

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA CASE STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN

Gabriel Alier Riak*, PhD Candidate Dut Bol Ayuel Bill

Upper Nile University, South Sudan

*Corresponding Author: -

Abstract: -

The purpose of this study was to investigate the Role of Political Parties towards Political Development in South Sudan. The study did not reach entire South Sudan but individuals from selected areas were taken to represent the population. The officials of South Sudan Council of Political Parties.

The study identified the possible ways through which Political Parties could facilitate the Public awareness about Political Development in South Sudan. The study established which Political Parties Participation play significance role in political development and what is their influence among communities of South Sudan. The research design adapted in this study was survey in which the researcher went to the field to collect data directly. Sample size in this study was 50 respondents here the researcher employed simple random sampling techniques to select 100 respondents from population. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data. Data analysis was presented in tables with emphasis to frequencies and percentages. The study establish that political parties play essential role in nation building and political development in South Sudan. The political party's participation is seeking to improve the quality of livelihood and effective popular participation development activities are the major results in mutual benefits and share responsibilities the people of South Sudan.

The study conclusion is to achieve the sets goals and the role of political parties' participation should be ready to face difference kind of risks and challenges that they may encounter during their work.



CHAPTER ONE: 1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focus on the introduction, background, problem statement, research objectives, research questions, significant of the study, scope of the study, and organization of the research. The term "political development" was used in 1960s to explain the process of "political modernization" of newly emerging independent states after decolonization. The conception of political development implies that there is "underdevelopment" and "development". The underdevelopment of societies indicates that both human and material resources are not utilized properly to fulfill the needs of that society. Due to this, poverty and joblessness become widespread and people lead depressed lives (Rudebeck, 1970)¹. The goals and objectives of political development cannot be achieved without political parties. To some degree, political parties allow people to preserve their rights, and the support of the people reinforces political parties. Hence, political parties promote the welfare of society as a whole. One basic need is to d4evelop political ideology and democratic roots within a state, which is an essential method of political development (Akhtar, 2011)². Political parties are often explained as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who decide and execute decisions like parliamentarians. By this, they facilitate their members and supporters, and represent their demands in front of parliament and government. Although parties play numerous fundamental roles and perform some functions in a democratic society, but the selection and presentation of candidates in electoral campaign is the most obvious function. Several scholars have written about political parties and highlighted their significance in democracy (Bryce, 1889; Schattschneider, 1942; Muller & Strom, 1999; Stokes, 1999; StrOm, Muller & Bergman, 2006). There are various scholars who have worked on the area of political development as well (Deutsch, 1961; Pye, 1963; Packenham, 1964; Hah & Schneider, 1968; Huntington, 1968; Pye & Verba, 2015). Huntington (1968) discussed institutionalization of political parties and their role in both political development and political decay. He argued that it is not necessary that political development leads towards progress only, political decay is always another possibility. In order to avoid political decay, political organizations and procedures must have achieved institutionalization in the form of value and a certain level of stability.

1.2 Background of the Study

Political parties are the most imperative element of the political system in determining the direction, nature and level of political development. The goals and objectives of political development cannot be achieved without political parties (Akhtar, 2011)³. They are basically institution of society, while military and bureaucracy are institutions of the state. In the developing countries, like South Sudan, few state institutions are strong enough to counter the influence of society and its representative governments (Hussain & Kokab, 2013)⁴.

If the representative institutions are weak, they will be unable to protect the interests of society. Natural result of this weakness will be the domination of other institutions of the state. This successively weakens the political system of society. Political development also suffers due to such state of affairs. According to Weiner (1962)⁵, political system of any country depends on the fact that who is controlling and allocating the resources. In countries with empowered democratic institutions, political forces take control of resources and lead the country towards political development. There is a strong connection between political parties, political system and public (La Palombara, 1963)⁶. There is an interactive relation between political parties and public, resultantly parties have a deep impact on overall political system. This impact can be in the form of political, social and economic development of the state.

Like other concepts in social sciences and political science, there is lack of consensus among scholars about the description of political development. For instance Huntington (1968) mentioned the level of political stability in a country as an indicator of its degree of political development, but later Huntington and Nelson (1976)⁷ pointed out that political participation is an important element of this process. Differences can also be found in terms of studying political development, for instance Almond and Coleman (1960)⁸ employed structural functionalism approach, but Moor

¹ Due to this, poverty and joblessness become widespread and people lead depressed lives

² One basic need is to develop political ideology and democratic roots within a state, which is an essential method of political development

³ The goals and objectives of political development cannot be achieved without political parties

⁴ In the developing countries, like South Sudan, few state institutions are strong enough to counter the influence of society and its representative governments

⁵ According to Weiner (1962), political system of any country depends on the fact that who is controlling and allocating the resources.

⁶ There is a strong connection between political parties, political system and public

⁷ For instance, Huntington (1968) mentioned the level of political stability in a country as an indicator of its degree of political development, but later Huntington and Nelson (1976) pointed out that political participation is an important element of this process.

⁸ Almond and Coleman (1960) (pg.345) employed structural functionalism approach



(1993)⁹ utilized class analysis to do so. Binder (1961)¹⁰ thinks, country's development lays in its capability to resolve certain crises of development such as penetration, participation, legitimacy, and so on. Some other researchers and scholars have tendency to differentiate between political developments in western and non-western scenarios.

1.3 Statement of Problem

Main target of this study is to examine the role of political parties toward political development in South Sudan.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the study is to highlight the role of political parties in democratic government with the ruling SPLM as a case study (1999-2007)¹¹.

The study will critically analyze the issues as follows:

- 1. To examine the role of political parties towards political development in South Sudan.
- 2. To examine the programs undertaken by the political parties in the pursuit of political development
- 3. To determine whether these programs and policies are being undertaken by political parties in enhancing political development.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This work has two aspects of significance: firstly, it will theoretically increase the existing body of knowledge on the roles of political parties in South Sudan political development.

Secondly, the research will practically be of immense value to political leaders and policy makers in South Sudan and will also enlighten and educate them asses on responsibility of parties in democratic governance by so doing; it will go a long way in providing practical solutions to some of the problems of political parties in South Sudan democratic system. Equally, the study will serve as a contribution to the measures to be taken to enhance sustainable democracy in South Sudan.

Finally, the study will serve as a motivation for further inquiry in the area of political parties and governance in South Sudan.

1.6 Justification of the Study

In the literature of political science, governance has been regarded as nebulous, ambiguous and vague. In this discourse, we have adopted dozie's definition of the term. Governance according to Dozie (1999)¹², relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution. Governance is not only concerned with political activities and institutions such as the economy, family, and other human congregations. Thus, governance can be regarded as the provision of leadership throughout a given society for the actualization of the common good.

1.7 Research Questions:

- 1. How does the circumstance lead to emergence and formation of political parties impact on internal democracy in the country?
- 2. Did the programmes enhance democratic governance in South Sudan between 2011 and 2018?
- 3. How do these programmes implemented to provide good governance to the people of South Sudan?

1.8 Research Methodology

Data collection: The materials for this study were sourced mostly from written works from libraries and archives they include: text books, journals, newspapers, and magazines. In fact, this research work is mainly based on secondary data. Data analysis: this analysis of data will be descriptive and historical. It will also adopt a situational approach in the data collected was examined to avoid going out of context. Also, content analysis method will be used to analyze method statements of some elites.

⁹ Moor (1993) utilized class analysis to do so. Binder (1961) thinks, country's development lays in its capability to resolve certain crises of development such as penetration, participation, legitimacy, and so on. Some other researchers and scholars have tendency to differentiate between political developments in western and non-western scenarios.

¹⁰ Binder (1961) thinks, country's development lays in its capability to resolve certain crises of development such as penetration, participation, legitimacy, and so on. Some other researchers and scholars have tendency to differentiate between political developments in western and non-western scenarios.

¹¹ SPLM manifesto (1999-2007): The purpose of the study is to highlight the role of political parties in democratic government with the ruling SPLM as a case study (1999-2007).

¹² Dozie (1999), (pg.217) In this discourse, we have adopted dozie's definition of the term. Governance according to relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution.



1.9 Hypotheses

- 1. The circumstance leading to the emergence and formation of political parties tended to assure democracy and national development in South Sudan.
- 2. The circumstance leading to the emergence and formation of political parties tended to undermine internal democracy and national development in South Sudan.
- 3. Some programs of Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) tended to be anti-Democratic.

1.10 Geographical scope

I therefore carried out this research in South Sudan council of political parties since it is the area selected for study to assess the roles of political parties in the governance system in South Sudan.

1.11 Organization of the Research

This study was divided into five (5) chapters.

Chapter One (1) talked about the Background of the Study, statement of problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, Justification of the study, hypotheses, Organization of the research.

Chapter Two (2) contains Sub-topics bothering the roles of political parties in South Sudan. This chapter further highlighted the dimensions of political parties, with also the analysis of the objectives and roles of political parties. Chapter Three is to discuss the Methodology which covers Research Design, sample size, determination sample allocation, sample selection procedures, data collection methods, data collection instruments, and ethical considerations and data analysis methods.

Chapter Four (4) is to covers data analysis and discussion of the findings talked about findings of the case study or appraisal of this research work, which is; the role of political parties in democratic governance.

The Fifth chapter (5) which is the last but not the less interesting, includes the summary of this research work, the conclusion and of course recommendation, where the researcher recommended points that would enable effective and efficient participation of civil society organization and subsequently increased growth in the socio-political development of South Sudan.

1.12 Definition of Concepts

To avoid ambiguity and misconception of terms, it is imperative that a vivid and clear explanation of terms is given. Democracy

Democracy as a concept in social science, has attracted varied definitions among scholars for the purpose of this discourse, democracy is a form of government which the supreme power of the political community rest on popular sovereignty.

According to oyovbaire (1987)¹³ democracy as a system which seek to realize a generally recognized common good through a collective initiation and discussion of policy questions concerning public affairs and which delegated authority to agents to implement the broad decisions made by the people through majority vote.

The most popular definition of democracy was that of Abraham Lincoln, which sees Democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. This definition is widely accepted.

Governance

In the literature of political science, governance has been regarded as nebulous, ambiguous and vague. In this discourse, we have adopted dozie's definition of the term. Governance according to Dozie (1999)¹⁴, relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution. Governance is not only concerned with political activities and institutions such as the economy, family, and other human congregations. Thus, governance can be regarded as the provision of leadership throughout a given society for the actualization of the common good.

Council of Political Parties

The council of Political Parties refers to the body that unites a number of political parties and public movements in who support the good system of governance.

Political development

Political development can be defined as an increase in the government of national unity and an increase in political participation.

Political Party

A political party is an organization that coordinates candidates to compete in a country's elections.

Council of Political Parties in South Sudan

¹³ According to oyovbaire (1987) democracy as a system which seek to realize a generally recognized common good through a collective initiation and discussion of policy questions concerning public affairs and which delegated authority to agents to implement the broad decisions made by the people through majority vote.

¹⁴ Dozie (1999), (p.312). In this discourse, we have adopted dozie's definition of the term. Governance according to relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution.



Is the combination of all political parties that share inclusive ideology to conduct a peaceful governance system and fair election to the people of South Sudan for the nation building in order to support sustainable of the well-being?

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter will focus on various literatures written by different authors in regards to the subject matter. Political parties¹⁵ are often explained as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who decide and execute decisions like parliamentarians. By this, they facilitate their members and supporters, and represent their demands in front of parliament and government. Although parties play numerous fundamental roles and perform some functions in a democratic society, but the selection and presentation of candidates in electoral campaign is the most obvious function. Several scholars have written about political parties and highlighted their significance in democracy (Bryce, 1889; Schattschneider, 1942; Muller & Strom, 1999; Stokes, 1999; Str0m, Muller & Bergman, 2006). There are various scholars who have worked on the area of political development as well (Deutsch, 1961; Pye, 1963; Packenham, 1964; Hah & Schneider, 1968; Huntington, 1968; Pye & Verba, 2015). Huntington (1968) discussed institutionalization of political parties and their role in both political development and political decay. He argued that it is not necessary that political development leads towards progress only, political decay is always another possibility. In order to avoid political decay, political organizations and procedures must have achieved institutionalization in the form of *value* and a certain level of *stability*¹⁶.

2.1. Concept of political parties

A political party is an organization that coordinates candidates to compete in a country's elections. It is common for the members of a political party to have similar ideas about politics, and parties may promote specific ideological or policy goals.

Political parties have become a major part of the politics of almost every country, as modern party organizations developed and spread around the world over the last few centuries. Some countries have only one political party while others have dozens, but it is extremely rare for a country to have no political parties. Parties are important in the politics of autocracies as well as democracies, though usually democracies have more political parties than autocracies. Autocracies often have a single party that governs the country, and some political scientists consider competition between two or more parties to be an essential part of democracy.

Parties can develop from existing divisions in society, like the divisions between lower and upper classes, and they streamline the process of making political decisions by encouraging their members to cooperate. Political parties usually include a party leader, who has primary responsibility for the activities of the party; party executives, who may select the leader and who perform administrative and organizational tasks; and party members, who may volunteer to help the party, donate money to it, and vote for its candidates. There are many different ways in which political parties can be structured and interact with the electorate. The contributions that citizens give to political parties are often regulated by law, and parties will sometimes govern in a way that favors the people who donate time and money to them.

Many political parties are motivated by ideological goals. It is common for democratic elections to feature competitions between liberal, conservative, and socialist parties; other common ideologies of very large political parties include communism, populism, nationalism, and Islamism. Political parties in different countries will often adopt similar colors and symbols to identify themselves with a particular ideology. However, many political parties have no ideological affiliation, and may instead be primarily engaged in patronage, clientelism, or the advancement of a specific political entrepreneur.

2.2. Political strategies

Political strategies are used to push through political ideas or concepts, for instance the introduction of new laws or the creation of new administrative structures or the implementation of measures for deregulation, privatization or decentralization. Experience shows that such steps are seldom adequately planned by either political parties or governments, otherwise the number of failed projects would not be so large. Often such projects or plans result in the affected population initially resisting change, then attempting to subvert it, or simply disregarding the new laws if they believe the state to be too weak to enforce them.

One indicator for the lack of strategic planning practiced by governments and administrative authorities is the absence of units for strategic controlling. While financial controlling exists in several countries, and even functions in some, strategic controlling is conspicuous by its absence. The reason primarily is that politicians shy away from defining measurable strategic and tactical goals because they fear that they will later be measured against these. Political strategies are essential not only for parties, politicians and governments but also for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are politically active. Whether they are trade unions, environmental groups or human rights

-

¹⁵ Biezen, I., & Saward, M. (2008). Democratic Theorists and Party Scholars: Why They Don't Talk to Each Other, and Why They Should. Perspectives on Politics, 6, 21–35.

¹⁶ Grofman, B. (2004a). Black's Single-Peakedness Condition. In C. K. Rowley & F. Schneider (Eds.), The Encyclopedia of Public Choice (Vol. 2, pp. 43–45). New York: Kluwer.



organizations etc., all NGOs require strategies to achieve their long term goals.

No long term changes or ambitious projects can be achieved without political strategies. For instance, decentralization - the introduction of another level of political and local government - requires extensive planning. Several aspects need to be simultaneously taken into account, such as the powers and jurisdiction of the local government, its organizational form, finances, election of representatives, election of the political administration etc. Only detailed planning based on a long term strategy can help avoid the mistakes that have occurred in many countries time and again.

One often comes across such examples when new policies are being introduced. Citizens cannot be expected to become more involved without more information being made available to them. It is futile to introduce environmental measures without first creating awareness. Privatization loses its impact and is a threat to many jobs if it is implemented without a buy-in from the population. The ushering in of a market economy involves more than just dismantling a command economy. It implies the creation of many interacting markets (those for goods, services, labor, money, housing etc.). It does not suffice to privatize a few companies and then simply sit back.

The question that arises at this point is, why are there so few planned strategies in the political sphere? One of the main reasons is the extreme over-confidence of persons in power vis-a-vis those they govern or those they consider their opponents. Daniel

Kahneman and Jonathan Renson¹⁷ have described this very well in their article¹⁸, "Why hawks win?" They observe that unrealistic optimism is one of the most important errors or biases identified by psychologists. Research has demonstrated that a vast majority of people, and especially politicians, believe that they are more intelligent, more attractive and more talented than the average person and frequently overestimate their future success. They consistently overrate the control they have over events.

The strategic planning of political processes and changes involves an unsparing analysis of the existing situation, a clear awareness of opponents and friends, a clear analysis of existing power equations, a clear perception of the goal one wishes to achieve and the focusing of all energies to achieve that goal. However, if even elected politicians are not clear about what "market economy" or "democracy" really mean, it can hardly be expected that these vague objectives will be intensely pursued. If the legislature does not support the executive in implementing strategic policies and instead repeatedly questions the objectives themselves, it hardly comes as a surprise that so many projects fail. Often it is the "good" politicians, those who attempt to implement ambitious plans without a strategic concept, who are responsible for the social conditions under which millions of people suffer.

2.2.1. Strategies for election campaigns

Campaign strategies are a specific form of political strategy. Their objective is to obtain good results during elections in order to acquire as much power and influence as needed to push through policies and achieve the desired societal changes. In democratic societies, the assumption of power and the opportunity to influence events are preceded by democratic elections, which can have very diverse formats and possibilities. The objective is to corner the share of the electoral market that is constitutionally required to exert influence on the executive. In various systems ¹⁹ such as the parliamentary, the presidential and various mixed forms of government, this works out quite differently. The battle for votes, which also represent a limited resource for political parties, needs to be carefully planned and therefore necessitates a strategy. There are critical groups within society, predominantly among journalists or intellectuals etc., who maintain a critical approach towards power. This approach is prevalent especially among those who frequently come up against the exercise of power by others, or need freedom to carry out their work, or fight abuse of power, or advise others on the use of power. While criticism of the abuse of power is clearly justified, it is unfortunate that any means of exercising power, particularly attempts at concentrating power, tend to be opposed. This does not lead to better politics, but rather to harmful compromises and irresolute implementation.

The struggle for power is harmful and damages political culture only when it is a struggle without a concept, without a plan to make such changes in society and the political framework as are necessary for development - in other words, power for power's sake or power to fulfil selfish interests. In a democracy, power is granted for a defined period of time (legislative term). The voters expect from politicians that they will use the power given to them to achieve what they had earlier promised. Should their policies prove to be misguided, the voters have the possibility of withdrawing power during the next elections.

2.2.2. Career strategies

Career strategies have even more negative associations. However, here too one needs to make a distinction. When the intention is simply to "eliminate" irksome opponents by any means, such negative preconceptions are justified. On the other hand, when the intention is to focus all energies on achieving a particular objective, such strategies are both useful and necessary.

Strategies for political careers are essential to be able to articulate ideas and be given the opportunity to implement them, more so in democratic mass parties but also in smaller parties with an elite leadership. The democratic structures within parties have a specific role to play here. In undemocratic parties it appears logical that strategic planning is

_

Daniel Kahneman is a Nobel laureate in economics at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Jonathan Renshon is a doctoral student in the Department of Government at Harvard University.

[&]quot;Why Hawks win?" in Foreign Policy, Jan/Feb 2007, Washington

See also Chapter 25 on various systems of government.



necessary to remove those in powerful positions. Yet even in democratically structured parties, strategic planning is a prerequisite for success.

Small pressure groups represent one specific type of career strategy. Pressure groups endeavor to introduce new approaches that would be suppressed without such attempts. Several environmental initiatives gained prominence only because a small pressure group was able to exert influence within political parties or other organizations through skillful strategizing. The career planning of the entire group is often a decisive factor because a political issue is closely associated with the personalities that support it. For instance, there are pressure groups for gender equality, youth policy, human rights etc., where it is important that the representatives of the group are closely associated with the issue at a personal level and display a high level of issue and personality congruence²⁰.

If the representative institutions are weak, they will be unable to protect the interests of society. Natural result of this weakness will be the domination of other institutions of the state. This successively weakens the political system of society. Political development also suffers due to such state of affairs. According to Weiner (1962)²¹, political system of any country depends on the fact that who is controlling and allocating the resources. In countries with empowered democratic institutions, political forces take control of resources and lead the country towards political development. The political history of Pakistan clearly indicates the dominance of state institutions over political parties. Since getting independence in 1947, Pakistan has witnessed three different martial law periods from 1958 to 1971, 1977 to 1988 and 1999 to 2007. The term "political development" was used in 1960s to explain the process of "political modernization" of newly emerging independent states after decolonization. The conception of political development implies that there is "underdevelopment" and "development". The underdevelopment of societies indicates that both human and material resources are not utilized properly to fulfill the needs of that society. Due to this, poverty and joblessness become widespread and people lead depressed lives (Rudebeck, 1970). The goals and objectives of political development cannot be achieved without political parties. To some degree, political parties allow people to preserve their rights, and the support of the people reinforces political parties. Hence, political parties promote the welfare of society as a whole. One basic need is to develop political ideology and democratic roots within a state, which is an essential method of political development (Akhtar, 2011)²².

2.3. The Emergence of Political Parties in the Modern Era

Political parties emerged in modern Europe when the political elite could no longer secure legitimacy without the support of masses at large in the political system. In European colonies, however, many political parties came into being through their independence movements and post-colonial modernization efforts²³.

The emergence of a political party in the modern era implies that a political system has entered a new complex stage. In this stage, political power can no longer be exercised on the public without public support and elections. In many cases, sovereignty is vested in the people. Popular sovereignty is one of the key barometers of take-off in modern political development.

In ancient Athens, a type of democracy based on limited suffrage developed. Many political theorists²⁴ became concerned with the relationship between voters (male citizens) and elected politicians, including the manipulation of the former by the latter through eloquence, demagogy, and propaganda. Primitive forms of political parties emerged in Athens though the political system that spawned them was quite different from the liberal democracies of the modern era. Some major differences were the lack of guarantee for basic human rights and universal suffrage. Polity was based on slavery and lacked a broad electorate. The electorate was limited to male citizens of the upper class. Concern for the malfunctioning of the political system led Socrates to advocate an alternative government under a wise supreme commander rather than government by corrupt elected politicians²⁵.

The roots of contemporary political parties can be found in modern Europe. After the dark ages of feudalism, politically active groups emerged with the rise of elected legislature and the gradual broadening of suffrage. This does not mean, however, that the famous "Breton Club" in pre-Revolutionary France, which later evolved into the Jacobins, or aristocratic salons and clubs of early nineteenth century England can be termed "political parties." The former had a limited geographical base and the latter was simply a device to elect notables to Parliament. The first so-called "political parties" that emerged in Japan in the 1870s and in Italy in the 1880s were not true political parties either. They were nothing but a localized device for the re-election of politicians, which resulted from a regionally divided electoral constituency of the legislature (Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, 1966)²⁶.

_

See also Chapter 7.3.6: The problem of congruence.

²¹ Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²² Linz (Eds.), Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 136–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press. ²³ W.J. (1988). The industrial organization of Congress; or, why legislatures, like firms, are not organized as markets. Journal of Political Economy 96: 132–163.

²⁴ Linz (Eds.), Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 136–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁵ Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁶ Aldrich, J.H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. American Journal of Political Science 37: 246–278.



The electoral process requires a system that mobilizes popular support for particular candidates for the legislature. The establishment of the elected legislature itself, however, is not an absolute condition for the emergence of political parties. The extension of suffrage is also required. This is clearly demonstrated in Britain where formation of the first modern political parties was associated with the electoral reforms of 1832, 1867, and 1884. With increased suffrage, segmented efforts became ineffective and, instead, large nationally-organized efforts became essential for electoral success. In many countries, legislators themselves created political parties for their own re-election or election of their supportive followers. Examples include: The Conservative and Liberal Parties in Britain and Canada; the original conservative parties which emerged in Scandinavian countries in the mid-nineteenth century; the Democratic and Republican Parties in the USA; the Progressive and Liberal Parties of late nineteenth century Japan; and the Italian Liberal Party in the twentieth century. Because of their historical origins, they tend to defend the status quo and are accordingly conservative in their policy orientation whatever names they may have. They are "internally" created parties by legislators (see *Legislature* 27).

With the broadening of suffrage, many groups in society created political parties "externally", outside the legislature. Trade unions in Britain and some other European countries established the Socialist (or labor) parties; farmers' cooperatives in Scandinavia became the nucleus of powerful agrarian parties; nationalist movements in colonial Africa and Asia led to the formation of political parties, many of which became the dominant parties in the post-colonial era. More recently, the Green Party, which has developed as a non-governmental international organization concerned with the protection of the environment, has entered the national political scene in some countries. This is a unique transnational political party that has formed with particular concerns and global policy issues (see *Ecologism*).

2.3.1. Conservative and Progressive Parties

Most political parties that have been established by those outside and critical of the legislature tend to challenge the established order and norm. Examples include socialist parties, which emerged in Europe late in the nineteenth century, or Christian Democratic parties which were formed in order to counteract the socialist movement²⁸. Those parties whose visions challenge the established value system or order are often called progressives and those which attempt to defend it, conservatives. Political parties formed externally are often conceived in similar political beliefs and ideologies. They are sometimes based on a particular type of support such as 'classes in the case of communist parties. In general, they are more disciplined and ideologically-oriented than those parties created internally by elected politicians. They often challenge the established political order and are accordingly termed progressive or radical parties²⁹. In extreme cases, externally created parties, especially communist and socialist parties, are exclusionary and ban opposition once they are in power (see Communist System, Authoritarian System). There are two major reasons for this. One is that when they were outside the mainstream political arena, they were oppressed or operated under severe conditions imposed by the conservative regime³⁰. As a result, once in power, they insist that other parties are public enemies and are not legitimate. The second reason is related to the hierarchical order that needs to be enforced after some chaotic political change. By banning political oppositions, they can claim to be the sole legitimate party through which all political agenda and leadership have to be contended³¹.

2.4. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES FACING POLITICAL PARTIES IN SOUTH **SUDAN**

Political parties are also important in the supply side of public accountability. Within a well-functioning competitive party system, parties are supposed to hold government to account on behalf of the electorate. They can also assist politicians in office to be more responsive and answerable to citizens' needs. In addition, they have an influence on policies by formulating programs and by supervising policy implementation (Randall 1988, Salih 2001)³². They can provide feedback to politicians and encourage learning by monitoring and evaluating policies. Furthermore, parties are supposed to have their own 'code of conduct', which reflects their formal and informal norms and values as well as the beliefs on which party members, including those in power, are ideally held to account and sanctioned either formally or informally, such as when violating these codes in cases of corruption, misuse of power, floor crossing or discrimination³³. And another majors' challenges facing political parties in development programs in South Sudan are as

²⁷ Aldrich, J.H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. American Journal of Political Science 37: 246–278.

²⁸ W.J. (1988). The industrial organization of Congress; or, why legislatures, like firms, are not organized as markets. Journal of Political Economy 96: 132-163.

²⁹ W.J. (1988). The industrial organization of Congress; or, why legislatures, like firms, are not organized as markets. Journal of Political Economy 96: 132-163.

³⁰ Wolkenstein, F. (2016). A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy. Journal of Political Philosophy, 24(3), 297–

³¹ Grofman, B. (2004b). Reflections on Public Choice. Public Choice, 118(1/2), 31–51.

³² Fiorina, M. (1980). The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics. Daedalus, 109(Summer), 25–45.

³³ Brady, H., & Sniderman, P. (1985). Attitude Attribution: a Group Basis for Political Reasoning. American Political Science Review, 79, 1061-1978.



follow, civil war that emerge after independence, corruption, nepotism in government institutions, tribalism and lack of political ideology.

Parties are also responsible for political recruitment and training or, in other words, for providing the political leaders of the future, through which they create opportunities for upward social mobility (Randall 1988). They are responsible for of the quality of these future leaders. When citizens are able to check or add to the quality of aspiring politicians, this, according to Goetz and Jenkins, can potentially provide citizens with a useful ex ante control mechanism, compensating for the often unsatisfactory ex post mechanism of elections in which citizens can vote politicians out of or into office only after the fact (2005: 80). Ideally, this prevents the 'bad guys' from achieving public office. At the minimum, interaction between citizens and aspiring politicians contributes to better informed choices during elections³⁴.

2.5. ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

2.5.1. The roles of political parties in the process of public accountability

As is noted above, political parties ideally fulfil essential intermediate roles between citizens and the state in every well-functioning multiparty democracy (Muller 2000, Salih 2003:7, Burnell 2004:1, Carothers 2006). They are also the connection between the party system and the government (Salih 2003:7).

This intermediate position and their presence in both civil and political society give political parties a unique opportunity to work with and potentially enhance both supply- and demand side actors in public accountability in all three phases of the process. ¹⁴ Because of this, parties are in a position to address all the commonly defined objectives of public accountability. These objectives are: democratic control by citizens of elected representatives in public office; providing checks and balances for citizens in the implementation of policies with the objective of making governments more effective; preventing the misuse of power; addressing learning by public decision makers and policymakers through evaluation and self-reflection; and, through all of this, endowing government with increased legitimacy (Schillemans and Bovens 2009: 277)³⁵.

This means that political parties ideally fulfil roles that go beyond their roles in direct political accountability related to elections. They fulfil roles with regard to four specific domains to enhance public accountability in society: the demand side of accountability, which consists of citizens and their organizations; the supply side of public accountability, referring to government and state institutions; the external enabling environment, referring to laws, rules, oversight organizations, political stability, and so on; and the internal enabling environment, referring to party institutionalization processes³⁶.

2.5.2. The roles of political parties in the demand side of public accountability

On the demand side of public accountability, that is, strengthening citizens in holding government to account for performance, behavior and resource use, political parties can perform a number of roles. Randall, Salih and Burnell mention the dissemination of political information, providing ideologies and leadership, the aggregation and representation of citizens' interests, promoting the political socialization or mobilization of citizens to undertake self-help activities and providing opportunities for political participation (Randall 1988, Salih 2001, Burnell 2004). Political parties, preferably in cooperation with other actors such as civil society organizations, the media, and oversight and auditing organizations, can be involved in participatory checks and balances in implementation monitoring and evaluation of policies and public funds. They can facilitate political and social debate among citizens and between citizens and politicians. These activities, commonly referred to as social accountability mechanisms, provide, according to Bellina et al., a source of legitimacy to citizens, as they allow them to engage in the governance process beyond the process of how the power holders are elected (Bellina et al. 2009:16). However, this only works when public purpose is put ahead of private gain, and laws, rules, impartiality and expertise are respected (ibid:16)³⁷.

2.5.3 The role of political parties in enabling the 'external environment' for public accountability

Political parties need an enabling external environment to fulfil their public accountability roles, but they also contribute to this enabling environment. They are a key factor in providing political stability in a country, without which public accountability is not possible. According to Burnell, parties also function as a tool for nation building as they can manage and mediate conflicts of interest (2004:5). Salih adds that parties provide political stability in societies that are able to absorb increasing levels of political participation by the new social forces generated by modernization (2001:34, 2003:4). Next to that, parties play a role in mobilizing voters and lobbying politicians for law and party system revisions to strengthen the institutional framework for public accountability.³⁸.

Volume-7 | Issue-1 | Jan, 2022

³⁴ Wittman, D. (1983). Candidate Motivation: a Synthesis of Alternative Theories. American Political Science Review, 77, 142–157.

³⁵ Linz (Eds.), Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 136–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press. ³⁶ Hudson, J. (1996a). Standardization and the costs of assessing quality. European Journal of Political Economy 12: 355–361.

³⁷ Wolkenstein, F. (2016). A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy. Journal of Political Philosophy, 24(3), 297–320.

³⁸ Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.



2.5.3.1. Party institutionalization

Although mainly described from the perspective of the consolidation of democracy, which reflects only one of the functions of public accountability, a substantive body of literature supports the view that only strongly institutionalized parties can be expected to take up their roles in enhancing public accountability (Diamond 1988, Mainwaring 1998, Randall and Svåsand, 2002, Carothers 2006, Basedau and Stroh, 2008)³⁹.

2.5.3.2. Party identity

Differences between political parties around the world are, in part, a result of their operating context and each party's internal values and structures. To illustrate, NDI studies on party systems in Bolivia and Peru identified a wide range of factors that affected political parties' ability and willingness to develop pro-poor policies. In Peru, the institute found that: citizens were more interested in ideological labels than technical policy options; political parties lacked access to data upon which to base policy discussions; and a focus on legislative quantity, rather than legislative quality, and other congressional behavior created obstacles for reform. many elected officials perceived the political costs of meaningfully pursuing poverty reduction policies to outweigh the potential benefits.4 in Bolivia, findings included: top-down communication in political parties; the absence of partisan think tanks; politicians' belief that policy formulation would not translate to electoral benefits; and a combination of electoral and geographic conditions encouraged parties to focus on urban rather than rural development⁴⁰.

Similarly, a recent academic study outlined factors that have made it difficult for political parties in Francophone Africa to formulate policy proposals or credibly establish "ownership" of particular issue areas. They include: political parties' relative inexperience; a largely western-educated elite whose experience is at odds with the majority of the population they seek to represent; and aid dependence, which fosters a climate in which donor governments and institutions frame options for public policy. In addition, the study noted that when faced with low approval ratings, parties found it politically safer to attempt to mobilize around issues around which there is significant agreement, as opposed to taking on controversial issues which may be politically riskier⁴¹. The result has been a series of attempts to mobilize support based on broad, noncontroversial themes, like development, democracy and sovereignty, without seizing the opportunity to outline different approaches to addressing these areas. In some cases, since the parties themselves have limited or no track records upon which to run, the leader's personal experiences are used to demonstrate a particular perspective or expertise on some of these issues. In the meantime, a range of policy issues remain "unclaimed"⁴².

These and other studies underscore the interplay between contextual factors and internal party characteristics in shaping whether and how political parties mobilize support around policy proposals that reflect distinct political principles. In an attempt to identify the main contextual factors that influence party behavior and to describe different forms of party organizing, political scientists have proposed a wide range of models and typologies for categorizing different types of political parties and party systems. Studies focusing on party systems have discussed the impact of different forms of government, electoral systems, interparty power relations, economic and social conditions, and other factors on party behavior typologies of political parties include efforts to categorize parties based on how they mobilize support, their origins, internal organizing, and power relations and their ideological profile.

2.6. CONTEXTUAL FACTORS INFLUENCING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 2.6.1. Electoral Systems

Choices in electoral system shape incentives for how political parties draw their support. In legislative elections, majoritarian systems tend to favor parties with a broad geographic base because smaller parties whose supporters are dispersed across multiple electoral areas often find it difficult to secure the plurality required to win seats in single-member districts. Conversely, proportional systems with relatively low thresholds allow more parties a share of the parliamentary representation that is often denied them in majoritarian systems in addition, since proportional representation systems are less likely to produce clear legislative majorities, smaller parties have a greater chance of influencing government policy agendas through coalition building. Under proportional representation, the Belgian and German greens have served in coalition governments, while under a majoritarian-plurality system the Canadian greens only recently secured their first seat in the Federal Parliament. Although the Canadian greens failed to get into the Federal Parliament with 6.7 percent of the vote in 2008, in Germany's 1998 elections, the green Party gained 47 out of 669 seats in Parliament with 6.7 percent of the vote and joined the coalition government⁴³.

_

³⁹ Maute, M.F. and Forrester, Jr. W.R. (1991). The effect of attribute qualities on consumer decision making: A causal model of external information search. Journal of Economic Psychology 12: 643–666.

⁴⁰ G. H. (1983). The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- versus Individual-level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting. American Political Science Review, 77, 92–111.

⁴¹ Kollman, K., Miller, J. H., & Page, S. E. (1992). Adaptive Parties and Spatial Elections. American Political Science Review, 86(4), 929–937.

⁴² Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴³ Linz, J. J. (2002). Introduction. In R. Gunther, J. Ramón-Montero, & J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 1–35). Oxford: Oxford University Press.



2.6.2. Party Laws

Legal requirements on thresholds for registration, political party decision-making, political financing, and other regulatory issues shape the options that political parties have for contesting public office, mobilizing support, and managing their internal affairs. In some fledgling democracies, concerns have been expressed about political parties that are based on ethnicity, religion, or geography and the potential risks for peace and national integrity. As a result, a number of newer democracies have introduced legal provisions designed to inhibit the emergence of political parties that may exacerbate or heighten societal divisions and to foster parties whose appeal cuts across societal divisions. Such provisions include: bans on political parties based on religion, ethnicity, or region; requirements that parties maintain a presence or draw support from a minimum number of regions or provinces; specifications as to the diversity of party candidates; and vote distribution requirements. Political parties have sometimes been able to circumvent some of these legal requirements by avoiding mono-ethnic labels, downplaying their sectional appeals, setting up temporary structures to meet registration requirements, or otherwise paying lip service to the legislation. As a result, questions have been raised about whether these restrictions achieve the intended purpose. More importantly, critics warn that they violate fundamental human rights to freedoms of association and expression⁴⁴.

In contrast to the bans outlined above, some countries make explicit legal provisions to protect or facilitate the establishment of political parties dedicated to the interests of minority or marginalized populations and their entry into public office. In such situations, these parties are seen as a means for guaranteeing minorities representation in deliberative institutions. These arrangements can create powerful incentives for political parties to mobilize support based on appeals to these minority or other protected groups⁴⁵.

2.6.3. Origins and Institutionalization

In the established democracies, political parties emerged over time, gradually changing their organizing practices while also refining and deepening their ideological and programmatic focus to suit emerging needs. In newer democracies, it is more common for political to have emerged or adapted to competitive multiparty politics as the result of relatively sudden breakthroughs or transitions. as political parties are quickly created for the first elections, their members and leaders rarely have the time to extensively debate and reach agreement on political principles that cut across longexisting social cleavages, or to develop effective structures and well-conceived policy proposals. Thus, the fact that so many parties in pascent democracies struggle to define clear ideologies and policy positions may also be a question of their state of development⁴⁶. Some studies have argued that since voters continue to expect such behavior, parties that are policy or clientelism-focused are doomed to remain that way. Others recognize parties' capacity for change, noting factors that influence or spur reform. 15 they note instances in which political parties have taken on a programmatic focus in response to changes in their competitors' behavior and/or after a certain degree of institutionalization⁴⁷. However, there are cases in which political parties have mobilized support around distinctive policy proposals and class cleavages without developing durable structures and processes. For instance, a recent study into political parties in Zambia describes how between 2004-2008 president Michael Sata mobilized support among the urban dispossessed, a group that cut across ethnic divisions, by adapting his strategy over time to articulate the frustrations of the working class and urban poor, tapping into a longstanding history of urban political mobilization and suspicion of international financial institutions. The Patriotic Front (PF) held mass rallies around the country, campaigning in all major provincial and district centers for the first time. Given the country's economic downturn, and the rising cost of food, fuel and fertilizers, PF messaging around popular concerns and needs resonated with many voters. Despite the fact that the ruling party won the 2006 elections with a comfortable margin, Sata's efforts helped push the ruling party to introduce windfall taxes on copper and increase mineral royalty taxes⁴⁸.

2.7. COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Political development as the distinctive features that are unique to a particular party and help to differentiate it from its competitors. Given the range of ways in which parties identify themselves and draw their support, the paper describes party identity as a composite of different party features. These attributes usually fall into seven broad categories: party branding, support base, personality focus, patronage, organizational culture, policy orientation and ideology. Linkages between the different elements of a party's identity may be weak or strong. For example, in political parties with relatively homogenous support bases, the leader is often a member of the group that constitutes the party's primary base. In addition, in a personality-based party, the leader usually wields significant influence over decision-making processes, affecting organizational culture. Similarly, a party's ideology is likely to be reflected in its policy orientation. The stronger the links among various elements, the more coherent a party's identity will be. However, in some cases the

Volume-7 | Issue-1 | Jan, 2022

⁴⁴ Grofman, B. (2004a). Black's Single-Peakedness Condition. In C. K. Rowley & F. Schneider (Eds.), The Encyclopedia of Public Choice (Vol. 2, pp. 43–45). New York: Kluwer.

⁴⁵ M. (1980). The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics. Daedalus, 109 (Summer), 25–45.

⁴⁶ Wittman, D. (1983). Candidate Motivation: a Synthesis of Alternative Theories. American Political Science Review, 77, 142–157.

⁴⁷ Wittman, D. (1973). Parties as Utility Maximizers. American Political Science Review, 67, 490–498

⁴⁸ Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.



various elements of a political party's identity can seem disconnected or even contradictory. For instance, a political party may claim to be conservative, liberal or social democrat while consistently advocating policy positions that appear to be at odds with the tradition it claims to belong to⁴⁹.

2.7.1. Branding

Branding refers to the images, slogans, sounds, or symbols – names, logos, colors, flags, music – commonly used to identify a party formally or informally. Components of this branding are often used to identify party publications, outreach materials, candidates, or supporters or to rally party members. Branding has limited implications for policy development, but can provide voters a shorthand way of identifying particular parties or ideological families. For instance, many social-democrat parties around the world use a red rose as part of their branding, while in the United States politics the donkey and the elephant are associated with the democratic and republican parties, respectively⁵⁰. In addition, in some countries, particular colors are politically significant: in Thailand, the two supporters of the main political movements are known as the red shirts and the yellow shirts. As part of renewal processes parties sometimes change or update their branding to convey a message of reform. For example, as part of a renewal process, the United Kingdom's conservative Party adopted a tree as part of its new logo in early 2007. The tree, which replaced the handheld torch prominently featured in party graphics since the 1980s, presented a softer image while highlighting a new focus on environmental issues⁵¹.

Conversely, political parties especially proud of their history may feel that they have more to gain by reminding voters of their past contributions. For instance, political parties that have successfully led independence or liberation movements, for example, may stand to gain more by maintaining longstanding names and symbols. When faced with party splits, different factions have sometimes sought to maintain control over party names and logos, an indication that such symbols are an important element of their branding.

2.7.2. Support Base

In any given country, people have different backgrounds, ideas, priorities, or visions on the role of the state or how the country should be governed. These cleavages may be shaped by tradition, major events, influential thinkers, economic and social conditions, or differences in language, skin color, religion or ethnicity, among other things. Political parties may bridge these schisms or translate them into political cleavages. In the case of aggregation, political parties that mobilize support along lines that cut across these cleavages succeed in drawing support from different communities and thus provide a moderating influence. Where political cleavages reflect socio-cultural differences, political parties may provide a means for ensuring that particular groups – often minorities – are represented in deliberative institutions. For instance, there is a Maori Party in New Zealand and a Bloc of Québec in Canada. In Belgium linguistic differences are reflected in party divisions. Alternatively, there may be concerns that translating such cleavages into political differences could exacerbate tensions and fuel conflict⁵².

2.7.3. Personality Focus

In political parties all over the world, leaders play important roles in defining what their parties stand for and influence how they are perceived by the public. In some cases, however, the strength of an individual leader's personality and his or her personal networks serve as the primary basis for mobilizing party support. In such situations, most officials owe their positions to the leader, and in his or her absence the party may struggle to articulate its mission or even collapse. In some cases, the leaders of such parties have been able to pass the mantle on to family members or other chosen successors, creating dynastic organizations. Political parties that are primarily personality-based often struggle to articulate clear policy proposals and given the collective's dependence on one individual, there may be limited room for intra-party debate over socio-economic issues⁵³.

2.7.4. Patronage

Patronage plays a role in politics in every part of the world. In exchange for their support for candidates and their parties, individuals and groups often gain: priority access to decision makers; positions in government; and public resources for their initiatives. however, where patronage serves as the primary basis for engagement between party leaders and their supporters, party leaders and even their supporters may pay lip service to vague proposals designed to

internal organization. New York: Free Press.

⁴⁹ Wittman, D. (2005). Valence Characteristics, Costly Policy And The Median-crossing Property: a Diagrammatic Exposition. Public Choice, 124, 365–382.

⁵⁰ Davis, M.L. and Ferrantino, M. (1996). Towards a positive theory of political rhetoric: Why do politicians lie? Public Choice 88: 1–13.

⁵¹ Budge, I. (2006). Identifying dimensions and locating parties: Methodological and conceptual problems. In R. S. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), Handbook of Party Politics (pp. 422–435). London: Sage.

J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 136–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 Williamson, O.E. (1975). Markets and hierarchies, analysis and antitrust implications: A study in the economics of



improve collective goods and, in practice, focus on providing personal favors and other selective benefits for their "clientele". Patronage has incentivized both parties and voters. While politicians have courted the favor of individuals or groups rather than mobilizing support based on public policy proposals, citizens have relied on patronage to address their individual, immediate concerns in the absence of effective public service delivery. For incumbents, this behavior sometimes proves electorally effective while non-incumbents, lacking similar access to public goods, may resort to votebuying. Like personality-based based parties, patronage-based parties hamper the development of democratic governance institutions and processes that are accountable to citizens⁵⁴.

2.7.5. Organizational Culture

Organizational culture includes the nature of a party's structures, institutional rules, and practices in outreach and decision-making. This includes: rules for determining party policy; technical capacity or the ability to access it in developing policy proposals; and the extent to which members and outside groups are included in these processes. Some parties are long established, mass-based, have extensive networks of branches, relatively well-resourced, and use a combination of volunteers and paid professional staff or consultants. Others are more elite-focused, have no experience in government, maintain limited structures and struggle to survive on limited budgets⁵⁵.

Some ideological families have positions or preferences on organizational management issues. For instance, French sociologist and politician Maurice Duverger distinguished between political parties formed within Parliament, generally representing the bourgeoisie, and those that emerged outside the Parliament, generally the socialists.

2.7.6. Policy Orientation

Policy orientation refers to the extent to which a party focuses on developing and marketing issue-based policies and the degree to which voters can identify its policy preferences. Party manifestos and other policy documents will usually give some indication of a party's policy orientation⁵⁶. However, policy performance, or what the party actually does when given the opportunity to govern or influence the policy agenda, is also important. Here again, there is a wide range of practices around the world. Some parties have very little focus on policy while others primarily compete on the basis of their proposals for resolving societal problems. In addition, while some parties focus on developing policies for a narrow range of issue areas, others seek to compete on broad range of issues. Once in Parliament or part of government "niche" parties often develop a broader range of policy positions. For instance, green parties initially emerged with a relatively narrow focus on environmental protection and sustainable development policies, but have broadened their policy stances over the years. as further discussed in the section in developing and updating party principles and in the case study in Part ii, Bulgaria's Union of democratic Forces originally came together to end communist rule but later faced the challenge of developing policy solutions to a range of governance challenges including privatization⁵⁷.

2.8. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Many political parties around the world have used different ideological labels, including socialist, progressive, Christian democrat, conservative, liberal, green, to describe themselves and have, to varying degrees, drawn upon these principles to organize themselves and to propose policies. Given the gaps that sometimes exist between self-ascribed ideological labels and party positions, political scientists have conducted various studies comparing the two. While parties adopt their own ideological labels, political observers have also assigned such labels to different political parties, seeking shorthand ways of grouping parties with similar philosophies. Other parties have proven more difficult to classify as reflecting the values of one or more of the established ideological families, raising questions about whether they do indeed embody any discernible political values or principles⁵⁸.

This section began by introducing party identity as a composite of a party's branding, support base, personality focus, patronage, organizational culture, policy orientation and ideology. Together, these elements portray what a party stands for, how it seeks to implement its goals and how it wants to be viewed by the public. they also indicate the extent to which a party prioritizes policymaking, the principles or beliefs on which it bases its policy content and processes, and the social groups whose interests its seeks to prioritize through public policy. The next section takes a closer look at ideology and the role that it can play in policy development⁵⁹.

⁵⁴ Jay, J. (2003). The Federalist. In T. Ball (Ed.), Hamilton, Madison and Jay: The Federalist with Letters of "Brutus" (pp. 1–433). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁵ Wolkenstein, F. (2016). A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy. Journal of Political Philosophy, 24(3), 297–320.

⁵⁶ Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence. The American Economic Review, 94(5), 1476–1504.

⁵⁷ Besley, T., & Coate, S. (1997). An Economic Model of Representative Democracy. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112, 85–114.

⁵⁸ Fiorina, M. (1980). The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics. Daedalus, 109 (Summer), 25–45.

⁵⁹ Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence. The American Economic Review, 94(5), 1476–1504.



2.8.1. Ideology and Party Policy

During the French revolution, Antoine Destut De Tracy, a French philosopher and aristocrat coined the term ideology to describe what he called the "science of ideas". Since the eighteenth century, the term has taken on a wide range of meanings; while some have attributed negative concepts to the word, others have presented more neutral or even positive interpretations of the term. Marx, for example, used ideology to describe what he saw as ruling class efforts to delude the working class and to keep them oppressed by presenting a false world view. Over the years, ideology has been defined as: a political belief system; an all-embracing political doctrine that claims a monopoly of truth; political ideas that reflect the views and/or interests of a particular class or social group; and a set of ideas that situates an individual in a social context and creates a sense of collective belonging. For purposes of this paper, ideology is defined as a set of coherent, unifying, political principles (ideas and values) that provide a framework for understanding a society, establishing a vision for its improvement and identifying the policy actions required to achieve that vision. Interpreted in this way, ideology can reflect the views of a particular class or community, or provide a cement or glue of sorts that cuts across social cleavages⁶⁰.

2.8.2. Ideology in societal and economic context

Although the classic ideological families emerged against the backdrop of the industrial revolution, they have evolved in response to social, political and economic changes: ideologies shape their environment and societies but also adapt in response to changing needs. Thus ideology is rooted in context and can evolve as society changes. In addition, new families emerge in response to economic and social conditions. For instance, in Western Europe, recent societal change, combined with the explosion of the internet and other information and communication technologies has contributed to the emergence of the pirate family. The first Pirate Party was founded in 2006, in Sweden, primarily around efforts to reform copyright and patent laws. Since then, pirate parties have emerged in over 30 countries and in April 2010, several came together to create Pirate Party international. Perhaps the most successful pirate party has been in Germany where, after a 2012 election victory, they won a large enough vote share to be represented in four state parliaments⁶¹. Initially focusing on the preservation of civil rights on the internet, pirates have begun to emerge as a social-liberal party and have worked with other parties to advance their policy priorities including copyright and patent law reform, improved rights to individual privacy, and greater government transparency. Their recent electoral successes and their use of technology to facilitate member participation in party decision-making have received media coverage in Germany and around the world. Ideology is also relative: a given political party is green, left-leaning, centrist, or liberal based on its affinity with others in its ideological family, but also relative to its competitors. For instance, over time, traditional parties have paid greater attention to the environment, international solidarity and gender equity, thereby mainstreaming some of the issues that brought green parties into existence. at the same time, as green party members gained elected office and began to influence national and local politics, they adapted by developing positions on a broader range of issues and deepening their conceptual approach to sustainable development. Thus, parties in classical and green ideological families have evolved in response to competition and societal changes. These renewal processes have occurred at the family level as well as within individual political parties. (The section on developing and updating political principles and values includes additional information on how these processes have unfolded)⁶². Each ideological family encompasses a range of parties and individuals whose fundamental values and beliefs are extensive enough to provide a sense of common purpose, destiny, or a community, while at the same time accommodating some degree of difference in interpreting or achieving that world view.

2.8.3. Ideology's role in policy development

As political parties work to develop their policies, clearly defined ideologies help serve as a political compass of sorts. The different principles that constitute an ideology point political parties in a general direction as they seek to understand different policy problems and find solutions to them. Faced with exactly the same policy problem, political parties from social democrat, liberal, conservative or green families may propose different solutions based on their political principles. As an example, political parties in each of these families recognize the need for social safety nets, but to varying degrees. In addition, they favor different approaches to providing these services. Social democrat and other left-leaning parties are more likely to propose policy solutions that involve government provision or guarantees of these services.

2.9. DEVELOPING AND UPDATING POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

How then, do political parties develop and reach agreement on the principles that help define their ideology? Based on the experiences of political parties who have either developed a clearer ideological focus or redefined or reinterpreted

-

⁶⁰ Jay, J. (2003). The Federalist. In T. Ball (Ed.), Hamilton, Madison and Jay: The Federalist with Letters of "Brutus" (pp. 1–433). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁶¹ Stigler, G. (1961). The economics of information. Journal of Political Economy 69: 213–225.

⁶² Budge, I. (2005). Elections, Parties, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate. Oxford: Oxford University Press (p. 345 − 500).

⁶³ Gunther, R., Ramón-Montero, J., & Linz, J. J. (2002). Introduction. In R. Gunther, J. Ramón-Montero, & J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 1–35). Oxford: Oxford University Press.



existing principles as their needs have changed, it is possible to identify a few key steps. First, there is typically a discussion at the leadership level around the key principles and objectives of the party. This usually leads to the development of a draft document that is circulated to a broader party group for further consultations. Based on the input from these discussions, an updated version of the document may be developed before it is presented to a final vote by the appropriate party decision-making body. While this is often done through a party congress, some parties use a full membership vote⁶⁴.

Most political parties include references to their principles in their party rules, often in the preamble and sometimes in sections addressing party policy. However, in addition, some parties have a freestanding document that outlines their political beliefs and priorities. These statements of principles provide relatively few details about specific policy proposals and are designed to stand the test of time. Thus, while political parties can and should update their principles in response to changing needs, overly frequent amendments defeat the purpose of having a defined-set of principles and risk creating the impression that a party takes opportunistic and unprincipled stances. This can damage a party's public image while alienating its traditional base. As a general guideline, while platforms are often developed every four or five years in the lead up to major elections, significant updates or revisions to party principles are perhaps generational⁶⁵.

In Bulgaria, the Union of democratic Forces (UdF) emerged in a context where political parties and movements initially defined themselves relative to communism. Thus, a wide range of anti-communist individuals and movements described themselves as anti-left and pro-right primarily relative to the communist government. The coalition that gave birth to UdF comprised organizations with a range of tendencies, unified more by their mutual rejection of communism than by agreement around a cohesive political identity. For instance, coalition members broadly supported privatization but had different ideas about how much to privatize and how. Given that coalition members found it hard to agree upon policy specifics, they contested the 1991 elections on a broad and vague platform. When electoral success catapulted the party into government, UdF was forced to confront difficult conversations that had been deferred in the past. In the absence of prior agreement on specific policy proposals, many government decisions became contested 66

2.10. THE POLICY CYCLE AND TYPES OF POLICY

Policymaking is a continuous process that theoretically involves the following main phases. During the drafting and adoption phase, political parties embark upon problem or issue identification, conduct research, develop options for addressing identified problems and draft preliminary policy documents. Political parties may then share their initial ideas with broader groups inside or outside the party for further discussion. Based on this feedback, policy proposals may be refined and options narrowed, paving the way for a formal approval process by the party. This phase usually concludes with parties publishing and disseminating their finalized policy positions⁶⁷.

2.10.1. Stakeholders in party policy development

Most political parties have multiple organizational levels, each of which can play important roles in policy development. This section provides an overview of how each of these different interests and external stakeholders can contribute to party policy development.

2.7.2. Party leadership

In any organization, leaders set the tone by setting priorities, mobilizing resources and inspiring people. As such, how seriously party leaders take policy development and their visions for how the process should unfold play an important role in setting the tone for their staff and members. Party leaders have a key role to play in providing a strategic vision for policy development, encouraging participation, empowering staff or members, recognizing the contributions of various participants, and celebrating achievements. Given the role that leaders typically play in articulating, advocating, and in government seeking to implement their party's positions, their commitment to policy content is as important as their support for the process. As a result, some political parties give their leaders – within certain limits – significant authorities in vetoing, determining and/or prioritizing policies⁶⁸.

2.10.3. Elected officials

Elected officials bear the primary responsibility for implementing their party's policies through the executive, the legislature, and by mobilizing public support. In politics, as in life, things change rapidly. Elected officials influence

⁶⁴ McKelvey, R., & Ordeshook, P. (1986). Information, Electoral Equilibria, and the Democratic Ideal. Journal of Politics, 48, 909–937

⁶⁵ Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence. The American Economic Review, 94(5), 1476–1504.

⁶⁶ Marvel, H. and McCafferty, S. (1984). Resale price maintenance and quality certification. Rand Journal of Economics 15: 346–359.

⁶⁷ Kollman, K., Miller, J. H., & Page, S. E. (1992). Adaptive Parties and Spatial Elections. American Political Science Review, 86(4), 929–937.

⁶⁸ Hofferbert, R.I. (1999). Party mandate theory and time series analysis: A theoretical and methodological response. Electoral Studies, 18, 587–596.



public perceptions of their political parties. In addition to their performance in the legislative and executive branches, media outlets often turn to them for comment as issues arise. As the public face of a political party, elected representatives, especially legislators may have regular contact with voters, gaining valuable insight into their constituents' concerns in various policy areas. New issues often arise, requiring political parties to take positions under conditions in which full consultation may not be possible. Elected officials are often in the front lines of developing party positions in these situations. They can better perform these functions when their party's policies are clear to them and are consistent with their own views. But where the party has no official policy, the caucus may have to develop a position quickly based on the values articulated in the policy development process⁶⁹.

As political parties develop their policies, the opinions and participation of their elected officials can help ensure that these individuals have the information and involvement they need to perform their roles in government and as party spokespersons effectively. In addition, through their work in the legislature and in the executive branch, elected officials are exposed to information and processes that can be helpful in improving policy content. Legislators have also found that they can use policy development processes to build their support base among the local electorate, for example by leading local forums that feed into policy development at the national level⁷⁰.

2.10.4. Party branches, members and affiliated groups

By involving members in policy development, political parties can educate their supporters on policy issues and broaden ownership of and support for policy positions once they are finalized. Broad consultation and inclusion play another important education role for party stakeholders and the general public: raising awareness about the choices that need to be made and some of the trade-offs necessary when prioritizing policies. Such participation can help solidify members' commitment to their parties. In addition, branches and members can play useful roles in identifying and prioritizing issues and providing perspectives that help improve the relevance and practicability of policy proposals⁷¹.

2.10.5. External stakeholders

In addition to involving internal party units and members in policy processes, political parties often benefit from the perspectives of civil society groups, including think tanks, sectoral experts, and in some cases the general public. Civil society refers to the range of groups that exist between the governmental and for-profit sectors, the term encompasses a diverse sector including legally registered groups with a formal governance structure and less formal associations of individuals organized around a common interest that perform a wide range of rolls around the world. Through their work in service delivery, community mobilizing and monitoring of political processes – including policy implementation and public expenditures –they have access to information and insight that can help political parties improve their policies⁷².

2.10.5. Party policy development rules

Most successful political parties have a defined process for developing their policies. Party rules usually provide some indication of this process and may outline: the broad political principles upon which policy content is to be based; the party organ or structure responsible for overseeing policy development; general values that should be reflected in the process; the main steps in the process; who should be involved in the process and at what stage; responsibilities for approving platforms, election manifestos or interim policies; and mechanisms for reporting back on efforts to implement party policies. However, the levels of detail in party rules vary significantly from one party to another⁷³. Some party rules contain relatively low levels of detail, simply determining who has the authority to be involved in policy and to what degree, without detailing a specific process. For instance, the party rules of the Netherlands People's Party⁷⁴ of Freedom and democracy rules assign responsibility for policy development to specific groups in the party but provide few guidelines on how the process should unfold. In other cases, medium to high levels of detail are provided, including the designation of specific party bodies with the policymaking responsibility and authority, broad outlines for sequencing policy development, and assigning specific roles to various stakeholders or party structures. the UK conservative and labour Parties' rules provide medium levels of detail by describing the party structures responsible for coordinating policy development, but also outline the general sequence to be followed. The Swedish social democratic

⁶⁹ Wittman, D. (1989). Why democracies produce efficient results. Journal of Political Economy 97: 1395–1424.

⁷⁰ Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷¹ Stewart, C., III. (2001). Candidate Positions in US House Elections. American Journal of Political Science, 45, 136–159

⁷² Weinstock, D. (2015). Integrating Intermediate Goods to Theories of Distributive Justice: The Importance of Platforms. Res Publica, 21, 171–183.

⁷³ Coase, R.H. (1937). The nature of the firm. Economica 4: 386–405.

⁷⁴ Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.



Party's rules are even more detailed, defining the role of each potential stakeholder, from the branch to leadership level, in policymaking⁷⁵.

regardless of the overall level of detail on policy development, party rules usually only provide broad outlines for day-to-day policymaking and the steps that party leaders may need to take to make minor adjustments to party policy positions. This allows parties to adapt as issues arise and communication or management practices change. it also gives leaders the flexibility they need to move quickly when urgent issues arise or elections are imminent.43 Following are some examples of how different political parties have addressed the various aspects of policymaking in their party rules⁷⁶.

2.10.6 Policy Coordination Mechanisms

Political parties need to assign responsibility for coordinating their policy development efforts to particular individuals or party structures. Often, this is addressed in party rules. Under the UK conservative Party rules, the Policy Forum's mandate includes: encouraging and coordinating policy development; creating mechanisms for receiving and responding to policy ideas, including from local branches; organizing input from policy experts; helping to organize party congresses; and advising the party leader and board on policy issues.

2.10.7 Drafting and Approval Processes

In terms of rules outlining the main steps in policy development and who should be involved, in the United Kingdom's liberal Democratic Party, the Federal Policy committee, responsible for overseeing policy development, is required to consider policy proposals from party structures at the regional and local levels, and from associated organizations. The committee is usually expected to circulate consultation papers to various party structures and based on the feedback received as well as submissions from party units, prepare policy papers for consideration by the Party⁷⁷ congress. The party rules also note that while consultation papers may include policy options, in cases where there is significant disagreement within the party over an issue, the committee may present the different options to congress⁷⁸. While some party rules distinguish between processes for approving platforms, election manifestos and interim policies, others are less explicit in their provisions. For instance, the Belgian Flemish green Party congress, whose authority includes approval and amendment of party principles and platforms is open to all members: any member who attends may vote and there are no delegates or specific representatives from particular party units.

The party rules also allow the party's Political council, comprising delegates from regional and local branches, as well as party youth and seniors, to decide upon party policy. The council, which includes party executives and publicly elected officials as non-voting delegates, determines the party's election manifestos. In South Africa, the African national congress (ANC) ultimate power for determining the party policy and program rests with the national conference under article 11 of the party constitution. Policy congresses are considered to be recommendation-making bodies and "the [national executive committee] NEC must convene a national Policy conference at least six (6) months before the national conference to review policies of the ANC and to recommend any new or to amend any present policy for consideration by the national conference." the NEC may also convene additional policy congresses and issue policy documents and directives when it deems fit.48 the case study in Part ii provides additional information on ANC's policy process⁷⁹.

2.10.8. Policy Accountability

While elected officials are accountable to the citizens they are elected to serve, they also have a responsibility to ensure that their action and decisions are consistent with their party's ideals, ideology and specific policy proposals. In some cases, particularly in presidential systems, the dialogue between elected officials – especially those serving in the executive – and their parties can be informal or limited by custom or legal provisions. In others, communication between parties and their legislators is more fluid and constant. In many cases, party rules include broad statements emphasizing the need for close communication and coordination between elected officials and party structures outside governments. This can include explicit provisions for elected officials to account for their actions ⁸⁰.

Volume-7 | Issue-1 | Jan, 2022

⁷⁵ Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence. The American Economic Review, 94(5), 1476–1504.

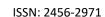
⁷⁶ Fiorina, M. (1980). The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics. Daedalus, 109 (Summer), 25–45. Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.

⁷⁷ Ferejohn, J. A., & Fiorina, M. P. (1974). The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis. The American Political Science Review, 68, 525–536.

⁷⁸ Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁹ Davis, M.L. and Ferrantino, M. (1996). Towards a positive theory of political rhetoric: Why do politicians lie? Public Choice 88: 1–13.

⁸⁰ Ansolabehere, S., Snyder, J. M., & Stewart, C., III. (2001). Candidate Positions in US House Elections. American Journal of Political Science, 45, 136–159.





2.11. Mechanisms for Coordinating Policy Drafting

Whether their policy drafting structures are simple or complex, political parties use a variety of approaches to balance the need for party executive, publicly elected officials and grassroots structure involvement in policy processes. Regardless of which internal units and external stakeholders are involved in policy development, political parties typically have a particular person or group of people responsible for managing and coordinating the policy development process, the responsibilities of these coordination mechanisms may include: identifying priority issues for policy attention; establishing sub-committees where relevant or appropriate; overseeing the development of draft policy documents; conducting research on policy options; requesting and reviewing submissions from branches and outside experts; organizing consultations; and preparing policy reports for party congresses.

The complexity, size and composition of these coordination mechanisms vary, but generally fall into one of two categories: party executive-based or multi-stakeholder commissions. The composition of these coordination mechanisms provides yet another opportunity to involve different party stakeholders⁸¹.

2.11.1. Party executive-based

Some parties⁸² assign primary responsibility for coordinating the policy development process to a team of party executives, who may be assisted by a support staff based in the party secretariat. For instance, in south Africa's ANC, a Policy Unit based at party headquarters is responsible for overseeing the development of draft policy documents for review by the NEC.

A member of the NEC oversees the unit's work with the assistance of a number of other conveners who are also party executive officials. The unit may invite or hire experts to submit or draft documents to assist with policy development. Once the NEC approves draft policy documents, these are circulated to party branches ahead of Provincial Policy conferences and the national Policy conference. The national Policy conference is a recommendation-making forum that usually meets a few months before the national conference, responsible for approving party policies, convenes⁸³.

2.11.3. Party rules

Under the ANC constitution, the party's national conference has the authority to determine policies. In addition, the national executive committee (NEC) ⁸⁴– the party's chief executive organ – can issue documents and policy directives as it deems fit. Although the NEC has the power to convene a policy conference whenever necessary, it must call a national Policy conference at least six months prior to the national conference. Policy conferences are recommendation bodies that propose resolutions and policy positions for consideration by the national conference⁸⁵. The president, who is the political leader of the party, can make announcements on behalf of the NEC to outline ANC policies and values. The national chairperson is responsible for ensuring that all policies adopted by the national conference are implemented by all organs within the party. However, each ANC member has the right to offer constructive criticism on any party policy⁸⁶.

2.11.4. Policy development in practice

Until recently, the policy unit, headed by a member of the NEC and the national Working committee (nWc), drafted party policies⁸⁷. The unit was an administrative arm of the ANC based at its headquarters in Johannesburg. Participation in the unit's activities were by invitation only and included people from various levels of government, state owned entities, the private sector and, in some cases, civil society organizations sympathetic to ANC's policies. The policy unit invited or hired experts to draft working documents that were presented to the NEC for consideration. Once the appropriate NEC subcommittee had discussed and approved the draft, the document was first distributed to all party structures and then later posted on the party website. The draft policies were then discussed at the local, district, regional

⁸¹ Brady, H., & Sniderman, P. (1985). Attitude Attribution: a Group Basis for Political Reasoning. American Political Science Review, 79, 1061–1978.

⁸² Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.

⁸³ Budge, I. (2006). Identifying dimensions and locating parties: Methodological and conceptual problems. In R. S. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), Handbook of Party Politics (pp. 422–435). London: Sage.

⁸⁴ Biezen, I., & Saward, M. (2008). Democratic Theorists and Party Scholars: Why They Don't Talk to Each Other, and Why They Should. Perspectives on Politics, 6, 21–35.

⁸⁵ McDonald, M. D., & Budge, I. (2005). Elections, Parties, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate. Oxford: Oxford University Press (p. 345 – 500).

⁸⁶ Budge, I. (2006). Identifying dimensions and locating parties: Methodological and conceptual problems. In R. S. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), Handbook of Party Politics (pp. 422–435).

⁸⁷ Bohman, J. (1998). Survey Article: The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy. The Journal of Philosophy, 6(3), 400–425.



and provincial levels of the party, as well as at provincial policy conferences in preparation for national Policy conferences⁸⁸.

The ANC recently dissolved the policy unit and it is unclear which party structure will manage policy development processes moving forward. According to the party rules, the NEC has the power to convene a policy conference whenever necessary, however, it must call a national Policy conference at least six months prior to the national Party conference. In practice, policy conferences have typically taken place just before the national conferences that formally adopt party policies⁸⁹.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The section describes the research design, study population, sampling design, data collection and analysis that will be employed in the study survey.

3.1 Study Area

The study area of this research was conducted in South Sudan council of political parties 2005 - 2019. The research seeks to gather information about the role of political parties toward political development in South Sudan.

3.2 Research Sampling Design

Sampling design is the framework, or road map, that serves as the basis for the selection of a survey sample and affects many other important aspects of a survey as well or sampling design represents the population of interest, from which a sample is to be drawn. This study included the thirty (30) members of Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM), 30 from other political parties and forty (40) beneficiaries in the Republic of South Sudan.

3.3 Research Design

Research Design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring you will effectively address the research problem; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. For the researcher to achieve the objective of the study, a combination of descriptive and cross- sectional research designs was considered to be the most appropriate. Cross sectional is one which studies a cross section of the population at a single point in time and data is collected at once. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and descriptive research design was used to describe the characteristics of the respondents under investigation.

3.2 Study Population

Population is a subset of the target population and is also known as the study population. The accessible population is the population in research to which the researchers can apply their conclusions; it is from the accessible population that researchers draw their samples. The survey population that was researched on included; Technical staff (40), which comprised of Technocrats of South Sudan Council of Political Parties, focal person, administrators like public relation officers, political experts and some support staff, twenty (20) beneficiaries of South Sudan Council of Political Parties in the Republic of South Sudan.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

Sampling technique is the way how data is collected from the field which can be inform of qualitative and quantitative methods for example instruments and methods used to collect quantitative data, quantitative research design: sampling and measurement.

Purposive sampling method was used for elements which the researcher is interested in with vital information that has to be obtained from selected staff respondents. Simple random sampling method was used to ensure that each element in the study have equal chances to be included in the sample.

3.5 Sampling Size

Sampling size determination is the act of choosing the number of observation or replicates to include in a statistical sample. The samples size an important feature of any empirical study in which the goals are to make inferences about a population from a sample. A sample size of 50 respondents was selected by Mohegan table of 1970s considering the time factor and other related constraints to give information needed.

⁸⁸ Ansolabehere, S., de Figuereido, J., & Snyder, J. M., Jr. (2000). Valence Politics. Public Choice, 103, 327–336.

⁸⁹ Aldrich, J.H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. American Journal of Political Science 37: 246–278.



Table 1: showing targeted population

uole 1. showing targeted population							
Stratum	Study population	Sample size					
Public relations officers	20	10					
Political Activists	20	10					
Other political parties	20	10					
General public	40	20					
Total	100	50					

3.6 Source of Data

Basically there was Primary and secondary data

3.6.1 Primary Data

Primary data is where the data is collected using methods such as interviews and questionnaires, they are many methods of collecting primary data observed or collected directly from first-hand experience.

The data from primary was particularly from direct interviews and questionnaires as key data collection tools. This will involve data from the field where the researcher will interact with the respondents and collect firsthand information. This will help the researcher to obtained data that will be used for findings of the study which are discussed to draw final conclusions and research recommendations.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data refers to data that was collected by someone other than the user. Common sources of secondary data for social science club include censuses, information collected by the government department, organizational records and data that was originally collected for other research purpose.

The data was from both internal and external. The researcher will have obtained data that was already written about the topic under study. This will help to review the literature review of the study and help the researcher to cite areas of agreement and disagreements that authors have and how such existing gaps could be filled by research. Internal data was from party members, technocrats and political analysts at South Sudan Council of Political Parties.

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

Data collection instruments it refers to as a device used to collect used to collect the data to facilitate variable observation and measurement. Data was basically collected using two major instruments that are interview and questionnaires.

3.7.1 Interviews

An interview is the verbal conversation between two people with the objective of collecting relevant information for the purpose of research.

Both structured and non-structured interview techniques will be used to gather key data from respondents and key informants. The interviews will be based on a guide that has a checklist of questions for individuals who will provide vital information and the only way to get it will be through interviewing especially getting information from those who are employed among community members since researcher sees them as potential information providers to the study. This method will be used because of the detailed information that is ought to be provided about the subject of study.

3.7.2 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the response, this is not always the case.

Open ended questionnaires were designed and sent to respondents to be filled in.

3.8 Data processing, Analysis and Presentation

Data processing, analysis and presentation involves collecting or adding to the data holdings. They are several methods of acquiring data: collecting new data. Using your own previously collected data.

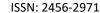
Data collected was reduced and summarized to bring out the desired features of the study. Processing was based on editing (was used to client errors and omissions to ensure accuracy and consistency). Coding was used to classify the responses into meaningful data and tabulations using SPSS and Ms. Excel.

3.9 Validity and Reliability of Data

The questionnaires were made simple and easy so as to be clearly understood by the respondents. The researcher was available to make necessary explanation on the questions where there is need. At least retest was milled out. The questionnaire were distributed on a second occasion, it was observed that the degree of consistency was quite high. This shows that the questionnaire is reliable.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

The researcher ensured that all citations and references of different authors were acknowledged. The researcher maintained confidentiality of the respondents and protect their privacy at all times. The researcher will carry out full





knowledge and authority of South Sudan Council of Political Parties in the Republic of South Sudan. Assurance of the confidentiality will be exhibited in the critical process of collecting and coding data, better still objectivity as principle of research will be paramount to control of bias and distortion.

3.11 Limitations of the Study

Failure to respond to certain questions and providing false information will be a limitation to the study. This was due to fear by some respondents that the researcher will exposed their economic development challenges to the public as they are the engines of the economy. However, the researcher used logical questions such that they will be able to release information needed by the researcher.

The study is limited by inadequate finance as it will be costly in terms of movement and buying of materials to use. Here, the researcher will try to mobilize for more funds by soliciting funds from sponsors. There is also a problem of some respondent's failure to give out their views and also fill the questionnaires. Here, the researcher will supplement this information by carrying out face to face interviews.

The study will be limited by time because there were a lot of activities that have to be done which at times may create a lot of fatigue for the researcher. Here, the researcher may need to hire research assistants to help him during the course of data collection.

The researcher may also face the challenge of language barrier as many of the respondents may not speak the same language as he does. Here, the researcher will acquire the services of interpreters to enable him communicate effectively with his respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Analysis of the survey data obtained as shown below:

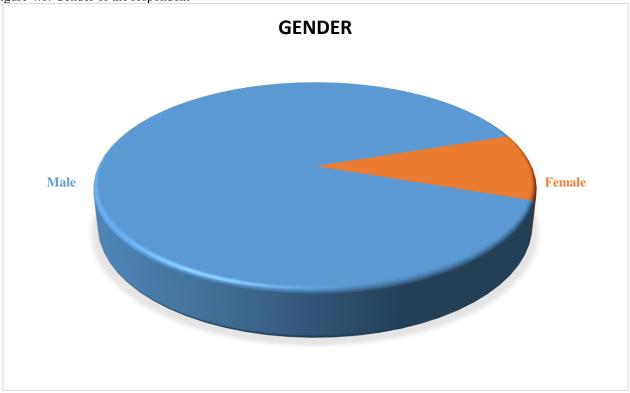
Data analysis of this study were carried out on 50 samples of random selections, out of which only 45 were returned, analyze with software SPSS version 20.0, descriptive statistical, and MS word has been used. Graphs and pie charts had been used for data presentation. Tabular technique was applied for the analysis of data by using simple statistical tools like frequencies and percentages. Finally, the processed data were transferred to a master sheet from which classified graphs and pie-charts were prepared revealing the finding of the study.

Tables 4.1: Gender of the respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Male	43	89.6	89.6	89.6
Valid	Female	5	10.4	10.4	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.1: Gender of the respondent



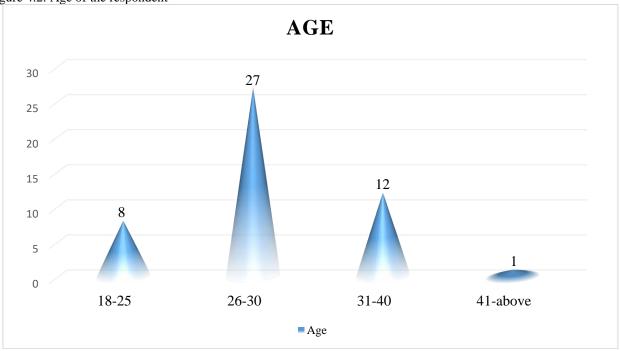
The result in fig, 4.1 show that, out of the total 48 respondents to the structured questionnaire, males were 89.6 percent of the total respondents, while the females were the remaining 10.4 percent of the total sample population. This means that the majority were females in questionnaires distributed.

Table 4.2: Age of the respondent

	·	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	18-25	8	16.7	16.7	16.7
	26-30	27	56.3	56.3	72.9
Valid	31-40	12	25.0	25.0	97.9
	41-above	1	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.2: Age of the respondent



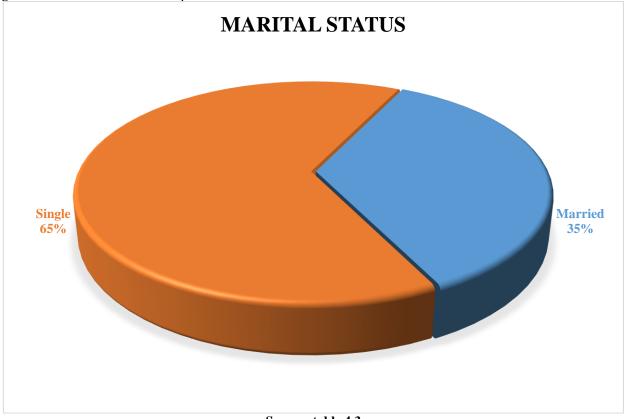
In fig 4.2 above, respondents with age 18-25 years constitute 16.7 percent, 56.3 percent of the respondents where at the age between 26-30 years, and the different age groups 31-40 years were 12 percent while 1 percent of respondents were from 41 and above years of age. In conclusion, the above table proves that the youth of age from 26-30 years were the majority represented by 56.3% and follow by the age of 31-40 years represented by 25%.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of the respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Married	17	35.4	35.4	35.4
Valid	Single	31	64.6	64.6	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.3: Marital Status of the respondent



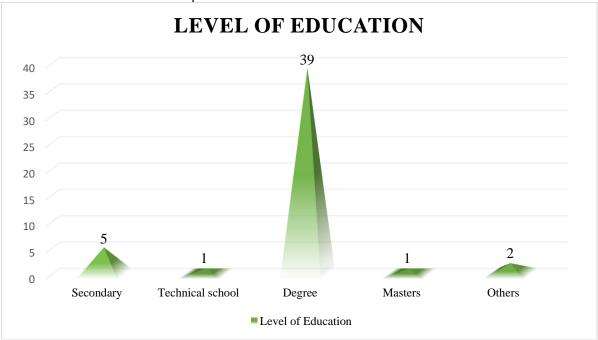
In the fig. 4.3 above, the higher frequency observed, represent 64.6% which are single, while married out of 35.4 samples constituent 34 percent. Therefore, the majority of the respondents were single as constituted by 64.4% in questionnaires distributed.

Table 4.4: Level of education of the respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Secondary	5	10.4	10.4	10.4
	Technical school	1	2.1	2.1	12.5
Valid	Degree	39	81.3	81.3	93.8
	Masters	1	2.1	2.1	95.8
	Others	2	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.4: Level of education of the respondent



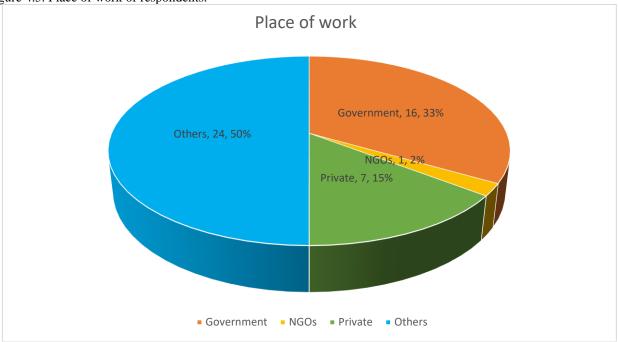
The results in fig. 4.4 above indicated that 51% of the respondents were undergraduates at different institute, 20% of the respondents were in post-graduate level, and 16% of the respondents have had secondary certificate, 11% were had primary education while illiterate had 2%. This means that majority of respondents were educated, those people were able to make any decision and contributed positively to the study.

Table 4.5. Place of work of respondents.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Government	16	33.3	33.3	33.3
	NGOs	1	2.1	2.1	35.4
Valid	Private	7	14.6	14.6	50.0
	Others	24	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.5. Place of work of respondents.



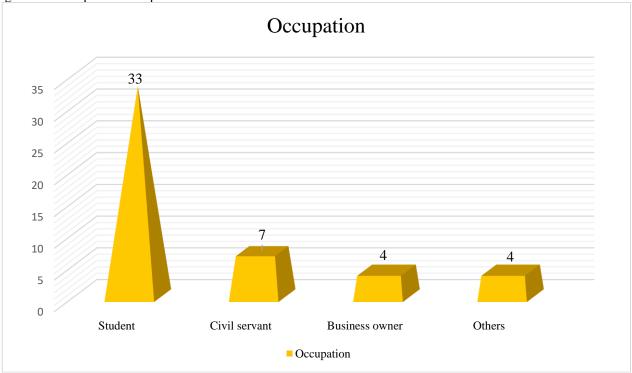
Based on the table and figure 4.5 above, respondents were asked to indicate their place of work, majority of the respondents 50% have their place of work in others, 33% were working with government, 15% private and only 2% were working with NGOs. This means most of the respondents assess through questionnaires had their place of work not mentioned in the options followed by those working with the government.

Table 4.6. Occupation of respondents.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Student	33	68.8	68.8	68.8
	Civil servant	7	14.6	14.6	83.3
Valid	Business owner	4	8.3	8.3	91.7
	Others	4	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.6. Occupation of respondents.



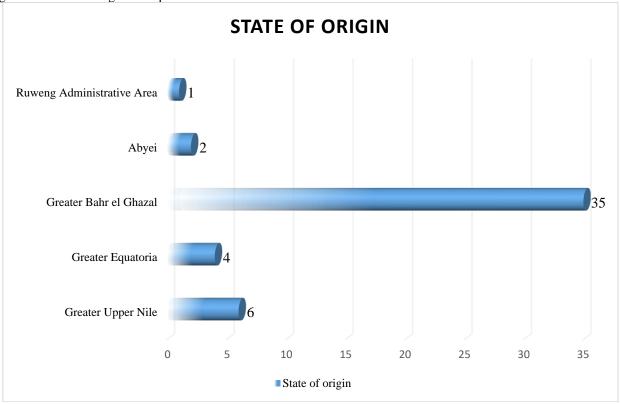
According to fig. 4.5 above, majority of respondents who answered the questionnaires were students with 67 percent, civil servant were 18 percent whereas farmers and housewife were 2% respectively. This make occupation investigated greater as students within the study area.

Table 4.7. State of origin of respondents.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Greater Upper Nile	6	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Greater Equatoria	4	8.3	8.3	20.8
	Greater Bahr el Ghazal	35	72.9	72.9	93.8
Valid	Abyei	2	4.2	4.2	97.9
	Ruweng Administrative Area		2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.7. State of origin of respondents.



According to table and graph above, respondents were asked to indicate their states of origin. 72.9 percent were from Greater Bahr El Ghazal, 12.5 percent were from Greater Upper Nile, 8.3 percent while 4.2 percent were from Abyei. Table 4.8. Do political parties play any role toward political development in South Sudan?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	32	66.7	66.7	66.7
Valid	No	16	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



67%

Figure 4.8. how political parties play any role toward political development in South Sudan?

■Yes ■No

Based on the findings on table 4.8 above, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement regarding statement does political parties plays any role toward political development in South Sudan. 66.7 percent agreed while 33.3 percent disputed the same statement. Conclusive, it has been realized that there is significant role played by political parties in political development.

Table 4.9. Do you think South Sudan political parties are committed toward building strong political platform?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	26	54.2	54.2	54.2
Valid	No	22	45.8	45.8	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



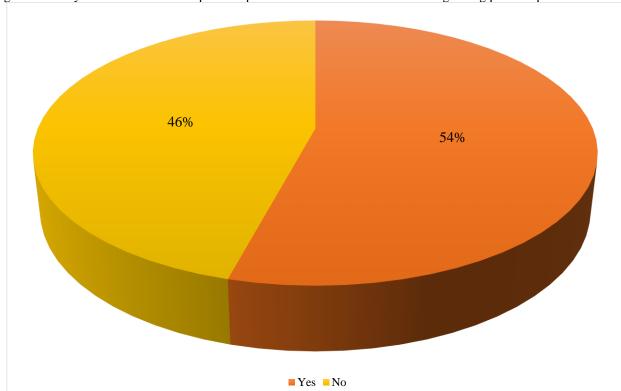


Figure 4.9. Do you think South Sudan political parties are committed toward building strong political platform?

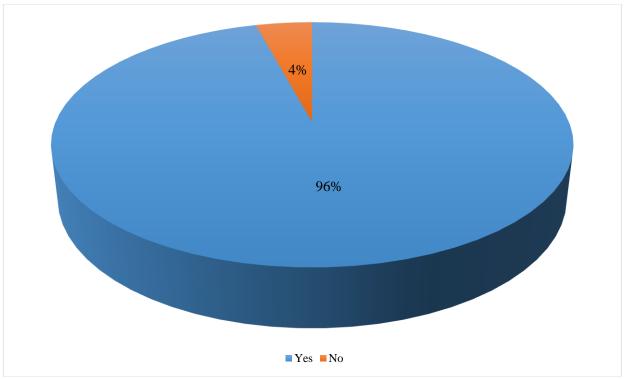
Based on the findings in table and figure 4.9 showed majority 54.2 percent of the respondents in agreement to the do you think South Sudan political parties are committed toward building strong political platform. 45.8 percent disputed the same statement. In conclusion, it political parties are committed toward building strong political platform.

Table 4.10. Are there challenges facing political parties in putting efforts on political development?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	46	95.8	95.8	95.8
Valid	No	2	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.10. Are there challenges facing political parties in putting efforts on political development?





According to responses shown by the respondents in regard to statement are there challenges facing political parties in putting efforts on political development. 95.8 percent agreed saying yes while 4.2 disputed the same statement.

Table 4.11. Can conflict be used as a tool for enhancing political development in the country?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	14	29.2	29.2	29.2
Valid	No	34	70.8	70.8	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



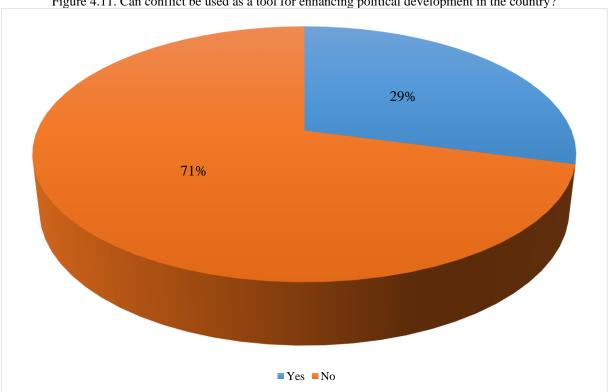


Figure 4.11. Can conflict be used as a tool for enhancing political development in the country?

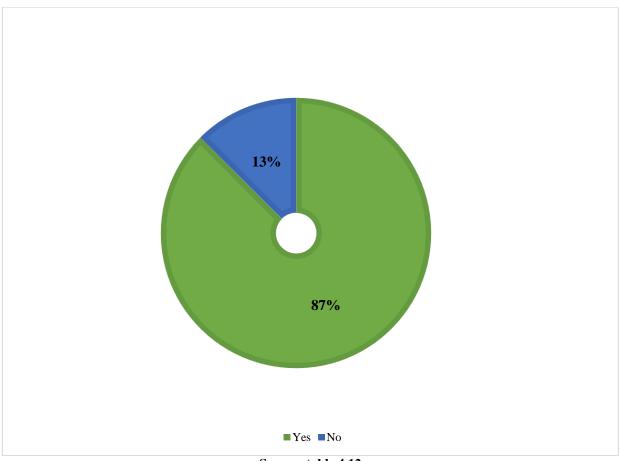
In regards to the question can conflict be used as a tool for enhancing political development in the country. 70.8 percent disputed the given statement while 29.2 percent agreed to the same statement.

Table 4.12. Is there a way through which political parties can achieve political development without the use of conflict and incitement of the international community?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	42	87.5	87.5	87.5
Valid	No	6	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.12. Is there a way through which political parties can achieve political development without the use of conflict and incitement of the international community?





Source: table 4.12

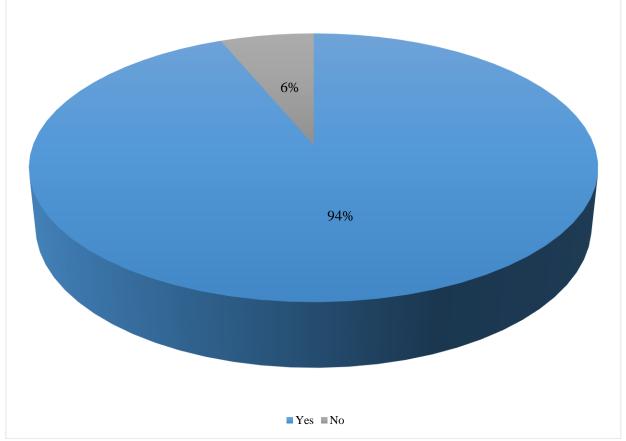
As shown in the result of table 4.12 above where respondents were asked if there are ways in which political parties can achieve political development besides conflict. 87.5 percent agreed to the statement while 12.5 disputed same the statement.

Table 4.13. Can a rule be used as a source for building political development?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	45	93.8	93.8	93.8
Valid	No	3	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



Figure 4.13. Can a rule be used as a source for building political development?



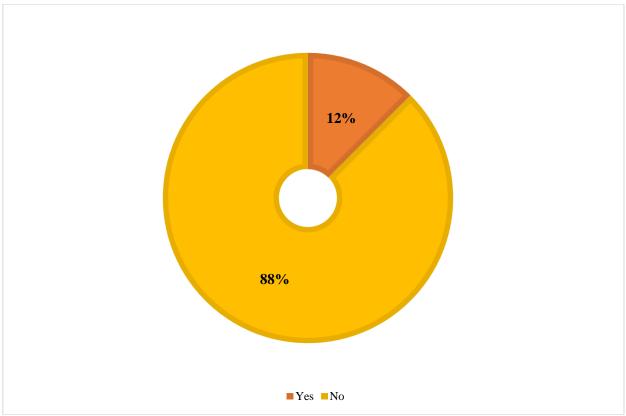
Based on the findings in table and figure 4.13 above respondents were asked to indicate if rule can be used as a source for building political development. 93.8 percent said yes while 6.3 percent said no. this affirmed that rule of law can be used to build political development.

Table 4.14. Can political parties win political development without focusing on the public opinions and needs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	6	12.5	12.5	12.5
Valid	No	42	87.5	87.5	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.14. Can political parties win political development without focusing on the public opinions and needs?





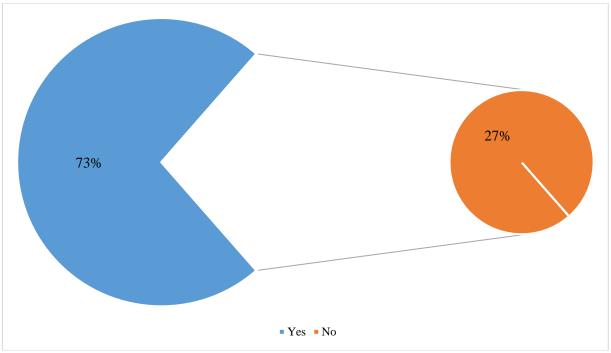
In regards to table and figure 4.14, respondents were asked if political parties can win political development without focusing on public opinions and needs. 87.5 percent said no while 12.5 percent disputed it. This means political parties cannot win political development without public opinion.

Table 4.15. Do you think there is any relationship between political parties' role and political development in South Sudan?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	35	72.9	72.9	72.9
	No	13	27.1	27.1	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.15. Do you think there is any relationship between political parties' role and political development in South Sudan?





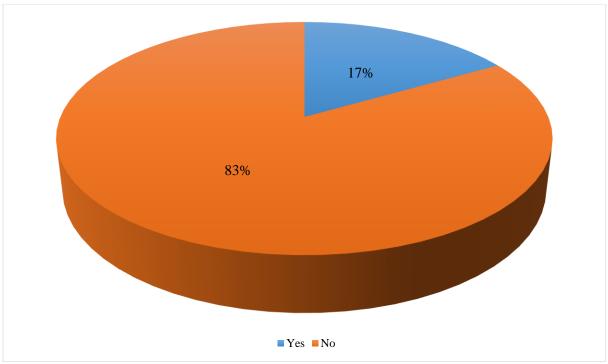
Based on the findings in table and figure 4.15 above, respondents were asked if they think there any relationship between political parties' role and political development in South Sudan. 72.9 percent said yes while 27.1 percent disagreed to the same statement saying no. this means there is great relationship between political parties and political development.

Table 4.16. Do you think political parties without political will and patriotic concern can bring about political development?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	8	16.7	16.7	16.7
Valid	No	40	83.3	83.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.16. Do you think political parties without political will and patriotic concern can bring about political development?





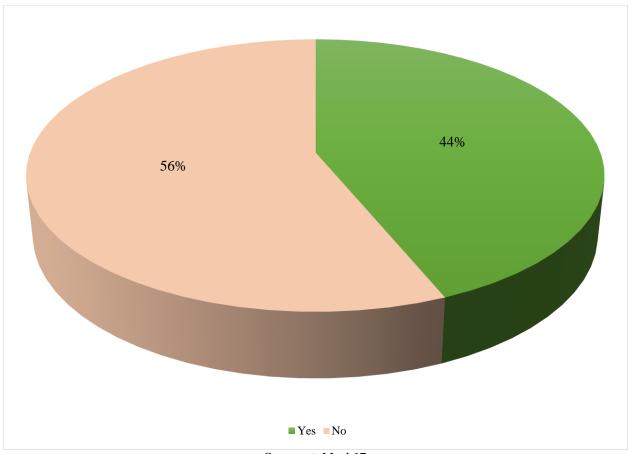
With reference to results in table and figure 4.16 above, respondents were asked to indicate if they think political parties without political will and patriotic concern can bring about political. Majority of the respondents, 83.3% of the total respondents disputed the statement saying while only 16.7% agreed with the statement.

Table 4.17. There is no role played by political parties in enhancing political development?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	21	43.8	43.8	43.8
Valid	No	27	56.3	56.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.17. There is no role played by political parties in enhancing political development?





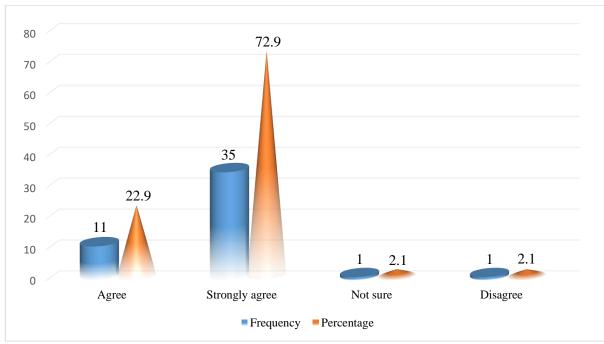
Based on the findings in table 4.17 above most respondents (56.3%) responded on contrary to the statement there are no roles played by political parties in enhancing political development. 43.8% others agreed to the same statement. This affirmed that there is role played by political parties in enhancing political development.

Table 4.18. Political rallies can be the best tool for promoting political development.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agree	11	22.9	22.9	22.9
	Strongly agree	35	72.9	72.9	95.8
Valid	Not sure	1	2.1	2.1	97.9
	Disagree	1	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.18. Political rallies can be the best tool for promoting political development.





As seen in table and figure 4.18 above where majority (72.9%) strongly agreed, (22.9%) others agreed to the same statement making (95.4%) majority in favour of the statement political rallies can be best tool for promoting political development. It is therefore recommendable that political rallies should be encouraged in order to adequately promote political development in South Sudan.

Table 4.19. Political talk shows can help in disseminating information to the general public.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agree	16	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Strongly agree	28	58.3	58.3	91.7
	Not sure	2	4.2	4.2	95.8
Valid	Disagree	1	2.1	2.1	97.9
	Strongly disagree	1	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



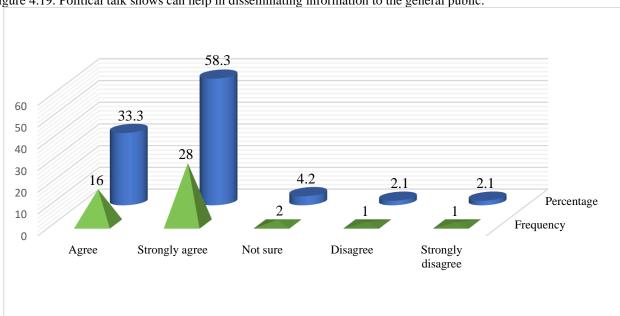


Figure 4.19. Political talk shows can help in disseminating information to the general public.

■ Frequency ■ Percentage

Based on the findings revealed in table and figure 4.19 above, respondents were asked to indicate if political talk shows can help in disseminating information to the general public. 58.3% strongly agreed, 33.3% others agreed to the same statement making majority of the respondents 91.6% in agreement to the given statement and therefore, it is importance for the government to allow talk shows in order to gain public opinion.

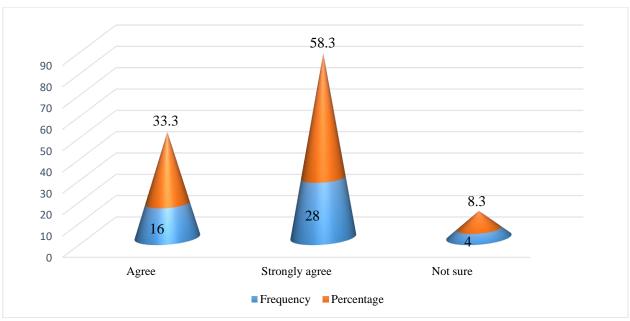
Table 4.20. Introduce political education in high school and public seminars can help in shaping political ideology

which result to political development.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	_				
	Agree	16	33.3	33.3	33.3
Valid	Strongly agree	28	58.3	58.3	91.7
, and	Not sure	4	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.20. Introduce political education in high school and public seminars can help in shaping political ideology which result to political development.



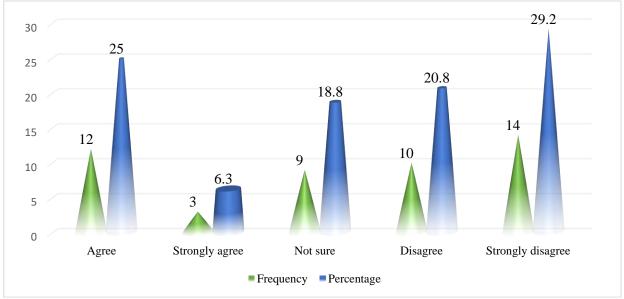


Based on the findings in table and figure 4.20 above, respondents were asked if introduction of political education in high school and public seminars can help in shaping political ideology which results to political development. The results show majority (91.6%) were in agreement to the given statement. This indicate teaching political education in secondary schools and public seminars can result to political development.

Table 4.21: There are no possible techniques through which political development can assure by political parties apart from violence.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agree	12	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Strongly agree	3	6.3	6.3	31.3
	Not sure	9	18.8	18.8	50.0
Valid	Disagree	10	20.8	20.8	70.8
	Strongly disagree	14	29.2	29.2	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.21: There are no possible techniques through which political development can assure by political parties apart from violence.





Based on the findings showed in table and figure 4.21 above, respondents were asked to indicate if there are no possible techniques through which political development can be assures by political parties apart from violence. Most respondents 50% disagreed to the given statement while 18.8% others were not sure. That means there are ways of through which political development can be enhance apart from violence.

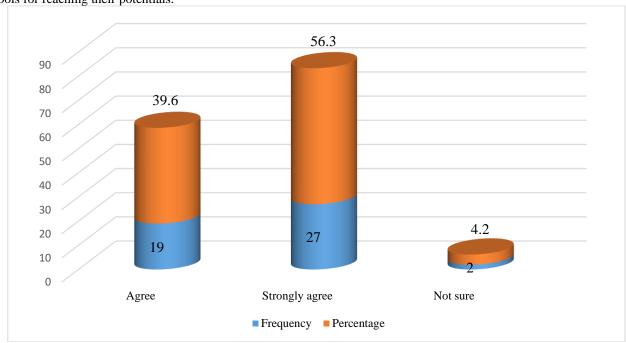
Table 4.22: There are possible chances such as social media, mass media among other that political parties can use as

tools for reaching their potentials.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agree	19	39.6	39.6	39.6
Valid	Strongly agree	27	56.3	56.3	95.8
	Not sure 2		4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data (Questionnaires) 2021

Figure 4.22: There are possible chances such as social media, mass media among other that political parties can use as tools for reaching their potentials.



Source: table 4.22

In regards to the findings in table 4.22 above respondents were asked to indicate if there are chances such as social media, mass media among other political parties can use as tools for reaching their potentials. Majority of the respondents 95.8% are in favor of the given statement. This means political development can be enhancing through many ways.

Table 4.23: Programs such as forums can be used to transmit political information to the general public.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Agree	19	39.6	39.6	39.6
	Strongly agree	25	52.1	52.1	91.7
Valid	Not sure	2	4.2	4.2	95.8
	Disagree 2		4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	48	100.0	100.0	



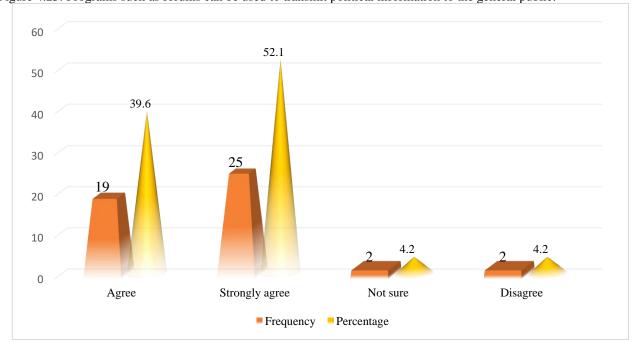


Figure 4.23: Programs such as forums can be used to transmit political information to the general public.

Source: 4.23

Based on the findings in table and figure 4.23 above where respondents were asked to indicate if programs such as forums can be used to transmit political development to the general public. Majority of the respondents agreed to the given statement.

CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the summary, conclusion, recommendations and areas of further studies.

5.1. Summary of the findings

According to the results in chapter four males were the majority of the total respondents, while the females were fewer. In the same study, most respondents came from 26-30 years while others fall under other age ranges of which were singles. In the same findings respondents believe that political parties play any role toward political development in South Sudan. Conclusive, it has been realized that there is significant role played by political parties in political development. On the other hand, majority of the respondents in believe that South Sudan political parties are committed toward building strong political platform.

According to responses shown by the respondents in regard to statement are there challenges facing political parties in putting efforts on political development. Most respondents agreed saying yes. In regards to the ways in which political parties can achieve political development besides conflict. Most respondents affirmed that there are alternative ways apart from conflict. Based on the findings in table and figure 4.13 in chapter. 93.8 percent affirmed that rule of law can be used to build political development. In regards to the same findings majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement that political parties cannot win political development without public opinion. This means political parties cannot win political development without public opinion. Based on the findings in table and figure 4.15 above, respondents were asked if they think there any relationship between political parties' role and political development in South Sudan. 72.9 percent said yes while 27.1 percent disagreed to the same statement saying no. this means there is great relationship between political parties and political development. With reference to results in table and figure 4.16 above, respondents were asked to indicate if they think political parties without political will and patriotic concern can bring about political. Majority of the respondents, 83.3% of the total respondents disputed the statement saying while only 16.7% agreed with the statement.

Based on the findings in table 4.17 above most respondents (56.3%) responded on contrary to the statement there are no roles played by political parties in enhancing political development. 43.8% others agreed to the same statement. This affirmed that there is role played by political parties in enhancing political development. Based on the findings in table and figure 4.20 above, respondents were asked if introduction of political education in high school and public seminars can help in shaping political ideology which results to political development. The results show majority (91.6%) were in agreement to the given statement. This indicate teaching political education in secondary schools and public seminars can result to political development.

Based on the findings showed in table and figure 4.21 above, respondents were asked to indicate if there are no possible techniques through which political development can be assures by political parties apart from violence. Most





respondents 50% disagreed to the given statement while 18.8% others were not sure. That means there are ways of through which political development can be enhance apart from violence.

In regards to the findings in table 4.22 above respondents were asked to indicate if there are chances such as social media, mass media among other political parties can use as tools for reaching their potentials. Majority of the respondents 95.8% are in favor of the given statement. This means political development can be enhancing through many ways.

Based on the findings in table and figure 4.22 above where respondents were asked to indicate if programs such as forums can be used to transmit political development to the general public. Majority of the respondents agreed to the given statement.

5.2. Conclusion

Based on the findings in the study, the role of the political organizations that we usually think of as parties, in contemporary Africa's political development. And many others, including Bogaards and Kuenzi and Lam- bright, note, the short time we are forced to operate with induces severe limitations on the confidence with which we can speak about our conclusions. 90 We also need a lot more groundwork to be done in this area particularly on the origin and nature of political parties in Africa, their ideological or programmatic orientations, behavior both within and outside the legislature, to mention but a few areas. This study examined the role of political parties in political development of South Sudan. Without political parties, democracy cannot be strengthened in a country. Survey results show that political parties are the representatives of people who actually put forward demands or wishes of people to the government. Political parties of South Sudan have played some role in political development and no matter how small but their role cannot be ignored at all. Political development can be ensured in South Sudan through effective political participation. Public opinion matters a lot in this regard and without it democracy cannot flourish in a country. Political parties should institutionalize themselves through gradual democratization in party structure specially holding party elections. Political parties should represent all sections of society and their office bearers should be elected not nominated. In this way, political development can be enhanced because new faces will emerge as new leadership. These new faces may bring stability and corruption- free system which is not possible if political parties will keep following family politics. Economic development is also an indicator of political development and economic prosperity is dependent on stable political system. Political stability not only enhances political participation but also stimulate political development. But for stable political system, South Sudan needs substantial reforms, capacity building and institutionalization. People of South Sudan, despite several incapacities and inefficiencies, still believe in the strength of democracy and intend to strengthen it. Political development is a pre-requisite to the success and strength of democracy. Political parties are an essential component of democratic system and a major catalyst of political development. Their productive role not only enhances the level of political development in the country but also promotes a sense of ownership and belonging among the masses.

5.3. Recommendations

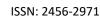
The possible ways through which programs and policies enhance political development;

- ✓ Public rallies should be conducted across states by political parties to improve adequate political development and separation of three organs of government such as executives, parliamentarians and judiciary power.
- ✓ Political education should be introduced right from secondary school to enable students understand in-depth of the political status and believe in political ideology
- ✓ Freedom of expression should be allowed to express the individual point of view inform of public opinion through the peaceful demonstration.
- ✓ All the political parties should conduct the national election after four years with the respect of time limit from any political party that won the election.

5.4. Areas of further Studies

- 1. To assess the factors influencing political development in South Sudan
- 2. To investigate the role played by political parties in South Sudan political stability.
- 3. Impact of political development in country political agenda.

⁹⁰ Hyden, 'Barriers to Party Systems in Africa'; Bogaards, 'Counting Parties and Identifying Dominant Party Systems'; Kuenzi and Lambright, 'Party Institutionalization in 30 African Countries'; and Kuenzi and Lambright, 'Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation'.





REFERENCES

BOOKS

- [1] Ansolabehere, S., de Figuereido, J., & Snyder, J. M., Jr. (2000). Valence Politics. Public Choice, 103, 327–336.
- [2] Bartolini, S. (2002). Electoral and Party Competition: Analytical Dimensions and Empirical Problems. In R. Gunther, J. Ramón-Montero, & J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 84–113). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [3] Biezen, I., & Saward, M. (2008). Democratic Theorists and Party Scholars: Why They Don't Talk to Each Other, and Why They Should. Perspectives on Politics, 6, 21–35.
- [4] Brady, H., & Sniderman, P. (1985). Attitude Attribution: a Group Basis for Political Reasoning. American Political Science Review, 79, 1061–1978.
- [5] Budge, I. (2006). Identifying dimensions and locating parties: Methodological and conceptual problems. In R. S. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), Handbook of Party Politics (pp. 422–435). London: Sage.
- [6] Coase, R.H. (1937). The nature of the firm. Economica 4: 386–405.
- [7] Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence. The American Economic Review, 94(5), 1476–1504.
- [8] Davis, M.L. and Ferrantino, M. (1996). Towards a positive theory of political rhetoric: Why do politicians lie? Public Choice 88: 1–13.
- [9] Duggan, J. (2006). Candidate Objectives and Electoral Equilibrium. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Political Science (pp. 64–84). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [10] Ebeling, M. (2016). Epistemic Political Egalitarianism, Political Parties, and Conciliatory Democracy. Political Theory, 44(5), 629–656.
- [11] Ferejohn, J. A., & Fiorina, M. P. (1974). The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis. The American Political Science Review, 68, 525–536.
- [12] Fiorina, M. (1980). The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics. Daedalus, 109(Summer), 25–45
- [13] Grofman, B. (2004a). Black's Single-Peakedness Condition. In C. K. Rowley & F. Schneider (Eds.), The Encyclopedia of Public Choice (Vol. 2, pp. 43–45). New York: Kluwer.
- [14] Grofman, B. (2004b). Reflections on Public Choice. Public Choice, 118(1/2), 31–51.
- [15] Gunther, R., Ramón-Montero, J., & Linz, J. J. (2002). Introduction. In R. Gunther, J. Ramón-Montero, & J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 1–35). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [16] Habermas, J. (1984). A Theory of Communicative Action (Vol. I–II, T. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press. This work originally appeared in German under the title Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns, Bd. I-II, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., Germany, 1981.
- [17] Hamilton, A., Madison, J., & Jay, J. (2003). The Federalist. In T. Ball (Ed.), Hamilton, Madison and Jay: The Federalist with Letters of "Brutus" (pp. 1–433). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [18] Key, V. O. (1966). The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936–1960. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- [19] Klingemann, H.-D., Hofferbert, R. I., & Budge, I. (1994). Parties, Policies, and Democracy. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- [20] Kollman, K., Miller, J. H., & Page, S. E. (1992). Adaptive Parties and Spatial Elections. American Political Science Review, 86(4), 929–937.
- [21] B. JOURNALS
- [22] Aldrich, J.H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. American Journal of Political Science 37: 246-278.
- [23] Ansolabehere, S., Snyder, J. M., & Stewart, C., III. (2001). Candidate Positions in US House Elections. American Journal of Political Science, 45, 136–159.
- [24] Besley, T., & Coate, S. (1997). An Economic Model of Representative Democracy. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112, 85–114.
- [25] Bohman, J. (1998). Survey Article: The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy. The Journal of Philosophy, 6(3), 400–425.
- [26] Calvert, R. L. (1985). Robustness of the Multidimensional Voting Model: Candidate Motivations, Uncertainty, and Convergence. American Journal of Political Science, 29, 69–95.
- [27] Jones, P. and Hudson, J. (1996a). Standardization and the costs of assessing quality. European Journal of Political Economy 12: 355–361.
- [28] Jones, P. and Hudson, J. (1996b). The quality of political leadership: A case study of John Major, British Journal of Political Science 26: 229–244.
- [29] Levitt, S.D. (1994). Using repeat challengers to estimate the effect of campaign spending on election outcomes in the US House. Journal of Political Economy 102: 777–797.
- [30] Marvel, H. and McCafferty, S. (1984). Resale price maintenance and quality certification. Rand Journal of Economics 15: 346–359.
- [31] Maute, M.F. and Forrester, Jr. W.R. (1991). The effect of attribute qualities on consumer decision making: A causal model of external information search. Journal of Economic Psychology 12: 643–666.



- [32] McKelvey, R., & Ordeshook, P. (1985). Sequential Elections with Limited Information. American Journal of Political Science, 29, 480–512.
- [33] McKelvey, R., & Ordeshook, P. (1986). Information, Electoral Equilibria, and the Democratic Ideal. Journal of Politics, 48, 909–937.
- [34] Powell, G. B. (2006). Election Laws and Representative Government. British Journal of Political Science, 36, 291–315.
- [35] Schram, A. and Sonnemans, J. (1996). Why people vote: Experimental evidence. Journal of Economic Psychology 17: 417–442.
- [36] Stigler, G. (1961). The economics of information. Journal of Political Economy 69: 213–225.
- [37] Weingast, B.R. and Marshall, W.J. (1988). The industrial organization of Congress; or, why legislatures, like firms, are not organized as markets. Journal of Political Economy 96: 132–163.
- [38] Wittman, D. (1989). Why democracies produce efficient results. Journal of Political Economy 97: 1395–1424.
- [39] Wolkenstein, F. (2016). A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy. Journal of Political Philosophy, 24(3), 297–320.

OTHERS SOURCES

- [40] Kothari, R. (1967). Party Politics and Political Development. Economic and Political Weekly, 2(3/5), 163-178. Retrieved February 1, 2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4357549
- [41] Kramer, G. H. (1983). The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate- versus Individual-level Findings on Economics and Elections, and Sociotropic Voting. American Political Science Review, 77, 92–111.
- [42] Laver, M., & Schofield, N. (1990). Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [43] Lipset, S. M. (1967). Consensus and Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology. Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- [44] Mansbridge, J., Bohman, J., Chambers, S., Christiano, T., Fung, A., Parkinson, J., Thompson, D. F., & Warren, M. E. (2012). A Systemic Approach to Deliberative Democracy. In J. Mansbridge & J. Parkinson (Eds.), Deliberative Systems (pp. 1–26). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [45] McDonald, M. D., & Budge, I. (2005). Elections, Parties, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate. Oxford: Oxford University Press (p. 345 500).
- [46] McDonald, M.D., Budge, I., Hofferbert, R.I. (1999). Party mandate theory and time series analysis: A theoretical and methodological response. Electoral Studies, 18, 587–596.
- [47] Michels, R. (1968). Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. New York: Free Press.
- [48] Niemeyer, S. (2011). The Emancipatory Effect of Deliberation: Empirical Lessons from Mini-Publics. Politics & Society, 39, 103–140.
- [49] Olsen, M. ([1965] 2002). The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- [50] Ostrogorski, M. (1964). Democracy and the organization of political parties, Vol. 1. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- [51] Ostrogorski, M. (1991). In S. M. Lipset (Ed.), Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- [52] Page, B., & Shapiro, R. (1992). The Rational Public. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- [53] Palfrey, T. R. (1984). Spatial equilibrium with Entry. Review of Economic Studies, 51, 139–156.
- [54] Petracca, M. P. (1991). The Rational Actor Approach to Politics: Science, Self-Interest, and Normative Democratic Theory. In K. R. Monroe (Ed.), The Economic Approach to Politics. A Critical Reassessment of the Theory of Rational Action (pp. 171–204). New York: HarperCollins.
- [55] Rallings, C. and Thrasher, M. (1994). Explaining election turnout: A secondary analysis of local election statistics. London: HMSO.

References

- [56] Rohrschneider, R. (1988). Citizens' Attitudes Toward Environmental Issues: Selfish or Selfless? Comparative Political Studies, 21(3), 347–367.
- [57] Rosenblum, N. L. (2008). On the Side of Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- [58] Schattschneider, E. E. (1942). Party Government. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- [59] Scherer, F.M. and Ross, D.L. (1990). Industrial market structure and economic performance. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- [60] von Beyme, K. (1985). Political Parties in Western Democracies. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- [61] Weinstock, D. (2015). Integrating Intermediate Goods to Theories of Distributive Justice: The Importance of Platforms. Res Publica, 21, 171–183.
- [62] White, J., & Ypi, L. (2010). Rethinking the Modern Prince: Partisanship and the Democratic Ethos. Political Studies, 58, 809–828.
- [63] Wilensky, H. L. (1975). The Welfare State and Equality. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.





- [64] Williamson, O.E. (1975). Markets and hierarchies, analysis and antitrust implications: A study in the economics of internal organization. New York: Free Press.
- [65] Williamson, O.E. (1986). Economic organization: Firms, markets and policy control. Brighton: Wheatsheaf.
- [66] Williamson, O.E. (1990). The firm as a nexus of treaties: An introduction. In M. Aoki, B. Gustafsson and O.E. Williamson (Eds.), The firm as a nexus of treaties. London: Sage.
- [67] Wittman, D. (1973). Parties as Utility Maximizers. American Political Science Review, 67, 490-498.
- [68] Wittman, D. (1983). Candidate Motivation: a Synthesis of Alternative Theories. American Political Science Review, 77, 142–157.
- [69] Wittman, D. (2005). Valence Characteristics, Costly Policy and The Median-crossing Property: A Diagrammatic Exposition. Public Choice, 124, 365–382.
- [70] Wolinetz, S. B. (2002). Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies. In R. Gunther, J. Ramón-Montero, & J. J. Linz (Eds.), Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges (pp. 136–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [71] Achebe, C. (1983). The Trouble with Nigeria. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- [72] Ake, C. (2001). Democracy and Development in Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited
- [73] Amanyie, V. (2001). The Agony of the Ogoni in the Niger-Delta. Lagos: Nigeria Horizontal Concepts.
- [74] Anigbogu, J. C. (2001). Origin of Civil Society in Nigeria. Owerri: Blossom Publishers.
- [75] Bentley, A. (1908). The Process of Government. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- [76] Deutsch, K., & William, F. (1963). Nation Building. New York: Atherton Press.
- [77] Dibie, C. C. (2007). Essentials Government for Senior Secondary School. Lagos: Tonad Publishers Limited.
- [78] Ifesinachi, K. (1997). State and Economy. Nsukka: Grossy Publishers Limited.
- [79] Ikejiani, O., & Ikejiani, M. O. (1989). Nigeria Political Imperative. Enugu: Fourth Dimensions Publishers.





Appendices

Appendix I: Questionnaires

Appendix IV: Research Time Frame

		2020				2021			
Work	NOV	FEB	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT
Proposal Topics									
Proposal Writing									
Literature Review									
Chapter Three									
Data collection									
Data Sorting Analysis									
Chapter Four									
Chapter Five									
Research Compilation									
Research presentation									