

# Financing Political Campaigns and Election Campaigns: Current Situations, Challenges and Perspectives

VI Inter-American Electoral Training Seminar

Organisers: GS/OAS, Mexican Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

## Political Financing in the Caribbean: Time to Dismantle the Fence

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# Good Governance Compromised in the Caribbean

According to Anthony Harriott:

“ Official involvement in partnerships with organised crime gives elements in the political administration and the state bureaucracy an interest in blocking cardinal principles of good governance such as accountability and transparency.”

Anthony Harriott, “Dis a fi wi Thing”: Politics and The Rise of Organised Crime in Jamaica”, p.14.



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# Flagging the Dilemma In the Caribbean

Prime Minister Freundel Stuart May 2013

“... if the journey towards our Caribbean civilisation ... is to be successfully completed, then we must take responsibility for curbing these excesses without, however, denying genuine funders, political leaders and voters their human and constitutional rights to finance projects of their own choice, and to do so with a degree of confidentiality



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# Contextualising the Caribbean: Status of Regulatory Regime in the Commonwealth Caribbean up to 2012

Country	Disclosure	By Party	By Candidate	Contribution Limits	Spending Limits
Antigua & Barbuda	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Bahamas	No	No	No	No	No
Barbados	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Belize	No	No	No	No	No
Dominica	No	No	No	No	No
Grenada	No	No	No	No	No
Guyana	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jamaica	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
St. Kitts/Nevis	No	No	No	No	No
St. Lucia	No	No	No	No	No
St. Vincent & The Grenadines	No	No	No	No	No
Trinidad & Tobago	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
<b>Total %</b>	47.67/52.33	100.00	47.67/52.33	8.33/91.67	25.00/75.00



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## A Glimpse at the Reporting Spending Patterns of Candidates: 2008 General Election (BLP and DLP)

Parish ( number of Constituencies)	Maximum Expenses Allowed (section 48.2)	Amount declared spent (based on submitted reports)	% Spent
St. Michael (11)	BD\$1,600,600.00	BD\$1,132,257.02	70.74
Christ Church (5)	BD\$817, 840.00	BD\$398, 812.37	48.76
St. Philip (3)	BD\$523,520.00	BD\$215,053.67	41.08
St. George (2)	BD\$344,340.00	BD\$136,154.55	39.54
St. John (1)	BD\$162,000.00	BD\$68,167.22	42.09
St. Joseph (1)	BD\$145,160.00	BD\$57,789.28	38.81
St. Thomas (1)	BD\$173,730.00	BD\$84,404.02	48.58
St. James(3)	BD\$457,960.00	BD\$148,591.45	32.45
St. Peter (2)	BD\$158,600.00	BD\$42,831.06	27.00
St. Andrew (1)	BD\$155,180.00	BD\$52,554.89	33.87
St. Lucy(1)	BD\$169,160.00	BD\$63,655.34	37.63
<b>Total (30)</b>	<b>BD\$4,708090</b>	<b>BD\$2,400270.87</b>	<b>50.98</b>



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# Identification of Six Critical Features of the Regional Profile

- The absence of an adequate legal framework with the exception of that provided by the Representation of People's Act.
- Over dependency on private sources of financing, particularly for electioneering.
- Absence of direct state monies for the financing of electioneering and routine activities of political parties.
- Domination of political money by the major political parties.
- Minimum contribution by membership of the parties to the financing of the party.
- Foreign Government Involvement



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# Vulnerable Point in the Existing Legislation

- None of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries impose limits on the spending of **political parties**, although as indicated above, there are restrictions on candidates in five of the twelve independent Commonwealth Caribbean countries.
- Jamaica - Currently an upper limit of US\$50,000.
- Trinidad and Tobago - TT\$50,000.00 (US\$8,000). The 2000 amendment to the Representation of Peoples Ordinance of Trinidad and Tobago provides for Candidates or their agents to receive gifts and other contributions for the conduct and management of elections up to a statutory limit of TT\$5,000.00 for general elections.
- Barbados- candidates are allowed to spend up to BD\$10.00 per elector



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# Worrying Consequences

- lead to some parties being easily captured by wealthy lobbies.
- the possibility that public policy may be distorted from the public interest in exchange for campaign contributions whether by national or international concerns



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## Anticipated Difficulties of Adopting an Effective Regulatory Framework

- Small population sizes, ranging from 2.5 million in Jamaica, to \$50,000 in St. Kitts-Nevis
- Reluctance on the part of donors to have their names published for fear of victimisation
- A political culture of clientelism and patronage
- Small size of party membership
- Small GDP's, financial and economic
- Constitutional amendment is required
- Lack of a critical mass of technical persons to regulate, administer and audit
- Resistance by politicians



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## Dollar Diplomacy: Foreign Government Contribution Taiwan in St. Lucia

Village Councils	Funds Received in EC\$	Percentage of Total Funds (%)
Babonneau District Council	2,933,329.98	73.61
Soufriere Town Council	2,357,546.44	73.14
Dennerly Village Council	4,788,389.88	83.04
Micoud Village Council	2,020,478.84	70.89
Micoud South District Council	2,919,077.00	87.52
Vieux-Fort North District Council	980,202.24	69.56
Vieux-Fort Town Council	675,202.87	59.31
Choiseul Village Council	1,999,999.99	50.82
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18,674,227.24</b>	



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**Women's Representation in National parliaments (lower Chambers only)  
 Selected Regional Countries: Inter parliamentary Union February 1, 2013.  
 Status of Commonwealth Caribbean Countries**

World Ranking (190)	Country	# women	% Women
33	Trinidad& Tobago	12	28.6
79	St. Vincent & Grenadines	4	17.4
83	St. Lucia	3	16.7
97	Grenada	2	13.3
98	Bahamas	5	13.2
99	Jamaica	8	12.7
100	Dominica	4	12.5
109	Antigua and Barbuda	2	10.5
113	Barbados	3	10.0
125	St. Kitts-Nevis	1	5.7
29	Guyana	21	31.3



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## Where are the Women Political Decision Makers?

“Even though women have been able to vote and stand for elections for over sixty years in the Caribbean, at the end of the decade of the 1990s the region still lacks a critical mass of women as key political decision makers.”

Violet Eudine Barriteau, ‘Beyond Backlash: The Frontal Assault on containing Caribbean Women in the Decade of the 1990s’, in *Gender Equality in the Caribbean: Reality or Illusion*, eds. Gemma Tang Nain & Barbara Bailey. (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003), 201-232.

Essentially therefore, to continue with the status quo by way of gender neutral regulations, in a context where men dominate political decision-making, would merely serve to reinforce the existing inequalities and fail to give women a real and decisive voice in the policy making process.



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# The OAS Model Legislation on Political Party and Election Campaign Spending: Engendering Gender Justice

- The 2013 model legislation makes provisions relating to gender and gender mainstreaming throughout the model legislation given the under representation of women in national parliaments. Accordingly, the 2013 version of the model legislation includes provisions that would guarantee:
- 1) non- discrimination between male and female candidates with respect to media and public financing
  - 2) A percentage of direct public financing to be allocated to the promotion of female leadership and candidacies
  - 3) A percentage of indirect public financing to be reserved for female candidates (for example, direct access programming in state media).



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# Specifics On Advancing Women's Cause

The legislation promotes affirmative action to promote women's leadership within political parties and female candidates during election.

- At least 10% of monies allocated to promotion of female leadership and candidates and
- At least 5% of direct access to media reserved for female candidates
- A proposed oversight body monitor the parties and candidates to ensure compliance including gender provisions



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## Conclusion: Ring Fencing

- a fear of backlash from the electorate given what participants described as “the political culture” in the region.
- the full disclosure may jeopardise the ability of political parties to raise much needed financial resources - victimisation of party financiers.
- There are no legal barriers hindering women’s fuller participation.



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