



Expectations and Judgments of Students about Elections of Governors and Vice-Governors in the Province Of Tshuapa in Republic Democratic of the Congo (2016-2019)

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ABSTRACT

A survey was conducted with students enrolled in the higher institutes and universities operating in the province of Tshuapa, in DR Congo, to collect their judgments and their expectations compared to the actors and practices around the elections of the governors and vice-governors of provinces that were held from 2016 to 2019. In the same way, the respondents were questioned about the results and the electoral system in application for elections. Finally, the results of the investigation inform that these three elections were, mostly, inadequate with the expectations of the respondents. Indeed, the latter, in their majority, say they wanted to see other characters as governors and vice-governors that those who had won thanks to the voices of the provincial MPs (members of the provincial parliament). Similarly, investigations denounce and condemn several practices and behaviors found in these elections from actors acting both from the national level and those of the provincial one, while rejecting the large part of responsibilities on the provincial MPs who compose the electoral college of these ballots.

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1. Introduction

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is, since 2006, a state that operates under the regionalism politically¹, counting, now, twenty-six provinces, rather than eleven, as was the case before. The Constitution provides that these regionalized entities are led by a deliberate body, called "provincial assembly" and an executive body "provincial government", led by a governor and vice-governor to be, both elected on the same electoral list, independent or in a or political party or group. The applicants of the provincial executive must be elected by the provincial MPs, within or outside the provincial assembly, by indirect suffrage, according to the majority mode and the two-round modality².

Once from the transition from eleven to twenty-six provinces, the territorial entity called Tshuapa, which had until the district status, has to put in place its own provincial government by the election of the governor in March 2016 as in all other provinces³. Later, two other elections of the same

type were respectively organized in 2017 to fill the vacuum created by the eviction by motion of the first elected governor, Mr. Cyprien Lomboto Lombonge and in 2019 in the context of the new legislature following the general elections of December 2018.

The provincial MPs, are voters by indirect suffrage by through the representation of the population they assume. To do this, they are supposed to take facts and cause, to reproduce the wills of their constituents. As it can be realized, through this topic, first the problem of the electoral system of the election of the governors, which seems not to directly link the people's disposal to the votes to express by the great voters; then, that of the representation crisis in the context of representative democracy. These themes interested more than one politic author. Some of them served as a starting point and reference of this dissertation.

Philippe Foillard notes that "democratic legitimacy gives parliamentarians a privileged status that imbalances institutional reports in the event that citizens only elect parliamentarians with universal suffrage (direct: SIC!) And these are in turn exchange the authorities of the Executives⁴.

For Benoît Jeanneau, the political characters elected by indirect suffrage are indirectly, but necessarily, the product of direct universal suffrage, as the term "indirect suffrage"

¹Read articles 2, 3 paragraph 1 as well as 203 and 204 of the constitution as amended to date by Law No. 11/002 of January 20, 2011 revising certain articles of the constitution of February 18, 2006 where it is mentioned that the provincial entity enjoys its own legal personality, distinct from that of the central power, and where it is endowed with its own powers and certain others that it shares with the State.

²Article 159 of the Election Law as revised to date.

³The constitution adopted and promulgated in 2006 provides, in its article 2, for twenty-five provinces as well as the City of Kinshasa, which is conferred the status of province to be made operational within thirty-six months. Following its revision in 2011, the same constitution, in its article 226, indicates that a

programming law will have to put in place the practical modalities for the effective implementation of the territorial division required by the above article. evoked. Said division will be carried out late and hastily in 2015.

⁴ Foillard, Ph., *Droit constitutionnel et institutions politiques*, 24^{ème} édition, éd. Bruylant, Coll. Paradigme, 2019, p. 53.

suggests that there is a kind of "chain of wills" sovereign and never interrupted between these elected officials, which makes them all proceed of direct universal suffrage⁵. Jeanneau recognizes indirect suffrage the benefits of moderate and preventing the impurities from spectatively expressing and selecting the capabilities. Also, he said, according to him, in indirect suffrage, avoiding the package and too brutal changes of an opinion said frivolous and without discernment⁶.

For his part, Joseph-Barthélémy worked hard words against this type of suffrage. For him, indirect suffrage is not democratic, since all the voters do not vote. He expresses an elitism, favors the notables that he reflected the aspirations: conservatism in the head⁷. "

In one of his publications, Elie Ngoma-Binda Phambu, offers a new electoral system, designated "Indirect system concentric ascendant (SIAC, Abbreviated) for the DR Congo. He best considers it and capable of highlighting the will of the majority of Congolese citizens. This is a model by which one attempts to promote a community liberal democracy. There is a need to establish the elements by indirect suffrage at all levels, from the village to the central level. All adult people vote three leaders (sorting, power number, the number of members of the village parliament being the size of the population. Provincial parliaments and central power are bicameras, while those levels of power are at one room. The residents of the village elect their parliamentarians and the latter, in turn, designate the three leaders of the executive of the entity. The same thing is done, Mutatis Mutandis, at all other scales⁸. . .

Thierry Cosemans, says the elections of the governors in the D.R. Congo that in several provinces arithmetic appearances have not been translated into the political reality during the 2007 elections. He noted that the results given by the populations at the direct poll to their parties and political groupings have not been taken into account, including by provincial MPs for the elections of governors⁹...

This thesis is confirmed by Gauthier de Villers, reminding the broader victories of the candidates of the Kabila's camp of the Alliance for the Presidential Majority (A.M.P.) by the Assemblies of the majorities of the Bemba's camp Union for the Nation. According to him, "the fact that these votes were unfolded in secret ballots allowed great voters of this indirect ballot to issue another vote that the one they had been able to commit publicly"¹⁰. Villers continued

by saying that "observers agree that the corruption explains, at least for one part, this volt-face"¹¹.

In the same condition and using examples of the provinces of western Kasai, Equator and Maniema, Emmanuel RamazaniShadary Mu Landa says that the governors' elections were tinned with corruption, before pursuing that a number of candidates were passed through provincial governors, even where the majorities were not guaranteed to them, initially thanks to the intervention of central power that, in other things, the elimination of applicants of the competitors of size, the implication of the candidates of the same origins as the main opponent, intimidation and corruption¹².

Jean-Baptiste KiakuMayambaNiangu says that beyond the individual responsibilities of the provincial MPs of the governors' elections, let us put out mistakes of candidate strategies and their MPs. In this context, he asserts that the failure of the candidate Adam Bombole from M.L.C. (Mouvement de Libération du Congo) In 2007, while its political platform "l'union pour la nation" (U.N., abstracted) had a large majority of great voters facing that of André KimbutaYango of the Camp of power, has declined the use of an inappropriate strategy by the party of the opponent Jean-Pierre Bemba. The strategy made mistakes, like, to show authoritarianism, self-satisfaction and the tendency to neglect the allied parties. In such a situation, supports the author, the great voters are not to be considered to have betrayed the confidence of the population, but rather as having sanctioned the one who wanted to betray the confidence to use in favor of his only political training¹³.

For his part, Fabrice Muderhwa claims that the fact that the political authorities of the central power confiscate the free administration of the provinces and, at the very cost, to keep their hands on the functioning of the latter that makes the elections of the governors happen incorrectly, in the negligence of the results desired by the people. He also stresses that, for a good part, the electoral system applied to said elections promotes the brief practices that tend to move from the will of the people. For him, indirect universal suffrage, as appealed so far, plunges provincial institutions in an internal instability situation, in favor of the provincial and national government elite, to the detriment of the people. This observation pushed Muderhwa to draw a conclusion that, if the provincial MPs may no longer elect freely, in soul and consciousness, a useful, competent candidate and able to direct the province to the provincial interest, it is useless to maintain the election of governors at the second degree¹⁴.

For his part, PamphileMabialaMantuba-Ngoma, after showing the limits of the electoral system applied to the election of governors based on the first-time experiences in 2007, proposes that the governors of provinces are elected by direct universal suffrage, through all the electors of the province to confer them a larger legitimacy basis and

⁵Jeanneau, B. quoted by Daugeron, B., "La notion de suffrage universel "indirect", French Review of the History of *des idées politiques*, 2013/2 (n°38).

⁶Daugeron, B., *idem*.

⁷*Ibidem*

⁸Ngoma-Binda, E., "« Démocratie et enjeux électoraux en période post-conflit : le SIAC comme système approprié pour la République Démocratique du Congo ", *Les élections libres, démocratiques et transparentes en RDC : menaces ou opportunités*, ed. F.K.A., Kinshasa, 2005, pp. 61 - 84.

⁹Cosemans, Th *Radioscopie des urnes congolaises. Une étude originale des élections en RDC*, ed. The Harmattan, Paris, 2008.

¹⁰De Villers, G., *République Démocratique du Congo. De la guerre aux élections: l'ascension de Joseph Kabila et la naissance de la Troisième République (janvier 2001 – août 2008)*, ed. Le Harmattan, Paris, 2009, p. 408.

¹¹*Ibidem*

¹²RamazaniShadary, E., *Les institutions provinciales face au défi du développement de la RDC*, ed. The Harmattan, 2018.

¹³KiakuMayambaNiangi, J.-B., *The first steps of the provincial assemblies in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Case of the City of Kinshasa (A.P.K.)*, Kinshasa, 2008.

¹⁴Muderwa Mariano, F., *Instabilité politique dans les institutions provinciales au Sud-Kivu : origines, acteurs et conséquences*, Mémoire, D.E.S. in political and administrative sciences, unpublished, FSSAP, Unikin, 2015

"preventing elected officials coming from the corruption of a small number of provincial MPs."¹⁵.

Almost in the same lineage as Mabiala, the synergy of citizenship observation missions in D.R. Congo (SYMOCEL) did not fail to claim the change in the ballot of the governors in one of his statements dating from 26th March 2016¹⁶.

Pascal MukondeMusulay stresses that, under the perspective of the right of political representation, the nature of the link between the holders of the power of that ruled population and their representatives, the rulers, remains paradoxical, so that it is important to ask the question of whether supreme power (sovereignty) belongs to each elector (sovereignty) or the sole numerous sovereignty (and so which of the two entities is represented. It reveals that in Africa they must put together both political representation modalities. This is the first that involves ethnic institutions, taken among African democratic culture and the second that must only operate the institutions of the modern state which, they are taken from the Western Democratic culture¹⁷.

To her, Myriam Revault d'Allonnes says, it is currently observed a crisis of representative democracy or crisis of the representation (in short). It is noted firstly by institutional dysfunction, where there is failing in the functioning of institutionalized forms that would have become inadequate, insufficiently operating, or even inoperative. Accordingly, the democracies introduced here and there became simple oligarchies dominated by small groups of "powerful"¹⁸. The author advances, moreover, there is also deficit of legitimacy, that is, deficit of the beliefs and consent required for the correct exercise of the representative principle. It also notices the impotence of political representatives, since citizens are no longer recognizing their actions¹⁹.

Loïc Blondiaux says that the representation gives two faces to the one who ensures it. Indeed, the representative embodies the representative, at the same time he acts in his place. He follows, he noticed, this paradox by which the representative brings him represented in the existence in the same movement where he retracts and takes his place. In this relationship between representative and represented, there is a major issue, that of the risk for the representative of being made of the representative. According to him, the treason appears, either when the representative no longer look like the representatives, when the representative no longer translates the wills of the representatives.²⁰

¹⁵Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma, P., *Les élections dans l'histoire politique de la République Démocratique du Congo* (1957 – 2011), ed. FKA, Kinshasa, 2013.

¹⁶SYMOCEL, "Preliminary declaration relating to the election of governors and vice-governors of new provinces of March 26, 2016", *Revue congolaise d'analyse des politiques et pratiques électorales*, Spécialeditions, 2017, annexes, pp. 197 – 204.

¹⁷ Idem

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¹⁹Revault d'Allonnes, M., " Les paradoxes de la représentation politique " [online] at <https://www.cairn.info/revue-etudes-2013-12-page-629.htm>.

²⁰Blondiaux, L., "Political representation", *Encyclopaedia universalis* [online], URL: <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedia/representation-politique/>, consulted on April 09, 2021.

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Gerhard Göhler suggests to mix the principles of representative democracy, which supports the "free mandate" with some elements of democracy from the base and the direct democracy, which supports the "imperative mandate". For him, it is necessary to avoid the imperative mandate, in the sense of a permanent dependence of the members of the directives of their constituents, in order to prevent the agents to apply a particularist policy, that only in the service of the interests of the holders of the power.²¹

In one of his scientific works, Professor Adrien Mulumbati Ngasha mentions that in the Democratic Republic Of The Congo, the concept of representation of the people was poorly understood by both the rulers and by the rulers and, so he was generated the representation crisis. According to him, this situation can be explained by the fact that, for their part, political representatives did not do any longer what their voters wanted from them. They did not act and nor speak in the interest of whom they were representatives. For their part, governments sometimes had partly regardless of the instructions and directives of their representatives. As a result, continues, political representatives have become less strong than representatives of other areas such as religious, cultural, economic and customary representatives²².

For Pamphile Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma, the provincial assemblies of the D.R. Congo play an insignificant role as peer representation and control of government action, since they are composed of MPs who depend on governors. They are more businessmen than concerned about their people. Many MPs, he says, do not fully do not represent their mission of representation, because they do not speak and do not understand problems that the people face and are unable to defend them²³.

The various works cited above did not study the elections of the governors primarily or the quality of political representation provided by provincial MPs. Indeed, they focused on other objects of study, to throw only an accessory and stealthy look on the question that interests ours. Moreover, this work did not put in the process to measure the extent of the crisis of representation and legitimacy of the power of the people's representatives in provinces from the perceptions of the represented ones. This is the place where the most significant feature of our study is in relation to these others.

The observation around these elections in which took part the provincial MPs as politically representatives and great voters is that most of the results from these elections did not satisfy the population who did not miss to denounce them, accusing them to have been inadequate with their expectations. It can be convinced by means of the memorandums, broadcasting programs and the remedies of challenges introduced from the Mbandaka Court of Appeal that served as an administrative court of appeal. These actions meaning the inadequacy between the results of the elections

²¹Göhler, G., "Political representation in democracy", Trivium [online], 16/2014. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/trivium/4803>; DOI: <https://doi.org/trivium.4803>.

²²Mulumbati, A., "Aperçu historique de la pratique électorale en République Démocratique du Congo depuis son accession à l'indépendance", *Journal of African Elections*, Vol. 2, no. 1.

²³Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma, P., op. cit.

of the governors and vice-governors of TSHUAPA have come from different categories of people.

Thus the previous studies mentioned above do not deepen the analysis to detect the causes of the inadequacy between the results of the votes produced by the major voter representatives and the expectations of primary voters, we thought it is necessary to question a category of these primary voters that have been appeared more active in the both comps of actors in competition to highlight the conclusions able to bring to propositions which can make close the results of the elections under analysis.

This paper aims at answering the following questions:

- How were the expectations of the students of universities and high institutes of Tshuapa about each of the elections of governors and vice-governors of their province, held in 2016, 2017 and 2019?
- What judgments these students have made about the results of these elections and of those provincial MPs who have taken part as of great voters of the electoral system?
- What do they think about the electoral system in force, applied to these elections?

Before the verification by the appropriate instruments, we believe that the expectations of the studentships of the Tshuapa, in their large majority, would not have obtained a sufficient level of satisfaction from the provincial MPs whose results of the votes are deemed in inadequate with the will of the people. Also we believe that these are not all the results of all the votes of the governors organized in the province of the Tshuapa that have been messed with inadequacy according to the expectations of the population, because there would be one or some of which the results would comply with these expectations, at least those of the majority of investigations.

We also believe that students of the Tshuapa would have negative judgments toward the electoral system applied to these elections, as well as results that have taken and great voters who took part. To do this, they would like the electoral college of governors and vice-governors to be composed of a larger numbers than the compositions of the provincial assemblies since the beginning of the third republic.

In the area, the interest of this work is a lot. Indeed, it focuses on an important topic about news, because recently, the political life of the D.R. Congo vibrated with the elections of governors and vice-governors in fourteen provinces on the twenty-six and that it is difficult to spend one year without observing it. Also, this study is a material of several scientific disciplines and its outcome to a model that can be both a multidisciplinary contribution and a reference, even though minimal, for the consolidation efforts of democracy and institutional stability in the provinces of this great country, the guarantee of the success of regionalism put in place.

2. Legal Framework of the Elections of Governors of Provinces

Like all elections, that of provincial governors is already listed in the constitution of February 18th in force, 2006, and as amended today, then materialized by the electoral law of 9th March 2006 as amended in 2007. And the Organic Act respecting the fundamental principles of the provinces in DR Congo of July 31st, 2008 as amended in 2013.

The governor and vice-governors can take place, in legal context in D.R.Congo, either in the regular way, at the beginning of a legislature that intervenes after the elections of the provincial MPs; or after the ejection of the governor or all of his provincial government by a motion of mistrust or censure; or following the revocation of the governor for

serious and persistent crisis that would threaten to interrupt the regular operation of provincial institutions²⁴.

The Constitution provides that the governor and the vice-governor are elected for a five-year term renewable once again by provincial MPs inside or outside of the provincial assembly²⁵ and that they are invested by the president of the Republic in the fifteen days after their election²⁶. In the latter case, as well as in deaths, resignation, final impediment, a new election of governor and vice-governor must be organized by the CENI within thirty days following the notification of the Minister of the Government, having internal affairs under his power²⁷.

After this quick overturning on the legal prescriptions around the elections of the governors in the D.R.Congo on the base of the legislation in force since the advent of the third Republic, it is better to show their evolutions and results, which attract our attention, in the province of Tshuapa, geographic area of this study.

3. Working Methodology

3.1. The approach

Considering the hypothesis provided, we opted for the sociological approach. This choice is also justified by the nature of the subject itself which, on the one hand, is cited a queen reality - the election - consisting of subsystems and several elements (the texts, structures: political parties, the CENI, the voters, the candidates ...) in the constraint of remaining in balance, acting in interaction between them.

This approach has allowed to report, beyond the laws texts, the real progress of campaigns and voting operations as well as mechanisms that the actors put in place to win or to make other win under the influence of the socio-political, economic and cultural environment. The sociological approach has allowed fundamentally to answer questions: "HOW AND WHY?"

3.2. Methods

Taking into account the nature of the research subject, we opted for the use of two methods, namely the systemic as a main method, supported by the second one, the strategic method. The use of these two methods was dictated by the fact that it appeared that the observed facts are the products of a double influence on one side, by the action of the system and its environment on individuals and, on the other, by those of individuals on the system. In the face of a situation, we used this consideration of Crozier and Friedberg for whom, "if we want to understand the joints between the players and the concrete action system, two modes of reasoning must be given: strategic reasoning and systemic reasoning"²⁸.

As we can be convinced of it, the systemic method - which is considered the main one in the context of this study - the share of the system and the environment to examine and explain the malfunction that would be born of the absence and failure of one of the elements of the system. Under this perspective, the behaviors of individuals are taken into

²⁴Article 198 para. 10 of Law No. 11/002 of January 20, 2011 revising certain articles of the constitution of the DR Congo

²⁵Article 198 para. 2 of Law No. 11/002 of January 20, 2011 revising certain articles of the constitution of the DR Congo

²⁶Article 80 of Law No. 11/002 of January 20, 2011 revising certain articles of the constitution of the DR Congo

²⁷Article 160 of Law No. 17/013 amending and supplementing Law No. 06/006 of March 9, 2006 on the organization of elections...

²⁸ Crozier, M. et Friedberg, E., *op.cit.*, p. 34.

account only as arising from the effects of the system. However, it is admitted that individuals can influence and make changes, or even malfunctions to the system from their behaviors as starting points.

3.2.1. The systemic method

The systemic method, more specifically the model proposed by David Easton, was chosen to allow this research to achieve its assignments. This model has measured the actual capacity of the Congolese State (province) to be a real catalyst for the promotion of democracy in a rule of law; and this, taking into account the means put in place and various other influences from its political and social environment. In the environment in question, multiple claims have been recorded: the denunciation of voter corruption during electoral campaigns, the non-accounting of the general interest or the willingness to the constituents and by the elected officials (governors and vice-governors). In addition, in the group of great voters and elected, a political subculture (attitudes or behaviors of these actors justified by their hidden agendas) predisposes them to corrupt or to be corrupted (internal or input data).

These entree and internal data end up with vote results with the inadequacy to the wills of the population and in violation of the relevant legal texts (output). And by feedback, empirical data reveal the occurrence of the representative crisis with respect to provincial MPs and the exacerbation of the crisis of legitimacy of the elected leaders of the population.

3.2.2. The strategic method

This second method, strategic method analysis, goes from actors to discover the system. It attempts to highlight the order that emanates from the system. Thus, the integration of the conduits is performed in a structured set and eventually develop concrete action systems that generate global malfunctions. Provincial MPs, direct voters or "great voters", in principle required to follow the directions indicated by the legal provisions and the populations of their circumscriptions, would have acted following their own preferences, guided by the personal interests or groups, making the manifestation of some selfishness, justifiable or not. To do this, they would serve the resources available to them and their positions that provide them with some benefits.

3.3. Techniques used

To Support approaches and methods, we conducted our research on field by using the techniques, in order to collect the data to treat them, in order to achieve the explanation and the proposed solutions.

3.3.1. Documentary Technique

This technique has been used by the consultation of the results files, the proceedings of the elections and the communiqués established and published by the Independent National Independent Commission, as well as the request for the outcome of the result of the election of the governors and the vice-governors of Tshuapa held in 2017 and the decision made on this subject by the Court of Appeal that served as an administrative court of appeal. It was issue of the memorandums and the sound elements recorded during different denunciations made after each election of the governors and vice-governors who were held under the period of study.

3.3.2. Direct research observation disengaged and participative observation

Having been present ourselves in the place during votes from two first elections - those of 2016 and 2017 - as a simple scientist interested in election issues, we were able to use our sense organs and note the facts and actions that are

happening. Arrived in 2018, we were personally elected provincial MP and, as such, we were able to take part in the vote of the governor candidates during the election of 2019.

3.3.3. Investigation by questions

The investigation technique by questions was used on population of inquiry, in order to obtain their opinions on the different aspects of the problems studied and the data of the indicators. We have developed a questionnaire to which ninety-six students in the sample have been submitted.

The items contained five questions to report on the notices of the respondents on the occurrence of inadequacy, the choice of governor that everyone could have done if he was MP to each of the voting moments there were, the facts or other variables that would have influenced the votes expressed by the great voters.

3.3.4. Release and expression of data in percentages, frequencies and averages

For data processing, it seemed necessary to express the results per frequencies translated into percentages and averages.

This is the process of quantifying frequencies obtained around different categories and translate them into percentages. To do this, the following formula has been applied:

$$\% = \frac{f}{N} \times 100$$

3.4. Sampling

3.4.1. Population targeted

We wanted to build a sufficiently representative sample following the probabilistic process using resolution laminate sample. To do this, constitute in strata, the seven higher and academic institutions operating in the province of Tshuapa where we were to find students to question²⁹.

We targeted students from different higher education and university education institutions at least 24 years old. The individuals fulfilling this criterion have been identified in number 1,143. Indeed, the Congolese law on elections fixes the minimum age to be electors at least 18 years³⁰. This implicitly means that the legislator believes that this is the Congolese citizen is able to form a will, better, an opinion or an election choice. According to the fact that the first election of the governors and vice-governors of province took place in 2016, we thought that one must question only those who, at that time, could also take part in a political election or to form freely a choice in accordance with the prescriptions of the law related to them. It seems today that people who are at least 24 years that fulfill this condition. That is why we are interested only in them.

The table below mentions the institutions of higher education which constitute the strata of this study, their location, the number of students over 24 years serving as a targeted population, as well as the ventilation of investigated by each of these strata.

²⁹For the list of these establishments, see the table, below, pp. 7 – 8.

³⁰Article 5 point 2 of Law n° 006/06 of March 09 as modified and supplemented to date by Law n° 17/013 of December 24, 2017.

3.4.2. Size of sample

The size of our sample was drawn by the application of Formula³¹:

$$n = \frac{z^2(p \times q)}{\alpha^2}$$

With:

- n = Size of the sample
- p = proportion or probability of an earlier investigation of the subjects carrying the same characteristic as one seeks to estimate. Not having regard to the existence of a similar study in the past, we took into account the conventional value of p in such a situation that is 0.50.
- q = probability of failure. We also know that Q = (1 - p).
- Z = value associated with the degree of confidence of

information that is obtained by: $1 - \left(\frac{\alpha}{2}\right)$ that we find on the table of the normal centered natural law.

- α = the accuracy.

The calculations in application give q = 1 - 0.50, so: 0.50; p = 0.50; z = 1.96; α = 0.10. Thus, the size of the sample is: $n = \frac{z^2(p \times q)}{\alpha^2}$; meaning: $n = \frac{1.96^2(0.50 \times 0.50)}{0.10^2}$, the final result of this calculation gives 96 individuals to interrogate.

However, the targeted population which is 1.113 students at least 24 years old and the size of the sample which is 96, we wanted to ensure the ventilation, in order to obtain the size

of the sample strata by applying the formula: $n_h = n \times \frac{N_h}{N}$ This

leads to the operation: $n_h = 96 \times \frac{N_h}{N}$ which, in turn, produces the following results:

1. UNITECT = 16	2. UNIK = 20	3. ISTM Boende = 15
4. I.S.C. Boende = 19	5. ISEA Boende = 04	6. ISTMIK = 04
7. I.S.P. Boende = 18.		

3.4.3. Distribution of investigated people according to their sex

It follows from this chart that 81 surveyed, or 84.38% are male and 15 of them, or 15.63% are female.

3.4.4. Distribution of investigated people according to level of education

According to this table that 11.7% of students are in UNDERGRADE1; 42.7% in UNDERGRADE2; 18.8% in UNDERGRADE3. Also, 11.5% are in GRADE1 and 8.4% of them are in GRADE2.

4. Results

Under this point, we present the results of the survey and make it a succinct analysis. To do this, it will be made a presentation by taking up each question as it was posed and the various reactions of the respondents. However, the scores obtained by each candidate are described in the pre-duties at each year of the votes that took place during the study period.

4.1 Results of the elections of Governors and Vice-Governors by the votes of the provincial MPs

As mentioned above, the period of study of this work covers three ballot curtains which are respectively in March 2016, 2017 and April 2019. The 2017 was held on two rounds, because of the fact that no challenges could not achieve the absolute majority of votes in the first round as required by the law in this area. The two others have sold themselves in the first round. Below, the candidates and results of these various

balls such as products by the votes expressed by the 18 provincial MPs of the Election College.

4.1.1. The results of the elections in 2016

According to this table, 17 provincial MPs out of the 18 that compose this assembly, or 94.44% voted for the Candidate Lomboto Lombonge Cyprien; while a single elector, equivalent of 5.56% of votes, voted for the candidate Boto Bo-Longomba Papy. Therefore, the candidate Lomboto was elected in the first round.

Reaching the fact that the candidate Lomboto released all the ease of the first round with an overwhelming majority of more than 94% while it belonged to the party in power that had not a majority as comfortable of the members of the election college, it is clear that the almost all the MPs of the opposition of this Assembly had given their voices, rather than the candidate Boto Bo-Longomba who, although independent candidate, could appear as the only alternative. This is no more than not the non-compliance with the political line that cannot be explained by the corruption that made it possible to purchase the conscience of those who had to logically manifest themselves in favor of the competitor of the party in power. Moreover, the fact that the loser had to face an opponent who was at the same time leader in the provincial executive put the latter in an advantageous position.

4.1.2. Results of the elections in 2017

The ballots of 2017 was held in August in two rounds, since many of these candidates in the race had managed to achieve the absolute majority of the vote. The results of these two rounds are as follows:

4.1.3. Results of the first round

In accordance with the legal provisions in force, the candidate Ngayo Likinda Ghislain who had 04 votes, 22.22% face the two other candidates who had respectively 08 and 06 voices, was eliminated in the first round. As a result, the candidates Boango Nkoy Pancrace and Booto Bo-Longomba Papy have remained at the race for the second round. The table below gives the summary of the results of each of the candidates in the second round.

4.1.3.1. Results of the second round

Table shows that the candidate Boto Bo-Longomba Papy, stayed at the race in the second round, has not changed his score of the previous round, while his competitor Boango Nkoy Pancrace improved his score with an increase that corresponds to the same number of the votes obtained by the loser of the first round, the candidate Ngayo Likinda Ghislain.

4.1.4 Results of the elections in 2019

In 2019, there was a change in the legislature, both at national and the provincial level. Following this state of the facts, new provincial MPs have just been elected during the elections of 30th December, 2018 whose results were proclaimed on 10th January, 2019. Consecutively, a new provincial executive, there was a new governor of province at its head.

The elections of governors and Vice Governors of 2019 sees the candidates of the last elections come back in the race. The new thing in the situation lies in the fact that one of the governor candidates, Boto Bo-Longomba Papy, was now among the 18 major voters for having been elected provincial MP in Boende's electoral district.

This chart shows that 15 provincial MPs of the 18 that compose the Provincial Assembly of the Tshuapa, a little more than 83% of them have thrown them on the Boango Nkoy Pancrace candidate, while only 03, about 15%, have reserved their votes to his challenge, the candidate Booto Bo-Longomba Papy included.

³¹Mukandila Mukondo, J., Indications on survey theories and practices, ed. Noraf, Kinshasa, 2011, p. 38.

4.2 The governors expected by investigated people for each election

To know what candidate the entire population of the Tshuapa, in general and, particularly the student, wish to see become governor of this province at the end of each election that had been organized for this purpose, the following question was asked to people:

"If you were a provincial MP, for what provincial candidate would you have voted: a) in 2016? b) in 2017? c) in 2019?"

To this question, the responses provided by the respondents provided the following results that we put in the chart below.

4.2.1. The candidate that population questioned expected to see as governor in 2006

According to this chart, in their vast majority, 69 questioned, equivalent to 71.88% were expected to see as provincial governor, the candidate Cyprien Lomboto, while 22.92% wanted Booto Bo-Longomba to this position and 5, 20% of others wanted others who were not official candidates. This is the place to emphasize that many people in this last position referred to DjoliEseng'Ekeli Jacques whose application was not retained.

4.2.2. The provincial governor expected by questioned people in the election of 2017

The election of 2017 was held at two rounds, since none of the three candidates in competition had achieved the absolute majority of the voices as required by the provisions of Article 170 (2) of the Act to organize the presidential, legislative, provincial, urban, municipal and local promulgated in 2006 as amended and complemented by law No 17/013 of 24th December, 2017.

In the first round of this election, questioned people wanted at 39.58% (38 out of 96 of them) that Booto Bo-Longomba Papy, His governor of province and 29.17% agreed that this was for the purpose of this is for NGAYO LIKINDA GHISLAIN. Meanwhile, only 19.80% of these surveys agreed in favor of Boango Nkoy Pancrace, while 11.45% (11/0d) had devoted them on other personalities, which unfortunately had not been candidates.

This is due to the evidence that the averages of the respondents surveyed around the candidates wanted governors in 2017 were respectively 52.09% for Booto Bo-Longomba Papy and 27.61% for Boango Nkoy Pancrace.

4.2.3. The Provincial governor expected by the questioned people at the end of the votes of 2019

The results of the survey in this table show that in 2019, 79 questioned people (82.29%) expected that Booto Bo-Longomba Papy become governor of the new legislature against only 15 of them (15.63%) which held in Boango Nkoy Pancrace and 02 (or 2.08%) for others other than these two candidates selected.

4.3 Opinions of the questioned people on the results of the votes expressed by the provincial MPs

To collect the students' opinions on the Tshuapa province around the results of the elections of governors and vice-governors produced from the votes expressed by the provincial MPs who are the great voters according to the terms of the law in force, we submitted them to a question as follows: "According to you, do the results of the governors' elections below have been reflex the expectations of a lot of people? » In a chart, we mentioned the various assertions relating to each election concerned and each result of the winner to be expressed by yes or no, to assert or infirm the correspondence between the scores made by the winners and the expectations of the population.

we know how to see through the data in the table above, that, in relation to the election of 2016, 58 students mentioned on the 96, or 60.42% are of the opinion that the result by which the candidate Lomboto Cyprien has been winner opposed to Papy Booto in adequacy with the expectations of the population. For the episode of 2017, only 27 people surveyed, or 30,21% confirm it in adequacy with the will of the population, while for 67 of them, 69.79%, the result by which the candidate Boongo was proclaimed winner by 12 votes to 6 in the second round is inappropriate to the one in which the population expected. In fine, the averages and unobstructed from the results of the survey on the entire polls indicate that 64.93% of the respondents are convinced that the results given by the votes of the provincial MPs in the elections of the governors and vice-governors from 2016 to 2019 were in intention with the expectations of the population, while 35.07% think the opposite, meaning, these results have been in adequacy.

4.4 Facts influencing the votes of MPs according to the questioned people

Concerning the causes and factors that affected the votes in the inadequate with the expectations of the population was the subject of a question asked to students in these terms: "According to you, the votes of the provincial governors by the provincial MPshave been influenced much more by: a) corruption, b) the population's will, c) pression from the political hierarchies on government members, d) family and tribal links, e) others: (to precise).

These results show for the elections on 2016, From the 49 students interviewed, or 51.04% argue that, the corruption has influenced the votes of the provincial MPs, followed by the depression of their official political membership, 28 or 29%. The use of tribalism comes in third position with invested or 13.54%; while the "assert" the wills of the population "and" other reasons "appeared neglected, since sincerely recognized, one and the others, as reference elements of the great voters only by 03 invested or 3.13% each.

In the 2017 electoral episode, the investigations consider that they are, always and in the same order, corruption with the plebiscite of 58 respondents, or 60.42%, followed by political pressures by 21 students, 21.88% and tribal links according to the opinions of 11 students questioned or 11.46%. For all these questioned students, it is always the corruption that kept its prepaid and determined place of provincial MPs in their 2019 election choices. They are 65 respondents, equivalent to 67.71% of their group confirmed. In second position, unlike the previous elections of 2016 and 2019, these surveys rank tribalism to the number of 13 among them, or 13, 54%. Then, they are 12, or 12.50% to evoke the pressures of political hierarchies as one of the causes that lead to the inadequacies examined. Finally, only 04 of these investigated people claim that provincial MPs have been used for the expectations of the population to express them and translate them into votes when the elections of governors and vice-governors took place in 2019.

The Averages based on the responses of the respondents indicate that 59.72% are convinced and declare that it is corruption that dominated all the elements above. They are 21, 17%, on average, to say that political pressures have also helped to determine the votes of these great voters, while 12.85% evoke tribalism for this balance and 4.18% confirm the desire for the population being taken as reference point for the provincial MPs for these elections.

4.5 Students' judgment about the election system of the elections of governors in force

In order to detect the points of view of students from the Universities and higher institutes of the Tshuapa province on the type of suffrage, the number of voting, the modalities of vote, the Electoral College and the criteria to be fulfilled to be a governor or vice-governor, some questions were asked. The first was looking for whether the questioned people preferred to maintain the indirect suffrage or wish to go through direct vote. The second, still in an alternative form, wanted to know if, of their opinions, in the event that they would optimize the maintenance of indirect suffrage, they would like to leave the electoral collection made up of the provincial MPs only or see the additions of other social categories. Finally, the last question was of an open-plan and solicited a concrete proposal on the possible enlargement of the electoral body of the governors and vice-governors of provinces to those who operated this choice.

4.5.1. Around the alternative on indirect suffrage

About the question whether the election of the governors and the vice-governors must be maintained to indirect suffrage or should change into direct suffrage, 53, or 52.29% of students questioned agreed to the indirect suffrage, while 43 among them, or 47.80% prefer direct suffrage.

4.5.2. Opinions on eventual expansion of electoral college

The question of whether or not indirect suffrage is expected to be maintained, one more question was asked if they should maintain the Electoral College of the governors and vice governors only to provincial MPs or it can be expanded to other categories of people.

It is clear that 20, 76% of interviewed people agreed to maintain the indirect suffrage for the election of the governors and the vice-governors. They also agreed to the fact that the provincial MPs must remain the only voters. However, 79.24% of, a large majority of more than three quarters, prefer that, even if the election of the governors would remain by indirect suffrage, that its electoral college, while having provincial MPs, such as voters, can also include many other people from different categories.

5. Discussion and Interpretation

Diverse results that have been reached by the exam of the responses contained in the items mentioned in the above questionnaire deserve the interpretations and verifications of their veracity and coherence. In this regard, we will try to proceed with the comparison between the various results out of the votes of the provincial MPs with the expectations of the populations on the candidates they wanted to become a governors of province as a result of each election that had held, as it is apparent from their answers to the question asked about it. It will also be question of examining the evolution to know if it is progressive or regressive. Similarly, a look will be laid on the rates and factors favoring inadequate to identify the most significant for each ballot and consequences.

5.1 The relation between the expectations of students and results provided by provincial MPs

As confirmed in the introduction of the present work, agreed by the results of the survey, the relationship between the expectations of the students, which are part of the groups of non-influential population, do not have been in consideration by the great voters of the provincial MPs, whereas they are supposed to use them as representative of direct voters.

The problem may be discussed by these great voters to clearly benefit from such expectations in such a short time, which since these expectations are part of the state of public opinion which, by nature, is instant and therefore, can

substantially vary from one time to another. However, as a plan that sites close to the populations at the base, unlike national elected officials, it goes without saying that they are at any way, if not to accurately release the proportions of demonstration of these expectations, at least in identifying trends in record time.

About the content to these students' expectations, they can find some plausible explanations. Indeed, the first election of the series had opposed the candidates Cyprien Lomboto to Papy Booto. The first introduced himself as a former guard of the former head of the state, the Marshal Mobutu, then carrying a degree from the second cycle of the University in Political and Administrative Sciences, former worker at the National Company of railway that would have seriously equal every lathers to the rank of director. For his part, his challenge is also a grade of BAC + 5 in psychology, but businessmen without professional nor politics experience, proven. Examining carefully these two identities, students can have objectively granted greater mark to the candidate Lomboto and bring their support to him, instead of Booto.

However, for the second election - that of 2017 - the preference of students for the unfortunate candidate of the previous one may justify by the fact that the candidate Boongo who had just emerged from the central government whose program says the "revolution of modernity", preceded by the "five construction sites", had no trace in the Tshuapa. It is the speech that was held against and that of the influential members of the camp of the power that came to support his application. Once again in 2019, the fact that his own mandate at the head of the province since 2017 had not had a profitable achievements to the population played negatively on the inhabitants of this province, including the students of the institutions that operate, with the opposing of his opponent.

It is really regrettable, however, to see that it is corruption and the orders of the higher political hierarchies as predominant among the causes and factors that guided the votes of the members and influenced the results if discordant with those expected by the study population. It shows that the race for personal benefits and groups prevailed on the population point of view. Thus, the development problems that are all of them and must be the leitmotiv of the action of the powers are relegated to a negligible place in the scale of the values of political operators of the Province of Tshuapa. In this regard, Hanna F. Pitkin and Samuel Hayat claim that it is to act in the interest of the representatives in an answering way and that, to do this, the representative must use the wisdom and judgment, at the same time as independence. Recognizing that such an attitude can generate a conflict between representatives and represented, they claim that this conflict must normally have to take place. The representative must act so that there is no conflict and that, if there is one, an explanation is necessary. In fact, the representative must not disagree with the wishes of the representatives without a good reason based on their interest³².

5.2 Look at the legal framework of the elections the governors and vice-government governors

To numerous factors and causes of the results of disclosure elections with the expectations of the populations,

³²Pitkin, H. and Hayat, S., "Political representation", *Raisons politiques*, 2013/2 (No. 50), pp. 35 - 51, on <https://www.cairn.info-revue-raisons-politiques-2013-2-page-35.htm>, posted on June 27, 2013, consulted on August 7, 2019.

in general, and students, in particular, it is necessary to mention the proposed legislation in the right place, which orders, which are not all of all, to promote the desirable adequacy of the vote of the provincial MPs with what the voters wanted. Also, more serious than this, the prescriptions of the electoral law in force on the issue of governors' elections are largely open the possibility to corruption.

Indeed, Article 198 of the Constitution (amended by Article 1 of Law No. 11/002 of 20th January 2011 to revision of certain articles of the constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo), combined in Article 23 of the Law on Free Administration of Provinces and Article 159 of the Electoral Law are repeated: "The provincial government is composed of a governor, a vice-governor and provincial ministers. The governor and the vice-governor are elected for a five-year term renewable once by provincial MPs within or outside the provincial assembly. They are invested by order of the President of the Republic ". These provisions have the merit of setting the term expressly and the number of governor's mandate and vice-governor as well as the type of poll, including the Electoral College. In other words, this is an election by universal indirect suffrage and restricted, as far as its electoral body is consistently individuals with the quality of the provincial MPs.

Should we emphasize that none of the provincial assemblies of the DRC is attracting fifty members? It is not important to say that the low digital composition of these election colleges devoted by the legislation in the field, makes the election of the governors and vice-governors to corruption, as a governor candidate can easily corrupt the majority, or even the whole provincial MPs of a provincial assembly, especially since the issues and assets of the function are of indemonstrable importance, both in the political and financial positions.

5.3. Consequences of inadequacy of voting results with the expectations

5.3.1. Legitimacy crisis

There is a number of incidences from the non-observance of people's expectations, including students. These include the confidence crisis on their part toward the provincial institutions and their facilitators, especially for those in place as a result of two and 2015 elections. In clear, it is, as qualifies Jean Otemikongo, an 'erosion of legitimacy', whose problem failed to be resolved by the elections of the third Republic which, from an electoral cycle to another, improved the crisis of legitimacy in the country; adding the electoral and democratic crisis³³.

Practically in the province of Tshuapa, the majority of students do not believe do not trust the politics institution and they quit step by step, the authorities that animate them. They were more likely to fill the streets during the contested marches in order to claim the departure of governor Boango in 2019 and 2020.

5.3.2. The decline in the voting mode (Governing system) of Governors and Vice-Governors

Because of it easy accommodation for corruption and results of votes that have done, the current system of the election of governors and vice-governors of provinces is not well appreciated by the majority of students, as well as other

groups of populations likely. At the extreme, a request to make this election for direct vote is made, in the order to make it escape from the immorality of purchasing votes and the unjustified enrichment of the provincial MPs.

6. Conclusion

From 2016 to 2019, the elections of governors and vice-governors of provinces were organized three times in the province of Tshuapa. Students of higher institutes and universities that operate in this province who are at least 24 years old were expecting the victory of a candidate they thought they were the most appropriate. However, twice in three, the proclaimed results gave for winner of somebody else than the one they were expecting in majority. According to them, the provincial MPs who are their representatives and great voters of these ballot did not act according to the expectations of the constituents, preferring to make their own will and drawn those elections for themselves and for other political authorities and personalities of the national level.

Consequently, students who belong to other categories and groups of people as primary voters, have lost confidence in the provincial institutions and in majority, in supporting their facilitators. It generate the crises of legitimacy, election and democracy.

Thus, it is revealed that one of the key factors at the base of the regretted situation is contained in the small number of people that compose the electoral body of the governors, exposing them to corruption and, on the results not in conformity with the expectations of the representatives.

Does not it need to expand the electoral body by associating, for example, counselors of urban, municipal, sector or chiefdom, as well as the traditional authorities of each province to the election of the governor and vice-governors? This formula would, we think, not only to expand the electoral body, in order to increase the legitimacy of the leader of the provincial executive, and his MPs, but also to reduce the proportion of corruption of these elections, to promote electoral competitiveness and possibly meet the expectation of the population, at the same time as it would be aim both at efficiency and efficiency by leading credible, transparent and less expensive elections than if the direct suffrage is adopted. In the end of the proposal, the proposal may be in line with the effective implementation of territorial decentralization, regularly organizing elections in the level of decentralized local entities, for the purpose (additional) to identify the voters of governors and vice-governors. This will become a sine qua non condition and will help the country avoid electoral backlog as well as the Top-Down approach, by which the facilitators of national and provincial institutions are made to in accordance with laws and those of the local level in flagrant violation of these last.³⁴

³³Otemikongo, J., Elections and political change in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Six lost decades for development, ed. L'Harmattan, Paris, 2021, p. 318.

³⁴Article 3 of the constitution establishes and confers management autonomy on decentralized territorial entities and article 220 prohibits any constitutional revision that would aim to reduce their prerogatives. In principle, through the free administration and management autonomy conferred on them, they must be managed by elected authorities. However, this has been realized, nor contemplated, up to the time of this article

Table 1. The institutions of higher education which constitute the strata of this study

N°	Institutions	Place of implantation	Network (statue)	Effective of students under 24 years	%	Number investigated people by stratum
01	TechnicalUniversity of Tshuapa (UNITECT)	Boende city	Public	187	16,80	16
02	University of Ikela (UNIK)	Ikela, chieftown of the Territory	Public	231	20,75	20
03	High Institute of medical Technics of Boende (ISTM Boende)	Boende, chieftownof the Province	Privé	177	15,90	15
04	High Institute of commerce of Boende (I.S.C. Boende)	Boende, chieftownof the Province	Public	221	19,85	19
05	High Institute of Agronomic Studies (ISEA Boende)	Boende, chieftownof the Province	Privé	47	4,22	4
06	High Institute of medical Technics of Ikela (ISTMIK)	Ikela, chieftownof the Territory	Privé	43	3,87	4
07	Teaching Training College of Boende (I.S.P. Boende)	Boende, chieftownof the Province	Public	207	18,60	18
Total				1 113	100,00	96

Table 2. Distribution of investigated people according to their sex

Sex	F	%
Male	81	84,38
Female	15	15,63
Total	96	100,00

Table 3. Distribution of investigated people according to level of education

Promotion	F	%
UNDERGRADE 1	17	17,71
UNDERGRADE 2	41	42,71
UNDERGRADE 3	18	18,75
GRADE1	11	11,46
GRADE2	09	9,38
Total	96	100,00

Table 4. The results of the elections in2016

N°	Candidate	Number of thevotes won	%	Results
01	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	01	5,56	Eliminated
02	Lomboto Lombonge Cyprien	17	94,44	Elected since the first round
Total		18	100,00	

Table 5. Results of the first round

N°	Candidate	Voice won	%	Observation
01	NgayoLikinda Ghislain	04	22,22	Eliminated from the first round
02	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	06	33,33	maintained for the second round
03	Boongo Nkoy Pancrace	08	44,44	maintained for the second round
Total		18	100,00	

Table 6. Results of the second Round

N°	Candidate	Votes Won	%	Observation
01	Booto Bo-Longomba	06	33,33	Loser
02	Boongo Nkoy Pancrace	12	66,67	Elected
Total		18	100,00	

Table 7. Results of the elections in2019

N°	Candidate	Obtainedvoices	%
01	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	03	16,67
02	Boongo Nkoy Pancrace	15	83,33
Total		18	100,00

Table 8. The candidate that population questioned expected to see as governor in 2006

N°	Candidate	f	%
01	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	22	22,92
02	Lomboto Lombonge Cyprien	69	71,88
03	Autres	05	5,20
Total		96	100,00

Table 9. The provincial governor expected by questioned people in the election of 2017

N°	Candidate	Expected governor from the 1 st round		Expected governor from the 2 nd round		Average of the both rounds	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
01	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	38	39,58	62	64,58	50	52,09
02	Boongo Nkoy Pancrace	19	19,80	34	35,42	26,5	27,61
03	NgayoLikinda Ghislain	28	29,17	-	-	14	14,58
04	Others	11	11,45	-	-	5,5	5,72
Total		96	100,00	96	100,00	96	100,00

Table 10 . The Provincial governor expected by the questioned people at the end of the votes of 2019

N°	Candidate	f	%
01	Booto Bo-Longomba Papy	79	82,29
02	Boongo Nkoy Pancrace	15	15,63
03	Autres	02	2,08
Total		96	100,00

The exam of the responses of the investigated people conducted us to the following:

Table 11 . Opinions of the questioned people on the results of the votes expressed by the provincial MPs

Adequacy between the results of the votes expressed by MPs and the expectations of the investigated people	Election 2016		Election 2017		Election 2019		Average found	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
YES	58	60,42	29	30,21	14	14,58	33,67	35,07
NO	38	39,58	67	69,79	82	85,42	62,33	64,93
Total	96	100,00	96	100,00	96	100,00	96	100,00

Table 12 . Facts influencing the votes of MPs according to the questioned people

The results of the responses provided for the question:

Causes and facts having influenced MPs in Adequacy with the expectations of the investigated	Election in 2016		Election in 2017		Election in 2019		Average found	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	F	%
corruption	49	51,04	58	60,42	65	67,71	57,33	59,72
Population Wills	03	3,13	5	5,21	4	4,17	4,01	4,18
Political pressions	28	29,17	21	21,88	12	12,50	20,33	21,17
family and tribal links	13	13,54	11	11,46	13	13,54	12,33	12,85
others	03	3,13	01	1,04	02	2,08	2,00	2,08
Total	96	100,00	96	100,00	96	100,00	96	100,00

Table 13 . Around the alternative on indirect suffrage

Question	Answers					
	Maintain the indirect suffrage		Change into direct suffrage		TOTAL	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
According to you, the elections of governors of province can be maintained in indirect suffrage or you wish it change into direct suffrage ?	53	52,20	43	47,80	96	100,00

Table 14. Opinions on eventual expansion of electoral college

The answers provided by the questioned people lead to this:

QUESTION	ANSWERS					
	Maintain the provincial MPs as the only voters		Join other people from other categories to the provincial MPs in the electoral college		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
In case you wish to maintain the indirect suffrage, would you like that the provincial MPs remain the only voters of governors and vice-governors, or would you like other people from other categories to join the electoral college ?	11	20,76	42	79,24	53	100,00

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