Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

#### UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Programme Number: Programme Title:

Proposal ID # 00036437

Multi-donor Assistance for the 2005 National Elections

in Ethiopia

#### Brief Description:

The four pillars of the SDPRP (1 ADLI and Food Security, 2. Justice and Civil Service Reform, 3. Governance, Decentralisation and empowerment, 4. Capacity Building) is underpinned by the conduct of free and fair elections administered and implemented in accordance with the constitution.

The overall objective of this Multi-Donor Trust Fund Project is to support a free, open and accountable political system of governance and the consolidation of democracy in Ethiopia through the organization and conduct of the forthcoming national elections in May 2005, in accordance with the constitution. In fulfilling these aims, the current project is designed to assist the Government and the National Election Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) with the conduct and overall management of the electoral process in cooperation with a range of national stakeholders, including *inter alia* civil society organizations, political parties, and the media. It should be noted that this project does not cover Medium-Term capacity building activities of the NEBE, although this may be subject to consideration at a later stage, particularly as it relates to the preparation and convening of sub-national elections in 2006.

Based on a recently concluded independent needs assessment of electoral assistance in Ethiopia, a group of Like Minded Donors (LiMiD) within the existing Donor Sub-group on Elections have committed themselves to providing support to the preparatory process and conduct of the elections through a common framework - a pooled funding mechanism. Following discussions among the Government, NEBE, UNDP Country Office and the consortium of donors, an agreement has been reached in principle that the UNDP be vested with responsibility for the coordination, management, and monitoring of the pooled fund. As a coordinating mechanism, the project will enable a number of donors to provide assistance to the 2005 elections through a single source, in order to avoid delays in providing support and minimize the need for a multitude of short-term agreements between the Government and donors.

The National Elections Board has indicated that the Parliament has approved a budget of roughly US\$ 4 million against the initial NEBE request of US\$ 5.2 million. This amount is expected to cover only the basic, million against the initial NEBE and would therefore need to be complemented by substantial donor saistance in order to successfully implement the activities highlighted in this framework project document. It should be noted that this document limits itself to outlining the broader framework of electoral support and some key components, and therefore does not yet contain a detailed budget and timetable. This will be appended as an annex to the document, based on further consultations between the technical project team contracted by the donor group, the NEBE and other stakeholders. It is however, reasonable to expect that total donor contributions should ideally equal, if not exceed the budget allocated by the Government Treasury- in this case, US\$ 4 million, in order to ensure a significant impact through an integrated electoral support package.

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#### BACKGROUND/NATIONAL CONTEXT

In 2005 Ethiopia will hold parliamentary elections for the third time since the collapse of the Derg and the advent of the EPRDF. These elections represent a significant opportunity to consolidate democratic practices and institutions, streamline the electoral process, and further enhance awareness of rights and obligations within a system governed by the rule of law.

The series of elections held under the auspices of the EPRDF government since 1992 are not a first for Ethiopia. Indeed, in an effort to garner an aura of modernity and democracy, the country's first elections were held during the imperial era. The country's first constitution, written in 1931 by *Bejirond* Takele Wolde Hawariat introduced universal suffrage, while a more liberal constitution was drafted and promulgated in 1955. The country's first elections took place in 1957, but within stringent limitations.

The unanticipated rapid collapse of the Haile Selassie government came through an alliance between military, students, and revolutionary movements, culminating in the establishment of the *Derg* regime which took over in 1974 and has been generally characterized as repressive and marred by humanitarian crises and widespread human rights violations.

When the military dictatorship was toppled in 1991, the new administration of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) announced its commitment to democratic elections—commitments, which were evinced by local elections held in 1992, elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1994, and parliamentary elections in 1995 and 2000.

#### 2. SITUATION ANALYSIS

At least three of the four pillars of the SDPRP is directly related to good governance including conduct of free and fair election in Ethiopia. In support of this demonstrated commitment by the Government to continue the process of democratization this project has been developed to complement the ongoing efforts of the Government.

As the country's transition to democracy is in process, the elections of 2005 provide both a challenge and an opportunity. They constitute a challenge because of the logistical difficulties involved in coordinating elections in a vast and impoverished country. The 2005 elections also offer an opportunity for government to demonstrate a level playing field between political parties, to demonstrate a free and more responsible press, encourage genuine debate and discussion and facilitate broader participation.

The elections of 1995 were considerably more significant than the two preceding ones for they involved elections for the highest legislature in the land—the national parliament—and as such took place under intense international and public scrutiny. The smooth carrying out of the election was in itself a logistical feat for the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) who coordinated election of over 500 constituencies at 55,000 polling stations.

The 2000 elections were a momentous event in Ethiopia's political development and democratization process for it marked remarkable effort of opposition parties to

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ever before, the opposition, competed only in an insignificant number of constituencies given significant under-funding. However, most analysts do concur that, the 2000 importantly, increased access to the media was allowed and several seats were conceded.

# 3. JUSTIFICATION / RATIONALE FOR INTERVENTION

The lessons learnt from the 2000 General Elections provide a rationale for fast-tracking early electoral preparations for the 2005 elections. Key overall challenges related to free as follows:

- Leveling the playing field: There is a need to strengthen a level playing field for all participants in the electoral process so as to mitigate perceptions that there is continuing inequitable access to the media for opposition parties. There is a need to strengthen and enforce the electoral regulatory framework. Given that multiparty elections are an essential component for entrenching democracy in an enabling electoral environment in civil and political participation processes ensuring the conduct of open, free, fair and accessible elections in 2005.
- Strengthening capacity: Capacity constraints both within civil society and within NEBE, for voter and civic education have been a hindrance in past elections for effective and broad-based civic and voter education coverage. There is a need to of NEBE capacity has identified critical areas that require support, in particular, training and media and public affairs including the need for NEBE to enhance its on-going information flow with political parties, civil society, judiciary and media.
- Strengthen delivery of civic and voter education messages: Unlike voter education, civic education involves medium to long term investment by multiple governance institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. There is low function to advance their rights and duties, of how the state should political actors at all levels, including during elections, in pursuit of rights and content and delivery requirements for effective civic education.
- Women's capability to engage politically: Female participation in Ethiopian political institutions remains low by both regional and international standards. Female under-representation challenges a fundamental tenet of democracy: the presence of like-minded individuals who bring issues that are important to their constituents to the fore of political discourse. The inadequate number of female politicians means that female issues, concerns, and grievances are likely to inadequacy of female involvement in Ethiopian politics also constitutes a missed opportunity for strengthening Ethiopian democracy for politically active and civicyouth.



- Judiciary- Strengthen capacity to address electoral disputes in a untely manner: Despite genuine efforts by Government capacity gaps have been identified in the Ethiopian Judiciary with respect to handling electoral disputes. The judiciary itself, with the Federal Supreme Court in the forefront, has acknowledged this deficiency and is about to embark upon developing a training program for all its 2,000 judges and 1,500+ prosecutors on electoral disputes. This would constitute a unique opportunity for the donor community to actively support the justice sector in strengthening its capacities to fulfill a key electoral mandate.
- Media- Promoting equitable access to media and strengthen capacity to report electoral issues: Lessons from 2000 indicated a need to promote equitable (not necessarily equal) access to media for all political parties, and to encourage a more balanced approach to coverage especially in relation to access by female candidates and in the non-discriminatory reporting of women engaged in the electoral process. There is a need to continue monitoring media for balance and fairness and to ensure lessons learned from this process feed into further training of media representatives in the responsibility of media to be impartial, objective, fair and balanced in electoral reporting.

Within the above objective, a group of development partners and the NEBE have been working closely together since the beginning of 2004 to identify election-related areas of support through a pooled fund framework<sup>1</sup> for the 2005 elections.

UNDP has been formally requested by the NEBE to coordinate multi-donor electoral assistance. The experience, impartiality of the United Nations in general and of UNDP specifically is an important reason for its involvement and is expected to contribute to the success of the electoral process as well as providing a transparent, timely, and appropriate accountability mechanism for resources received and utilized. In the spirit of assisting the Government of Ethiopia in organizing successfully the 2005 General Elections, the development partners have finalized the establishment of a multi-funding framework in which the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) will assume the management responsibility of the pooled fund. This Project will serve as a framework for coordinating support from Government and stakeholders to the electoral process.

#### STRATEGY

Free and fair elections consist of certain universally acknowledged principles. Those that are traditionally mentioned include: transparency, the absence of fraud, and the existence of mechanisms through which parties and individuals can register grievances. But free and fair elections mean more than this. Free and fair elections also require a level playing field between different political parties. Equitable access to funds, removal of bureaucratic hindrances, and reexamination of archaic electoral provisions that place opposition parties in a disadvantaged position should also be part of any effort to ensure that elections are conducted in a fair manner. In order to guarantee that elections are free, there should also be maximum awareness among voters about what elections are about and what they hope to achieve.

An independent Needs Assessment for the Upcoming Elections in Ethiopia 2005 has been conducted as part of the process of consultations with the NEBE, and areas of donor support has been identified and agreed to both by the NEBE and the donors. This assessment was based on detailed consultations with NEBE and with a wide range of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Following consultations between the UNDP country office and the consortion of development partners, an agreement has been reached in principle that UNDP would be best placed to manage the principle that UNDP would be best placed to manage the principle fund.

molders, including the Ministry of Information, political party represent Ministry of Justice, civil society organizations, media, and the donors.

In consultation with the NEBE, the Donor Sub-group on Elections has also agreed to engage the services of experienced and qualified firm to provide overall technical support to the implementation of the multi-donor electoral assistance project. The firm, which will be contracted as per UNDP procurement guidelines, will be tasked with developing an elaborate project document with specific activities, budgets, and time frames and will also provide technical assistance and support the implementation of those activities, under the overall guidance NEBE.

It can be generally be assumed that the core elements of the multi-donor electoral assistance project would focus on the following key areas, as already identified in the

Support and Capacity Development of the NEBE

Support to National CSO/NGOs for Civic and Voter Education

Support/Training for Political Party Agents

Support for Training of Judges and Prosecutors on Electoral Disputes

Support to Media on Promoting Objective and Wider Election Coverage

Support to women capability to engage politically

It should be recognized that a number of donors (EC, USAID, Ireland, Switzerland, Canada, Finland, Sweden, and Norway for example) and international/national entities have already commenced parallel capacity building activities corresponding to some of the above-mentioned components of electoral support. This project will therefore complement, rather than duplicate activities that have already been carried out.

While these suggested components are directly geared towards the electoral process leading up to the 2005 national elections, the value of medium-term support for subnational elections in 2006 should also be acknowledged. This would make assistance to the election process by broadening the base and scope of participation and thus

The following sections describe in greater detail the proposed areas of intervention, largely based on the recommendations contained in the Needs Assessment Report,

# 4.1. Support and Capacity Development of the NEBE

1.1

NEBE's organizational structure is lean and primarily based on a relatively small cadre in Addis Ababa that conducts the planning while civil servants seconded to the NEBE for anything from a few days to almost a year actually implements the election in the field. Both the policy-making entity and the implementing components could fulfill their respective tasks more effectively if they received training in their respective roles.. The management of the NEBE secretariat could be conducted in a more efficient and productive manner. Several departments responsible for key functions such as logistics, planning, legal affairs, training and civic education needs to meet on a regular basis to strategize and outline the many upcoming tasks and how to overcome NEBE's challenges. This would be in accordance to best practices developed in the field of election management where it is recognized that the intense planning and operational phases sometime require daily meetings amongst the principals.



### The main objectives are:

- 1. Improved planning and implementation capabilities at key levels of the NEBE;
- Increased professionalism of the NEBE HQ staff, which could make the electoral planning process more effective;
- Better cooperation and coordination among the various institutions responsible for the electoral process, as well as internally within the NEBE secretariat and its field presence;
- 4. Increase the capacity of election officials at all levels

In order to achieve the stated objectives the following support will be provided to the NEBE:

- Specialized Election Management Training to NEBE Board Members & Secretariat Heads of Departments/Directors
- 2. Basic Election Administration Training to Zonal & Constituency Coordinators
- Technical Assistance enhancing the training department's pedagogical skills and develop trainers' manuals for cascade training of 95,000 poll workers
- 4. Procure trainers' kits for cascade training program
- International study visit to observe preparations & polling by NEBE Board Members, Parliament's Standing Oversight Committee responsible for NEBE and senior NEBE secretariat staff
- 6. Financial support to allow also non-civil servants to work as polling station staff
- Strengthen NEBE's public information capacity by develop a comprehensive and current web site, including manuals, guidelines, polling station lists and election results

# 4.2. Support to National CSO/NGOs for Civic and Voter Education

A massive constraint to any sort of development, whether it be political or socio-economic, is a country's lack of adequate educational infrastructure. Unfortunately, Ethiopia figures poorly in terms of primary, secondary, and college education. The average school life expectancy² for Ethiopians is a mere 5.2 years. Similarly, literacy levels are also low, for UN statistics from the year 2000 show that on average, only approximately forty percent of Ethiopians know how to read and write. Democracy is central to sustained human development, but the conditions that allow it to thrive: transparency, openness, fairness, and an educated populace are equally important. An uneducated electorate is not adequately positioned to fully exercise its constitutional right to vote and therefore any form of electoral support must consider the vital role of civic and voter education to enable the public to be aware of their civic responsibilities and offer the opportunity to make well-informed choices regarding democratic governance of their nation.

In Ethiopia as elsewhere, the success of any civic and voter education campaign hinges on the extent to which women's political participation on a more equitable basis is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The expected number of years that will be spent in school—including years spent repeating one or more grades

ensured—this fact has been well recognized by the NEBE and they have specifically requested for assistance and advice on bridging the gender divide with regard to elections. Maximizing female voter turnout for the 2005 elections will require an intense and well-coordinated education and publicity campaign. A higher turnout may bring several benefits, there more important among them will be the message to representatives, be they female of male, that female voters are a substantial voting force to be reckoned with.

In order to ensure higher female and male voter turnout, effective and sustained communication and education through a variety of media is necessary, though not sufficient. Higher voter turnouts may in part be brought about through television commercials and discussions aired on radio. These have been the conventional modes of communication and although they continue to be effective, supplementary and innovative approaches to reach out to the masses should be considered3, given the fact that, on average, only six out of one thousand Ethiopians own televisions and only 196 out of one thousand possess radios.4

## 4.3 Supports and Training for Political Party Agents

The political parties play a pivotal role in the electoral process and are one of the key stakeholders. This is also acknowledged in the Ethiopian legal framework as they are not only nominating candidates, but are also given the right to file party agents to observe the poll and put forward observed complaints to the election authorities regarding alleged complaints. These rights can, however, cause havoc to the process on election day should party agents utilize their rights in frivolous manner, or out of ignorance. Such actions could significantly reduce the credibility of the election and its outcome, as well as be a deterrent for voters wishing to participate in the poll thereby negatively affect the voter turnout. Unrest, or even risk of turmoil, is particularly likely to deter women from going to the poll.

It is well recognized that any support provided to political parties must be based on mutually acceptable principles in terms of making an earnest effort to ensure equitable access and support for eligible political parties. It is also acknowledged that even with the best of intentions and efforts, political parties and CSOs may express their dissatisfaction with the level of support and lay blame on the donor consortium, as evidenced in many countries. Due to the political sensitivities involved, it is envisaged that the support for political parties will largely confined to training of political party agents and shall be implemented directly by the NEBE, which is mandated to extend such support to the political parties. Subject to the final concurrence of the NEBE, it is expected that the support may be categorized in 4 distinct components:

- 1. Technical assistance to develop polling agent manuals and trainers' manuals
- 2. Train the political parties' Core Trainers
- 3. Procure trainers' kits for cascade training program and polling agent manuals
- 4. Targeted support to assist political parties with more equitable visibility in campaigning and in media

Some work related to political party development in Ethiopia has already been started. This will make the preparation process less time-consuming than would otherwise have

caravans (Burkina Faso) and street theatre (Indonesia).

<sup>4</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ethiopia NICI Indicators 1995-2002. Retrieved 11/4/2002 from http://www.uneca.org/aisi/nici/ethiopia/ethioind.htm. Addis Ababa: UNECA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Possible avenues for outreach to rural masses for consideration may include, inter alia, a civic education bus tour, camel

the case. In fact, it is essential that this intervention builds on the good work conducted on this to date and makes sure that both activities form a close and well-

coordinated bond. In fact, if the necessary training capacity already is in-place, the organization that does this work should be considered a viable implementing partner when it comes to training the political parties' Core Trainers.

# 4.4 Support for Training of Judges and Prosecutors on Electoral Disputes

Successfully strengthening the judiciary would not only require enhanced and improved ability of the courts to properly handle electoral complaints, but also a significant public awareness campaign would be required. For the courts to be able to play a significant role in the electoral and democratic process, the party representatives, civil society and the public at large need to be aware of their role and how electoral complaints can be lodged and should be handled by the courts. It is strongly recommended that the latter aspect be addressed by the planned support to the civil society.

The following support is suggested to the judiciary:

- Technical assistance to develop a weeklong curriculum on electoral disputes for judges and prosecutors.
- 2. Develop and procure the necessary manuals, including train-the-trainer manuals.
- 3. Conduct training of the judiciary's own Core Trainer.

The structure and methodology of this intervention mirrors the one designed for the support to the political party agents training whereby assistance is given to develop a curriculum of acceptable international standards, as well as the necessary training manuals (both for participants and trainers). Secondly, it will also train the judiciary's own core trainers to ensure that they are fully versatile in the subject matters. This will reduce the level of risk, as the judiciary itself is responsible for the actual training of its judges and prosecutors.

# 4.5 Supports to Media on Promoting Objective and Wider Election Coverage

In spite of its level of development and limited urbanized population, the media plays an important role as conveyer of information to the citizens of Ethiopia. Access to the media by political parties and candidates during the election campaign is therefore a central component when assessing whether the playing field is leveled, or not, for the participants competing for public office.

One of the ways to support more leveled playing field during the upcoming election campaign may be to provide the Broadcasting Authority the necessary technical expertise to develop Codes of Conduct. As this is a delicate endeavor and will require a certain degree of confidence building, as well as negotiation, it is estimated that technical assistance may be required for ten weeks.

Due to the level of development and exposure when it comes to balanced and objective reporting during elections in Ethiopia, it is also essential to focus on the journalists themselves. They too need the necessary understanding and tools to fulfill their key role as critical evaluator of politicians and their programs, and at the same time strike balance. As these programs are generic and usually runs for 2-3 days, several

workshops should be organized during a time span of three weeks by an organization or consultant with experience in this particular field.

The following support is suggested to the media sector:

- 1. Technical assistance to develop acceptable codes of conduct guiding parties' and candidates' access to state-run media
- 2. Train private and public journalists on fair and impartial reporting during
- 3. Initiate a media-monitoring program with AAU's new graduate School of

#### 5. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

In accordance with the National Execution Guidelines (NEX), NEBE will be the executing agency, responsible for preparations, management and conduct of the elections, including the provision of guidelines and materials for voter education. In addition NEBE will authorize all fund releases to implementing organizations based on the work plan endorsed by the advisory committee and approved by MOFED.

MOFED will have the overall responsibility of monitoring and evaluation of the project and thus will approve annual work plan. NEBE will also submit quarterly financial and

A Pooled Fund Advisory Committee will be established, chaired by NEBE and be responsible for endorsing work plans and monitoring of the implementation of the pooled fund. Membership on the Advisory Committee will comprise a total of two representatives of the NEBE, three contributing donors selected amongst the donor subgroup; and UNDP, which will also act as the Secretariat to the Advisory Committee. One of the NEBE representatives will chair the Advisory Committee.

The Advisory Committee will meet on a quarterly basis and may decide to meet more frequently as the need arises. The Terms of Reference for the Advisory Committee is

UNDP, as the Pooled Funding Project coordinating agency, will provide substantive backstopping and the overall co-ordination and management of donor contributions to the pooled fund. UNDP will provide support to the executing agency (NEBE) and its

Based on a detailed activity plan endorsed by the Advisory Committee, and after receiving authorization letters from the executing agency (NEBE), UNDP will disburse funds to the appropriate organizations involved in the electoral process and will effect direct payments to suppliers

In this regard, the project will contract the services of a firm as per UNDP Procurement Guidelines to provide technical assistance to matters related to the implementation of

#### 6. EXPECTED RESULTS

It is expected that, at the end of the project, further progress towards democratic, free, fair and accessible elections would have been made in Ethiopia. It is further hoped that, this would be a step in the consolidation of the pluralist and democratic political system, a process that started in the country in 1992, and will provide the necessary political stability indispensable to economic and social development of Ethiopia. Finally, it is expected that the project will contribute to the strengthening of local capacity in the organization and management of electoral processes.

### MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The Monitoring and evaluation will follow the NEX guidelines. The Donor Sub-group on Elections will be kept informed of progress with regular briefings.

The reports will document and monitor progress in the implementation of the road map of planned activities associated with electoral assistance as follows:

- Monitor expenditure and cost estimates against the pooled-funding budget, identify problems during and after the project implementation, and highlight planning and implementation issues to be addressed/rectified related to the project
- Provide a final report on the project after the elections have been held for presentation to donor partners.

The project will be evaluated by a consultant after its completion

### LEGAL CONTEXT

This programme document shall be the instrument referred to as such in the Standard Basic Assistance Agreement signed between the Government of Ethiopia and the United Nations Development Programme. The project shall be implemented in accordance with the National Execution Modalities.

Any changes to the project document should first be approved by the government (MOFED) and UNDP. Thus, the following types of revisions may be made to this project document with the signature of the UNDP Resident Representative, government and executing agency

Revisions in, or addition of, any of the annexes of the project support document

 Revisions which do not involve significant changes in the capacity building targets, outputs or activities of the project, but are caused by the rearrangement of inputs already agreed to or by cost increase due to inflation; and mandating annual revisions which rephase the delivery of agreed component inputs, or reflect increased expert or other cost due to inflation; and  Mandatory annual revisions which rephase the delivery of agreed component inputs, or reflect increased expert costs due to inflation or take into account legitimate agency expenditures.

### ANNEX 1:

# Terms of Reference for the Pooled Funded Advisory Committee

#### Background

Ethiopia's third general elections are scheduled to take place in May 2005. A group of Like Minded Donors (LiMiD) are considering support to the preparatory process and conduct of the elections through a common framework - a pooled funding mechanism. Following discussions between the UNDP Country Office and the consortium of donors, an agreement has been reached in principle that the UNDP be vested with responsibility for the management of the multi-donor pooled fund.

The multi-donor framework has as its overarching goal supporting the conduct of cost effective, efficient, free and fair elections that are nationally owned and internationally recognized, and that enhance citizens' awareness of electoral processes.

# Overarching Responsibility of the Advisory Committee:

The Advisory Committee will perform the following:

- 1. Endorse the work plan prepared and submitted by NEBE.
- 2. Follow up and evaluate the implementation of the project on a regular basis

## Constitution of the Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee will consist of the following members:

- Two representatives of the NEBE;
- Three selected donors one of them being the Lead Donor; and
- UNDP will act as the Secretariat to the Advisory Committee.

#### Quorum

Quorum will be three of the five members of the Advisory Committee, with at least one member each from NEBE, donors, and UNDP.



### **Chairs and meetings**

NEBE will chair the Advisory Committee.

The chair will convene the Advisory Committee meetings at least once a quarter. The chair in consultation with the secretariat may decide to invite any other parties, in addition to the normal members, if need arises.

UNDP as Secretariat will be responsible for circulating the agendas and minutes of the Advisory Committee.

