parties play an important role in deepening democratic good governance in fragmented world. The Human Development Report of 2002 noted that “A well-functioning democracy depends on well-functioning political parties responsive to people.”

2.3. What is Democracy?

Jhon L., Esposito and Jhon O. (1956) argued that the predominance of a democracy, in its various guises, as the most acceptable form of government particularly after the demise of Socialist alternative, has been perceived by some scholars as the end of the history of political ideas. However, despite this somewhat uncontested acceptance, democracy remains one of the most contested and elusive concepts in modern Social Sciences. Therefore, Political Scientists consider the debate over the essential constituents of democracy as remaining open. An empirical examination and a close look at how actual democratic practices measure against normative expectations demonstrate that any attempt at providing a straightforward or absolute definition of democracy would be too simplistic. However, many intellectuals and policy makers adopt a value-laden discourse espousing democracy as a given or fixed concept despite theoretical acknowledgement by many scientists that democracy is an essentially contested or appraisive concept.

Schmidt (2002) noted that for (Loweintin 1975; Lijphart 1999), democracy is the collective term for a wide variety of regimes. These include radical democracies and moderate representative and direct democracy, parliamentary versus presidential government, majoritarian and consensus democracy, and established democracies as opposed to partial democracies, to mention only a few examples. Schmidt (2002) echoing Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of popular government, argued that the trademark of democratic regime is "government of the people, by the people" (or elected representatives of the people) "and for the people". But the extent to which that trademark is reflected in practice varies from one democracy to the other. And so, too, does the extent to which popular government is complemented by free speech, a free press, an independent judiciary and the impartial enforcement of the rule of law.

Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused at a time when dictators, single-party regimes, and military coup leaders alike assert popular support by claiming the mantle of democracy. Yet the power of the democratic idea has prevailed through a long and turbulent history, and democratic government, despite continuing challenges, continues to evolve and flourish throughout the world.

2.3.1 Characteristics of Democracy

Since ancient time legal equality, freedom and rule of law have been identified as important characteristics of democracy although there is no consensus on how to define

democracy. Democracy is more than just a set of specific government institutions; it rests upon a well understood group of values, attitudes, and practices all of which may take different forms and expressions among cultures and societies around the world. Democracies rest upon fundamental principles, not uniform practices. The core characteristics of democracy according to Lijphart (1999) are:

- *Democracy is government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens, directly, or through their freely elected representatives.*
- *Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights. Democracies guard against all-powerful central governments and decentralize government to regional and local levels, understanding that all levels of government must be as accessible and responsive to the people as possible.*
- *Democracies understand that one of their prime functions is to protect such basic human rights as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under law; and the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.*
- *Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to citizens of voting age.*
- *Citizens in a democracy have not only rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms.*
- *Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise.*

Beetham (1993) argued that the core idea of democracy is that of popular rule or popular control over collective decision. Its starting point is with the citizens rather with the institutions of government. Its defining principles are that of citizens are entitled to say in public affairs, both through the associations of civil society and through participation in government. And that this entitlement should be available in terms of equality of all, control by citizens over their collective affairs, and equality between citizens in the exercise of that control, are the key democratic principles (p. 3).

2.3.2. Forms of democracy

It is largely agreed upon that democracy falls under two basic categories, direct and representative. In a direct democracy, citizens can participate in making public decisions without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials. It goes without saying that such a system is clearly most practical with relatively small numbers of people, in a community organization, tribal council, or the local unit of a labor union, for example, where members can meet in a single place to discuss issues and arrive at decisions by consensus or majority vote.

Some U.S. states, in addition, place “propositions” and “referenda”, mandated changes of law or possible recall of elected officials on ballots during state elections. These practices are forms of direct democracy, expressing the will of a large population. Many practices may have elements of direct democracy. In Switzerland, many important political decisions on issues, including public health, energy, and employment, are subject to a vote by the country’s citizens. And some might argue that the use of Internet in nowadays is creating new forms of direct democracy, as it empowers political groups to get directly to the citizens. However, today, as in the past, the most common form of democracy, whether for a town of 50,000 or a nation of 50 million, is representative democracy, in which citizens elect officials to make political decisions, formulate laws, and administer programs for the public good.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo practices representative democracy as its citizens elect officials that make decisions, formulate laws, and administer programs for the public good on their behalf. However, some forms of direct democracy still exist when a referendum is held for example. By looking at the form of democracy in practice in the DRC, the researcher wanted to see how citizens through political parties or by other means are able to influence the creation of a better democratic system.

2.4. Good Governance

Worldwide and especially in the developing world, a number of initiatives are being taken to make people participate successfully in achieving good governance. The literature on the practice of good governance in developing countries highlights that, while the governments of the developing countries are practicing, in some cases, democracy centrally, they are not practicing democracy locally. The state of governance in these countries in spite of the various studies is still an unclear reality, being for donor or recipient agencies. It goes without saying that it is therefore difficult to set a clear target for achieving a better level of good governance. Santiso (2001, 2003) noted that the establishment of good governance in Southern democracies, developing countries was demanded by International Aid Agencies and democratic countries as a prerequisite of aid assistance. The good governance approach started in the late 1980s after the World Bank, first recognized the crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa as a crisis of governance and good public management as a precondition of development assistance strategies for developing countries as argued by Kaufman, Kraay & Mastruzzi (2003).

The idea of the World Bank that good governance brings development was comforted by a study by this world institution that revealed that, where participatory governance is practiced effectively, it brings about the improvement of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and provokes the decline in poverty and infant mortality (World Bank, 1998). Since the 1990s, governments of the developing countries to comply with the demand of the donors have tried to develop participatory local government to support overall good governance. The constitutions of these countries have incorporated laws and mechanisms for local governance but in practice, these countries in general still face huge challenges. A number of research studies have asserted that, although with the support of donor agencies and nongovernmental organizations citizens in developing countries are participating in developing programs, this participation has not however been enough to ensure good governance. In fact, the meaning of the mechanisms of governance through effective participation imported from the Western World, developed democratic countries, through international aid agencies remains somewhat unclear and ambiguous to the governments of developing countries.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the International Development Agencies (IDA) significantly tightened its policy lines by imposing the condition of public sector reforms as a core element of its aid strategy. In line with this policy, they started the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) across the developing countries to eradicate poverty through maximum outcomes from development assistance. The main aim of the SAP was reforms, decentralization and deregulation of government's policies and policy making

processes for maximizing usage of aid. But, the results of these reforms were very controversial. Two decades of SAP reforms left with weak, demoralized public sector institutions, growth of rampant corruption and no significant economic development most of the developing countries in Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

Sabahn (2002) noted that the World Bank even recognized that, SAP neither alleviated poverty, nor assured sustainable growth in the least developed countries. Squire (1991) noted that, in the period of SAP (1980-88) East Asia sustained annual growth in per capita GDP of 7 percent while Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America respectively experienced decline of 2,4 and 0,7 percent. Following the failure of the SAP, good governance has become a popular word to the donors in development discourses. From 1989; the international aid agencies and donor countries sought good governance through people participation as an aid strategy. Mr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations declared that “good governance is vital for the protection of the rights of citizens and the advancement of economic and social development” (Kim et al. 2005, p. 647).

2.4.1 What is Good Governance?

Scholars and international agencies define the term “good governance” in different ways. Some social scientists define good governance in a very simple way, as the level of goodness (Besancon, 2003) or quality of government (Hye, 2000). Langlands (2004) defines good governance as “good management”, which underpins good performance,

good stewardship of public money, good public management and ultimately, good governance. In contrast, International Donor Agencies like the World Bank, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) use a normative approach to describe good governance focusing on management factors to promote economic issues. These agencies have identified a number of basic components. Four of them are universally recognized major factors which are universally applicable regardless of the economic orientation, strategic priorities or policy choices of the governments, accountability, participation, predictability and transparency. (Rahman. 2006, p. 54).

According to the UNDP, good governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources. And according to the World Bank good governance is defined as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development" (World Bank, 1992).

2.4.2 Characteristics of Good Governance

Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Consensus Orientation, Effectiveness and Efficiency, Accountability, Responsiveness, Equity and Strategic Vision are among the important characteristics of good governance.

2.4.3 Good Governance and People's participation

The World Bank (1996) defines participation as a process through which people influence and share control over development initiatives. Although Ines & Booher (2004) noted that participation sometimes causes delays or increases cost as argued by Olson (1965) or brings conflict according to Bureekul (2000), most scholars however describe participation as essential to the sustainability of development programs, the case of scholars such as Carley (2006) and Sirosos (2002).

Almost all social scientists have argued about participation process as a social transformation mechanism; where the power of the implementing agency is transformed by Civil Society. They also argue that people's participation is effective when people's empowerment reaches a position that enable cooperative and collective actions to be performed, with the implementing agency, resulting in enhanced influenced over decision making, monitoring and evaluation processes (Brett, 2003; Cooper, Bryer & Meek, 2006). There seems to be a good correlation between people's participation and the model of good governance. (ADB, 1999) noted that, aiming to achieve good

governance, international donor agencies encourage greater people participation in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation process of development programs.

Wild, et al., (2010) argued that the attempt to build better governance and more accountable state cannot ignore the key role of political parties. They further argued that donor efforts to help build more accountable and better governed states can founder, where they overlook countries specific political processes and structures. They again argued that donors have at times been unrealistic about what is politically achievable, and have failed to recognize that imposing reforms without domestic support does not work. In this view, it is now strongly believed that political parties can be important in this respect. Donor support for governance and accountability has traditionally, focused on demand and supply side institutions inside and outside of governments, including line ministries and civil society. Political parties are often sidelined, reflecting concerns about political sensitivities.

Carothers (2006) argues that, it is true that at times political parties themselves have been the “weakest link” reinforcing patronage or the centralization of power. There is, however, increasing recognition of their importance, not just during elections, but in relation to a wide range of governance and accountability processes.

For most scholars, in theory, political parties play key roles in well-functioning democracies. They aggregate and represent citizen’s interests, formulate policy agendas that respond to those interests, and form governments and opposition. However, in

reality, social scientists see political parties in many developing and transition countries as having only weak links to citizens. Political parties are often dominated by elites, with few or no incentives to respond to citizen's concerns. In the DRC, many political parties are disconnected from their own grassroots for various reasons, lack of resources, no inclusive programs... They also lack effective organization and representation at local levels.

In post transition countries such as the DRC, a dominant party system and the legacy of one party rule, wars, and political instability have, together, broken the links between political parties and their representative functions. Thus, the extent to which political parties have weakened their links to citizens in many parts of the world and especially in the DRC deserves closer examination for donors, political parties and institutions wishing to strengthen citizen citizen-state relations for good governance. Nevertheless, political parties still play important role in the organization of governments. They matter for organization of elections; they are crucial to maintain power following an election; they contribute to shaping moments of state formation, particularly in fragile contexts, positively or negatively. The role of political parties in election violence observed in Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and DRC demonstrate how political parties can instigate instability, reinforced by the weak rule of law and the complicity of state institutions. This shows that ignoring political parties is a risky process.

2.5 State of Democracy and Political Parties in Africa

Following 1989 and the end of the Cold War, Africa has experienced a wave of democratization. Most African countries have legalized multi-party system and held elections. Nzongola-Ntalaja & Lee (1997) looking at democracy from a philosophical, historical, and comparative perspective see democracy as a universal perspective of governance, a social process and a particular type of political practice applicable to all human societies. They further reject the notion that democracy is something being imported into Africa from the outside. They argued also that Neo-patrimonial states of postcolonial Africa are basically hostile to democracy and the democratic transition. They noted that state leaders have used all the means in their disposal to block, undermine, or slow down the democratic transition. They again argued that in Africa democracy has been so abusively identified with elections that African leaders are prepared to certify even openly rigged elections that do not produce representative governments as satisfactory by African Standards.

In the momentous change in Eastern Europe and South Africa played a huge part in influencing ongoing changes in African Continent, the current Struggle for democracy resulted mainly from the crisis of legitimacy of the postcolonial state, which has failed to meet the people's aspirations from freedom and material well being. The contradictory transformation in African politics has affected the social economic fabric, exacerbating political tensions and conflicts. Consequently the democratic transition is proving to be a more complex and long-drawn-out process than expected.

Many countries however, have made remarkable strides toward democratization and serve as beacons of hope that prove that democracy can work in Africa, the case of Mauritius ranked as the only full democracy in Africa in the Economist Intelligence Unit's Annual democracy index ranks of 2013.

Matlosa, Hamdok, Nordlund, & Rukambe. (2008). Argue that political parties in Africa are in crisis, unpopular and increasingly distrusted. They are suffering from declining membership, internal management practices that are often weak and not sufficiently democratic, and party system regulations that often set for reaching limits to the way in which parties are allowed to operate. They also argued that in Africa political parties face similar challenges that are faced elsewhere in the world, challenges that are further exacerbated by diverse complex political developmental challenges.

Bates.(2012) argued that most political scientists agree that whether political parties prove to be an asset or a liability to democracy depends crucially, among other things, on the context within which they operate , their mode of internal governance and how they respond to external political stimuli. Most political parties in Africa suffer from an autocratic bureaucracy, an oligarchic cult and pork-bared politics.

Parties ought to play their rightful role in the democratization process, given this, it is extremely important that political parties are well organized, and able to provide visionary leadership for their countries.

While the democratic transition from one-party to multiparty system in Africa since the 1990s is to be celebrated, Africa is still a long way from being able to celebrate an institutionalized culture of intra-party democracy (Nzongola-Ntalaja, & Lee. (1997).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6.1 The Robert Dahl theory of democracy (theory of power)

The Robert Dahl theory of democracy, better known as the theory of power is a social theory in which Dahl asserts that one of the most palpable facts of human existence and justification is that, some people have more power than others. The core elements in this theory are power, pluralism, polyarchy, influence, control, authority and the democratic process.

In Dahl's work power is defined as the ability by an actor A to make an actor B to do something that B would not otherwise do. "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do. The basis of an actor's power consists of all the resources, opportunities, acts, objects that he can exploit in order to affect the behaviour of another actor. The one who has more power sets the agenda. Some of the basis of power is patronage, the constitutional veto, the possibility of calling the congress... Dahl argues that power must be understood in relation to specific issues. Dahl advocates for Social Pluralism rather than the traditional Constitutional checks and Balances. He argues that Social pluralism prevents the emergence of a despotic government and maintains the democratic process. He also presents polyarchy as a

system in which leaders compete for electoral support. According to Dahl, polyarchy fosters competition between elites. The concept of “pluralism” implies focus on individuals whose preferences (motives, grievances, tastes) and values (accepted norms, personal commitments, beliefs and perceptions) are the irreducible unit to which other levels of analysis must ultimately be referred. Dahl believed the fundamental axiom in the theory and practice of pluralism was that “instead of a single center of sovereign power there must be multiple centers of power, none of which is or can be wholly sovereign. Although the only legitimate sovereign is the people, even the people ought never to be an absolute sovereign. Dahl argues that Polyarchy helps one distinguish between democracy as an ideal and “a type of regime that is historically unique”. He further argues that the distinctiveness of polyarchy as a regime arises from its two characteristics: high tolerance for oppositions..., and the relatively widespread opportunities for participating in influencing the conduct of government, including removal of incumbent governing officials by peaceful means.

Dahl believes in a strong principle of equity. All members are sufficiently well qualified taken all around, to participate in the making of collective decisions binding on the association that significantly affect this good or interest. In any case, none are so definitely better qualified than the others that they should be entrusted with making the collecting and binding decisions. This principle calls for a democratic rule, making it the only legitimate form of government. According to Dahl, it is directly translated in the

criteria for democratic process: effective participation, voting equality at the decision stage, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda and inclusion.

Institutions: elected officials; free and fair elections; right to run for office; freedom of expression; alternative information; and associational autonomy.

2.7. Relevance of the Robert Dahl theory of power to the Study

The Robert Dahl theory of power is relevant to the study in the sense that it helps in explaining in relation to the power dynamics the extent to which each political parties can contribute to the democratic framework of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This theory is based on a pluralistic view of the democratic society, and so is the Congolese society in the sense that, the DRC has an important range of political organizations.

The Robert Dahl theory of power also informs the present study and helps us understand the roles played in a democratic setting according to the positions occupied by each actor in this setting. In the light of this theory we can understand on which grounds some parties appear to be more powerful than others, like the case of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy which is the ruling party and the most represented party in the national assembly and therefore uses such advantages to set the political agenda and pass laws that are in accordance to their party interests. The PPRD has also the financial power in the DRC that gives it another advantage in organizing its activities and shaping the political life of the DRC through patronage for example.

A case in point is the issue of the law that will regulate the activity of the opposition in the DRC and the issue of the Speaker of the opposition that is still under study today 3 years after the last general elections. The Robert Dahl theory of power is significant in that it spells out the challenges of parties with less means of power to influence and control the political life of the DRC. Furthermore the significance of the theory of power is revealed in the difference observed in the finances of the political parties. The state does not give allowances to political parties as stated by the law. It is worthy observing that the Robert Dahl theory of power is immensely relevant to this study as it locates the causes of inequalities in means of power among political actors in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In essence the theory explains how inequalities occur but fails to elaborate on what informs other political parties to take action to try extricating them from the noose of inequalities.

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter examined the relationships between political parties, democracy and good governance. It also sought to see the characteristics of each concept. The Robert Dahl theory of power was thus employed in this study to put in context to what extent the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy and the Democracy and Social Progress Union can contribute to promote democracy and good governance in the DRC.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology that guided this research and presents the context of the research which was the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS). The study sought to explore the role and the contribution of the PPRD and the UDPS in fostering good governance and democratic principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during the 2003-2013 periods, members of the executive committees of these two parties were interviewed on that matter.

This chapter explained the case study research design which is the glue that holds the research together. It also elaborated on purposive sampling methods which this study embraced in its endeavour to come up with the samples of the informants for the study: Structured interviews, Semi- structured interviews and documents review were employed as data collection methods. The approach to inquiry for the current study was qualitative and the data collection and analysis were informed by Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The research methodology outlined in this section was therefore used as a action plan for soliciting information on the role and contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in fostering good governance and democratic principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

3.1 Research Design

Nachmias and Nachmias (1976: 77-78) cited in Yin (1989) defined a research design as a plan that guides the investigation on the process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting observations. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among the variables under investigation. The research design also defines the domain of generalizability, that is, whether obtained interpretations can be generalizable to a large population or to different situations.

3.1.1 Case Study

The approach to inquiry for the current study was qualitative and the method used to understand the phenomenon was a case study. Yin (1989; 23) defined a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. A case study research design can also be defined as an intensive analysis of individual unit such as an event or a group stressing developmental factors in relation to a context. The unit of analysis in this research was the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and the Social Progress Union (UDPS) and the context was the role of these two parties in promoting good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The design was used because it is exploratory which means that it creates new

knowledge. Guba & Lincoln (1993) noted that another advantage of using a case study is that it is appropriate when using a small number as a sample size.

The researcher used a small sample size of 30 people (15 from each party) and this therefore made the case study design pertinent to this study. The other reason for using the case study is that it is flexible and allows the research to produce an in depth and well detailed study. The case study also allows the researcher to retain the holistic characteristics of real life events while investigating empirical events. In the context of this study the researcher was helped by a research assistant in interviewing informants and personally reviewed official documents of the parties under study. The researcher also used technology to enter in contact with his informants (email, cell phone communication,...) The case study was also chosen because it can use both primary sources of data such as structured and semi-structured interviews and secondary sources of information such as official documents (Constitutions of the parties), newspaper articles and reports which are the types of sources of information which were employed in this study.

Like every component of a research paper, the case study as had its fair share of criticism and one of them has been that the researcher undertaking a case study has no control over certain variables as would, the researcher in a laboratory. Consequently, the researcher using a case study design has to be aware that the study's findings may only be applicable for similar cases only. Guba and Lincoln (1993) noted that another

criticism that leveled against the use of the case study has been that the researcher may become part of the research and by knowing the expected results, may unknowingly guide the respondents to those results. Guba and Lincoln (1993) refer to this as self-fulfilling prophecy or the Pygmalion effect. On the side of the proponents of the case study design led by Yin (1989), the method is defended. They argue that case studies like experiments are generalizable to theoretical propositions and that if the researcher maintains objectivity the researcher's bias will not influence the findings.

The design was also embraced to allow the researcher to test the applicability of the Robert Dahl theory of power in explaining the extent to which the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) contribute to the democratic framework of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

3.2 Application of the Grounded Theory to the Study

The case study design for this research was used within the framework of the Glaser and Strauss Grounded theory which posits that the researcher starts analyzing data as s/he collects it. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that the use of grounded theory techniques affords the researcher the opportunity to probe more on ambiguous or facts that promise to yield invaluable information while the data is being collected. In other words the research does not have to wait for the end of the research to verify the validity of the issues that are emerging from the study.

The grounded theory approaches compensated the fact that this research used a small sample size by providing a more in-depth and thorough understanding of the phenomenon under study as the researcher kept on exploring issues until the field work was done. The Grounded theory also enabled the researcher to compare responses from different respondents in order to establish if there were any linkages and relationships to certain issues that would be under discussion and this in the process refines theoretical analysis.

The Grounded theory has been criticized, inspite of its merits, on the premise that it tends to accept what respondents say as the truth and the respondent is taken as a “inside expert”. According to critics, the grounded theory is inductive. Nonetheless the researcher used several data collective methods and this compensated for this shortcoming. In this regard the researcher employed structured interviews, semi-structured interviews; official documents review (constitutions and reports of activities. The application of the Grounded theory made the research more rigorous in its inquiry on the role and the contribution of the Peoples Party for Reconstruction and Democracy and the Democracy and Social Progress Union in promoting democracy and good governance principles.

3.3 Population and Sample

The population of this study was constituted of all the registered members of the two political parties under study, namely: the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS). However, in the case of the DRC it is very difficult to know the exact number of registered members of political parties. Therefore, the sample of this study was constituted of 30 people (15 from each of the two political parties. The study solicited the perspectives of 30 informants as depicted in Table 3.1 below.

Table 1 Population Sample

	Types of respondents	Number
a.	PPRD Executive Committee Members	5
b.	UDPS Executive Committee Members	5
c.	PPRD Members of Parliament	5
d.	UDPS Members of Parliament	5
e.	PPRD Youth League	2
f.	UDPS Youth League	2
g.	PPRD Women League	2
h.	UDPS Women League	2
i.	PPPRD Research Team	1
j.	UDPS Research Team	1
Total		30

3.4 Sampling Procedure

According to Castillo (2009) a sample is a subset of the population and the concept of a sample arises from the inability of the researcher to test all the individuals in a given population. In line with this the researcher made use of the purposive sampling method.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling Method

Purposive sampling is a method used when the researcher intends to target a particular group of people and not everyone in the population. Moreover it is used when the desired population for study is difficult to locate or to access. In the context of the present study the researcher's target was not to work with every other registered members of the parties under study but to work with a sample taken from the executive committees, the members of parliament, youth league representatives, women branch representatives and the research in charge of the parties under study and who were present during the 2003-2013 period. The challenge of identifying the relevant people compelled the researcher to ask the contacts person who were the point of entry into the parties and who were familiar to the party's members to help me access the members who have been there for the 10 past years and more in the case of the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS).

Castillo (2009) noted that purposive sampling can be used for situations where the researcher needs to reach a targeted sample quickly. In light of the fact that the time for

field work was limited to two weeks the researcher therefore, employed the purposive sampling method because it is quick and saved on time. The researcher also employed the purposive sampling because the study was looking at a period frame of 10 years 2003-2013. The purposive sampling therefore, helped the researcher identify the members of these two parties who have been serving for at least 10 years. The researcher strongly believed that these people were able to give him the information he needed for his study.

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Primary Sources

3.5.1.1 Structured interviews

Basically, structured interviews serve as quantitative research method but they can also be used as qualitative research method. The researcher employed scheduled structured interviews which listed important wording (good governance and democracy). This was used to increase the reliability and the credibility of the data by comparing, contrasting and differentiating the views of participants.

3.5.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

McMillan and Schumacher (1993; 251) commented that the questions in semi-structured interviews are phrased to allow for individual responses and are open ended but specific

in their intent. The researcher employed semi-structured interview in this study because of its main advantage of being adaptable to the imperatives found during field work. In line with Bartley (1987) semi-structured interviews present the advantage of being flexible and offer the interviewer the chance to probe more information from the interviewee. The researcher employed semi-structured interviews to allow new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewees say. The semi-structured interview also presents the advantage to focus on the topics at hand without constraining them to a particular format. Semi-structured interviews also allow the researcher to tailor the questions to context and to the respondent.

3.5.1.3 Official documents review

This study also made use of official documents of the two political parties. The research reviewed the Constitutions of the two political parties under study. The constitutions appeared to be very important in this study because they are the documents that organize the parties. The constitution of a party gives all the details on the organization of the party, its missions, objectives, its type, its structures, etc. The constitution of a party is its most important document.

3.5.1.4 Field work

Due to the fact that the time for field work was limited to two weeks the researcher couldn't travel to the study area. However, the researcher had to obtain the services of a

research assistant who is well trained and who has conducted several researches. The researcher had developed relationships with some influential members of these two political parties by the time he worked at the Provincial Parliament of Katanga. Thus, through these contacts he was helped to access other respondents. The researcher also had e-mail and cell-phone conversations with some respondents to have their approval for the interviews and explain how important their contributions were for the research. The researcher developed informal conversation with the respondents before beginning the interviews. This was done to create close links and a spirit of comradeship with the participants. With some of the participants, such as the members of parliament the researcher had to learn patience as at one time some were not available due to their busy schedules. However, when they could give time for the interviews, they were very helpful.

3.5.2 Secondary Sources

This research made use of secondary sources to corroborate the data from the field. In line of this, the study made use of the Constitutions of these two parties also as secondary sources to compare with the views of respondents. The researcher also reviewed other documents, the Constitution of the DRC, reports of political party's activities, journal articles, reports of some international organizations, etc.

3.6 Ethical consideration

The researcher had to seek first for the consent of the people he wanted to interview. He had to reveal his identity through a letter to the informants so that they would know the purpose of the information he was gathering, which was for academic purposes. The researcher had to assure informants of the confidentiality of their participation. He also had to inform informants that they were free to withdraw their consent during the interview if they feel uncomfortable for any reasons. The researcher also told the informants that the findings will be available for them as well as for future academic researches.

3.7 Data Analysis

According to Yin (1989) data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence, to address the initial propositions of a study. The data collection in this study was informed by the grounded theory and by so doing the data analysis began during the collection processes. As the data analysis ensued the researcher took the opportunity of testing the relevance of the Robert Dahl theory of power in explaining the role and the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in fostering good governance and democratic principles in the DRC. The study also used themes in analyzing the data collected from the field.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented the case study as the research design for this study and explained its relevance. The chapter identified the methodology of the study which was qualitative and employed the purposive sampling method. The justification for using this method was given. This chapter highlighted how the study used structured and semi-structured interviews and official documents review as primary source and the review of some other documents, reports of party's activities, journal articles... as secondary source to collect data. The chapter also explained that data collection and analysis was informed by the grounded theory approaches. It was also spelt out in this chapter the ethical considerations that informed the study.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter sought to assess the role of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy and the Democracy and Social Progress Union in promoting good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The chapter likewise presents findings on the state of democracy and good governance in the DRC, analyses the participation of political parties in the political framework of the DRC, and evaluates the contribution of the PPRD and the UDPS to the promotion of democratic and good governance principles. It also unpacks the challenges face by the PPRD and the UDPS in promoting good governance and democracy, establishes the relationships between political parties, democracy and good governance. This chapter also presents the legal framework that organizes the activities of political parties in the DRC.

All the findings are analyzed and interpreted within the framework of the Robert Dahl theory of power and the Glaser and Strauss Grounded theory.

4.1 Data Presentation

4.1.1 The State of Democracy and Good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

When looking at the answers given by the respondents from the PPRD, the researcher managed to identify two categories of respondents. The first category is of those who can be called “Strong wing PPRD” and the second “Soft wing PPRD”.

The respondents categorized as the “Strong wing PPRD” argued that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has really improved in relation to good governance and democracy. They argued that the economy of the DRC is more stable since Joseph Kabila became the president. This according to them, is because sound governing measures are taken to assure transparency, efficiency and to reduce or alleviate corruption in the DRC. They added that the DRC has since the accession of Kabila into power managed to keep better relations with donor agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF through good governance of its resources. They noted as an example the reduction of the foreign debt of the DRC as a result of these sound governing measures put in place by the executive. According to this category of respondents again, the currency in the DRC is more stable than it was in the past and the DRC is experiencing growth of its economy. Despite, political instability due to the recent wars in the DRC, the executive has managed to secure a better management of the country’s resources, they argued.

On the state of democracy, the strong wing PPRD respondents argued that the executive in power has managed to give the country laws that are pro-democratic. They gave a

number of examples to support their arguments: the Democratic Republic of the Congo is the only country on earth to have had a government of national reconciliation with one president and four vice presidents. According to them, this was only possible because Kabila accepted as a true democrat to share some of his responsibilities and powers with people ranking from armed opposition groups, political opposition to civil society organizations. They also mentioned that the Democratic Republic of the Congo hold its first pluralistic and democratic elections under president Kabila. They also argued that reconstruction is really taking place in the DRC, road and hospitals are rehabilitated throughout the country, new infrastructures are built and new investors are coming in the DRC. They also argued that freedoms of expression and association in the DRC are a reality as the DRC count several hundred political parties and several hundred media channels of diverse opinions.

On the side of the “Soft wing PPRD” the discourse is softer. They argued that the country is progressing yes, but still a lot need to be done to give to the DRC a better democracy. The Soft wing PPRD respondents argued that over the past decade great efforts to build a democratic and open society have been made. Conversely they noted that misapplication or ignorance of democratic project has at times been a cause of the most tragic period of the post-colonial history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However they argued that since Joseph Kabila became the president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo improvement in terms of good governance and democracy are taking place in the country despite some difficulties observed in different areas. They

argued that Joseph Kabila initiated the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) because he believes in democratic principles and in the reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of the Congo through reforms respecting principles of good governance. They further argued that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is now experiencing economic stability and that the executive led by president Kabila are fighting to make the entire population of the DRC benefit from this.

One of the respondents said: [translation]

"I want to make it clear, good governance like democracy are processes. The Democratic Republic of the Congo was destroyed, the mentality of the population was also destroyed and this within 32 long years if not more. Since 1997, when Laurent Kabila came into power, the country has never been in peace and Laurent Kabila was even killed only 4 years after his accession to power. Joseph Kabila his son, inherited of a chaotic situation but managed to call to the table enemies of the Congo who were killing its children, raping its women, looting its natural resources and so on. Joseph Kabila accepted to share some of his responsibilities and powers as president of the republic, so that the country could have peace, conduct its first pluralistic and democratic elections, obtain a new constitution and the reconstruction of the country could take place under better hospices. Since Joseph Kabila accession to power in 2001, he managed to push for reforms although facing multiple challenges from within and outside the country. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is moving on the right way towards good governance and democracy. (26 March 2014)

Respondents from the PPRD see Laurent Kabila's accession to power as the best thing that could have happen to the DRC because of the state in which Mobutu had put the country in. They argued that Laurent Kabila had brought freedom to the Congolese people from the dictatorship of the late president Mobutu. They also argued that only

Joseph Kabila his son was able to stabilize the country after the assassination Laurent Kabila in January 2001.

The UDPS respondents viewed the state of democracy and good governance in a totally different position.

Arguing on the state of good governance, they said that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is led by very corrupt individuals who are very selfish and who put their personal interests before the common good of the population. The economy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is said to be stable they argued but yet the population of the DRC in its large majority leave below the poverty line. While the DRC population is starving, officials are becoming more and more rich, they argued. Policies on social protection are incoherent and the few social protection-schemes only benefit a limited number of people, water coverage is limited while sanitary coverage is weak, access to health and education services is limited, roads are inexistent, agriculture is down they said and noted that several reports of an important number of international bodies place the DRC one of the least developed countries in relation to good governance practices. They argued that the executive is characterized by exploitative governance, unequal distribution of resources, clientelism, and lack of transparency, rampant corruption, impunity, and self-aggrandizement. They stated that the executive is not doing anything to bring about good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They also

argued that impunity is one of the biggest problems affecting the Democratic Republic of the Congo mentioning that not a single official had been tried for corruption.

According to the UDPS respondents, universal recognized elements of a stable democracy are weak or missing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The necessary checks on executive political parties are not practiced leaving ways to mismanagement, self-enrichment and other anti-democratic practices. They argued that Parliamentary inquiries are ineffective because of the lack of necessary resources and expertise and that the Parliament is over controlled by the executive through its majority. The Judiciary is deeply politicized and inadequately funded. They also noted that the executive has never presented any detailed plans for addressing corruption in customs, public finance and natural resources. The majority of the UDPS respondents argued that the executive in the DRC has failed to deliver political goods to the citizens and among these political goods they mentioned security which is a rare commodity in the Congolese reality.

A variety of reports (UNDP, Mo Ibrahim, Easy doing Business,...) place the DRC one of the least developed countries in the world, one of the least countries in relation to democratic and good governance practices. This shows that in relation to democratic and good governance values, principles and practices they is still a lot which has to be done on the side of political parties to reach the desired democracy. The overall situation in the DRC characterized by widespread poverty limited or no access to clean water,

nutrition, healthcare and education, disease and starvation of thousands of lives on a daily basis are a true obstacles to democracy in the DRC. Tribalism in the DRC and within political parties is still prevalent than nationalism and decades of kleptocratic rule have sapped the population's trust in public institutions, which are weak and ineffectual. Various sources supported by a report by the UN on the management of resources in the DRC also indicate that these handicaps are further dwarfed by the greed and irresponsibility of much of the politicians who most of them with military leaders, businessmen, and bureaucrats spend their time in office plundering state resources. The quest for personal enrichment through endemic corruption has triggered widespread distrust and makes it all but impossible for the different organs of the state to cooperate.

However, according to the World Bank, the Democratic Republic of the Congo after decades of economic decline is experiencing growth of its Gross Domestic Product Rate (GDP), 2.1 in January 2010, 6.1 in January 2012 and 8.1 in January 2014. This is according to the World Bank a result of sound economic reforms put in place in the DRC with the help of the Bretton Woods Institutions. In 2006, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discriminations against Women expressed a concern that in the post war transition period, the promotion of women human rights and gender equality was not seen as a priority in the DRC. This United Nation's Committee stated that the subjugation of the rights of women in the DRC constitute another obstacle to democracy in the country arguing that democracy is intended to be an all-inclusive process. And regarding at how Congolese women had

registered and voted in impressive numbers and secured commitment on paper for greater roles in governance they should be included. However, in practice they remain badly under represented and violence against them is widespread and committed with impunity.

4.1.2 Participation of Political parties in the political framework of the DRC

The participation of political parties is one of the most important features in democratic settings. Citizens participate in the political life of their countries through political parties and other civil society organizations.

The respondents from the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) on the participation of political parties in the political framework of the DRC argued that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the countries on earth where the population has effectively shown its interest in political issues by creating political parties. The important number of political parties that exist in the DRC is a sign that Congolese want democracy. They argued that the participation of political parties in the DRC political framework is effective in this that every party has the opportunity to organize and operate according to the law, to voice out, go for elections and win them. They argued that the PPRD participate effectively in the politics of the country, organizes the party convention as planed in the party constitution and follow decided and previewed activities unlike other parties that do not organize their conventions.

The PPRD according to them also respect the Constitution of the country and the laws that organize political party activities. However, they also mentioned that it is very difficult for other parties to participate effectively in the politics of the country because of lack of internal democracy, good organization and structures. The lack of internal democracy within parties, they argued, is one reason for the party's poor ability to formulate credible policies. They argued that the UDPS, for example, which is one of the largest party in the DRC only held its first convention in March 2009, 27 years after its creation in 1982. They also argued that the decision making processes are generally opaque and uncertain in many political parties for which important decisions are made on a discretionary if not dictatorial basis by the heads of the parties, claiming ownership of the party. They added that party leadership elections are either not held or are nothing but just parody, so that the alternative to the party leadership is unthinkable even banned in some cases. According to them, it is normal to have different opinions within political parties but they argued that in most parties groupthink prevails to the extent that dissenting voices are severely suppressed by both leaders and fanatical party activists congregating around the so called "charismatic leaders".

On the participation to the Decision making processes, the PPRD respondents stated that their party is the party with most sits in Parliaments (National and Provincial Assemblies) although it does not impose policies that will favour them. They push for policies that are in the interest of the entire population of the DRC without any discrimination.

They again argued that on the ways of participating in promoting good governance and democracy the PPRD is one of the rare parties in the DRC that educate members. They usually hold seminars and workshops; they are present in the Parliament and in the government. They involve youth and women in every activities of the party and consider their views. The PPRD is the most represented party in the institutions and participate effectively in the decision making processes. They have significantly participated to the elections in 2006 and 2011. They also argued that the PPRD is a party which is very close to its members and that consult with them in decision making concerning the party.

On the importance of the participation of the opposition parties to the decision making processes, the respondents of the PPRD argued that democracy is an inclusive process and that it is always good to take into consideration other groups opinions which are in the common interest of the country. The opposition has a very important role to play in democracy. They have the right to criticize the action of the executive and formulate alternative proposals to the ones of the majority. But, in the case of the DRC most opposition parties do not formulate any proposals rather they only are against everything just because proposed by the executive. Opposition parties are also not able to take place effectively in the decision making process because of the lack of consensus amongst them and some like the case of the UDPS are not able to participate effectively in the decision making process because of some irrational decisions taken by their leader. Etienne Tshisekedi, president of the UDPS has several times refused to participate while he was invited to. He refused to be part of the government of national reconciliation,

boycotted the 2006 elections, refused to accept the 2011 election's results and urged UDPS elected Member of Parliament not to join the National Assembly unless he was declared the winner of the presidential elections.

PPRD respondents argued that most of the challenges they face in promoting good governance and democracy come from the fact that the mentality of the DRC population was destroyed and is in its majority not very learned. It is therefore a big issue to make Congolese adopt democratic and good governance principles. Corruption is affecting the all country to the extent that almost every citizen is involved in one way or the other. The 32 years of Mobutu's reign have destroyed the national trust and the patriotism of the Congolese population.

On the side of the UDPS respondents, they argued that most of the political parties in the DRC are not able to participate effectively to the political framework of the country. Most of the parties that exist in the DRC are election's party, focused on the eve of elections and their activities are almost stopped until the eve of the next elections. They argued that this is due to a serious lack of financial and material resources. Most parties, especially those who are not in power have very low capacity for mass mobilization and finance. Only those in agreement with the government's policy have any chance to benefit from the government, sometimes in participating directly to the government.

It is again very difficult for political parties, especially for those in opposition to participate to the political framework and to the decision making processes because of the fact that the executive uses every means in its possibility to suppress the opposition and to reduce its capacity to oppose, they argued. The executive controls the police, the army, the judiciary system and the legislative through its majority to the extent that parties that are not in line with the government policies have very little chance to conduct their activities. The excessive government influence on the legislature through its parliamentary majority removes differences of opinions and makes all votes adhere to the government line. They noted that the executive as for the 2011 elections was able through its majority to change the constitution to facilitate the reelection of Joseph Kabila. They also argued that Joseph Kabila rigged the elections to maintain himself in power.

The UDPS respondents argued that the Democracy and Social Progress Union is the party in the DRC that has been fighting for the Congolese people since its creation in 1982 by the group of thirteen Parliamentarians who in 1980 signed an open letter to president Mobutu calling for multi-party democracy. The UDPS led by Etienne Tshisekedi is the first internally based opposition movement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that has since it was created managed to create close tie with the Congolese people.

One of the UDPS respondents argued that [translation]

“The Democracy and Social Progress Union was formed when the Popular Movement for Revolution in French Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR) was the only legal party and under the constitution of 1974, the formation of a second party was an act of treason. It was then very difficult to push for change under such conditions and the thirteen parliamentarians who had signed that open letter were arrested, convicted of sedition, and sentenced to lengthy prison term in 1982. Fortunately he continued, they got to be released under the amnesty of 1983. But as the period was still difficult they were on several subsequent occasions, arrested and placed under various forms of detention. Following the announcement of the transition to multi-party democracy on 24 April 1990 by president Mobutu, the UDPS has in several occasions ask for more democracy in the DRC, organizing rallies, calling for boycott of elections, public demonstrations, strikes... He further argued that the history of the Democracy and Social Progress Union itself is a very big testimony of the commitment of the UDPS to the democratic and good governance principles. “ (2 April 2014)

The UDPS again according to the UDPS respondents has more registered members in comparison to any other political parties in the DRC. This because of its politics, they argued. The UDPS respondents argued that since the time of Mobutu, the Democracy and Social Progress Union has been communicating a democratic culture to its millions of adherents and contributing to the promotion of democracy and good governance in the DRC. They again argued that they fought for Multipartyism and have achieved it somehow and that they are continually fighting for a better democracy in the country and they will achieve it.

A respondent of the UDPS talked about the last elections in the DRC and noted that

“Democracy won but enemies of good governance and democracy stole the elections for personnel interest. The population of the DRC showed its desire for change but people who don’t respect its choices for hidden agenda used evil

tricks to further suppress and maintain the population under poverty.” (29 March 2014)

Respondents from the UDPS also argued that it is again difficult for the UDPS and for other political parties to promote good governance and democracy principles because of the fact that they are not granted freedom of speech, expression and the right to demonstrate pacifically.

UDPS respondents also argued that the challenges that they face in promoting good governance and democratic principles are related to the fact that they are not granted the necessary freedom to act as a political organization. No freedom of speech, association and demonstration. Bad treatment of their members by authorities, repression of their activities and illegal arrest and pursuit of their members...They also argued that financial resources are a big handicap for them.

Respondents from the UDPS see the accession of Laurent Kabila to power as a coup because of the manner in which he came into power. They argued that being a democratic party that believes in democratic practices and principles the use of arms is not an option for them. They also argued that Joseph Kabila's accession to power was another coup to the state of democracy in the DRC.

4.1.3 Relationships between political parties, good governance and democracy

Respondents of both PPRD and UDPS argued that political parties have a very crucial role to play in democratic and good governance settings. Some respondents of both political parties went on to say that democracy and good governance are unimaginable without political parties. They argued that political parties provide countries leaders, set the governance agenda and educate the population. They again argued that the state of good governance and democracy in a country largely depend on the work of political parties. Where strong political parties exist it is likely to see democratic and good governance principles being implemented and the contrary is also true. It is also important to mention that the researcher has noticed that some respondents fell to relate good governance, democracy and political parties. They have very little understanding of what these concepts really mean.

4.1.4 The legal framework for political party activities in the DRC

The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in its article 6 recognized political pluralism in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In article 8 of the DRC Constitution, the legislator recognized political opposition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the rights linked to its existence, its activities and its fight for democratic conquest of power are sacred. These rights may not be objects to limits other than those which are imposed by the Constitution and the law on all political parties and political

activities. The Constitution of the DRC also states that an Organic Law determines the status of political opposition.

The law N° 04/002 of 15 March 2004, concerning the organization and operation of Political parties ("Law 04/002 2004") governs the registration of political parties in the DRC and guarantees political pluralism and outlaws the establishment of a one party state (Law 04/002 2004, 1, 10). The law defines a political party as “an association of the national persons of Congolese nationality sharing the same ideology and the same social program with a view to obtaining and exercising the state power democratically and peacefully”. Parties participate in elections, in the formation of the national consciousness and in civic education (Law 04/002 2004, 2). The law guarantees the freedom to organize and act within the bounds established by the Constitution, the law and the requirements of public order and Social morality. Parties are according to this law, expected to respect the principles of democratic pluralism and national sovereignty and unity (Law 04/002 2004, 3). The law also says that parties have the right to equal treatment by the state, public services and by holders of public office. Civil and military authorities must extend assistance and protection to them when they need it (Law 04/002 2004, 4).

According to this law N° 04/002 of the 15 March 2004 concerning the organization and operation of political parties, all Congolese over the age of 18 years have the right to

join or leave any political party they wish, with the exception of magistrates, members of the security forces and civil servants. While traditional authorities may neither form nor join a political party (Law 04/002 2004, 8) on the other hand, the exercise of political rights is in no way conditioned on political party affiliation (Law 04/002 2004, 9).

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, political parties have the obligation to have a national character and may not reflect special interests of one family, clan, tribe, ethnic group, province, sub-area of the country, race, religion, language, gender or other origin, or discriminate on these grounds (Law 04/002 2004, 5 a). They must further (Law 04/002 2004, 5 b)-e) respect the principle of change of power by way of the free choice of the people; consolidate national unity; preserve the sovereignty of the Congolese State; respect the republican, democratic, social, secular and indivisible character of the Congolese State; commit themselves to the promotion of democracy in their own party, to human rights and fundamental freedoms, They must refrain from the use of violence or force as a mean of expression, of political action and of access to or maintenance of power. Political parties are forbidden, on pain of dissolution, to take on a military or paramilitary character (Law 04/002 2004, 6). The leader of a political party who violates this provision is liable to prosecution in terms of the security laws (Law 04/002 2004, 30).

Likewise this law, also presents the registration application requirements (Law 04/002 2004, 11), the registration and appeal processes (04/002 2004, 14) and the dispositions for party dissolution and suspension (Law 04/002 2004, 28, 29, 31). Kadima and Tshiyoyo (2009, p.114) noted that in the run up of the 2006 elections, “ The Ministry of the Interior refused to register Etienne Tshisekedi, Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS), arguing that the party had not duly submitted an application. The UDPS disagreed with the Ministry, claiming that it had submitted all required documents and had a receipt issued by the authorities attesting to this. This situation led to a stalemate which frustrated the UDPS and its supporters and ultimately culminated in its boycott of the electoral processes”. Besides this case, they noted that the registration of political parties was conducted smoothly.

The respondents from the People’s Party from Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) in their large majority have affirmed that the legal framework that governs the organization and operations of political parties and guarantees political pluralism in the DRC is effective and the large number of political parties in activity itself is a proof for that. They also argued that opposition parties in the Democratic Republic of the Congo enjoy a legal status that allows them to organize and operate effectively, under the law of 04 December 2007 on the status of political opposition. They further noted that this law contains important prerogatives in favour of the opposition, including the right to criticize the action of the executive and formulate alternative proposals, which should in principle be taken into account. Important delegates of the People’s Party for

Reconstruction and Democracy, such as the Members of Parliaments who participated to this study argued that the law governing political parties is in full compliance with international legal instruments in this field, in that it allows all the freedoms of association, expression, and public demonstrations. Nevertheless, the remaining think that although the legal framework exists, some irregularities still are taking place in matter of the applicability and implementation of the laws governing political parties . They mentioned that there are parties that do not have a national character but that have been registered.

However, they argued that the executive is not to be hold responsible for these irregularities as the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a young democracy and democracy is a continuous process. What is important according to them is that political participation in the DRC is built on a solid Constitutional foundation, the DRC is party to most International and African human rights treaties related to political participation, democracy and equal citizenship and that the DRC has also acceded to key International and African treaties on combating discrimination and promoting equality among Citizens.

On the side of the respondents from the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS), although they all agreed that the legal framework exists, they actually had a very different approach compared to the PPRD respondents. They argued that although the

appearance and the actual existence of several hundred political parties for which they were the first to fight are one of the signs of the flourishing of democracy after three decades of one party rule, this pluralism is such that if democracy was measured by the number of parties that exist in a country then, unquestionably, the Democratic Republic of the Congo would pass for a great democracy. They noted that the law on political parties guarantees freedoms of expression but in reality this is only in circumstances that do not appear truly dangerous or harmful in the eyes of those in power. In answering they also noted that the executive favour or finance the creation of small parties called “party satellites” to expand they authority in the political arena. Some parties according to them which are so called opposition parties are not opposition parties but extension of the ruling party created to fight away competition and silent the opposition. The law on the status of the opposition says that “the political opposition is represented before the nation by a spokesman with the rank of Minister of State and who enjoys all the privileges associated with that rank, they argued, but since the adoption of this law the Spokesman of the opposition has not yet been established and according to the UDPS respondents the executive through its majority in parliament is the one blocking this process. The UDPS respondents also noted that if we agree that everything is correct on that the Congolese legislation allows all the freedoms of expression, association, and public demonstrations, therefore, Congolese legislation could pass for one of the most liberal in Africa if one considers that very few African countries recognize the opposition’s right to a secure and official status. Yet in practice, they argued that the DRC is very far for being called democratic. UDPS respondents argued that the absence

of democracy in the DRC means that, whether they are in the DRC or not, the members of the UDPS are subjected to harassment and various types of persecution from armed and unarmed entities that are linked to those in power in the DRC.

Respondents from the PPRD affirmed that, their party is among the parties that are fighting for a better democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and that are respecting the laws that guide and organize the conduct of political parties in the country unlike other parties that break laws.

On the side of the UDPS respondents, they stated that the parties in power are not willing to respect the laws. They added that the ruling party, the PPRD, uses its power to suppress the opposition and to reduce its members to silence.

According to the UDPS diplomatic adviser in the Canadian representative office, in a report of the UDPS issued on 18 March 2011, opposition leaders and members officially have freedom of expression; however, in practice, they are at the mercy of the police and military in power. He reported that the authorities systematically refused to allow members of the opposition to organize public demonstrations. Similarly, in a report issued of September 2010, the Committee of Human Rights Observers (Comité des observateurs des droits de l'homme, CODHO), a human rights advocacy organization in the DRC, stated that the government of the DRC did not authorized-either before or after

the 2006 elections-peaceful demonstrations to be held by opposition political parties and independent civil society organizations. According to the CODHO news release, on 26 September 2010, UDPS members attending a meeting in Kinshasa to discuss, among other things, the 2011 election process were arbitrarily arrested and detained.

In a public statement issued on 23 March 2012, Amnesty International said it had collected "a lot of information describing acts of torture, ill-treatment and arbitrary and illegal arrests" by security forces during the electoral process, to intimidate members of opposition parties, especially the UDPS and their real and perceived supporters. In January 2012, various sources including (RENADHOC 30 Jan. 2012, 2; Jeune Afrique with AFP 23 Jan. 2012; Le Phare 12 Jan. 2012) had reported that Étienne Tshisekedi was placed under house arrest. Le Phare a Kinshasa-based newspaper in an article published on 2 January 2012 explained that, Étienne Tshisekedi, president of the UDPS, after declaring himself the winner of the presidential election of November 2011, was cut off from the outside world. Le Phare added that security forces controlling Tshisekedi's residence in Kinshasa were not only preventing him from leaving his home, but were keeping anyone, including his close collaborators, from entering the house (12 Jan. 2012).

Various media also reported that Jacquemain Shabani, Secretary General of the UDPS, was arrested at Kinshasa Airport on 7 February 2012 (GLTV 7 Feb. 2012; RFI Feb.

2012). The Secretary General was to travel to Germany, where he had been invited to attend a conference on the situation in the DRC after the elections of November 2011. Radio France International (RFI) on 12 Feb 2012, reported that the Congolese authorities had accused him of being in possession of "unnecessarily subversive and offensive documents". Moreover, they accused him of being responsible (alone or with others) for "tracts circulating at military and police garrisons, calling on security forces to disobey public authorities" (Radio Okapi 13 Feb. 2012). The Minister of Communication and Media of the DRC Lambert Mende, quoted by Radio Okapi, confirmed that the immigration service had found the master for these tracts in the laptop computer of the Secretary General of the UDPS, along with several other documents, including photographs bearing witness to "serious" human rights violations committed during the electoral period. KongoTimes! another Kinshasa-based newspaper went on quoting the Assistant Secretary General of the UDPS, following his boss arrest, who confirmed that Jacquemain Shabani was taken to the Congo's national intelligence agency (Agence Nationale des Renseignements, ANR) "where he was stripped, hooded and savagely tortured by other persons also wearing hoods," before being freed by the head of the ANR (KongoTimes! 8 Feb. 2012). RFI also reported that the Secretary General had been beaten by security officers before he was released (12 Feb. 2012). He is reported to have filed a complaint against the ANR, as well as the immigration branch (Direction générale des migrations), for "'arbitrary arrest and illegal detention,'" "'assault and battery'" and "'attempted murder'" (RFI 1 Mar. 2012).

In early September 2011, sources also reported that the headquarters of the Democracy and Social Progress Union (Union pour la Democratie et le Progres Social (UDPS)) and the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Democratie, (PPRD)) were ransacked, and the headquarters of Radio Lisanga Télévision (RLTV) was set on fire (ASADHO 8 Sept. 2011; Forum des As 7 Sept. 2011). The headquarters of these organizations are located respectively in the communities of Limete, Kasavubu and Gombe, in Kinshasa (ASADHO 8 Sept. 2011). In July 2011, Congolese authorities shut down the RLTV station, owned by a political opponent, because "it advocated violence, incited hatred and sought to compromise the electoral process by airing a daily program called 'SET' (Soutien à Étienne Tshisekedi [Support to Étienne Tshisekedi])". According to the Ministry of the Interior of the DRC, UDPS headquarters was vandalized "in reaction to acts of vandalism perpetrated by UDPS militants" on 5 September 2011, at an office of the PPRD, the party in power (Le Monde with AFP 6 Sept. 2011). The Ministry added that 12 people were allegedly injured and six vehicles allegedly set on fire in the incident of vandalism against UDPS headquarters. On the other hand, in Le Phare, the Secretary General of the UDPS was quoted as saying that the operation that destroyed the headquarters of his party and RLTV was conducted by soldiers, transported in police vehicles (7 Sept. 2011). He added that this operation killed two people, injured several others and resulted in the arrest of about fifty UDPS members (Le Phare 7 Sept. 2011).

4.2 Data Interpretation

The key question of this research was the role of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy and the Democracy and Social Progress Union in promoting good governance and Democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The assumptions were that Political parties, Democracy and Good governance have clear relationships; the PPRD and the UDPS have a key role to play in fostering democratic and good governance principles; Political parties to deliver effective political goods the resources, their nature and structures matter a lot; and that good governance and democracy are still an issue in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The interpretations that follow are done in light of the Robert Dahl theory of power and the Glaser and Strauss Grounded theory which are corner stone theoretical frameworks of this research.

4.2.1 The State of Democracy and Good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Findings on the state of democracy and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have shown differing positions. Respondents from the PPRD have affirmed that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has in relation to democracy and good governance realized significant progress and that the country is on the right way. On the other side, respondents of the UDPS have stated that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is lagging behind in relation to good governance and democracy and that the executive in the DRC is not willing to bring about change in the country because they benefit from the present state of affairs.

Analyzing all the findings on the state of democracy and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the researcher was able to see that the position from where respondents act deeply affects their judgments. It is very difficult to find someone from the PPRD who can tell you that the DRC is not going towards good governance and democracy as it is almost impossible to get one from the UDPS who can affirm that the DRC is really progressing concerning the implementation of democratic and good governance principles. The researcher was also able to find that the quality of the relationship between political parties and mostly between the PPRD and the UDPS affect the state of democracy and good governance in the DRC. Political party actors see themselves as enemies not as opponents.

4.2.2 Participation of Political Parties in the political framework of the DRC

It is evident that political parties are present and participate to the political framework of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The findings on the participation of political parties show that the DRC is a country with several hundred political parties. The findings also demonstrate that most of the parties do not effectively contribute to the promotion of good governance and democracy due to various reasons: lack of internal democracy that reduces the capacity to formulate good policies, lack of finance which in the case of the DRC is very dependent on the fact that without financial resources it is practically impossible for a party to organize its activities, mobilize its members throughout the country and get into power.

On the participation of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy in the political framework of the DRC, the findings have shown that the PPRD is the party which occupies most places in almost every institution, together with parties that constitute the president coalition. This is due to the fact that the PPRD has the necessary means to do so, power and financial resources.

On the contribution to the promotion of good governance and democracy it is my view that the contribution of the PPRD is not significant because the Democratic Republic of the Congo is still a place where in reality democratic principles are hindered. The treatment of opposition members in some cases demonstrate that the executive of the DRC is at times an autocratic regime that reduces the freedoms of association, speech and of demonstration. However, it is also important to note that since the accession of Joseph Kabila to power the DRC has held two elections although with irregularities but significant in the sense that the DRC is moving towards respect of democratic requirements. Talking about good governance, it can also be noted that the DRC is in relative better situation in comparison to the past and the actual executive can be credited for that although the overall situation of the Congolese population is still bad.

The findings also show that the UDPS is one of the parties that are present in the political framework of the DRC. The UDPS is the lengthiest serving party in the DRC and the major opposition party with the largest number of registered members. The

UDPS has to a certain extent contributed to the promotion of democracy and good governance in the DRC but its contribution has been not very significant due to the fact that it is very difficult to change a situation from outside. The UDPS has since its creation been in opposition and it is very difficult if not impossible for a party which does not have power and sufficient financial resources to impose its agenda. The UDPS refused to participate to the government of national unity constituted after agreements signed in Pretoria and Sun City, South Africa; they again boycotted the 2006 elections, calling its members to not even take part to the registration process. Without power and financial resources it is very difficult for the Democracy and Social Progress Union to push for its agenda or to make in practice its program of development.

Findings have also shown that the UDPS is a party that has gone through several internal disagreements. Factions have always been existed in the party leading many of its influential members to leave the party and form other parties, like the UDPS/ Kibasa for example. The constitution of the UDPS as amended after the first congress of the party held in 2009 states that the amendments made into the constitution came also due to the fact that the party was confronted to many internal problems. This shows that the failure of the UDPS to significantly contribute to the promotion of democracy and good governance in the DRC is also caused by a lack of internal democracy in the party and a bad coordination and planning of party activities. The party has also along its existence taken wrong decisions that have managed to keep them out of the decision making process and organs.

The effective participation of political parties in promoting democracy and good governance is also affected by the fact that political parties are deeply personalized by their leaders. Instead of pushing for the common interest their push for personal interest. This is true for the majority of political parties being ruling parties or opposition parties. The Glaser and Strauss grounded theory used to analyze the data collected from the field has given the researcher the opportunity to come up with a theory called power resource theory. The power resource theory poses that the effectiveness of political parties in the promotion of good governance and democracy will be the result of new constructed political parties, focused on democratic and good governance principles combined with power and financial resources. Key elements are therefore: newly structured political parties not focused on an individual or a group of individuals but that are democracy and good governance centered together with power and financial resources.

4.2.3 Relationships between political parties, good governance and democracy

Findings have shown that there are close ties between political parties, democracy and good governance and that most party representatives are aware of that. However findings have also revealed that many Congolese leaders have a very little understanding of what really mean these concepts. This is due to the fact that many Congolese lack education and that parties are not playing one of their most important roles which is the education of members. Reading the constitutions of both the PPRD and the UDPS the researcher has noticed that democracy and good governance are very important elements

for these political organizations but when looking at their activities the researcher was surprised to see that the large majority of their activities are not related to the promotion of good governance and democratic principle. Instead, activities are centered on the promotion of the party leaders what makes the leaders the most important features of political organizations. Kabilaism and Tshisekediism prevail more than democracy and good governance. Political parties in the DRC can actually be defined as association of people formed around an individual or a group of individuals to promote his or their personal interests.

4.2.4 The legal framework for political party activities in the DRC

Findings revealed that although the DRC has provided a legal framework to organize political party's activities and especially to organize for opposition parties to act in the DRC, the one who has power is the one who sets the agenda. Efforts are made to give to the DRC a better platform in which parties can contribute to the development of a sound democracy but in practice the DRC is still failing to implement the policies.

Leaders of political parties to allow themselves to continue to have the control of the political arena make sure that they retain in their hands enough power to suppress opposition within and outside their political parties. More democracy means more liberty and less power and control for political leaders. Within political parties they make sure to control every activities and to remain the centre of party activities and programs. When in power their make sure to continue have the control of the state by

controlling all the institutions and most of the time using abusive power to suppress political rivals.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter revealed the research findings from the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) and other key sources on the role of these political parties in promoting democracy and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The study showed that democracy and good governance are not central elements in these political party's activities but that their leaders are actually the focus of all activities. The Kabilaism and the Tshisekediism not as a way of thinking but more as a personality cult are the ideologies of these political parties. The study showed that the nature and structures of these political parties are a barrier to effective delivery of political goods. This same chapter disclosed that political actors see themselves not as rivals but as enemies which provoke a mobilization of biases and a creation of hatred among party members. The Robert Dahl theory of power found expression in the findings of this study as power dynamics are central to political party's activities and that in the context of the DRC it is clearly seen that the one who has power set the agenda. The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) has power over the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS). Evidence gathered in this study highlighted that democracy and good governance are still of serious concern in the DRC and that the PPRD and the UDPS are failing in their role of promoting good governance and democratic principles.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the research which sought to assess the role of the People's Party and Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in fostering good governance and democratic principles. Likewise the chapter also outlines the conclusions of the study and accordingly proposes its recommendations. It is the researcher's hope that the conclusions and recommendations will generate prolific discussions among academics, policy makers in government, members of the civil and broader society and political party's leaders and members on the need to rethink and recreate the political party's settings in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the role and the contribution of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) in fostering good governance and democratic principles in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The study was a case study of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS). This research was informed by the Robert Dahl theory of power. This theory explained the extent to which the PPRD and the UDPS are able to influence the political

framework towards good governance and democracy looking at the power dynamics present in the political space of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This research captured the perspectives of 30 informants who gave their insights on the topic. The informants were political party members from the PPRD and the UDPS which included Members of Parliament, Member of the executive committees, representative of the youth leagues and representatives of the women leagues. The informants were drawn from within the political parties under research to capture the reality that comes from the party settings. Purposive sampling was engaged while structured, semi structured interviews and secondary sources such as the Constitution of the DRC, party constitutions, the Law on political party's organization and functioning, journals and articles were employed as the data collection methods for the study. The study was qualitative and used the case study as its research design. Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory was used to guide the data collection process and this assisted in a long way in enhancing the depth of analysis of this research's findings.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 The Status of good governance and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Evidence gathered in this research highlighted that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is today in a better situation than it was in the past in terms of economic growth

and stability. However, findings also highlighted that in relation to good governance and democracy the Democratic Republic of the Congo is still facing huge challenges. The large majority of the population still lives under the poverty line and serious human rights abuses have become ubiquitous case. Wars affecting the Democratic Republic of the Congo since the mid-1990s are also a result of the lack of democracy and good governance in the DRC which is ranked among the most corrupt countries in the world.

5.2.2 The participation of political parties in the political framework of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Findings gathered have shown that several political parties exist in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Evidence gathered highlighted that in their large majority political parties cannot even claim to exist as they are only present in the eve of elections and with very little impact on the political framework of the country. Parties are not able to participate effectively in the political framework and to contribute to the promotion of good governance and democracy because of the lack of internal democracy, lack of clear ideology, lack of financial resources and also because they are individuals centered. They promote party leaders and party leader's interests instead of promoting good governance and democracy and people's interests. The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) and the Democracy and Social Progress Union (UDPS) are mostly characterized by a strong Kabilism and Tshisekediism than by social democratic attitudes as their names and constitutions suggest it.

5.2.3 Relationships between political parties, good governance and democracy

Evidence has shown that political parties have key roles to play in promoting good governance and democracy. Findings however, in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have depicted a sad reality which is that many political leaders do not understand the actual meaning of these important concepts which are political parties, good governance and democracy.

The researcher's definition of political parties in the DRC present them as associations of people formed around an individual or a group of individuals with the aim of promoting his/their personal interests. These people do not share a common ideology as such but have an individual or a group of individuals as linking element.

5.2.3 The legal framework for political party activities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Findings have shown that the activities of political parties in the DRC are guided by a solid legal framework. Evidence has however shown that the implementation of the laws put in place is a very big problem as the ruling party cannot afford to lose control over other political parties and especially opposition parties since they want to maintain themselves in power. The strict application of the laws will mean less control of the political framework with risk of losing the hegemony enjoyed over other political

parties. Therefore, the PPRD as the ruling party uses every means to fight away competition and silent the opposition.

5.3 Recommendations

Effective participation of political parties to the promotion of good governance and democratic principles will only be possible if the all setup of political party's organizations and activities is changed. The research recommends to academicians and research entities of political parties a total reorganization and rethinking of political parties structures to address the current challenges that confront political parties in promoting good governance and democracy. The most important problem of political parties is the fact that they are individual centered. The research also recommends to party leaders and to politicians to call for a move towards the merger and grouping of political parties by ideological poles that could multiply their power of action reduces their dependence on the person of their leaders, strengthen their finances and make the parties last after their actual leaders. Viable political parties and effective systems are fundamental to building democracy. The research again recommends to party leaders and members to advocate for direct party to party work and the promotion of a favourable institutional environment within which party activities can flourish. Support for political party development is an established party of democracy promotion.

Political parties have a crucial role to play in building democracy as they can connect the society and the state, aggregate and represents interests, recruit political leaders, disseminate political information, socialize citizens with democratic politics, and offer forums for social and political integration, a tool for nation building. Good relations among parties are believed to display a responsible attitude towards the practice of political competition and therefore the research recommends that political leaders base their competition on ideas and ideologies not on positions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Structured and Semi Structured Interviews guide

1. What is in your view the state of democracy and good governance in the DRC?
2. What is your understanding of political party's participation in governance?
3. In what ways do you participate in governance issues and democratization processes?
4. How can you explain political party's participation in governance in the DRC?
5. How far do you participate in decision making processes?
6. What measures do you have within party constitution that prevent from anti democratic behaviors and practices?
7. Why is it important for political parties to participate in promoting good governance and democracy?
8. To what extent do you think that opposition party participate in decision making in the DRC?
9. Why is it important for opposition parties to participate in decision making processes?
10. What are the key challenges that constrain the participation of political parties in promoting good governance and democracy?
11. In your own opinion what can be done to promote parties contribution towards good governance and democracy?
12. How do you perceive your participation in promoting good governance and democracy?
13. Is there any legal framework that allows you to act in the DRC?
14. What is in your own view the relationship between political parties, democracy and good governance?
15. In your view, what should be done to encourage collaboration between political parties?