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**PAKISTAN**

## **PROGRAM CONTRIBUTION AGREEMENT**

**Between**

**The United States of America, acting through the**

**United States Agency for International Development (“USAID”)**

**and**

**The United Nations Development Program (“Recipient or UNDP”)**

1. Activity Title: Support to Election Commission of Pakistan for Strengthening Electoral and Legislative Processes
2. USAID Activity Number: AID-391-IO-17-00001
3. Purpose: This Agreement constitutes USAID’s contribution to UNDP’s implementation of “Strengthening Electoral and Legislative Processes (hereafter, “Activity”).
4. USAID Grant: Pursuant to its authorities under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, USAID hereby grants to the Recipient U.S. \$10,000,000 to be expended as described in this Agreement. The purpose of the Agreement is met upon disbursement by USAID to the Recipient.
5. Estimated Completion Date: October 30, 2019.
6. This Agreement consists of (a) this Title Page, (b) Annex 1, the Program Description, and (c) Annex 2, Indicative Budget for the Activity.
7. Disbursement. Within 30 days of the last signature to this agreement, USAID will disburse the Program Contribution to the Recipient in U.S. Dollars by electronic funds transfer to the following site:

Bank Name and Address:	Bank of America, 1401 Elm St., Dallas TX 75202, USA
Account Title/Beneficiary:	UNDP Representative in Pakistan USD Account
Currency:	US Dollars
Account Number:	3752220711
IBAN #:	Not applicable
Sort Code:	026009593
Swift Code:	BOFAUS3N

## **8. Reports and Financial Management**

- a) The Recipient agrees to furnish USAID an annual financial statement, certified by the Head of Accounting, concerning the outputs of the account supported by this Agreement.

These annual statements will be provided by June 30 of each year of the period covered by this contribution.

- b) The Recipient confirms that this award will be administered according to the financial regulations or policies of the Recipient. The expenditure will be recorded in the accounts of the Recipient, which follow generally accepted accounting principles and will be subject to audit in accordance with the Recipient's standard audit procedures.

#### 9. Information and Marking:

- a) The Recipient will give appropriate publicity to the Agreement as a program to which the United States contributes.
- b) USAID and all contributing donors are automatic members to The Project Review Board (PRB). The PRB approves the Annual Work Plan (AWP) during a meeting held in December of each year. It is co-chaired by the ECP Secretary and the Deputy Country Director for UNDP. All contributing donors have a voice in approving the AWP.

#### 10. Termination and Other Remedies.

- a. Either party may terminate this Agreement in its entirety by giving the other party 90 days written notice. In addition, USAID may terminate this Agreement in whole or in part, upon giving the Recipient written notice, if the Recipient substantially fails to comply with any provision of this Agreement, after efforts have been made by both parties to resolve the issues.
- b. In the event of termination by USAID or in the event of termination by either party in the event of force majeure circumstances, the termination will not apply to funds irrevocably committed in good faith by the Recipient, including those entered into with third parties, before the termination date indicated in the notice of termination, provided that the commitments were made in accordance with this Agreement. Any portion of this Agreement which is not terminated will remain in full force and effect. If, however, the Recipient considers that the reduced funding makes the continuation of the Activity, or any part of the Activity, impracticable, the Recipient may terminate the Agreement in whole or in part.
- c. USAID, notwithstanding the availability or exercise of any other remedies under this Agreement, may require the Recipient to refund a proportionate amount of the Grant in the event that the cost of the Activity is below total contributions by donors. If the provided, unspent balances attributed to USAID, as of the estimated completion date, is two percent or less of the amount contributed under this Agreement, then the Recipient may apply these balances to the continuation and close-out of the program of work beyond this date. The Recipient agrees to report to USAID within two years on how the balances were used for the purposes of this Agreement. In all cases, the Recipient must contact the USAID financial management representative listed below within 90 days of the estimated completion date, in the event of the availability of unspent and uncommitted funds.

11. Other Provisions.

a. Consistent with numerous United Nations Security Council resolutions, including [S/RES/1269 \(1999\)](#), [S/RES/1368 \(2001\)](#), and [S/RES/1373 \(2001\)](#), both USAID and the Recipient are firmly committed to the international fight against terrorism, and in particular, against the financing of terrorism. It is the policy of USAID to seek to ensure that none of its funds are used, directly or indirectly, to provide support to individuals or entities associated with terrorism. In accordance with this policy, the Recipient undertakes to use reasonable efforts to ensure that none of the USAID funds provided under this Agreement are used to provide support to individuals or entities associated with terrorism.

12. USAID Mailing Addresses:

USAID's technical representative for this Agreement by account is:

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14. For the Recipient

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Title: COUNTRY DIRECTOR

Date: 02 NOV 2016

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Signature: 

Name: Nadcm Shah

Title: Agreement Officer

Date: 4 Nov 2016

## USAID PROGRAM CONTRIBUTION FISCAL DATA

### General Data:

1. GLAAS Requisition: REQ-391-17-000014
2. Amount Obligated for this Action: \$10,000,000
3. Total Obligated Amount: \$10,000,000
4. Total Estimated Amount: \$10,000,000
5. Activity Title: Strengthening Electoral and Legislative Processes
6. Agreement Officer's Representative (AOR):  
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7. DUNS No.: 645 521 498
8. Paying Office:  
Office of Financial Management (OFM)  
USAID/Pakistan, U.S. Embassy ,  
Diplomatic Enclave, Ramna 5, Islamabad, Pakistan

### Specific Data:

BBFY	EBFY	FUND	PA	DIST	PE	PSE	SOC	Amount
2015	2016	ES-OCO	A09	391-M	A041	[*]	4100100	\$10,000,000

## Annex 1 – Program Description

### 1. Introduction

This program description provides a detailed exposition of UNDP’s electoral cycle support in Pakistan (through its ‘Strengthening Electoral and Legislative Processes Project’) from January 2016 through to the end of 2019.

The programme design that is detailed in the pages that follow has been informed by the following: The Election Commission of Pakistan’s (ECP) 2014-2018 Strategic Plan; the recommendations outlined in the report published by the Judicial Commission on the 2013 Election; UNDP’s assessment of the political environment, and subsequent planning assumptions on what results we think are realistic over the next three years; the recommendations for reforms to the administrative, legal and regulatory framework for elections in Pakistan that were included in the EU Observer Mission’s Report on the 2013 Elections; and the electoral cycle approach pursued by UNDP in the countries where it provides electoral technical assistance.

Figure 1: The Electoral Cycle



The sequencing of activities throughout the programme will be informed by a) annual Project Review Board meetings where Annual Work Plans for the project are approved b) political developments which may lead to a shift in programming emphasis by the ECP during the course of a year c) technical assistance priorities that emerge in the build-up to the May 2018 General Elections and d) institutional and electoral reform priorities that are identified, and subsequently prioritized during the post-election review process. We do, however, anticipate that institutional development priorities will remain constant over the next three/four years.

For the purposes of clarity, the programme of work detailed in this paper is split into two parts: pre-elections and post-election, with programming further divided into specific sections within these time-bound areas– institutional development of the Election Commission of Pakistan and strengthening electoral administration.

## **2. Situation Analysis**

The situation analysis in this section is not comprehensive. It does not aim to provide a substantive political economy analysis of the electoral environment in Pakistan, or the relationships, incentives and power structures which have shaped the evolution of this environment. Rather the aperture for the analysis, for the purposes of brevity, is narrowed to the specific thematic areas that define the programme of work detailed in the pages that follow.

The analysis provided focuses on the current operational context from a programming perspective. It identifies the political constraints, and the perceived political risks, in order to ensure that planned interventions are politically informed; assesses, where applicable, the institutional capacity, and appetite, for external assistance; and, in broad terms, highlights *why* and *where* specific programme interventions are required.

The performance of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), as an institution, and the extent to which political parties and voters have confidence in its ability to ensure credible and legitimate elections, has a direct bearing on political stability in Pakistan.

Notwithstanding the incremental progress it has made over the past five years, the ECP will continue to require international technical assistance throughout the current electoral cycle, and for at least the first quarter of the next electoral cycle. This is the estimated timeframe required for external assistance to support the ECP in addressing electoral administration and institutional development challenges, and ensuring longer term sustainability. The bullets below provide a summary of some of the core challenges that undermine the ECP's ability to enhance the quality of elections in Pakistan.

### **Institutional Development Challenges**

- **Gender:** Election management bodies like the ECP should reflect the society which they serve. Unfortunately the ECP has historically lacked significant numbers of women members, officers, and staff. The ECP has nonetheless made some commendable progress in gender mainstreaming, including annulling elections where women were barred from voting, appointing a gender officer at the Additional Director General level, and releasing gender disaggregated voter turnout data for the first time in the 2015 Cantonment Board Elections. There remains critical work to be done, however, to continue to mainstream gender into the institution. This includes recruiting women in more officer level and leadership positions across the organization, and improving the gender sensitivity of operations, planning, staffing, communications, and infrastructure.
- **Capacity at the District Level:** Significant talent exists among the mid-level ranks of the ECP at Grades 17 and 18, posted as District Election Commissioners (DECs) and Election Officers. These officers are

already influential in the institution and may be promoted to leadership roles in the coming years. They are the front-line of election operations in the field.

Unfortunately the capacity of these officers is highly variable, and many do not have the professional skills to manage stakeholders, resolve disputes, or effectively administer and manage the electoral processes which fall within their remit. The ECP's lack of capacity at the district level was highlighted in the report published by the Judicial Commission (JC) established to investigate allegations of systematic rigging in the 2013 elections.

- **Strategic Communications:** Reframing public perceptions of the ECP, and building confidence among all stakeholders in its ability to administer elections efficiently and effectively, is a fundamental task ahead of the General Elections in 2018. To shape media coverage, build relations with political parties, and influence narratives in public discourse, will require a comprehensive, and coherent, strategic communications plan.

### **Electoral Administration Challenges**

- **Polling and Results:** Weak systems to ensure integrity, transparency, and limit wholesale fraud in core areas of the electoral process, including the integrity of the polling scheme (polling staff and station locations), and the compilation and results process, represents a critical issue that needs to be addressed before the next General Election. Unlike the retail voter fraud, such as voter impersonation and vote buying, these areas are vulnerable to wholesale abuse which can affect electoral outcomes. Reforms in these areas, while technical in nature, will require robust cross-party political support to be successful.
- **Management of Temporary Polling Officials:** The center of gravity for post-election disputes in Pakistan has traditionally been the performance of the temporary officials seconded from other government institutions to perform the roles of Returning and Presiding Officers<sup>1</sup>. Addressing this issue has been highlighted as a major priority by the ECP Secretary and Chief Election Commissioner.
- **Voter Education:** By the time of the next General Election in Pakistan those under-35 will form the overwhelming majority of the electorate. Each year in Pakistan, millions of youth reach voting age. Extensive voter education initiatives are required to motivate youth to vote and engage in the democratic process.

In the last elections, over 30 million women who were eligible to vote, did not do so. 11 million were unable to vote as they did not possess a CNIC card, and thus were not registered to vote, while another 19 million registered women voters did not show up to the polls on election day.

**Electoral reform** is primarily a political process led by politicians, parties, and parliament. The focus for 2016 and 2017 needs to be on maintaining the political momentum and interest (as demonstrated by the recent passing of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment expanding the selection criteria for the Chief Election Commissioner and Provincial Members) in electoral reform in order to ensure some improvements are made to the legal and regulatory framework before the next General Elections. Therefore emphasis will need be placed on sustaining the effectiveness of a political strategy designed to build public and diplomatic pressure to influence the political calculus of politicians, and incrementally highlight the potential political cost (especially to the PML-N leadership) of ignoring electoral reform.

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<sup>1</sup> 272 Returning Officers and 75,000 Presiding Officers will need to be trained in advance of the next General Election.

If and when substantive reforms are passed UNDP will a) provide technical assistance to the ECP to implement the reforms prior to the elections and b) create institutional mechanisms to structure a dialogue with political parties on the implementation of the reforms.

### ***Nurturing Democratic Mindsets through Civic Education***

In Pakistan, as in other emerging democracies where social cohesion is undermined by ethnic tensions, fragmented identities and armed violence, civic education needs to be viewed as a long term process that requires sustained engagement. Forming new habits, and changing attitudes and behaviors takes time. It is also a vital, contextual, component of voter education and **viewed as a priority by the Chief Election Commissioner**

Among Electoral Management Bodies across the world there is a growing recognition that generating a popular understanding of concepts such as ‘the meaning of democracy’, ‘good governance’, ‘citizen activism’, ‘civic engagement’, ‘democratic principles and procedures’, and ‘individual roles and responsibilities in a democratic society’, is a prerequisite for creating conducive conditions for free and fair elections, diminishing ‘winner takes all’ approaches, enabling losers to peacefully accept results, and anchoring elections as processes which deepen democracy rather than derail it.

### ***Civic Education in Pakistan – Key Challenges***

- Nurturing democratic mindsets among Pakistan’s youth through civic education initiatives will be fundamental to helping to ensure that the country’s ‘youth bulge’ is transformed into a dividend, rather than a toxic legacy. Inculcating a popular understanding of democratic values, and habits, among Pakistan’s youth will provide a psychological buffer against the ideological appeal of non-democratic alternatives.
- In a nationwide opinion survey of 5,000 people conducted by UNDP in July 2014, less than half of the women surveyed had an understanding of their basic rights and responsibilities as citizens, whilst an overwhelming majority expressed a desire to acquire knowledge and skills to become more actively engaged in civic life

## **3. Project Summary & Strategic Approach**

UNDP Pakistan’s *Strengthening Electoral and Legislative Processes Project* focuses on developing the capacity of key democratic governance institutions including Political Parties, Provincial and National Assemblies and the Election Commission of Pakistan. The project also facilitates dialogue and builds consensus among multiple stakeholders around key electoral reforms; works to deepen democratic culture by engaging citizens, particularly women and youth, in civic and voter education activities; and aims to increase long-term public confidence in the administration and conduct of elections.

The basic contours of the programme of work that are presented in the pages that follow are informed by not only by an analysis of the political and operational environment in Pakistan, but also subsequent assessments (based on UNDP’s experience of implementing electoral assistance projects in Pakistan) of what results are plausible/feasible over the four year implementation period.

Thus the focus is not anchored in idealistic scenarios, but in realistic projections of what is achievable. The proposed intervention is structured around three outputs which are a) distilled from our situation analysis and b) build on, and expand, existing programming.



**Output One:** Multiple Stakeholders Engaged in Dialogue and Agree on Key Electoral Reforms

**Output Two:** The ECP's Institutional Capacity is Strengthened

**Output Three:** The ECP's Administration and Management of Electoral Processes is Enhanced

**Output Four:** Women, Youth and Minority Participation in Electoral Processes is Increased

### Synopsis of Strategic Approach

**Technical:** UNDP's technical approach is demand driven by our implementing partners. In the context of this output, all technical interventions are based on formal requests by the Chief Election Commissioner and Secretary of the ECP.

UNDP will use its in-house expertise to support the ECP on institutional development, and all aspects of technical assistance to improve election administration. For grassroots community engagement work to promote voter education and voter registration, UNDP will use its Micro-Credit Grant modality to provide small grants to relevant community organizations that have undergone a rigorous financial management assessment in accordance with the UN's HACT<sup>2</sup> guidelines. This approach is also intended to develop the technical and operational capacity of NGO/community based organizations.

**Political:** The political strategy developed to pressure politicians for electoral reform will continue to be revised in accordance with developments (or lack thereof) in this area. Technical interventions to improve electoral administration will also require a political strategy to ensure that all political parties understand, and recognize, the benefits of these initiatives. A strategic mistake prior to the 2013 elections was not briefing politicians on the new computerized Results Management System. To ensure that all activities are politically informed, UNDP will support the ECP in hosting quarterly round-tables with political party representatives to brief them on developments relating to electoral administration, and address any concerns, or misunderstandings, which may arise during the course of these deliberations.

**Communications:** Consistently communicating improvements to electoral administration to voters, and other stakeholders, (in appealing and easy to understand language, communicated through relevant media channels that are matched to specific target audiences) will be vital to anchoring a narrative of incremental progress - and consequently building public confidence in the efficacy and integrity of the electoral process.

From an advocacy perspective, in terms of sustaining pressure for electoral reforms, and mobilizing cross-party political support for technical improvements to electoral processes, the communications strategy will focus on generating these desired political effects through a multi-media approach – ECP press releases, opinion pieces, a carefully crafted social media strategy to influence news broadcasts, and informal, off-the-record, multiparty roundtables.

**Gender:** Gender considerations will be factored into all activities, and activity related communications. Media will be used to showcase efforts at the local level to promote voter registration among women with the intent of triggering a bandwagon effect.

Advocacy, and public pressure, for increasing the role of women in electoral and political processes is a fundamental objective of this intervention. This aspect of the strategy will focus on leveraging political

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<sup>2</sup> Harmonized Approach to Cash Transfers

and communications approaches to influence the political calculus of party leaders, by underlining the potential political gains of reaching out to women voters and fielding more women candidates (i.e. 29 million eligible women voters did not cast their ballots in 2013. In a First-Past-The-Post electoral system, reaching out to this segment of the electorate would be a prudent move, especially in constituencies where there are narrow majorities).

The gender dimension of the strategic approach will also aim to increase the share of voice for women in the media in the build up to the elections, and ensure that electoral violence against women is widely exposed through consistent media coverage.

#### **4. Project Outputs and Activities – Pre Elections**

##### **4.1 Output One: Multiple Stakeholders are engaged in Dialogue and Agree on Key Electoral Reforms**

There is a limited window of opportunity in which to reach a political agreement on the specific reforms that are required, carry out subsequent legislative (or constitutional) amendments and allow sufficient time for the implementation process. UNDP has provided direct support to the ongoing electoral reform processes through a range of approaches from political and diplomatic engagement to direct support to the legal framework committee of the ECP.

From time to time the Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reforms has requested studies, papers, or events to provide an international, independent, and comparative perspective on thorny political issues. These have included out-of-country voting, EVMs, Biometrics, Returning Officers, and constitutional changes. Our interventions have helped the committee to move forward on these areas, and it's expected that they may request our support again in the future.

If and when the process moves to the phase of implementation, it is likely to be late in the electoral cycle, and political imperatives will require the immediate and last-minute implementation of reforms on an urgent basis. UNDP assistance may include providing a range of rapid implementation services to implement priority activities funded through the government's own national budget and/or through donor support for many elements of the reform. Examples of these services include training services for new personnel, capacity building of new officers and administrative structures, short and medium term human resource management, as well as fiduciary and project management support using streamlined UNDP rules and procedures. Governments around the region rely on UNDP to accelerate implementation of the flagship government schemes and programmes, including reform programs.

Other core activities designed to achieve the accomplishment of this output include:

- i) Draft and disseminate analytical policy papers on key aspects of strengthening the role of women in electoral and political processes*
- ii) Convene dialogue and policy seminars for multiple stakeholders on electoral reforms*
- iii) Continue with the implementation of a political and diplomatic strategy designed to build cross-party consensus for a new electoral reform bill*

If/when an electoral reform bill is passed by the National Assembly, UNDP will:

- i) Conduct orientation sessions for MNAs and MPAs on new electoral reforms and their implementation*
- ii) Generate public engagement, awareness and understanding of electoral reforms (and international best practice and standards) through strategic media engagement and coordinating efforts among civil society organizations*

### **ECP Provincial Dialogues with Provincial Legislators**

In January 2016, the ECP, with support from UNDP, launched quarterly dialogue seminars with senior officials from each political party at the national level. The intent is to bridge the divide between the ECP and political parties and to discuss and debate concerns which about aspects of electoral administration. Once/if reforms are passed by the National Assembly, the dialogue platform will also offer an effective form to brief parties on implementation. Dialogue with political parties, however, also needs to be devolved to the provincial level. Members of the Provincial Assemblies (of which there are 728) require orientation sessions on electoral laws and procedures, as well as regular dialogue with provincial election officials on issues pertaining to electoral administration. The intent therefore is to replicate the quarterly dialogue sessions at the national level with a similar process in each of the four provinces.

## **4.2 Output Two: The ECP's Institutional Capacity Strengthened**

The sustainability of any institution is conditioned by the following: its legal status, its assets and services, the quality of its staff and the financial resources it has at its disposal. Over the next four years UNDP's technical and operational support to the ECP will focus on the assets, services and staff components of institutional sustainability. Five core activities (supported by a series of sub-activities) are planned to secure the accomplishment of this output:

- i) *Develop the technical and professional skills of ECP officers*
- ii) *Promote gender mainstreaming and gender equality within the ECP*
- iii) *Develop the capacity of the ECP's PR Department to assist broader efforts aimed at fostering positive perceptions of the ECP among key stakeholders*
- iv) *Institutionalize mechanisms for regular dialogue with political parties and civil society*

### **Description of Core Activities**

#### **4.2.1 Develop the Technical and Professional Skills of ECP staff**

In response to the report published by the Judicial Commission in 2015, the Secretary of the ECP requested UNDP to assist with the design and implementation of an intensive training programme for staff at the **district level**, beginning in 2016. The courses will be held on a quarterly basis and will cover a range of topics – leadership skills, electoral laws and processes, IT skills etc. Over 300 staff will be involved in this initiative. During the final quarter of 2017 it is anticipated that the trainings for staff at the district level will be suspended in order to focus on preparations for the May 2018 general elections. Post-elections, the trainings will resume on a quarterly basis, and will continue through to the end of 2019.

For mid-career staff at **HQ** and in the **Provincial offices**, UNDP will develop and implement customized BRIDGE (Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections) 'core modules' with ECP BRIDGE facilitators. At present the ECP has 7 BRIDGE Accredited Facilitators and has no accreditation capacity. In two years' time the aim is to have 25 Accredited Facilitators and 3 Accrediting Facilitators able to mentor and accredit others – this is fundamental to developing sustainable in-house capacity at the ECP to conduct trainings over the long term.

Leadership and management trainings will also be conducted for senior management. The training curriculum will be designed in collaboration with LUMs University and will include a component on media relations.

#### **4.2.2 *Develop the Capacity of the ECP's Gender Unit***

The recently created Gender Unit at the ECP requires substantial technical support. UNDP will conduct a gender audit of the ECP and other key electoral stakeholders to inform the development of a gender mainstreaming strategy for the ECP. Staff at the Gender Unit will be trained on how to conduct gender sensitive trainings and ensure that gender perspectives are mainstreamed across all aspects of ECP policy and operations.

A key focus in the final quarter of 2016 will be **ethnographic research** to understand specific cultural barriers to women voting in elections. This will be conducted in collaboration with the Gender Unit in order to develop their research and expertise in this area. This initiative is explained in more detail below in the section on ‘Increasing Women and Youth Participation in Electoral Processes.’

##### ***Women Franchise Research Initiative***

There remain significant areas of Pakistan where women have been barred from voting. Approximately 1400 (2%) of polling stations reported zero women turnout in the last General Elections. Similar patterns were seen in the 2015 local government elections. Working in partnership with the ECP's Gender Unit, UNDP plans to conduct ethnographic research (in addition to public opinion survey research and qualitative research through Focus Groups and Key Informant Interviews) to establish a deeper understanding of the prevailing cultural and political dynamics in areas where polling stations have regularly recorded zero women's turnout. The data will be used to inform target voter education efforts in these areas prior to the next General Election. An important point to note here is that zero turnout does not necessarily mean that women in these areas are not registered to vote.

#### **4.2.3 *Develop the Capacity of the ECP's PR Department to Assist Broader Efforts aimed at Fostering Positive Perceptions of the ECP among key Stakeholders***

Reframing public perceptions of the ECP, and building confidence among all stakeholders in its ability to administer elections efficiently and effectively, is a fundamental task ahead of the General Elections in 2018. In any country, regardless of the context, it is axiomatic that the electoral management body needs to enjoy widespread trust and respect. Absent this factor and the legitimacy of the democratic process can be dangerously undermined. In Pakistan, with its fragile democracy threatened by strains of militancy, and a restless youth population seeking unambiguous dividends from the democratic system, key democratic institutions such as the ECP need to burnish more positive brands within the public and political spheres.

Public narratives organized around themes of incompetence, questionable impartiality and organizational weakness have a corrosive effect. While these narratives may not reflect reality, they do shape perceptions, and this is where much damage is being done to the public image of the ECP. For the sake of democracy in Pakistan, and sustaining public faith in the democratic system, it is critical that the ECP enters 2018 with an enhanced public image, and the complete trust of all political parties.

UNDP will support the ECP to develop a more positive image of the ECP among political parties and the wider public. This will require working closely with the ECP's Senior Management and PR Department

to develop a comprehensive Strategic Communications Plan to structure stakeholder engagement (political parties and civil society organizations) and public outreach activities. At present the ECP does not have a Strategic Communications Plan, a factor which may explain the fragmented nature of its media engagement.

Implementing the plan will require internal coordination mechanisms to be established to manage the frequency, flow and direction of information. For example, a monthly messaging grid will be established, and a committee formed to guide the implementation of the plan. Senior management also require media training, while a competent spokesperson needs to be appointed, and trained.

Essentially, the ECP needs to adapt a ‘communications culture’, constantly aware of the need to communicate regularly to key target audiences. This culture is currently absent. Tools need to be developed to ensure a regular flow of information is received by target audiences (for example a quarterly newsletter in a standardized format). Senior Management also needs to be cognizant of the drivers of negative narratives among key audiences. In this regard, UNDP proposes to conduct a ‘perceptions audit’ among a select group of politicians and civil society leaders, as well as a public opinion survey to gauge attitudes towards the ECP. The data generated will be used to guide the development of the Strategic Communications Plan.

UNDP will work with the recently appointed Director General for Public Relations to develop the technical and operational capacity of the PR Wing - at the national and provincial level).

#### 4.3 Output Three: The ECP’s Administration and Management of Electoral Processes is Enhanced

This component of the programme aims to address the broad spectrum of administrative and management weaknesses with regards to election administration.

ECP capacity to deliver elections which are accepted by stakeholders is routinely proven in by-elections and other sub-national elections of a limited scope. Nonetheless, significant international support will still be required for the ECP to deliver credibility and integrity in the next General Elections.

UNDP will be required to provide significant operational support in the next General Election. In addition we will, from time to time support by-elections when they are used to pilot or test new approaches, technology, procedures, etc.

The capacity of temporary polling staff and returning officers has a most direct impact on election quality, and yet has been one of the least successful international interventions in previous elections. The issue has been the quality of lower tiers of cascade methodology. UNDP has pushed innovation in this area such as the introduction of video training in 2014. In preparation for the next general elections we will also be prioritizing early preparation – through the compilation of lists of polling staff and returning officers well in advance of the elections, early training of a pool of master trainers at the district level, and innovative tools such as video and smartphone based training platforms to supplement traditional face-to-face methods.

The next general elections are likely to have a significantly increased technology footprint at the level of the returning officer and the provincial office in the weeks before and after the electoral process. UNDP expects to support the ECP in the provision of IT capacity on temporary basis through carefully-vetted IT contractors who will support the effective management of data entry and form-scanning at the RO office.

The following activities will be conducted to achieve this output:

- i) *Establish a permanent polling scheme using GIS technology*
- ii) *Develop and institutionalize a computerized Results Management System*
- iii) *Establish a trained pool of Presiding and Returning Officers*

## **Description of Core Activities**

### ***4.3.1 Establish a Permanent Polling Scheme using GIS Technology***

Working in collaboration with the ECP's IT Department, UNDP will train data entry officers to capture the GIS coordinates (using GPS enabled phones) of each polling station identified by District Election Commissioners (there are currently 86,000 polling stations – more will be needed for the 2018 General Election). The GIS coordinates will then be used to create an interactive map on the ECP's website with all of the polling stations and their photos, using Google maps. Consequently, voters will be able to search for their polling station by name or location. The application will also provide directions from any desired point.

### ***4.3.2 Develop and Institutionalize a Computerized Results Management System (RMS)***

To remove key vulnerabilities in the polling process, the ECP must strengthen and improve the management of the polling scheme and the results. This will require enhancing the Results Management System (RMS)<sup>3</sup> used for the 2013 elections, and ensuring all officials designated to operate RMS have the required knowledge and skills. Evidence from the use of computerized RMS in other countries demonstrates its ability to deliver accurate results free from mathematic error, and to remove opportunities for Returning Officers to tamper with results.

During 2016 and 2017 UNDP will work with the ECP's IT Department to develop new software that will be pilot-tested in by-elections and subsequently refined to address any operational/functional challenges.

The successful roll-out of a revised computerized RMS system for the 2018 elections will require more than developing new software. Each Returning Officer (RO) will require extensive training on the reconfigured RMS. Relevant hardware will also need to be available for each ROs' office in order for the system of operate effectively.

For the 2018 elections, there will be 849 Returning Officers (272 for National Assembly Constituencies and 577 for Provincial Assembly Constituencies). Hence, the following set of hardware, along with their supporting components, will be required: 849 computers with printers and scanners for a) data entry of results on Election Day and; b) the printing and scanning of election results forms for publication on the ECP's website. UPS/battery back-ups will also be required to ensure the RMS continues to function in the event of a power cut.

In addition to the 849 ROs and 131 ECP District Election Commissioners who will need to be trained on how to use RMS, another 1,960 data entry operator will also need to be trained on how to operate the system. The data entry operators will be tasked with entering the results of each polling station into the

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<sup>3</sup> RMS is used at the constituency level where Returning Officers tabulate the results from each individual polling station (polling station results are submitted by Presiding Officers) within a constituency and subsequently issue a 'statement of the count' which declares which candidate has won. In previous elections in Pakistan, the performance of Returning Officers has been used by losing parties to support allegations of results being tampered with.

RMS software and scanning copies of each results form which will subsequently be emailed to the ECP's Central Database in Islamabad and published on its website for public scrutiny. There will be an estimated 75,000 polling stations for the 2018 elections.

3,000 'User-Guides on RMS' will also be published and handed out to each participant after the training. On election day, an IT Help Desk will be established at the ECP's HQ in Islamabad to trouble shoot any glitches with the RMS system.

Ensuring institutional and political 'buy-in' for a computerized RMS will be critical. While the Chief Election Commissioner and political leaders have requested that the system be developed and implemented in time for the 2018 elections, its smooth roll out will also require buy-in from all structures within the ECP. To manage this process, UNDP in collaboration with the ECP Secretary and IT Department will:

- *Form an RMS Committee at the ECP to structure engagement with Provincial Election Commissioners (PECs), District Election Commissioners (DECs), and other electoral officials to identify issues of concern and collectively agree on the remedies that are required.*
- *Establish an on-going dialogue with staff in the district offices to generate a popular understanding on the value, point and purpose of RMS, and provide continuous mentoring on the technical aspects to facilitate ease of use.*

To ensure robust cross-party political support is sustained, the ECP (with support from UNDP) will hold sessions with political parties to demonstrate how the computerized system works to ensure the accuracy of election results and to deter fraud.

#### **4.3.3 Establish a Pool of Trained Returning Officers**

In consultation with the ECP leadership, UNDP is pioneering a roster system of trained and accredited returning officers. The intent is to develop a permanent roster of about 1,000 of Pakistan's best officers, selected through a competitive process, and screened for their integrity, professionalism, and commitment to fair elections. They will be ready to serve as returning officers whenever elections are held, and will require only minimal 'refresher' courses before assuming duties. The roster, once in place, will be adjusted periodically as officers change postings, and retire from service or new recruits inducted.

#### **4.3.4 Establish a Pool of Trained Presiding Officers**

Elections in Pakistan rely on hundreds of thousands of polling staff, mostly teachers and other civil servants at the district level. The extent to which these officers are trained on polling, counting and results will be a key determinant of the quality of the next elections, and the acceptability of the results.

The Judicial Commission, in its report on the 2013 elections, highlighted poorly trained Presiding Officers (the officials in charge of the polling stations) as one of the key reasons why so many constituency results were being challenged. The Chief Election Commissioner has requested UNDP to work with the ECP's Training Wing and ensure that 75,000 Presiding Officers (i.e. based on the estimated number of polling stations) are selected and trained well in advance of the next elections. Given the scale of the exercise, the first batch of trainings will take place in the third quarter of 2017 and continue over a six month period.

The selected officials will undergo a comprehensive training course which will include the management of polling stations, the management of polling staff, the compilation of results at the polling station and the transmission of result forms and other material to the RO's office.



Unlike previous elections, trainings for presiding officers will not be outsourced to private sector organizations. Trainings will be conducted district by district by Masters Trainers (5 for each district) who have undergone extensive training through the BRIDGE programme referenced in an earlier section. All Master Trainers will be from the ECP and will be selected based on performance in order to optimize quality control. UNDP will work with the Master Trainers to develop training curriculums and handbooks. 75,000 handbooks will be published prior to the commencement of the trainings. UNDP will also provide technical support to the Master Trainers at each of the trainings.

All trainings (which will be conducted in batches of 50) will be monitored by officials from the ECP with written reports on both the performance of Master Trainers and trainees being submitted to senior management at the ECP. UNDP's Chief Technical Adviser will meet regularly with senior ECP management to discuss the monitoring reports and to suggest remedies for problems as and when they arise.

Once the polling scheme is published (normally a month before the elections), the appointed presiding officer (from the trained pool of officials) will be given a refresher course (see shaded section below).

#### ***Produce a Training Video for 600,000 Polling Officials***

This approach was piloted (at the request of the Chief Election Commissioner) during the Local Government Elections in Punjab and Sindh in 2015. Directly training over a million polling officials was not possible given the timeframe between the announcement of the elections and polling day. Returning Officers were sent copies of the video (which provided a step by step guide on the duties of polling officials on Election Day) who hosted viewing sessions for Presiding Officers in their respective constituencies. Presiding Officers then hosted viewings for polling officials posted to their polling stations.

For the General Election, the training video will serve a slightly different purpose. It will be a) used as a 'refresher' for Presiding Officers and b) used as a training tool by Presiding Officers on the day before elections at their polling stations to train the polling officials under their command. On average, a Presiding Officer is supported by 6 polling officials.

#### **4.4 Output Four: Women, Youth and Minority Participation in Electoral Processes Increased**

Addressing the democratic deficit of low participation of women, youth and minorities in Pakistan's electoral and political processes is a fundamental priority for the ECP. Reduced turnout in the next general election, especially among youth (men and women) would undermine the legitimacy of Pakistan's democratic system, and sow the seeds of instability that offers ideological space for anti-democratic narratives to gain traction.

Motivating marginalized groups to actively engage goes beyond simply increasing the volume of information regarding how to vote. The messaging structure needs to be nested within an emotionally engaging narrative about why voting is important; and the purpose of voting needs to be anchored within a broader context of democratic values, basic rights and the importance of sustained civic engagement. This is why all voter education efforts need to form part of broader civic education initiatives designed to nurture the evolution of democratic mindsets – the *sine qua non* of an inclusive political culture.



#### **4.4.1 *Reduce the Number of Unregistered Women Voters***

An estimated 11 million woman are not registered to vote in Pakistan. Addressing this phenomenon is a fundamental objective ahead of the next elections. UNDP will work with the Gender Unit, the National Database Registration Authority, and District Elections Commissioners (DECs) to conduct grassroots initiatives to encourage women to register to vote. UNDP will allocate micro-credit grants to community based organizations in sensitive areas to conduct direct engagement with women on the ‘how’ ‘what’ and ‘why’ of voter registration.

#### **4.4.2 *Civic and Voter Education Targeting Women, Youth and Minorities***

Voter turnout in the last general election was 55%. Voter turnout among women was 44%. For the 2018 General Election, an estimated 70% of eligible voters will be under 35. Given the demographic dynamics of the electorate, and voting patterns from the previous election, comprehensive voter education efforts will be required to increase voter turnout.

UNDP, in collaboration with the ECP, will establish District Voter Education Committees (DVECs) in each district (129 in total) of Pakistan to conduct grassroots voter education initiatives. Each DVEC will be headed by the District Election Commission and will consist of representatives from civil society, women, youth and minorities, political parties and other influential figures at the district level.

UNDP will work with the ECP to develop the capacity of each DVEC through targeted trainings, the development of standardized work plans for each DVEC and programme implementation and monitoring.

UNDP will also design and implement a multi-media campaign to magnify the core messages being communicated at the district level by the DVECs. The campaign will include adverts on community radio stations, billboard adverts in small towns, and the production of pamphlets and flyers for dissemination in each district.

##### ***Train and Deploy United Nations Volunteers (UNVs) to Conduct Civic and Voter Education:***

In 2014 UNDP recruited 25 UNVs for a 12-month civic and voter education pilot project in rural areas – targeting women, youth and minorities. The successful applicants were recruited from local universities through a rigorous selection process conducted jointly by UNDP and University Vice-Chancellors. Prior to deployment to the field each participant underwent extensive training on civic and voter education techniques.

Each month the UNVs had to submit reports on civic and voter education initiatives undertaken (with supporting evidence). Over the 12 month period a range of effective, and innovative, activities were conducted – awareness campaigns on university campuses, teaching in rural schools at the weekends, village forums for local youth, art competitions etc.

The pilot was a success and now UNDP plans to expand the initiative over the next three years, deploying 24 UNVs (50% women, 50% men) to target districts each year.

- ***Develop the Capacity of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) to Conduct Civic and Voter Education:*** In 2014 UNDP piloted projects in each province to promote civic and voter education at the grassroots through community based organizations. Micro Credit Grants were awarded to community based organizations who were trained by UNDP to develop civic and voter education strategies, and then to implement them in towns and villages in their districts. The pilot projects demonstrated the potential

for local civil society organizations/community based organizations to be at the vanguard of civic education efforts at the community level.

Over the next three years this initiative will be scaled up.

- ***A Media Campaign in collaboration with the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW):*** To reach target audiences in districts where face to face engagement will not be possible, a tailored media strategy will be developed in partnership with the National Commission on the Status of Women. This will include radio and TV products communicating core elements of the programming being implemented at the community level in other districts. An additional element to the media strategy will be engagement with District Press Clubs to train and generate interest among local journalists on their role as civic educators.
- ***Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign:*** During the final week of the campaign, the focus will be on building on earlier voter education efforts with short, emotionally appealing and motivational messages, encouraging people to vote. SMS bursts, 10 second radio spot adverts, and 20-second television commercials, worked well as communication mediums for this aspect of the campaign during the Local Government Elections, and thus a similar multi-media approach will be used.

#### ***4.4.3 Train Aspiring Women Candidates***

Only 6 women were elected on general seats in the 2013 elections, a decrease of 8, compared to the 2008 elections (This was despite an increase in the number of women candidates from 72 to 158. The increase, however, still reflects the huge disparity that exists when one considers that there were 4,671 candidates in total, and women represent roughly half the electorate). Both the Beijing Declaration and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which Pakistan has ratified, state that political parties “must endeavor to balance the number of male and female candidates.”

Tackling the issue of the under-representation of women in elected bodies will require going beyond persuading party leaders to allocate at least 10% of party tickets for general seats to women. A more holistic approach is required, well in advance of the next elections, not only to increase the number of women candidates, but also to ensure that aspiring women candidates possess the skills, knowledge and confidence to compete against their male rivals.

UNDP plans to conduct trainings for aspiring women candidates across all districts in Pakistan before the next elections. This will evolve over two years, district by district. The trainings, to be conducted in partnership with local civil society organizations in order to develop local expertise, will teach participants core campaign techniques as well as develop an understanding of the legal framework for elections, eligibility requirements for candidates and how to submit nomination papers. The trainings will be open to all political parties as well as independents. Successful pilot projects have already been conducted in Punjab and KP.

## 5. Project Outputs and Activities – Post-Elections

After the elections UNDP plans to work with the ECP to conduct a two-month post-election review, followed by the development of a new Five-Year Strategic Plan.

Factored into the Strategic Plan will be the reality of external technical assistance being no longer required, or indeed available, by the time of the next General Election in 2023. As such programming post-elections, and for the remainder of the three year programme, will be focused on priority initiatives designed to **institutionalize the sustainability** of programme interventions, and ensure the transition of all aspects of assistance conducted under the programme to full national ownership.

The post-elections section below provides a summary of the anticipated priority areas, however, these will not be confirmed until consultations take place with the Chief Election Commissioner after the elections. Much will depend on the ECP's progress over the next two years.

- ***Comprehensive Post-Election Review:*** A post-election review of electoral administration and management is a critical exercise to establish what worked, and what needs to be improved for future elections. The methodology for the post-election review process will involve interviews with a random sample of District Election Commissioners, Focus Groups in each province with a mix of stakeholders (women, youth, minorities, political party representatives, domestic election observers etc.), and Key Informant Interviews with senior ECP and political party officials, and representatives from international and local observer missions. The findings will be presented in a report to the Chief Election Commissioner to structure and inform the review process at the ECP HQ. The entire process will take three months.
- ***Five-Year Strategic Plan:*** After the post-election review process is completed, UNDP will work with the ECP on developing a new Five-Year Strategic Plan designed to address remaining weaknesses in terms of institutional development and election administration.
- ***Anticipated Areas of Technical Assistance Post-Elections:***
  - *Strengthen the capacity of the Gender Unit, and ensure it has the technical skills and operational capacity to achieve gender equality and women empowerment objectives included in the Strategic Plan (we anticipate another Strategic Goal on Women Empowerment to be included, similar to the current Strategic Plan).*
  - *Work with the Gender Unit to promote gender sensitization in the 126 District Offices.*
  - *Complete the capacity development initiatives with officers at the district level.*
  - *Strengthen Human Resource Management at the ECP through institutionalizing annual appraisal processes, and developing a centralized database which includes details of each training undertaken by ECP staff over the past 5 years. The documents exists but need to be stored, and managed, on a database in the ECP's HR Wing.*
  - *Develop and implement a post-elections Strategic Communications Plan for the ECP, and enhance the capacity of PR Wings at the National and Provincial Level in terms of communications management, improving internal information flows, pro-active media engagement and crisis communications.*

- *Provide technical assistance to the ECP's Legal Framework Committee on legal and administrative reforms that are recommended in the post-election review process.*
- *Design and implement a political strategy to support advocacy initiatives for electoral reforms.*

## **6. Monitoring and Evaluation**

UNDP recognizes that robust M&E systems and mechanisms are required to provide evidence based results to implementing partners and donors. Over the past year UNDP Pakistan has developed and implemented a new M&E policy designed to ensure projects develop more effective quantitative and qualitative indicators to measure progress against agreed objectives. As a consequence, M&E methodologies are much more robust, ensuring assessments are centered at the output (or 'outcome' as per USAID's nomenclature) as opposed to the activity level (i.e. the number of those trained is meaningless, measuring the extent to which those trained apply what they have been taught is where we focus our M&E efforts).

The programme will be monitored through the following:

### ***Within the annual cycle***

- Monthly and Quarterly Progress Reports (QPR), which will detail with the accomplishments, lessons learned/problems faced during the execution of the activities and the planned activities for the next month/quarter. The reports will provide an analytical narrative for results under each Output, data on the budget allocation for each activity, results achieved and means of verification for each result claimed. This will be prepared by the Chief Technical Adviser (CTA) with the support of the Project personnel.
- UNDP will deploy its own staff to the field to conduct spot checks on programme activities. The subsequent reports that are produced will be appended to monthly reports. Weekly written progress reports from organizations hired by UNDP to support the implementation of activities will also be used as a means to monitor and evaluate progress.
- A risk log shall be activated in Atlas (UNDP's internal Information Management System) and regularly updated by reviewing the external environment that may affect project implementation.

### ***Annually***

- *Annual Review Report:* An Annual Review Report shall be prepared by the CTA. As a minimum requirement, the Annual Review Report shall consist of the Atlas standard format for the QPR covering the whole year with updated information for each above element of the QPR as well as a summary of results achieved against pre-defined annual targets at the output level.
- *Annual Project Review:* Based on the above report, an annual project review shall be conducted during the fourth quarter of the year or soon after, to assess the performance of the project and appraise the Annual Work Plan (AWP) for the following year. In the last year, this review will be a final assessment. It shall focus on the extent to which progress is being made towards outputs, and that these remain aligned to appropriate outcomes.

***Other Reports***

- *Terminal Report*, which will be prepared at the final month of Project implementation. The Terminal Report will present the accomplishments of the Project against targets and key performance indicators, lessons learned and problems faced during the execution of the activities, and recommendations for follow up or future programmes. The Terminal Report will also contain the financial report of the Project. This will be prepared by the CTA with the support of the Project personnel.
- The project will be subjected to one independent external evaluation. An independent Terminal Evaluation will take place three months prior to the terminal Project Board meeting.

**END OF PROGRAM DESCRIPTION**

## Annex 2 – Indicative Budget

### UNDP-SELP Project Indicative Budget for USD 10 Million

Component	Total USD	2016	2017	2018	2019
<b>OutPut 1: Multiple Stakeholders are engaged in Dialogue and Agree on Key Electoral Reforms</b>					
Analytical policy papers	30,000	-	10,000	10,000	10,000
Dialogue and Policy Seminars	75,000	-	25,000	25,000	25,000
Support for electoral reforms	30,000	-	-	15,000	15,000
<b>Total for Output 1</b>	<b>135,000</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>35,000</b>	<b>50,000</b>	<b>50,000</b>
<b>OutPut2: The ECP's Institutional Capacity Strengthened</b>					
Training of ECP official at province and district level	1,109,610	21,279	213,614	288,465	586,251
Geo Conference in Washington DC USA	25,975	25,975	-	-	-
Trainings for Gender Unit	79,000	8,000	11,000	30,000	30,000
Capacity Development of PR Wings	80,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
Lupsum for Post Election Activities	334,834	-	-	100,000	234,834
<b>Total for Output 2</b>	<b>1,629,419</b>	<b>75,254</b>	<b>244,614</b>	<b>438,465</b>	<b>871,085</b>
<b>UNDP-SELP Project Indicative Budget for USD 10 Million</b>					
Component	Total USD	2016	2017	2018	2019
<b>OutPut3: The ECP's Mangement of Electoral Processes is Enhanced</b>					
Polling Staff Training	2,620,041	33,920	586,391	1,999,730	-
Returning Officer Training	127,500	-	61,500	66,000	-
Establish Permanent polling scheme using GIS technology	170,000	-	170,000	-	-
Develop and Institutionale of RMS	1,050,658	1,246	17,474	1,031,938	-
Train 3000 Data Entry Operator on RMS	987,000	-	15,000	972,000	-
<b>Total for Output 3</b>	<b>4,955,199</b>	<b>35,166</b>	<b>850,365</b>	<b>4,069,668</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>OutPut 4: Women, Youth and Minority Participation in Electoral Processes Increased</b>					
Reduce the Number of Unregistered Women Voters	611,460	9,313	155,103	231,546	215,498
Civic and Voter Education Targeting Women, Youth and Minorities	861,460	9,313	255,103	381,546	215,498
Aspiring Women Candidate Training	252,756	5,200	172,089	75,467	-
<b>Total for Output 4</b>	<b>1,725,676</b>	<b>23,827</b>	<b>582,295</b>	<b>688,559</b>	<b>430,996</b>
<b>Total Programming Cost</b>	<b>8,445,294</b>	<b>134,246</b>	<b>1,712,274</b>	<b>5,246,692</b>	<b>1,352,082</b>
PMU Cost (10 % of Programming Cost)	10% 813,965	81,348	187,058	241,795	303,764
GMS (8 % of Programming plus PMU Cost)	8% 740,741	17,248	151,947	439,079	132,468
<b>PMU and GMS</b>	<b>1,554,706</b>	<b>98,596</b>	<b>339,005</b>	<b>680,874</b>	<b>436,231</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>10,000,000</b>	<b>232,842</b>	<b>2,051,279</b>	<b>5,927,566</b>	<b>1,788,313</b>