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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington, D. C. 20523

EL SALVADOR

PROJECT PAPER

DEMOCRATIC AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES

AID/LAC/P-768

PROJECT NUMBER: 519-0391

UNCLASSIFIED

PROJECT DATA SHEET

1. TRANSACTION CODE

A = Add
 C = Change
 D = Delete

Amendment Number _____

DOCUMENT CODE

3

3. PROJECT NUMBER
 COUNTRY/ENTITY: El Salvador
 PROJECT NUMBER: 519-0391

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5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters)
 PROJECT TITLE: Democratic and Electoral Processes

6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD)
 MM DD YY: 01 9 31 0 9 5
7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION
 (Under "A" below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4)
 A. Initial FY: 92 B. Quarter: C. Final FY: 95

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$1 =)

A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total
AID Appropriated Total	1,500		1,500	3,295	705	4,000
(Grant)	(1,500)	()	(1,500)	(3,295)	(705)	(4,000)
(Loan)	()	()	()	()	()	()
Other U.S.:						
1.						
2.						
Host Country					1,350	1,350
Other Donor(s)						
TOTALS	1,500		1,500	4,000	1,350	1,350

9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)

A. APPRO- PRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH. CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) ESF						4,000		4,000	
(2)									
(3)									
(4)									
TOTALS						4,000		4,000	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 6 codes of 3 positions each)

11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE

12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)

A. Code _____
 B. Amount _____

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 400 characters)

To strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially through increased participation of women, young adults, and rural people.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS

15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES
 Begin: MM YY | MM YY | Final: MM YY | 000 901 Local Other (Specify) _____

16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a _____ page FP Amendment)

Methods of Implementation and Financing approved:

Douglas W. Arnold
 Douglas W. Arnold
 Mission Controller

17. APPROVED BY
 Signature: *John L. Lovass*
 Title: John L. Lovass, Acting Mission Director
 Date Signed: MM DD YY: 01 21 92
18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W. OR FOR AID/W. DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION
 MM DD YY: | | | | | |

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A. I. D. MISSION
TO EL SALVADOR
C/O AMERICAN EMBASSY.
SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, C. A.

PROJECT AUTHORIZATION

Name of Country: El Salvador
Name of Project: Democratic and Electoral Processes
Number of Projects: 519-0391

1. Pursuant to Section 531 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby authorize the Democratic and Electoral Processes Project involving a grant to the Government of El Salvador ("Grantee") in planned obligations not to exceed Four Million United States Dollars (\$4,000,000) in grant funds ("Grant") over approximately a thirty-six month period from date of authorization, subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the USAID OYB/allotment processes, to help in financing foreign exchange and local currency costs for the Project. The planned life of the Project is three years from the date of initial obligation.
2. The Democratic and Electoral Processes Project ("the Project") consists of assistance to the Government of El Salvador to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic electoral process, especially the access of women, young adults, and rural people.
3. The Project Agreement, which may be negotiated and executed by the officer to whom such authority is delegated in accordance with USAID regulations and Delegations of Authority, shall be subject to such terms and conditions as USAID may deem appropriate.

A. Source, Origin and Nationality of Procurement of Commodities and Services.

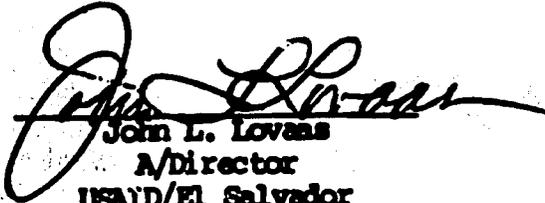
Except as USAID otherwise agrees in writing, commodities and services financed by USAID under this Project shall have their source, origin and nationality in the United States. Local cost financing is authorized to the extent permitted by the Agency's Buy American guidance.

B. Conditions Precedent to Disbursement.

Prior to initial disbursement of funds to the GOES under this Project Agreement, the Grantee will, except as the Parties may otherwise agree in writing, furnish to USAID in form and substance satisfactory to USAID:

- 1) Evidence that this Agreement has been duly ratified by, and executed on behalf of, the Grantee and that it constitutes a valid and legally binding obligation of the Grantee in accordance with all of its terms;

ii) A statement of the name(s) of the person(s) holding or acting in the office of the Grantee specified in Section 8.2 of the Project Agreement, and of any additional representatives, together with the specimen signature of each person specified in such statement;


John L. Lovans
A/Director
USAID/El Salvador

9/28/92
Date

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Facesheet	1
	Table of Contents	ii
	List of Annexes	iii
I.	SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION	1
II.	PROGRAM FACTORS	3
	A. Country Setting	3
	B. U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives	7
III.	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	8
	A. Problem Statement	8
	B. Constraints	9
	C. Project Strategy	13
	D. Goal and Purpose	15
	E. Project Components	16
	F. Project Beneficiaries	27
IV.	PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION	27
	A. Instruments and Agencies	27
	B. Management and Coordination	27
	C. Implementation Schedule	28
	D. Evaluation and Monitoring Plan	28
	E. Covenants and Conditions Precedent to Disbursement	29
	F. Environmental Threshold Statement	29
V.	BUDGET	30
	A. Financial and Audit Plan (Source Selection Information)	30
	B. Procurement Plan	36
	C. Source and Origin Waivers	36
VI.	PROJECT ANALYSIS SUMMARIES	37
	A. Beneficiary Analysis Summary	37
	B. Technical Analysis Summary	37
	C. Social Soundness Summary	39
	D. Institutional Analysis Summary	41

ANNEXES

- Annex A: Logical Framework**
- Annex B: Budget Detail (Source Selection Information)**
- Annex C: Social Analysis**
- Annex D: Institutional Considerations**
- Annex E: Technical Considerations**
- Annex F: PID Issues Action Memo and Resolution**
- Annex G: Statutory Checklist**
- Annex H: GOES Letters of Request**

1

**Democratic and Electoral
Processes in El Salvador
519-0391**

I. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

Summary

In January 1992, the Salvadoran Government (GOES) and insurgents signed a peace accord that ended twelve years of violent conflict. Despite the civil disturbance, recent years brought positive change, building El Salvador as a more stable democracy. Five elections since 1983 have been judged as increasingly free and fair. In 1989, for the first time since 1931, one freely elected government peacefully transferred power to a rival political party, also freely elected. Left-leaning political parties have openly and actively participated in the political process beginning with the 1989 elections.

Historically led by the economic and military elites, the political process left most of the population without an effective voice in politics. During the conflict, military repression by both right and left helped convince the ordinary citizen to stay out of the political sphere. Regardless of the source of authority, centralized decisions came to limit access to the political process.

As El Salvador emerges from the conflict, it is obvious that many people are not yet actively participating in the democratic process. Years of authoritarianism have sapped belief in the responsiveness of government to the desires of the governed. Deadly reprisals for political activity, such as the murder of the Jesuits, still occurred as little as three years ago. The Municipalities in Action and other USAID-supported programs have shown that the desire for participation is strong; advocacy of issues, while not effective, does exist. The missing elements are organizational skill, leadership capacity, and access to information in order to garner popular support for an issue and then gain acceptance of the issue by government and society.

The proximity of the elections in 1994 and their historical importance -- truly national scope, first time participation of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti Liberation Front) as a political party, and the first election following the Peace Accords -- heighten the need for voter registration and education

efforts. Large numbers of individuals who had chosen arms over the ballot box, as well as others who were too intimidated to exercise their right to vote, need to be informed about the electoral process, the regulations that apply to it and how to participate. Special emphasis needs to be given to programs targetted at women, youth and rural dwellers, who have comparatively lower levels of participation.

The goal to which the Project contributes is the promotion of enduring democratic institutions and practices in El Salvador. The Project purpose is to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially through increased participation of women, young adults, and rural people.

To help the GOES strengthen the integrity of the electoral process, the Project will use the Center for Election Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL) to assist the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (SET) to improve procedures and safeguards which instill citizen confidence in the election process. CAPEL will also strengthen the SET's capacity to register voters and to train pollworkers and other election staff. To improve inclusiveness of the democratic process, the Project will provide assistance to selected non-governmental civic organizations to promote electoral participation and pluralistic interest representation. After the election, Project assistance to Salvadoran civic organizations will stimulate the informed, active participation of citizens in the democratic process with a non-partisan focus on issues. Finally, as a means of bolstering citizen confidence in the conduct of the 1994 elections, the Project will assist two or three USPVOs to monitor the elections.

Summary Budget

	\$000
Citizen Involvement in the Democratic and Electoral Process	1,550
Assistance to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal	1,440
Support for Electoral Observation	500
AID Management/Evaluation/Audits	<u>510</u>
Total	4,000

Recommendation

The Project Design Committee recommends the approval of this Project Paper for a \$4.0 million grant to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of El Salvador, to be carried out over a three year period.

II. PROGRAM FACTORS

A. Country Setting

El Salvador has been historically dependent upon extensive landholdings where coffee, cotton, sugar, or cattle were raised. A small economic elite controlled these farms as well as the larger factories. Farms and factories operated in a paternalistic manner, reinforcing the power of the elite over the working population. This economic pattern coupled with the authority of the military since 1934 has resulted in a history of concentration of power in a handful of relatively small groups. Although the group in power changed from time to time, the authoritarian nature of the government and social structure changed little until the war.

With a high birth rate in the last two decades, half the population is under age 15. Basic education has been neglected in the public schools due to the war; the resulting high rate of illiteracy constrains the political process. Education is a fundamental element of democratic participation in civil society; the poor quality of Salvadoran education will be a drag on the task of nationbuilding for years to come.

The January 16, 1992, Chapultepec Peace Accords ended the violent conflict which had destroyed more than \$2 billion in infrastructure and left other losses not yet quantified. While physical infrastructure can be rebuilt in a relatively short period, building confidence in democratic and electoral processes as a means of dealing with social problems requires a longer time. Memories of authoritarian government and intimidation or murder of local leaders remain vivid to many Salvadorans. Nevertheless, democracy, with its emphasis on open decisions freely arrived at, has taken root.

Despite the civil war, the last decade brought about positive changes towards building a stable democracy. An election was held in 1982 to choose the first constituent assembly, but was marred by violence and accusations of fraud. The 1985 general election was cleaner, but still plagued by violence. The 1988 municipal and legislative assembly elections saw polls in a wider geographic area accessible to voters; improvements in the supervision of the election led to a fair and open vote. Improvements in the registration of voters also increased the number of persons who could vote if they chose.

In 1988, the then-opposition party, the National Republican Alliance (ARENA), won a narrow majority of seats in the National Assembly and over 70% of the mayoral races. In 1989, the Christian Democrats (PDC) yielded the Presidency peaceably after losing the election to ARENA; some parts of the left participated in the election, formally registering a party and running a candidate. These elections were judged free and fair by most international observers.

Security conditions continued to present problems for the conduct of elections, but in March 1991, residents of fewer than 10% of all municipalities were obliged for security reasons to vote outside of their municipalities. Residents of some towns in conflictive zones, such as Segundo Montes in northern Morazan department, felt sufficiently at ease in GOES-secured polling places outside their municipality to cast majority votes for opposition party candidates.

The March 1991 municipal and Legislative Assembly elections were also judged to have been free and fair. In comparison with the 2.2 million persons who were registered to vote in the 1989 election, nearly 2.6 million were registered for the 1991 election, an 18% increase. However, the Central Elections Council (CCE) had not completely overcome difficulties in its registry process and delivery of voter cards, and in the smooth organization and operation of the voting. Conflicting information about voter registration and errors in lists of registered voters tainted the elections, although the electoral results were confirmed.

The CCE, a multipartisan autonomous agency created under the Electoral Law of 1961, supervised the electoral process until constitutional reforms enacted in 1991 mandated changes in the Electoral Council and in election supervision and procedures. The GOES and FMLN agreed in January 1992 to review the Electoral Code and submit it to the commission, COPAZ, which oversees implementation of the Peace Accords. The outgoing CCE prepared a new draft of the Electoral Code that is under review prior to submission to the Legislative Assembly for enactment. The constitutional reforms restructure the CCE into the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (SET), adding two independent magistrates to the three which represent political parties. Under a transitional arrangement, the restructured agency is overseen by representatives of the four largest political parties -- ARENA, PDC, the Democratic Convergence (the left-leaning coalition), and PCN (National Conciliation Party). A fifth, independent magistrate, who is the Tribunal President, was nominated by the Supreme Court and confirmed by the Assembly. Following the 1994 elections and in accordance with the constitutional reforms, the SET will be controlled by five magistrates, one each from the three political parties receiving the largest share of the vote in the Presidential election. The other two will be selected by the Assembly from two slates of independents presented by the Supreme Court.

Appointment of the SET staff at all levels is a patronage process of the competing political parties. The Tribunal accordingly suffers from the public perception that it cannot rise above the partisan fray. As currently drafted, the revised electoral code will provide for greater use of professional (as opposed to political) management of such technical functions as election planning and voter registration. Positions with technical qualifications, such as a general manager, are to be

established and more rigor is to be introduced into staff selection and duties. A subcommittee of COPAZ is working with the SET to review and finalize proposed changes to the Electoral Code, which will subsequently be reviewed by COPAZ and then be presented to the Assembly for enactment.

GOES and Other Donor Programs

Going beyond free elections, the GOES has included the strengthening of democratic institutions as part of postwar national reconstruction. A preliminary Democratic Strengthening Plan was presented to the Consultative Group in March 1992, dealing with public security (as distinct from the reduced Armed Forces), the electoral system, the judicial system, the Attorney General, and the Human Rights Ombudsman. It calls for \$165 million in GOES funds plus \$225 million in external financing over five years. Although the plan has not yet been endorsed by the donor community, preliminary talks have been held with United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Partnership for Development and Democracy (PDD), principally with the Canadian representatives. The UNDP has agreed to assist the SET in planning improvements to the electoral registry.

In the Democratic Strengthening Plan, the GOES recognizes the important role of civic organizations in the development of broader participation in the democratic process. As evidence of this, the GOES has made funds available for civic organization activities under the Extraordinary Budget as well as under the National Reconstruction Plan. Salvadoran civic organizations are already promoting initiatives in democracy with private funds. A number of small grants from private donors (e.g., Tinker Foundation, religious groups) support modest efforts to promote participation in Salvadoran issue awareness groups. Several public policy institutes exist, and two of these derive a major portion of their operating budgets from grants from German organizations.

The Democratic Process in El Salvador

For many observers, the conduct and probity of elections is the most common measure of the strength of democracy in a society. The participation of a broad spectrum of political parties indicates the openness and inclusiveness of the political system. However, democracy rests on the principle that the winning party must in some manner take into account the views of the losing minority, and that the minority continues as a loyal opposition until the next election. Thus the democratic process does not cease between elections but rather, the debate shifts from candidates to the policies and programs of the newly elected government.

With Salvadoran elections attaining an acceptable level of fairness and freedom, the next steps in strengthening democracy are to address imperfections which reduce confidence and to

improve citizen participation in and between the elections. The 1991 elections, despite the overall probity of the exercise, suffered accusations of slow delivery of voter cards, or carnets, of inaccurate voter lists, and of poorly trained pollworkers. Late funding of the election budget caused uncertainty in the announcement of preparatory activities, followed by unnecessary confusion as the elections staff hurried to make up lost time. Especially in 1994, the SET must focus on building confidence in its ability and non-partisan image, and avoid irritating the relationship between the newly legalized FMLN and the established political parties.

As the organizer and overseer of the elections process, the SET plays an important role in the democratic process. The SET registers voters in each municipality and issues the carnet which permits the citizen to vote. The SET is also attempting to purge the voter registry of erroneous entries. Candidates register with the SET; ballots are printed and safeguarded by it. The SET also has responsibility for arranging polling places and equipment, training the heads of each polling place reception committee, and supervising the voting process. Afterward, the SET supervises the vote count and certifies the results.

General electoral participation is promoted by the SET as part of its mandate to supervise elections. In prior elections, this included print, radio, and television advertisements, but there is little objective information on the effectiveness of these efforts. The political parties and a few civic organizations also help get out the vote, probably in a more effective manner than did the old CCE. However, whether before or during the election campaign, electoral choices as framed by the parties provide little real discussion of issues. Participation in the election is motivated instead by diffuse symbolic appeals of the party, personalized followings, or the voter's personal perception of the candidate. Voters have little opportunity to become informed about the issues which will face the newly elected leaders.

Although the electoral process is the most visible measure of a functioning democracy, citizen participation effectively begins with the identification of issues and their discussion at the local level, often within informal social groups. In many cases, these issue-awareness groups are short-lived and sharply focussed on a single issue, although some may broaden their scope and take on a permanent life. In mature democracies, these issue-awareness groups bind together persons of similar belief, permitting them to place their preferred positions on an issue strongly before the political authorities. They promote the right and responsibility on the part of citizens to vote.

El Salvador has a variety of issue-awareness groups, but most have only begun to place their positions effectively before the public or the government. They are part of a broad NGO

population which can be divided into about 15 mainstream civic organizations and about 625 more narrow, generally smaller NGOs. The group of larger NGOs tends to have more formal administrative structures and more stable sources of funds than do the others. In the main, their activities tend to be more deeply conceptualized, sometimes reflecting an academic inclination in analysis and recommendations, but also showing the greater experience and capacity of the persons who direct the NGOs. Conversely, the mass of small NGOs tends to be action oriented but within a limited area of influence and does not attain the subtlety of analysis of the more sophisticated NGOs.

Issues such as the environment, public health, and local self-help projects have commonly been causes for the formation of local issue-awareness groups. Although widely seen as issues, there has as yet been little networking among diverse geographic areas or interested groups. USAID projects such as Municipalities in Action and Special Development Activities and the IDB-supported Social Investment Fund have used local groups to implement small infrastructure or productive employment projects. However, little has been done to date on the broader involvement of citizens in determining the full range of government policy and programs except through electoral participation.

B. U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives

The policy of the United States in post-war El Salvador is to support fully the Peace Accords because we believe the reforms that have been negotiated in the judicial system, the electoral system, the armed forces and the police will strengthen El Salvador's democratic institutions, enlarge the scope of human rights, and promote national reconciliation. The USG is working with the United Nations and the democratic community of nations to help mobilize the political support and the financial resources necessary to translate the promises of the Salvadoran Peace Accords into an enduring reality. The 1994 elections are an internationally recognized benchmark in the achievement of this policy and provide a measure of the consolidation of peace and national reconciliation.

The U.S. Economic Assistance Strategy for Central America shows its first priority to be the development of stable democratic societies. The Project supports this strategy by strengthening the Supreme Electoral Tribunal to increase the integrity of the electoral process and by promoting and strengthening pluralism and civic participation.

The Project is consistent with the 1991 Democratic Initiatives Regional Strategy Framework and the Democracy and Governance Policy Paper. It also supports the Mission Strategic Objective for democratic initiatives to "promote enduring democratic institutions and practices". This strategic objective is based on the need to strengthen democracy to

maintain a lasting peace and an environment to sustain broad-based economic growth. The Project will help Salvadoran civic organizations to inform citizens, both before and after the elections, on how to participate in their government, and strengthen the GOES' capacity to refine its election process. The participation of international observers in the election will allow a neutral evaluation of compliance and heighten citizen confidence in the electoral procedures.

USAID has promoted discussion and debate in the marketplace for ideas since 1984 through a program of grants to large private policy analysis institutes. The Project represents a broadening of that strategy to include non-partisan civic organizations.

III. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

A. Problem Statement

Citizen participation in the democratic and electoral process is affected by many factors. Significant informational and bureaucratic obstacles discourage such participation and reduce its effectiveness. The historical weight of authoritarianism engenders distrust of the process.

Technical and operational weaknesses still impede the Salvadoran electoral process while inadequate public understanding of electoral and civic issues has limited Salvadorans in the effective exercise of their right to vote. Of perhaps 3 million potential voters in the 1991 election (the first census since 1974 will be conducted in late 1992), 2.2 million persons received their election carnet and about 1.1 million voted. Another 400,000 persons had registered to vote but had not received their carnet due to the cumbersome document verification process. Although a number of these persons were able to vote based on alternative documentation, the incident heightened concern about the integrity of the electoral process.

Voting is one form of participation in the democratic process, a necessary but not sufficient condition for democracy to be successful over the medium to long term. It is a proxy indicator for participation in other forms of civic life. In a 1991 poll, clear gaps appeared in participation in the 1991 national election, with women, younger voters, rural dwellers, and the lesser educated voting less often than men, middle-aged and older adults and urban people. The elements for increasing participation in the democratic process remain weak and thereby reduce the stability and inclusiveness of Salvadoran democracy. These underdeveloped elements -- organizational skill, leadership capacity, and access to information -- limit the effective participation of Salvadorans in the electoral process and in matters of public policy more generally.

B. Constraints

1. Lingering Distrust of the Democratic Process

The limited empirical data available in El Salvador indicate that the general population does not necessarily consider the political process to be relevant in their lives. The Salvadoran commitment to democracy in the abstract, however, appears strong. A January 1991 poll done by CID-Gallup found that 63% of respondents agreed that Central Americans live better in a democracy. Still, 31% were unsure, with women markedly less convinced than men, and rural dwellers less convinced than those who live in urban areas.

The October 1991 CID-Gallup opinion poll showed that a high percentage of Salvadorans view government in general as corrupt or dishonest. Respect for the power of government is accompanied by distrust of the motives by which that power is applied.

An August 1991 study funded by USAID compared attitudes of the population of metropolitan San Salvador with similar groups in four other Central American countries. The results showed that 55% of the Salvadorans surveyed supported democracy as a means of governance, while only 45% expressed a high tolerance of divergent political views. While it is not certain why there is limited support for democratic governance, we speculate that it owes much to the autocratic history of the country. Paternalistic control of virtually all facets of life by church, state, or employer reduced the hope that the individual can make a difference. Tolerance towards defeated parties and minority views has not flourished in the winner-take-all climate of Salvadoran politics. The distance between government and the citizen also plays a role in belief in government: municipal government, which can be more easily monitored, is more favorably viewed than the national government.

It is important to note that democratic participation is not identical to the voter turnout at an election. People who do not choose to vote in the general election still may participate through issue awareness and civic organizations, and local self-help groups. The democratic process encompasses not only voting supervised by the SET, but further, it includes the many informal decisionmaking bodies which shape political positions between elections. For example, at the local level, these decisions may take place in school boards, in town meetings, or in the municipal councils. All are democracy in action.

The divisions remaining from the civil conflict also constrain participation in democracy. Such participation is an important facet of the initial phase of the National Reconstruction Plan. The FMLN, which will soon become an officially recognized political party, appears to harbor suspicions about the unknown system which it is now entering,

making information flows all the more important.

2. Lack of Knowledge About Government

Even for interested citizens, it is difficult to obtain and corroborate information from the media and civic organizations about what government is doing. The constraint at its most basic level begins with a population uninformed about who does what in the government. Just one in seven Salvadorans can name one of their elected deputies in the Legislative Assembly; the job of the deputy is even more poorly understood. Men were more likely than women to have this information; urban dwellers were more likely to know than were rural people. This lack of public knowledge holds as well for the executive and judicial branches. The lack of understanding of the tasks of elected or appointed officials is a barrier to judging whether the government is accomplishing what it told the public it would do.

As yet, the concept of constituency has not yet evolved in the Legislative Assembly. The absence of this explicit link between the deputy and a represented district reduces the incentive for the elected official to transmit information to the population. This barrier places greater importance on political parties and on civic organizations as the conduits by which citizens learn what their government is doing. The lack of communication by elected officials to the population contributes to a reduced perception of governmental legitimacy. The officeholder, rightly or not, is not seen by the people as a truly representative person, thus engendering distrust.

Citizens seem to view municipal government as being more legitimate than the national government. At the municipal level, half the respondents to the October 1991 CID-Gallup Poll could name their mayor. Men and women were more equally aware of the local government, and the urban-rural gap in awareness also diminished sharply. Negative feelings about alleged municipal government corruption, even among opposition party members, were nearly half of the levels expressed about the national government. We speculate that the physical and social proximity of the governmental leadership, the availability of direct appeal to authority, and the increasing frequency of open town meetings contribute to the increased level of awareness and acceptance of municipal government.

3. Weak Civic Organizations

The constraint to organizing around issues lies in the inability of civic organizations to frame issues for public discussion and gain public acceptance of that point of view. Although they are issue-aware, their focus is often on remote and broadly framed issues, ideologically couched rather than reflecting concrete concerns that will motivate specific groups to participate. Many are expressly partisan. Many such civic organizations have been identified in a variety of sectors and

geographic locations.

A few civic organizations can sustain modest programs aimed at long term national goals. Presently these civic organizations are only marginally more capable of carrying out a program than those of limited geographic scope. They work in areas such as civic awareness training for teachers and young adults as well as in environmental matters. Their demonstrated absorptive capacity is limited but increasing. The multiplier of volunteer labor increases the effect of the funds dramatically. Constraints to effective program conception and implementation by these larger civic organizations are similar to those of the smaller civic organizations: poor program organization, weak links to their membership, weak fundraising, and dependency on personalities rather than on constituencies or issues. Civic networks are beginning to appear, lending credence to the argument that departmental or even national coalitions will eventually develop.

The civic organizations tend to be unsophisticated in their approach to program management. Civic organizations are particularly weak at translating public concern into action: they are fragmented by geographic distance, personality of their leadership, and an uncertain perception that they necessarily compete in some way with each other. They do little important fundraising from the public and make scant use of free media publicity such as talk shows and news coverage. Still, civic organizations are successful in harnessing idealism and volunteer labor, but for limited periods of time.

Local branches of the national political parties also tend to be driven by a single event, the election. Between elections, the branches serve as a channel for information about the government to the people, admittedly with a distinct point of view. The parties have a strong vested interest in the democratic participation of their adherents, as well as drawing others into the political process around their flag. This active solicitation of votes, combined with a more complete flow of information, could lead parties to be more explicit in framing policy issues and developing their campaign platforms.

4. Needed Revisions to the Electoral Code

The CCE began the revision of the Electoral Code in 1991 in order to address difficulties in the registration and voting process. Constitutional reforms arising from the peace negotiations replaced the CCE with the SET in late 1991. The major changes recommended by outside observers and now under discussion include the possibility of civil service staffing rather than the existing party-based system, procedural changes in registration, and improvements in the voting procedures. When the SET presented a draft of the Code to COPAZ (the Commission which oversees the Peace Accords) for its review, COPAZ brought additional changes under discussion. The

negotiations between the SET and COPAZ proceed in good faith, but the more thoroughgoing nature of the changes has caused delay in the approval of the draft Code by COPAZ. After COPAZ approves the draft, it will be submitted to the Legislative Assembly for discussion and eventual enactment into law. Until the Code is enacted, the legal framework for oversight of the elections process remains as it was for the 1991 election, without the changes recommended above.

The Constitutional reform changing the SET composition and the revised Electoral Code are expected to improve the image of the SET as a non-partisan body, capable of efficiently carrying out elections at various levels. The improvements in voter registration and in the operation of polls specifically address procedures which, in the last election, were open to criticism.

5. Institutional Weakness at the SET

As part of the 1991 Constitutional reforms, the GOES agreed to modify the Central Elections Council to permit greater representation on its governing board. Accordingly, the CCE was replaced by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (SET). It has five magistrates instead of the original three, and operates under the transitional arrangement described in the Country Setting until the 1994 elections. At that time, the magistrates will be selected according to the 1991 reform. Of the five, one each will be appointed by the three political parties polling the largest numbers in the Presidential election. The other two magistrates will be selected by the Assembly from two slates of independents prepared by the Supreme Court.

The major political parties control the SET. They share the right to appoint staff, and each party checks and balances the other until paralysis threatens. Low salaries and cramped facilities compound the problems engendered by partisan friction. Formal position descriptions, and the resulting expectations of competence, are lacking. Two studies financed by USAID indicate that more professional performance on the part of the Tribunal staff depends upon the application of transparent technical job criteria against which each appointed SET official is measured.

A further difficulty is the timely availability of adequate budget resources from the GOES Ordinary Budget. Traditionally, funds for voter registration, election publicity, and pollworker training are appropriated and released immediately before the election. Without resources in advance of the election, the SET cannot conduct well-organized activities to promote broad participation.

The procedures now in place at the SET, while generally adequate to register voters and to furnish their names to officials at the polls, still permit an unacceptably high rate of error. Implementation of voter registration procedures in

the past has experienced slow delivery of voting cards even before the predictable rush for registration just before the election. Even after the prescribed processing period, many persons had to return several times to the local SET office before the carnet was available to be picked up. Overall, 22 percent of respondents to the CID-Gallup poll indicated that they experienced some problem in receiving their carnet prior to the 1991 election. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some voters gave up on the process and never returned to pick up their card; other cards never arrived and the voter had to begin the process again. The ineffective operation of what is a fundamentally sound procedure thus led to an unnecessary loss of confidence in the SET's ability to carry out its mandate.

A second problem which flows from the management of the voter registry is the omission of names from the lists which are provided on Election Day to the Reception Committee at the polls. Errors in data input and lax verification can lead to the issuance of a valid carnet without the voter's name appearing on the correct voter list. Insufficient data entry and memory storage equipment limits the speed with which the electoral registry can be revised. Thus, when the voter arrives at the poll, the carnet does not match the list and the voter is denied a ballot. Observational data from the 1991 election suggest that between 3% and 5% of voters were turned away from the polls for the absence of their names on the voter list. The CID Gallup poll results corresponded to this result: 3.5% of respondents said their names were not found on the voter list at the polls.

The preparation for the election and election day itself draw the most interest, since most errors, abuses, and frauds in any election happen at this point. The Electoral Code as it now reads is adequate to prevent abuses of the electoral process if uniformly applied. The CCE began to refine the Code to reduce vulnerable areas, but the work was not complete when the SET inherited the task. The Reception Manual, used by the Reception Committee to ensure that standardized polling procedures are respected, is incomplete. It must be simplified for the less literate and revised to incorporate the changes being made in the Electoral Code. Special rules apply to campaigning near the polls; pollwatchers from each party are governed by a poorly understood code of conduct. The behavior of security forces is of particular sensitivity in El Salvador, although it has not been a problem in the recent past.

C. Project Strategy

This Project provides technical assistance in support of a larger U.S. effort being undertaken by the U.S. Mission in coordination with other democratic countries and the United Nations. The Ambassador leads a dialogue which encourages the GOES to persevere in its reforms of the electoral process and to fully integrate the entire spectrum of views into the political

process. Also in support of this effort, the FY 1993 ESF Policy Reform Program will include conditionality which requires adequate, timely budget support for the Supreme Electoral Tribunal as it prepares for the 1994 election.

The general election in March 1994 will be a first in several respects. For the first time, all the important public offices (president, deputies, mayors and municipal councils) will be elected simultaneously. Voters will have an opportunity to confirm or petition for changes in the political direction of the country. It will be the first election since 1979 to be held under peacetime conditions. It will also be the first to include the FMLN as a peaceful, legal participant. In this historic confluence of events, it is particularly important that voters understand the importance of their participation in selecting leaders at all levels of government. It is also important that the SET be worthy of citizen confidence and that the results of the election be above reproach.

The 1994 general election will be an important proxy to measure how well democracy is functioning. The Project will furnish technical assistance and commodities to help the Supreme Electoral Tribunal continue the trend of increasingly free and fair elections. USAID-financed analyses done since the 1991 elections defined areas where assistance could reduce the effects of partisanship within the SET through the application of straightforward management tools. Importance will be placed on simplifying voter registration and on purging the voter registry of duplicate names, deceased or emigrated voters. Procedures will be improved to assure timely issuance of voter cards and correspondence of names to voter lists at the polls, while reducing problems at polling stations, which in the past election sometimes led to long lines of voters. As an additional confidence-building measure, two or three groups of U.S. observers will participate in the international monitoring of the election.

A mature democracy is characterized by the existence of many points of access to the political system for problem solving between the formal elections. Prior to the election, Project assistance under the Citizen Involvement component will reach selected nonpartisan civic organizations to carry out civic education activities which inform the population how to register to vote and how to cast a ballot. After the election, the Project will promote participation in the democratic process to reinforce expanding access and deepen citizen awareness and involvement in policy debate. By strengthening civil society, the Project will assist citizens to participate in the democratic process in El Salvador. The Project will also train local civic organizations in organizing around issues and then will assist them to carry their message to the voters.

The Project seeks to increase participation of those groups which did not vote as frequently in the 1991 election: women,

young adults, and rural people. Other project-assisted activities carried out by civic organizations will include informational campaigns about issues and networking among civic organizations with similar programs. Institution building in the traditional sense will not be funded under the Project, but if a strong, focussed, non-partisan civic organization were to emerge, it would receive special attention as a possible neutral advocate for civic participation. After the election, the Project will continue to work with civic organizations as they react to and comment on the policies of the newly elected government.

Many of these activities are new for USAID, making the project a pilot initiative which will require periodic stock-taking. Based on experience, especially in new areas (issue awareness and advocacy), the Mission may consider a follow-on project.

D. Goal and Purpose

The goal of the Project is to promote enduring democratic institutions and practices in El Salvador. The Project purpose is to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially the participation of women, young adults, and rural people. This purpose will be accomplished not only through strengthening of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, but by going beyond public institutions and formal processes to stimulate pluralism and the growth of democratic values and traditions among the citizens at large. The Project will promote pluralism and civic participation through provision of technical assistance and training to Salvadoran civic organizations. At the end of the three-year Project life, this end-of-Project status will have been achieved:

1. Broadened geographical and numerical outreach of civic education efforts, leading to increased citizen awareness of political rights and responsibilities.
2. Increased availability of information about government through more objective reporting, broader coverage of issues, and its wider dissemination through mass media and informal media.
3. Increased citizen confidence in the electoral process in general, and specifically in the ability of the SET to register voters and conduct fair, open elections, according to established rules and transparent procedures.
4. Increased participation in the 1994 elections by women, young adults, and rural people by helping to overcome attitudinal barriers to participation.

E. Project Components

The Project is composed of three components: Citizen Involvement, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, and Electoral Observation. The Citizen Involvement Component contributes to all four of the above indicators through a variety of programs which help make citizens more aware of the electoral process and of civic issues. Achievement of the third and fourth status indicators will also be attained through technical assistance to the SET under Component 2 and by the presence of international observers financed under Component 3.

Component 1. Citizen Involvement

This component of the Project will enhance and expand activities of selected civic organizations, thereby enabling them to facilitate citizen involvement in the democratic and electoral process. It will also alleviate the attitudinal and civic awareness constraints to more informed and effective participation of the citizenry. With this assistance, an increased number of civic organizations will be better able to inform and involve their members in the democratic process. These civic organizations give the project a wide geographical reach and breadth of coverage in the political spectrum.

Project assistance to Salvadoran civic organizations will be provided on a non-partisan basis. It will be offered equitably to groups committed to the democratic process and ranked as best meeting the selection criteria in Table 1. Support for pre-electoral civic education activities will be provided to a small number of organizations best equipped to operate in a neutral manner. Post-electoral assistance to policy debate and issue-awareness activities may be expanded to reach twelve to fourteen civic organizations selected according to the same criteria as for pre-electoral activities. Assistance will be in-kind, but may also involve cash grants to organizations which have met AID financial management requirements. Oversight and management requirements placed on the technical assistance contractor will be important considerations in the final determination of numbers of assisted civic organizations.

Criteria for project assistance to both pre- and post-electoral activities are broad, explicit, and objective. Criteria for selection of organizations stress a tradition of open public debate and toleration of opposing points of view. While assisted organizations may not be perceived as equally nonpartisan by all, they will be free of any single-party identification or membership; if constructed along multipartisan lines, they will be broadly inclusive of electorally-represented parties. Assistance will be provided in relation to the demonstrated capacity of the organizations to manage successfully proposed activities. The extent of geographical coverage will be considered, and preference will be given to those activities that include as specific targets women, youth,

and rural dwellers. All activities will be supported by plans that make explicit their numerical targets and means to reach identified groups.

Assistance under this component will be provided through an institutional contract, competitively awarded. Levels of effort and budget figures are shown in Section V, Table 3. Contractor staff is expected in El Salvador by January 1993. Technical services, training and financial support for the program activities of the selected organizations, will support activities in the area of voter registration, get-out-the-vote campaigns, public debates, the use of print and other media to improve awareness and understanding of issues, and citizen action projects. The outputs of this Component are:

1. voter registration and educational programs implemented by civic organizations reach 25% of the voting age population;
2. registration of 200,000 new voters (1991 baseline);
3. preparation and dissemination of pamphlets describing the electoral process and candidates;
4. numbers of citizens involved or reached by issue-awareness organizations increases by an average of 25% as compared to Project inception; and
5. frequency of issue-oriented discussions between citizen groups and elected leaders increased in geographic regions where recipient civic organizations operate.

To achieve these outputs, this Component will support two categories of activities: voter awareness and mobilization prior to the 1994 election, and after the elections, issues awareness and advocacy.

Phase 1. Pre-Election Voter Awareness and Mobilization

The proximity of the elections in 1994 and their historical importance -- truly national scope, first time participation of the FMLN as a political party, and the first election following the Peace Accords -- heighten the need for voter registration and education efforts. The election campaigns and the management of the election itself will be emotionally charged and politically sensitive. Large numbers of individuals who had chosen arms over the ballot box, as well as others who were too intimidated to exercise their right to vote, need to be informed about the electoral process, the regulations that apply to it and how to participate. Special emphasis will be given to programs targeted at women, youth and rural dwellers, who have comparatively lower levels of participation. Activities by nonpartisan civic organizations which enhance electoral participation are of first priority in El Salvador's maturing

democracy.

In the pre-election period, voter education will be promoted with the assistance of a competitively selected U.S. technical assistance contractor, to assist selected local civic organizations to design and implement voter registration and mobilization programs. The contractor, in coordination with the SET, will assist them to identify the principal attitudinal and procedural causes for low levels of participation, and then design materials that address these specific issues. In Nicaragua and Chile, for example, the major issue of concern was secrecy. Public opinion polls and interviews will be carried out to provide similar insights into Salvadoran attitudes about the electoral and democratic process.

Prior to award of a contract, USAID will conduct further analysis of civic/voter education programs of the ten organizations identified in Annex C, Institutional Analysis, as appearing to have the greatest outreach and institutional capacity to reach women, younger voters, and the rural population, and will select a small group of potential

**Table 1. Democratic and Electoral Processes
USAID Criteria for Selecting Civic Organizations**

1. A clear commitment to democratic principles, plurality, and freedom of political choice.
 2. Non-partisan and inclusive character (no single-party identification; if multi-partisan, then must be broadly representative of the electoral party spectrum).
 3. Clear mission statement or charter with organizational objectives, relevant to civic education or issue-awareness areas, and an identified governing board.
 4. Experience in civic outreach, either organizationally, or through collective membership.
 5. Evidence of leadership capabilities; commitment to the objectives of the Project.
 6. Developed membership base, volunteer network, and funding base.
 7. Potential for national coverage or strong potential for outreach to women, youth, or rural dwellers.
 8. Existence of established accounting system and qualified personnel for management of resources. (Only qualified civic organizations would directly manage Project funds.)
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grantees. Special care will be taken in selection of civic groups and design of programs to assure outreach to formerly conflictive zones.

In accordance with the criteria shown in Table 1, USAID will, with the participation of the Contractor, select organizations to be assisted. The Contractor will help these groups to prepare and refine proposals for voter education activities. Grant proposals will be evaluated according to the criteria shown in Table 2. Upon USAID concurrence in the proposals, the contractor will execute the grants and administer them. Prior to the elections, USAID anticipates two to four grants, each having an average value of \$50,000, for up to ten months of activity. The Contractor will establish Memoranda of Understanding with grant recipients that will detail activities, contributions and budgets, and for those organizations not meeting AID requirements for direct cash management, in-kind costs and small value procurement of goods and services to be managed directly by the Contractor.

In order to achieve broad coverage in the pre-election period, consideration will be given to programs which work through, for instance, women's groups, cooperatives, occupational organizations, student associations, and unions and professional associations such as nurses. Any of these groups which meet the criteria in Table 1 will be considered for assistance. Expanded use of print and electronic media and informational leaflets which supplement the more common person-to-person outreach programs will be encouraged and facilitated by technical assistance and training

**Table 2. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Contractor's Criteria for Selecting Proposals in
Phase One (Voter Education) and Phase two (Issue Awareness)**

1. Party-neutral and inclusive character of proposed activity.
 2. Clear methodology to reach specified targets.
 3. Broad geographical coverage, or specific methodology to reach large numbers of women, youth, or rural dwellers (use of multi-media, etc.).
 4. Identification of qualified staff and specific roles in the activity.
 5. Involvement of membership, volunteer network and labor contributions; Salvadoran financial support.
 6. Collaboration or joint-ventures with other civic organizations; networking among organizations to increase impacts.
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to be provided by the Contractor.

Examples of voter awareness and mobilization activities include: making registration and voting information available through brochures, ads in newspapers, TV and radio spots; door-to-door registration efforts; linking with other civic, professional associations and community organizations and training individuals within these groups to achieve a multiplier effect; and publishing voter's guides to the candidates, the issues, and the process for registering and voting. Although the bulk of this information is of a public service nature, the present range of public service information channels (i.e., TV Channels 8 and 10; Radio YSU) are insufficient to reach the greater public. Accordingly, support for paid television and radio time, as well as financing for printing of leaflets and guides may also be provided under the Project through the grants program. The design and technical content of the voter education programs will be discussed and coordinated with the SET.

Training for Civic Organizations and Media

Prior to the elections, the Contractor will present training sessions to those civic organizations selected for pre-election voter education activities. The training will also be open to other civic groups who may be considered for issue awareness activities to be undertaken after the elections have passed. Training events will focus on program format, participative methodologies, social communication and other subjects to make civic awareness activities more effective.

Illustrative topics for training sessions are:

- How to access and use the media.
- How media supports civic process (for journalists and media professionals.)
- How to reinforce links to membership and to establish a funding base.
- How to approach donors with proposals for activities.
- How to plan effective advocacy: Setting action goals, developing community support and building consensus.
- How to study, research and analyze issues.
- How to stage neutral debates: Preparing formats, planning, and broadcasting.
- How to conduct public meetings: Using parliamentary procedures to organize and process meetings.

The contractor will also prepare or arrange training for the media to improve objective reporting and coverage of issues, neutral staging of debates, polling techniques, development of publications and other communications strategies. Journalists will be invited to participate in training events and be provided with information obtained on voting behavior and attitudes obtained through the polling, focus group and

interview process. Special programs such as telephone polls, exit polling, and the role of the media in the electoral process may be designed for journalists and the media to enhance objective reporting.

Phase 2. Post-Election Issues Awareness and Advocacy

Project-assisted activities after the election will focus largely on public policy. The promotion of issue awareness is a complex new dimension in the Mission's democracy building portfolio, requiring intensive staff supervision and management attention. Based on our experience with previous election assistance, such intensity cannot be made available until the voter education activities and the technical assistance program to the SET (described below) are well begun and after the election has passed. Issue-awareness activities financed under the Project will complement and extend the Mission's program of large grants to established public policy institutes. The Project seeks to involve more people in the discussion of policy options, but more importantly, to promote interest in the proceedings of government.

After the 1994 election, the contractor will broaden the scope of its grants program to assist issue awareness and advocacy activities. As in Phase 1, and in accordance with criteria shown in Table 1, USAID will select organizations to be assisted. The Contractor will assist the selected civic organizations to identify issues of broad popular interest and to design materials that address specific issues. Technical assistance will be provided by the Contractor to facilitate the identification, analysis, and public discussion of issues of relevance to different social and economic groups. Civic organizations will be encouraged to submit proposals for funding of debates, roundtable discussions, workshops, media projects, and other fora to stimulate open discussion of issues of importance to the public. The selection of organizations and proposals will be the same as that used to assist the earlier voter education activities. USAID anticipates that the number of additional organizations assisted in the post-election period may reach up to twelve or fourteen organizations, with the average value of grants ranging from \$35,000 to \$40,000 and covering a period of activity of six to twelve months. Management capacity of the Contractor will determine the final number of recipient organizations.

Civic organization proposals will clearly identify the rationale for selecting topics for investigation or debate, describe the target audience, include an analysis of needs, participative methodology (when appropriate), and dissemination strategies. The Project will finance the additional costs associated with issue awareness and advocacy programs, such as rental of facilities, printing and publication of leaflets, TV and radio time, travel and per diem of guest speakers, and short term specialized expert technical assistance. The local civic

organization will be expected to cover all salary and other recurrent costs associated with its operation and public awareness activities.

The Contractor will conduct ongoing evaluations of participating civic organizations through frequent field visits to review compliance with the terms of their agreements and Project objectives. The Contractor will also develop a monitoring and evaluation strategy, and methodology for collecting information on Project indicators. The information base will also be used in the Project evaluation described in Section IV.D. The evaluations will also consider whether the Project should continue its present objective of providing financial assistance to a variety of civic organizations as opposed to fewer organizations that demonstrate a strictly non-partisan orientation and the capacity to carry out comprehensive programs in designated program areas.

Component 2. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal

Component 2 assists the SET to make steady progress towards achieving fuller participation in and a public perception of free and fair access to the elections. Assistance will be provided through a grant to the Center for Election Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL), a unit of the Inter American Institute for Human Rights (IIHR), which has been active in developing the electoral process in El Salvador. Levels of effort and budget requirements are shown in Section V, Table 4. Assistance is anticipated to begin in early 1993 and to continue beyond the March 1994 election.

The component includes two activities: Preparation for the 1994 Elections and Institution Building. The Preparation activity includes definition of needs for up-dating civil and electoral registries and overall computer support of the registration and documentation process. It will also assist development of manuals for pollworkers and in-service training of pollworkers at election time to explain the new procedural requirements and post-election evaluation. The Institution Building activity, over the medium term, assists the SET to develop a master institutional plan and to define its staff functions and responsibilities, adapt and update administrative manuals and financial procedures. SET staff will visit electoral institutions in other countries, and receive in-service staff training and technical assistance in planning and budgeting.

The component will assist the SET to provide a framework for more professional electoral supervision. The outputs of the component are:

1. Internal norms and procedures for the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, a long-range organizational development plan, strengthened data management capability.

2. Updated manuals and pollworker training materials for elections procedures will have been published and used by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal in training programs for the 1994 elections.

3. A more efficient procedure for voter registration, validation of information, and documentation issuance, as well as the maintenance of a current voter registry will be in place at the SET.

4. The standard time period between voter registration and issuance of a carnet will be reduced.

1. Preparation for the 1994 Election

Technical and operational difficulties in the SET, inherited from the CCE, continue to limit electoral participation. The SET has the responsibility to carry out ballot preparation and distribution, the registration of legally eligible voters, the issuance of voter cards, the preparation of voter lists, and the conduct and monitoring of elections at the polling stations. It keeps its records on computer, but the software is outdated; data input and retrieval are clumsy. The problems identified during the March 1991 elections continue to characterize the performance of the SET. Assistance from CAPEL will focus on the key deficiencies: registration and distribution of carnets, updating the electoral registry, and preparation of the voting lists which appear at the polls. Technical assistance will also address the procedural problems of voter registration and proper distribution of carnets, a complicated matter since the electoral code allows voting outside one's municipality of registration.

Computer support to the voter registration process is an important activity, analysis of which cannot be fully conducted until the revisions to the Electoral Code are enacted. Based on the revised registration process, CAPEL advisors can assist the SET to determine the changes needed in the existing computer-based system to maintain a data base of voters and how to coordinate with the municipalities in the registry process. Funds for the purchase of much of the data processing equipment will come from the GOES; a covenant for sufficient and timely funding is included in the Project. GOES funding covers salaries and recurrent expenses.

To improve the management of the SET's data files, the Project will finance the procurement of additional data processing equipment, and software, and potentially, communications and other equipment. Technical assistance provided by the project during the first year will help to specify additional equipment needed that has not been purchased using GOES budgetary resources. As required, USAID will coordinate the data processing needs of the SET with FA/IRM in AID/Washington in order to ensure that the proposed commodities

are appropriate to the task. Procurement of any computer equipment, its installation, and initial servicing would be undertaken by the same technical assistance contractor which works with civics organizations in the Citizen Involvement Component. However, the provision of quality technical assistance under the contract is of greater importance than the provision of procurement services. If an appropriate combination of technical and procurement assistance cannot be obtained through competition, USAID will procure the data management equipment directly.

Issuance of carnets and the updating of the electoral registry rely on the civil registry maintained by the municipalities. The procedure for issuance of a voting card is not a problem itself: The current procedures enable the SET to register and distribute the carnets in 30 days. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that issuance can be delayed for extended periods due to discrepancies between the electoral and civil registries; no data are available on how much delay exists. Problems also remain in the accurate updating of the registry and the management of the voter lists. The Project will furnish technical assistance to assess the possibility of developing a communication network within the 262 municipalities that will permit immediate voter registration and verification with the civil registry. The updated electoral registry is the basis to manage the voter registration process and distribution of voter cards.

Procedures at the polls slowed voting and did not always guarantee secrecy of the vote. CAPEL will provide technical assistance to revise the current Reception Committee Manual, which is poorly equipped to settle procedural disputes, and help the SET to analyze solutions to logistical problems, e.g., long lines of waiting voters. The manual serves as a reference guide for the Reception Committee members and pollworkers. According to the needs identified after the revised Electoral Code is enacted, CAPEL will assist the SET staff to more clearly define procedural problems and to train pollworkers and Reception Committee members. This effort will include, for instance, design and coordination of materials to be distributed by private civic groups. CAPEL could also assist set in planning a broader pre-election public awareness campaign, such as publication of voter lists and polling station identification.

2. Institution Building

To ensure efficient conduct of impartial elections and to effect needed changes for the longer term, CAPEL will assist the SET to devise a long-term institutional development plan. The plan will identify necessary revisions of administrative manuals and financial procedures, improvements in functional areas, and better coordination and communication mechanisms within and between units. Technical assistance will also help the SET analyze and improve personnel policy.

Since selection of personnel during the period of the CCE relied on party ties rather than on professional skills, the training needs of the SET's personnel are large. CAPEL will provide in-service training to all levels, i.e. board, management, technical, and support staff. A comprehensive program of in-service staff development will occur during 1993. The training by CAPEL will be done by short-term technical experts, primarily in El Salvador. This training team will help the SET determine its training needs, develop training plans and materials, and assess the training delivered. Training activities will be prioritized according to the SET electoral schedule, e.g. registration (empadronamiento) being done before preparation of electoral materials. In-service training may include such topics as:

Voter Registration

- Basic information for electoral organization;
- Electoral registry procedures (general concepts, schedules, documentation required, delivery dates, solutions to problems);
- Collection and delivery of ballots to SET.

Administration, finance, data processing and planning

- Operational and financial procedures and manuals
- Strategic planning in public administration
- Public and internal working relations.

Electoral documentation and equipment.

- Reception of electoral registry data
- Inscription of candidates
- Handling of electoral results

Ballot Counts and Results

- Procedures to be used on election day
- Techniques for announcing the election results.
- Communication networks and procedures

Those officials directly involved in the organization of the electoral process will visit, to the extent possible, other countries' electoral supervision institutions.

Local currency for the SET's operations will be from the GOES ordinary budget and will not be augmented from appropriated Project funds. USAID policy dialogue with the GOES will support an adequate budget allocation for the SET and timely receipt of budgetary resources to carry out the 1994 elections. CAPEL may also assist the SET to prepare budget requests between elections, although the major needs occur in the campaign season. An administrative career within the SET will also be encouraged in order to professionalize SET functions. Assistance to the SET to develop a long-term organizational development plan is expected to help the SET to attract other donor funding.

Component 3. Election Observation

The Project will partially finance two or three delegations from USPVOs to observe the March 1994 general elections and make an objective assessment of the electoral process. Levels of effort and budget requirements are shown in Section V, in Table 5.

USAID, with U.S. Mission inputs, will solicit and review proposals from USPVOs which have registered with USAID and meet established financial, accountability, and internal control standards. Observing PVO grants will be awarded according to the following criteria: a) previous experience in fielding electoral observer teams; b) specific experience in El Salvador or Latin America; and, c) a proposal reflecting cost-sharing and/or voluntary labor contributions by USPVO staff. Activities under these subgrants will include preparation of the observers prior to the election, a temporary office and small local staff in San Salvador and an observation presence during the three months prior to the election. The output of the component is objective international observation of the 1994 general elections, contributing to greater citizen confidence. Typical observation subgrants would include the following activities:

1. The Campaign

Each USPVO will arrange office space and staff in San Salvador and perhaps in other departments to support the observation activities. The means to detect, record, and report electoral anomalies will be detailed in the proposal submitted by the PVO. Observers will be responsible for arranging all logistical support of the in-country team. The subgrant is not expected to defray the entire cost of salaries, travel, etc., but rather to facilitate the participation of US organizations in the international observation of the elections.

Each USPVO will review the voter registration process, and in particular, the Registration Campaign (Campaña de Empadronamiento) which the SET is to carry out. The analysis will refer to anomalies noted in the 1991 and previous voter registration activities in order to determine whether the GOES has strengthened this important activity. The sampling technique and the method for determining anomalies will be detailed in the PVO's proposal. The USPVOs will organize fact-finding activities during the election campaign, which begins in January 1994. These activities will determine the conditions faced by legal political parties.

Each USPVO will attend a variety of events throughout El Salvador in order to gauge the freedom of political expression and the manner in which the campaign is carried out. Video and sound recordings may be made as appropriate. To the extent possible, they will visit all fourteen departments of the country. Each USPVO will prepare a report of its findings on

the campaign and pre-election period for release in El Salvador and in the United States prior to the elections.

2. Election Week (March 8-13, 1994)

The USPVOs will monitor the final days of campaigning, visiting areas where problems had been previously noted. On Election Day, the observers will check a broad sample of polling places, being careful to record empirical data to support claims of any voting irregularity. The observers will note the presence and behavior of partisan pollwatchers, the secrecy of the vote, adherence to published voting procedures, presence of military or police at the polls, and impermissible campaigning. The record of these observations will serve as part of an evaluation of the validity of the election.

After the elections, the PVOs will gather to debrief and synthesize their experiences in a session facilitated by the technical assistance contractor. U.S. Mission and SET officials will participate in this debriefing. Data analyzed will include voter turnout, official results, and independent polls and tallies as available. Public announcement of the combined report will be made immediately, with further briefings available in the United States to Congressional and Executive Branch staff. The written reports will be forwarded by the USPVOs to USAID by June 1, 1994, prior to final liquidation of the subgrants.

F. Project Beneficiaries

The Project beneficiaries are the estimated 3 million Salvadorans eligible to vote, including approximately 1.9 million who did not vote in the 1991 election, particularly women, young adults, and rural dwellers.

IV. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

A. Instruments and Agencies

The Project will be obligated by means of a Handbook 3 bilateral grant agreement signed with the Ministry of Planning as the GOES legal representative, and with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. The Project will be implemented by the SET and Salvadoran PVOs, with assistance provided by a technical assistance contractor and CAPEL. Two to three registered USPVOs will provide the election observation. The final evaluation, the USAID PSC assistant Project Manager, and audits as needed will be contracted directly by USAID with Project funds.

B. Management and Coordination

The Project will be managed by a U.S. direct hire employee in the Office of Democratic Initiatives, assisted by a

Project-funded personal services contractor. A Project Implementation Committee will assist the Project Manager, drawing on personnel from the Offices of Projects, Development Planning, Controller, Contracts, and the Embassy Political Office. Project implementation activities will be coordinated with the General Manager of the SET and with CAPEL, the technical assistance contractor, and the observing USPVOs.

C. Implementation Schedule

- September 92 - Obligation
- November - RFP published for Citizen Involvement contract
- Grant negotiations begun with CAPEL

- January 93 - CAPEL staff available to the SET to define detailed work plans.
- Citizen Involvement contract proposals submitted for evaluation
- PSC assistant project manager arrives
- Citizen Involvement contract awarded
- February - CAPEL staff arrives for SET, refines technical assistance and staff training needs, implements election preparation and institutional development activities
- US Contractor arrives for Citizen Involvement component, obtains baseline data, determines training needs and provides training, implements grant evaluation mechanism and makes in-kind subgrants.
- March - Baseline data collected by contractor.
- July - Mission identifies potential elections observers;
- September - 2-3 observation grants made

- January 94 - First election observer visits
- February - Elections observers arrive at end of month for 2-3 weeks
- March - General Election
- April - Post-election Citizen Involvement activities conducted by technical assistance contractor
- June - Receipt of observers final reports

- March 95 - Final Project evaluation of participation in democratic processes
- September 95 - PACD

D. Evaluation and Monitoring Plan

The Project will fund a baseline opinion survey by the technical assistance contractor to establish the status of

selected Project indicators as assistance begins. The baseline study will also assist in the measurement of progress against the Mission's Strategic Objective for Democratic Initiatives as established in the 1992 Program Objectives Document.

The Project includes an evaluation of the electoral process and overall SET performance, to be conducted by the election observers. The election observers will evaluate the efficiency of the SET in its compliance with the Electoral Code and with voting procedures. The Observing PVOs will also judge the performance of election personnel in carrying out tasks where Project-funded assistance had been provided.

A separate evaluation of the effect of democratic initiative activities in Component 1 and assistance to the SET under Component 2, undertaken in early 1995, will serve as the final Project evaluation. Evaluation of the increase in participation in democratic processes will be done by measuring the environment for such participation. The evaluation will be based on initial data collected by the USPVO at the beginning of the grant and other sources. As part of the final evaluation, an independent evaluator will review the data available from the USPVO, the assisted local civic organizations, and other appropriate sources in order to determine the validity of the information collected during the Project. The evaluation will be most concerned with a determination of increments of perceived integrity and inclusiveness of the democratic and electoral processes. Independent polls or surveys will be conducted to measure aspects of participation and awareness. The evaluator will also consider whether the attribution of Project benefits to Project assistance is appropriately done.

E. Covenants and Conditions Precedent to Disbursement

The improvement of participation in the democratic and electoral processes depends on a number of factors exogenous to the Project. The two most important factors will be included in the Project Agreement as covenants. First, the GOES will covenant to ensure that it will provide for adequate funding to meet ordinary operational expenses of the SET, as well as extraordinary costs associated with up-dating the electoral registry in preparation for the 1994 elections. Second, the GOES will facilitate the access of the Project-financed electoral observers in verifying the compliance of the SET and other polling place workers with the Electoral Code.

F. Environmental Threshold Statement

The Project is not expected to have an effect on the environment or natural resources of El Salvador. In the approval of the Project Identification Document, a negative environmental impact determination was made. Thus, the Project paper omits discussion of the environment.

V. BUDGET

A. Financial and Audit Plan

The Project will be obligated through a \$4.0 million, Handbook 3 agreement. The Grantee will be expected to mobilize cost sharing of \$1,150,000, while Salvadoran NGO's will contribute \$200,000 equivalent. Total cost of the Project is \$5.35 million, with the life of the Project being three years, beginning in FY 1992 and ending in FY 1995. Table 7 is a projection of the cash flow by fiscal year of USAID and counterpart funds. Table 8 sets out the financial plan by component, USAID and local currency counterpart contributions. Table 9 sets out the projected USAID financial plan by input, split between dollar and local currency in dollar equivalent. Table 10 identifies the method of implementation and financing that will be used for the life of Project. Annex B shows the details of the budget calculation.

The Project counterpart will be derived from two sources: contributions from the participating civic organizations and contributions from the SET. As part of the agreements for in-kind grants to local civic organizations, the participating civic organizations will provide at least 25% of the total activity cost. The contribution from the SET is the value of counterpart staff time and office space provided to the technical assistance team as well as support for local contractors to update the civil and electoral registries. In its Democracy Strengthening Plan of March 1992, a budget commitment has been made by the Ministry of Planning to the SET for \$1.3 million for capital improvement costs, and external financing needs of \$5 million over five years have been identified. The Project conforms to the philosophy embodied in the SET activities described by MIPLAN.

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

Approximately \$2,960 million or 74% of the USAID funding for the Project will fund externally procured technical assistance. USAID-funded training outlays which total \$30,000 (1%) refer to observational travel to review electoral arrangements in other countries. USAID-funded commodities for the SET total \$500,000 or 12% of the USAID grant. The remaining funds (13%) are for AID management, evaluation and audit.

**Table 3. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Component Budget for Citizen Involvement**

<u>Technical Assistance Contract</u>		\$000
Chief of Party	28 pm	627
Short Term Advisors	11 pm	243
Opinion Surveys	3 surveys	80
Civic Organization Subgrants	15 subgrants	600
Total		1,550

**Table 4. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Component Budget for the Supreme Electoral Tribunal**

<u>Technical Assistance Contract</u>		\$000
Procurement Services	3 pm	40
Commodities		500
Office Equipment and Communications		
Computer Equipment and Software		
<u>Grant to CAPEL</u>		
Short Term Assistance	39 pm	870
Observational Travel	12 pm	30
Total		1,440

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

**Table 5. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Component Budget for Election Observation**

USAID Direct Procurement		\$000
Electoral Observation	2-3 subgrants	500

**Table 6. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Level of Effort and Budget by Procurement Instrument**

		\$000
Technical Assistance Contract		2,590
Citizen Involvement Component		
Chief of Party	28 pm	627
Short Term Advisors	11 pm	243
Opinion Surveys	3	80
Civic Organization Subgrants	15	600
Supreme Electoral Tribunal		
Procurement Services	3 pm	40
Commodities		500
Grant to CAPEL		900
Short Term Assistance	39 pm	870
Observational Travel	12 pm	30
Electoral Observation		
Observation Grants	2-3	500
AID-Management/Evaluation/Audit		510
Project Management	24 pm	360
Evaluation	1	70
Audit		80

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

**Table 7. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Project Cash Flow by Fiscal Year
(\$000)**

Source	FY92	FY93	FY94	FY95	Total
USAID	0	1,677	1,796	527	4,000
GOES	0	495	425	230	1,150
Local PVOs	0	88	92	20	200
Total Project	0	2,260	2,313	777	5,350

**TABLE 8. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Project Financing Analysis by Budget Element**

(\$000, dollar equivalent of colones)

	USAID		%	Ctrpt	Total
	FX	LC			
Citizen Involvement	870	680	39	200	1,750
The Supreme Electoral Tribunal	1,415	25	36	1,150	2,590
Elections Observation	500	0	12	-	500
USAID Management/Evaluation/Audit	510	0	14	-	510
TOTAL	3,295	705	100	1,350	5,350

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

SOURCE SELECTION INFORMATION

**TABLE 9. Democratic and Electoral Processes
Cash Flow by Input (adjusted for 5% inflation)**

Input	\$000	\$000 equiv.	Total	%
Technical Assistance	1,780	80	1,860	47
In-kind Grants		600	600	15
Training	30		30	-
Commodities	475	25	500	12
Observation Subgrants	500	0	500	12
PSC Project Manager	360		360	9
Evaluation	70		70	2
Audit	80		80	2
USAID subtotal	3,295	705	4,000	100
Salaries at SET		1,150	1,150	96
Local PVO Volunteers		200	200	4
GOES subtotal	0	1,350	1,350	100
Grand Total	3,295	2,055	5,350	

**Table 10. Democratic and Electoral Processes.
Payment Verification Matrix
for Methods of Implementation and Financing**

<u>Method of Implementation</u>	<u>Method of Financing</u>	<u>Approx. Amount (\$000)</u>
1. Technical Assistance Contractor*	Direct payment	2,090
2. Grant to CAPEL	Direct payment	900
3. Electoral Observation 2/3 grants to USPVOs	Letter of Credit	500
4. USAID Management/Evaluation/Audit		510
a. PSC Project Manager	Direct payment	360
b. Evaluation	Direct Payment	70
c. Audit	Direct Payment	80
Total		\$4,000

* Includes commodities and subgrants to civic organizations. The procurement plan shows a contingency in case procurement of commodities cannot be obtained from the most competitive technical assistance provider.

Project implementation will be assisted by a US contractor and by the Center for Election Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL), an international PVO, and by 2 to 3 USPVOs. The criteria for competitive selection of the US contractor and the USPVOs will include financial management and oversight capability standards. Prior to disbursement of funds to CAPEL, USAID will conduct an institutional review of that entity to assess its financial management capability.

The technical assistance contractor will be paid directly by USAID upon submission of duly executed invoices approved by USAID. Letter of Credit, a preferred disbursement method under the payment verification policy, will be used for the USPVOs. CAPEL will be paid directly by USAID using AID's standard advance/liquidation procedures.

Audit. The technical assistance contractor and its subgrantees which receive in-kind support will maintain books, records, documents, and other evidence related to the Project in accordance with Generally Accepted Accounting Principles prescribed by the United States Government. The documentation will be sufficient to substantiate charges made to the Project; documentation will be kept for three years after the date of final disbursement. AID may audit these records at any time.

Should the Contractor furnish funds or services in excess of \$25,000 under a memorandum of understanding to a Salvadoran civic organization, the MOU will require that the civic organization provide the Contractor an audited annual financial statement. The contractor may use AID's Guidelines for Financial Audits Contracted by Foreign Recipients. Annual audits of the Project technical assistance contract will be performed in accordance with IG/A/FA guidelines using the Controller General's Generally Accepted Government Auditing Standards.

CAPEL and the USPVOs will maintain books, records, documents, and other evidence related to the Project in accordance with Generally Accepted Accounting Principles prescribed by the United States Government. The documentation will be sufficient to substantiate charges made to the Project; documentation will be kept for three years after the date of final disbursement. Annual audits of the Grant will be performed in accordance with IG/A/FA Guidelines for Financial Audits Contracted by Foreign Recipients. AID may audit these records at any time.

In accordance with OMB Circular A-133, USAID El Salvador may request that periodic project-specific audits be performed under the guidelines of the USAID Regional Inspector General's Non-Federal Audit Program. The cost of such audits, should they be performed, will be charged to the Project. USAID El Salvador will request that IG/A/FA perform a closeout audit on the contract at its completion, and at USAID's option, closeout audits of the U.S. grantees.

B. Procurement Plan

Project procurement will be accomplished directly by USAID, in the absence of certified procurement mechanisms of the Grantee. USAID will award a grant for technical assistance by CAPEL to the SET and a contract for technical assistance to civic organizations for procurement services to the SET, and for electoral observation. Later in the Project, USAID will award 2-3 grants to USFVOs for electoral observation. The sequence and timing of the procurements are included in the Implementation Plan, Section V.C. The quality of technical assistance to civic organizations will be the dominant criterion for selecting the contractor. Due to the use of contractor-executed subgrants, the Contractor's statement of work will include the criteria shown in Tables 1 and 2 as a control over the grants proces. The contract will also incorporate the policy guidance embodied in the Democracy and Governance Policy Paper and in the Economic Assistance Strategy for Central America. Further, USAID will retain the right to to unilaterally terminate any subgrant in extraordinary circumstances.

The contractor will handle the bidding, contracting, and transport of the Project commodities. USAID will retain the right to award the technical assistance contract without the procurement tasks, in the event that AID direct procurement would better serve the requirements of the Project. Commodities financed under the Project will have their source and origin in the United States, consistent with USAID's Buy America Policy as issued December 5, 1990. Customs clearance will be the responsibility of SET. Training abroad and in El Salvador will be arranged by the Contractor or CAPEL.

Local cost financing will be limited to the Contractor's staff in-country costs and in-kind subgrants made for promoting citizen involvement and election observation. Shelf-item procurement in local currency is permitted in accordance with prevailing regulations.

The contractor will be U.S. nationality whose books and records will be located in the United States. The contractor will engage a U.S. CPA firm on an annual basis to perform a financial audit in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, the U.S. Comptroller General's "Government Auditing Standards" using Project funds.

C. Waivers

The procurement of services of CAPEL, a unit of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights controlled by the Organization of American States (OAS), requires waiver of nationality. CAPEL is also excepted from competition due to its established predominant capability in assisting electoral bodies in Latin America.

The management of subgrants by the technical assistance contractor requires specific justification per Contract Information Bulletin 92-7. AID/Washington's Procurement Policy and Evaluation Staff (FA/PPE) provided guidance to the Mission on the procedure prior to approval of the procurement by the Mission.

Procurement of data management equipment in excess of \$100,000 for the SET requires prior approval by AID/Washington's Information Resources and Management Office (SER/IRM). This approval will be obtained after initiation of the Project.

VI. PROJECT ANALYSIS SUMMARIES

A. Beneficiary Analysis Summary

The Project aims at a general improvement in the participation of the whole voting age population, estimated at 3.0 million persons, in the democratic and electoral processes. Rural people make up 60% of potential voters, while women comprise 55% of the electorate. According to standard census categories, approximately 450,000 young adults (nearly a sixth of potential voters) came of voting age since the 1989 presidential election. These groups obviously overlap; data and analysis are further obscured by the lack of reliable population information and the loss of many municipal records during the war.

Based on experience from popular participation in the USAID-supported Municipalities in Action (MEA) Program, the Project can assume that income and education are not impediments to democratic participation at the municipal level. In both town meetings and referenda conducted with MEA, active participation occurred from an apparent cross section of the economically active population.

B. Technical Analysis Summary

This summary deals with two technical issues: (1) mass media as a tool for increasing democratic and electoral participation and (2) the selection of Salvadoran civic organizations and their activities as part of the Citizen Involvement component.

Mass Media

Mass media (electronic and print) are an important tool for promoting civic awareness and accelerating the learning process, as are other forms of media for communicating messages, such as brochures, pamphlets, publications and posters. Radio has been used successfully for reaching illiterate and dispersed populations by organizations in the region such as Participa in Chile, Consciencia in Argentina, and ASIES in Guatemala. Mass media also have been used to educate voters and motivate

participation in elections. Media campaigns have been an important element of voter education programs conducted by CAPEL, and were considered key to the high voter turnout in Nicaragua, for example.

Mass media and alternative media (posters, publications, pamphlets, voters guides) will be incorporated to the fullest extent possible by the implementators of this Project to disseminate and reinforce information. Knowing how to access and use the mass media and other forms of media is also an important tool for political action.

In El Salvador, access is obtained through advertising (a campo pagado costs \$1,200 to \$2,000 per page), publicity (having journalists become interested in a story) and community service programs. Television stations such as TCS 2,4,6 and Channel 12 present a 7 a.m. community service program featuring interviews and discussions. Some radio programs are sponsored by groups such as labor unions and women's groups to carry a message or for call-ins and interviews. The print media contains a daily provincial section that can feature community issues. At 7:30 a.m., many radio stations maintain an open line for reporters to call in their stories from the countryside.

A 1992 study funded by USAID found that media managers and journalists believe that radio and T.V. have been instrumental in advancing democracy in El Salvador. In their view, news coverage has improved and management-imposed censorship and reporters' self-censorship has decreased. Interview shows provide political leaders and military figures the opportunity to express their opinions. Radio phone-in shows are recent new attempts by the electronic media to allow citizens to express their opinions in an anonymous setting, but many broadcast executives find it difficult to attract sponsors.

Eligibility and Selection Criteria

The Project proposes that the contractor funded in the Citizen Involvement component operate an umbrella grants program in order to assist key non-partisan Salvadoran civic organizations to expand their democratic and electoral participation promotions. A principle of selection for the civic organizations will be the representativeness of the civic organizations of a reasonable range of political spectrum and absence of identification with a single political party. Further, the contractor will be obliged to judge the legitimacy of the civic organization with respect to the fit between its membership and its program objectives.

As these civic organizations will not directly receive project funds, the financial, accounting, and internal control capacity of the civic organizations is not a significant factor. Rather, the assistance will be awarded on the basis of the conceptual merit of the proposal and the administrative and

managerial capacity of the civic organizations.

C. Social Soundness Summary

Civil society is the vehicle for democratic participation. The organizations that comprise civil society can educate citizens in political rights and responsibilities, as well as provide opportunities for citizens to organize around issues and seek political action. Expanded, more vigorous civic organizations can strengthen civil society within El Salvador's emerging democracy. The changing political environment after the coming of peace creates the opportunity for new civic organizations to emerge and for existing ones to become more active.

An active, pluralistic civil society comprised of organizations that express the interests of its membership to government is a requisite for stable democracy. A pluralistic, autonomous civil society is a channel for citizen participation and expression -- a means for making political leaders accountable to the citizens. Without an organized and resourceful civil society, fragile democracies cannot survive. Civil society contributes to democracy by representing a reservoir of resources to check and balance state power and by supplementing political parties in stimulating political participation. It multiplies the capacities of groups to improve their own welfare independent of the state, especially at the local level. Civil society assists in recruiting and training new political leaders and resisting the domination of an authoritarian regime.

While the foundations of an active civil society exist in El Salvador, it must develop further to achieve its potential. The expression of civil society through its organizations depends on the political climate and levels of tolerance within the political system. Civic organizations formed and functioned during the twelve-year civil war, but the restrictive political environment during the period limited their development. Despite the tendency within the population to organize and become involved, the political constraints of war and centralized government have prevented civil society in El Salvador from maturing in its mediating role between the citizenry and the state.

According to USAID's Regional Framework for Democratic Development, a highly centralized, authoritarian government limits political rights and economic reward to those with a privileged relationship with the state. Excluded from the political system, many organizations learned to pressure the government through direct opposition. The 1991 Democratic Study noted that in El Salvador these organizations often had become hierarchical and authoritarian as well as highly ideological.

Civic organizations that bring citizens closer to the

democratic process are emerging. However, they have been constrained by narrow political openings, highly centralized government, and limited development of civil society. The political space created by the peace will likely lead to a realignment of civic organizations and creation of new ones. New associations among and within groups may emerge in ways not anticipated. Organizations dedicated to civic awareness and participation will be among those expanding during this period, given the reduced political and personal risk of becoming involved in such organizations. Issues which have not been effectively addressed during the conflict, but are important to the Salvadoran people, may now come to the surface through these organizations and generate greater and broader interest in political participation.

The GOES is committed to national reconciliation and increasing devolution of central authority to municipalities. This, plus a willing public and working base of civic organizations creates the appropriate environment to increase the informed and active participation of the citizens of El Salvador in the political process. There is no one means of directly quantifying levels of political participation in the society since it can take many forms. However, voter participation in the March 1991 election, where 40% of the eligible voters (45% of those registered) cast ballots, provides insight to levels of citizen involvement in the political process when analyzed by gender, education, urban/rural areas and age. The conclusions are based on data collected by a post-election survey commissioned by USAID in October 1991:

- Fewer women than men participated in the elections.
- Rural residents are less likely to participate as compared to residents of San Salvador and secondary cities.
- Younger adults are significantly less included in the political process than voters 25 years of age or above.
- Although the reasons for abstention among the above groups are not clearly defined, lack of interest may indicate that voter awareness and mobilization campaigns might not have reached a sufficient number of these voters or that they are not motivated to participate.

The findings suggest that activities programmed by civic organizations should increase opportunities for all citizens to participate responsibly in the democratic process, including elections, with particular attention given to increasing participation of the under-served populations of women, rural dwellers and youth.

Participation at the Local Level

Exercise of civic responsibility may be difficult to achieve in a public that lacks confidence in the political system, especially among under-served population groups. National

institutions and national politics seem remote to many Salvadorans. Local politics and institutions, on the other hand, are more real, immediate and concrete, and present an arena for political consciousness-raising and action.

The municipal code gives citizens at the local level the means to access political decision-making through town meetings (cabildo abierto), local referenda (consulta popular) and improvement committees (comité pro-mejoramiento) that emerge around an issue. Still, not all citizens are aware of the process for accessing the political system through these means. Also, they are less likely to participate if they don't belong to the same political party as the mayor and municipal council. Some mayors resist opening the system to citizens because it threatens their control.

Another mechanism for reaching communities and building civic action programs with community leaders is the Association of Ex-becarios (CAPS scholars). The Mission's program deliberately selects persons of above average leadership traits when awarding scholarships. Many are natural leaders in their community and formulate projects designed to help their communities as a fulfillment of their responsibility, which they submit to the national association for funding. There are 500-600 active members, of which approximately 150 are considered noteworthy leaders.

D. Institutional Analysis Summary

The Civic Organizations

As discussed in the constraints analysis, the civic organizations in El Salvador have limited absorptive capacity due to the incipient nature of so many of them. However, by using a number of them simultaneously, a significant impact can be achieved. Few civic organizations can meet the USAID requirements for funds management, obliging the Project to use the technical assistance contractor to assist them to access and use Project financed services.

Since most civic organizations do not have legal status ("personeria juridica"), an authoritative compilation of civic organizations now operating in El Salvador does not exist. The Mission is compiling such a list, including a fuller description of the estimated 650 nongovernmental organizations operating in El Salvador and their current status and background. The range of civic organizations which support political participation is not fully defined, nor is the principal USAID survey of the field a statistically valid sample. However, the organizations interviewed for the Democratic Study helps to define the field of potential applicants for in-kind grants contemplated by the Citizen Involvement in Democratic Process component.

Under the more open political atmosphere, new organizations or coalitions among existing organizations most likely will emerge and the field will continue to expand as it has in other sectors. Of the 53 civic organizations surveyed in the Democratic Study in 1991, over half target marginalized populations, including campesinos, workers, women, refugees, and indigenous groups; 20% dedicate themselves to professional groups such as lawyer associations, teachers or businessmen; 13% claim to cover all population sectors; under 6% to students or to mayors and/or specific municipal constituencies; and only one is dedicated to influencing the GOES, ESAF and the FMLN. Geographically, 60% of civic organizations claim to work at a national level; 15% in one to three departments; 13% in four to eight departments; under 6% in single municipalities and internationally or regionally (Central America).

The findings demonstrate the existing interest through the interviewed civic organizations, to promote civic participation among women, youth and rural dwellers at national and local levels. Most civic organizations see themselves as nationally influential entities; a dubious premise that must be verified in individual cases. Regardless, data from the survey indicate attention by civic organizations toward the marginalized sectors, with claims to geographical coverage and influence at all levels.

Over half the civic organizations had a salaried staff of 15 individuals or fewer; while another 20% had paid positions for 16-50 persons; and 13% had a staff of 50 or more. Active membership for all civic organizations varied considerably. A breakdown of the totals shows that 40% of the civic organizations with membership had 100 members or fewer; 35% between 101 and 1,000; and, another 20% from 1,000 to 36,000. These figures indicate that the nature of the organization and the concept of membership vary among the civic organizations. More important may be that a third of the civic organizations reported no membership, and in some civic organizations, members were fewer than permanent staff. Most organizations surveyed could be characterized as having no continuous link to an organized membership.

Analysis of the volunteer make-up of the civic organizations shows that over 70% of the civic organizations actively recruit volunteers and almost all of these provide training. The majority of reported volunteers perform duties in program areas, while only very few volunteered for administrative duties. Active members in the civic organizations are comprised of 70% males, 30% female, but an examination of the volunteers shows women to be the majority: 60% women to 40% men. However, several women's organizations were included in the survey which accounts for the high overall percentage of female volunteers. This displays active interest from the beneficiaries' part as well as the civic organizations' commitment to maximize their effectiveness. While there is some disparity in the gender

proportion per function, the interest in the civic organizations' role and tasks is clearly demonstrated by the number of volunteers reported. Additionally, the report illustrates the importance of field work as opposed to administrative work, indicating a grounded pursuit of the issues.

Budgetary information from the civic organization population shows that half of the institutions that did respond have operating budgets under \$31,000 dollars; 12 report between \$62,000 and \$247,000 dollars; and six above \$247,000 dollars. Both of the latter categories, however, include organizations which are not characteristic of the larger NGO population. ISDEM, for example, is an autonomous GOES agency; CENITEC, FUSADES, and the Human Rights Commission receive USAID project assistance.

The main group of respondents cited lack of education and social justice as the largest impediments to sustained democracy. They also mentioned the lack of "concertacion," poor income distribution, poverty, and lack of access to political participation as important obstacles.

The Supreme Electoral Tribunal

As shown in the Institutional Considerations (Annex C), the strength of any election implementing entity is based on its image among the population as competent to discharge its responsibilities and scrupulously neutral in its operation. The population then can have confidence in the entity. For the Supreme Electoral Tribunal in El Salvador to attain a high level of citizen confidence, it must attend to four areas: internal structure, institutional image, transparent conduct of its duties, and timely announcement of electoral results.

In the internal structure, the SET should be staffed by career personnel under a system which permits the Tribunal to attract and keep qualified people. The promotion and assignment of authority should be based on stable, objective criteria rather than on political affiliation. There should be a permanent policy which permits communication, coordination and teamwork. At the SET, administrative and procedures manuals exist, however they are informally implemented. At its own initiative, the SET's predecessor agency began an update of these documents after the experience of the 1991 election.

As it develops its institutional image, the SET must ensure that the citizens are aware of its functions, objectives and policies. These policies must clearly show that the SET is not a political organization, but rather, one which supports democracy and as such is apart from the interests of the various political parties. Especially in El Salvador where personal connections have been more important than established procedure, the SET must project its non-partisan role and the separation of its work from the personal beliefs of its employees.

The SET conducts its duties openly. Those duties are the registration of voters and the updating and maintenance of the voter registry, timely distribution of carnets and rapid identification of registry errors to guarantee their incorporation in the "padron electoral", the training of permanent and temporary election staff, preparation and conduct of convenient and efficient elections, and informing the citizens how and where to vote. The timely announcement of results minimizes the appearance of an opportunity for fraud. Past elections have demonstrated efficiency of the Reception Committees to classify, count and determine final results, however authorities responsible to compile the information are reluctant to provide partial results, even though they are available.

PRJ/836

Logical Framework
Democratic and Electoral Processes

519-0391

<u>NARRATIVE SUMMARY</u>	<u>OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS</u>	<u>MEANS OF VERIFICATION</u>	<u>MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS</u>
<u>GOAL</u> To promote enduring democratic institutions and practices.	1. Increased public confidence in the electoral process. 2. Improved public knowledge, attitudes, and practices of democratic issues and processes.	1. Opinion polls 2. KAP Surveys	1. Peace process does not suffer delays.
<u>PURPOSE</u> To strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially the participation of women, young adults, and rural people.	1. Broadened geographical and numerical outreach of NGOs, leading to increased citizen awareness of political rights and responsibilities. 2. Increased availability of information about government through objective reporting, broader coverage of issues, and its wider dissemination through mass media and informal media. 3. Increased citizen confidence in the electoral process in general, and specifically in the ability of the SET to register voters and conduct fair, open elections according to established rules and procedures. 4. Increased participation in the 1994 elections by women, young adults, and rural people by helping to overcome attitudinal barriers to participation.	1. NGO census; replication of the 1991 Democratic Study 2. Monitoring of local media; opinion surveys 3. Evaluation of SET capacity; opinion polls 4. Opinion and KAP surveys	

SP

OUTPUTS

- | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| 1. Voter registration and educational programs implemented by NGOs reach 25% of the voting age population. | 1. Number of registered voters. Attendance or contacts made in educational programs | 1. NGO Records
Voter lists | 1. Adequate, timely ordinary budget allocation is made to the Tribunal. |
| 2. Registration of 200,000 new voters. | 2. Increment of registered voters/ over the 1991 baseline. | 2. SET lists. | |
| 3. Preparation and dissemination of pamphlets describing the electoral process and candidates. | 3. Number and dissemination areas of pamphlets or other alternative literature. | 3. Data and follow-up from subgrants | |
| 4. Number of citizens involved or reached by issue-awareness organizations NGOs increases by an average of 25% as compared to project inception. | 4. Number of persons who participate in meetings.
Number of persons who recall public positions on specified issues. | 4. Data from subgrants and surveys | |
| 5. Frequency of issue-oriented discussions between citizen groups and elected leaders increased in geographic regions where recipient NGOs operate. | 5. Number of persons who recall such discussions.
Number of groups which had such discussions. | 5. Data from subgrants and surveys | |
| 6. Publicly available internal operating norms and procedures for the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, a long-range organizational development plan, and strengthened data management capacity. | 6. Easy availability of norms and procedures.
Approval of the plan by the SET magistrates.
Larger memory banks, additional trained clerks, proven systems for data verification. | 6. Citizen requests for norms and procedures.
Decision of the Magistrates.
Review of data management facilities and procedures. | |
| 7. Updated manuals and pollworker training materials for elections procedures published and in use for the 1994 elections. | 7. Existence and utilization of manuals | 7. Review of manuals and SET records | |
| 8. More efficient procedure for voter registration, validation of information, and document issuance, and maintenance of the voter registry. | 8. Total registered population - Accuracy and timeliness of registration procedure. | 8. Registry composed to Census or projected populations
- Review of procedures and SET records | |
| 9. The standard time period between voter registration and issuance of a <u>carnet</u> will be reduced. | 9. Sample of application and delivery dates. | 9. Project data. | |
| 10. Objective observation of Salvadoran election procedures occurs. | 10. Two or three USPVOs delegations observe the March 1994 general elections. | 10. Reports of the observer teams. | |

W/P

INPUTS

	\$000	Grantee	\$000
Technical Assistance	1,850		
In-kind Grants	600	Salaries and operations	
Observation Subgrants	500	expenses at SET	1,150
Training	30	Volunteer time from NGOs	<u>200</u>
Commodities	500		
PSC Project Assistant	350	Total	\$1,350
Evaluation	70		
Audit	<u>80</u>		
Total	\$4,000		

1. OYB allocations arrive.

WPPRJ401

47

Dollar costs are adjusted for 2% inflation.

AID Contributions

Description	Unit Cost		unit	No.	FY 93		FY 94		FY 95		No.	Totals				
	dols	LC			dols	LC	dols	LC	dols	LC		combined				
Component 1. Election Involvement																
Chief of Party	620,002	00	ps	12	620,002	00	12	624,604	00	5	612,770	00	27	647,000	00	647,000
Short Term Assistance	620,002	00	ps	6	624,013	00	6	618,187	00	0	00	00	12	623,000	00	623,000
Opinion Surveys	00	622,000	budget	1	00	623,500	1	00	626,500	1	00	630,000	3	00	600,000	600,000
LPVO Subgrants	00	633,000	budget	3	00	699,000	6	00	6229,600	6	00	6271,320	15	00	6400,000	6400,000
Component Totals					6374,439	6122,500		6382,791	6236,100		6112,770	6301,320		6670,000	6400,000	61,350,000
Component 2. Supreme Electoral Tribunal																
Grant to IIRN/CAPEL	620,243	00	ps	20	6404,999	00	18	6386,283	00	4	678,000	00	42	6670,000	00	6670,000
Procurement Services	640,000	00	budget	1	640,000	00	0	00	00	0	00	00	1	640,000	00	640,000
International Training	62,500	00	ps	6	615,000	00	6	615,000	00	0	00	00	12	630,000	00	630,000
Concessions	6475,006	625,000	budget	1	6475,000	625,000	00	00	00	00	00	00	1	6475,000	625,000	6500,000
Component Totals					6934,999	625,000		6401,283	00		678,000	00		61,415,000	625,000	61,440,000
Component 3. Election Observation																
PVO Subgrant	616,000	00	ps	0	00	00	30	6500,000	00	00	00	00	30	6500,000	00	6500,000
Component Totals														6500,000	00	6500,000
USAID Management, Evaluation, and Audit																
Project manager	611,437	00	ps	12	6137,239	00	12	6143,474	00	6	677,287	00	30	6360,000	00	6360,000
Evaluation	645,000	00	budget	0	00	00	0	00	00	1	670,000	00	1	670,000	00	670,000
Audit	625,000	00	budget	1	625,000	00	1	626,500	00	1	628,500	00	3	600,000	00	600,000
AID Totals					6162,239	00		6171,974	00		6175,787	00		6510,000	00	6510,000
AID Contribution Total					61,471,587	6147,500		61,456,047	6236,100		6367,365	6301,320		63,295,000	6705,000	64,000,000
GOES Contribution Local currency costs are adjusted for 16% inflation.																
SET Salaries	61,500	00	ps	200	00	6300,000	175	00	6304,500	60	00	6124,828	435	00	6729,328	6729,328
Operating Expenses	610,000	00	ps	12	00	6120,000	12	00	6139,200	12	00	6161,472	36	00	6420,672	6420,672
Volunteer Time from LPVOs	6500	00	ps	125	00	642,500	125	00	672,500	97	00	645,000	347	00	6200,000	6200,000
GOES Contribution Total					00	6462,500		00	6516,200		00	6351,300		00	61,330,000	61,330,000
Project Totals					61,471,587	6430,000	00	61,456,047	6772,300	00	6367,365	6452,620	00	63,295,000	62,035,000	65,330,000

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Source Selection Information

TA Calculations

	Base Salary (w/o diff)	Allowances (all)	OBC (70% salary)	NICR (65% salary)	fee BI	Loaded Cost per month (incl diff)
Chief of Party FS 1/10	6939	2500	4871	4523	337	20802
Short Term Assistance FS1/10	6939	2500	4871	4523	337	20802
CAPEL Assistance -- FS 2/10	6939	2500	4871	4523	0	20243
USPSC Project Manager -- FSN 2/6	5028	2500	2400	503	0	11437

Social Analysis

This annex establishes a rationale for the Citizen Involvement component, which addresses the need to strengthen civil society for stabilizing democracy in El Salvador. Civil society is the vehicle for political participation. The organizations such as NGOs that comprise civil society can educate citizens in political rights and responsibilities. They also provide opportunities for citizens to organize around issues and seek political action. An expanded, more vigorous NGO sector would strengthen civil society within El Salvador's emerging democratic state. The changing political environment after the signing of the Peace Accords are expected to create the opportunity for new NGOs to emerge and existing ones to reorganize. NGOs working to increase citizen involvement in the democratic process need financial support to expand on-going activities or start up new programs.

The annex begins with a definition of civil society and describes the role of civil society in maintaining democracy. The status of civil society in El Salvador, factors that have affected its development, and the new atmosphere of political openness are reviewed, and implications for the growth of civil society are discussed. Levels of political participation in El Salvador are examined in terms of the experience of NGOs working on civic and issues awareness, and of participation of voters in the March 1991 election. Finally, strategies are explored to increase political participation with highlights from experiences of other countries.

Definition of Civil Society

Civil society is the non-governmental sector outside of the political party system. It consists of organizations representing businesses and producers, trade unions, student and professional associations; issues-oriented groups concerned with the environment, civil rights, community development, rights of women and minorities, policy studies; and, cultural and religious organizations. Autonomous mass media are an important element of interest and expression in civil society. Media are an important tool for transmitting message, and reinforcing or accelerating the education process in civic awareness programs.

The definition of civil society cited in Diamond's The Democratic Revolution, describes the mix of groups that form civil society:

[It is] that arena where manifold social movements (such as neighborhood associations, women's groups, religious groups, and intellectual currents) and civic organizations from all classes (such as lawyers, journalists, trade unions and entrepreneurs) attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangements to that they can express themselves and advance their interests (p. 7).

An active, pluralistic civil society comprised of organizations that express the interests of its membership to government is a requisite for stable democracy. A pluralistic and autonomous civil society is a check and balance to state power; it also is a channel for citizen participation and expression -- a means for making political leaders accountable to the citizens.

Without an organized and resourceful civil society, fragile democracies will not survive. According to Diamond, civil society contributes to democracy by: representing a reservoir of resources to check and balance state power; keeping the state in a democratic system from becoming the captive of anyone group or interest; supplementing the role of political parties in stimulating political participation; multiplying the capacities of groups to improve their own welfare independent of the state, especially at the local level; recruiting and training new political leaders; and, resisting the domination of an authoritarian regime.

These organizations and institutions address powerholders and express preference for candidates, but they do not seek to control power directly, in contrast to the elements of political society, such as parties, factions, politicians and alliances. Free and fair elections are a means within a democratic system for making public officials and the government institutions they manage accountable to the people who elect them. Civil society also is a vehicle for political action on issues that citizens share with a common outlook.

Civil Society in El Salvador

While the roots of an active civil society exist in El Salvador, civil society needs to develop further to reach its full potential in the terms described by Diamond. Although the size of the NGO community is not firmly established, its magnitude in selected sectors can be derived from recently completed surveys. Evidence from these studies suggests a strong tendency within Salvadoran society to mobilize and organize citizens around common issues. This confirmed by the history of some organizations that were more active in the past when the political openings were greater and allowed higher levels of activity.

The Democratic Study conducted in November 1991 for USAID's Office of Democratic Initiatives, interviewed 53 organizations active in electoral process, women's rights, human rights, labor and business issues, research and policy analysis, and the environment. Even during the years of the civil conflict, several organizations representing the interests of the popular sector and workers emerged and remained active throughout the 1980s. These organizations represented the needs of the displaced, squatters, earthquake victims, the unemployed, women, and victims of the war. The Democratic Study included some of these organizations that are still active in their interviews. The Institutional Considerations Annex reviews the results of the study.

Other completed surveys show that there are 31 NGOs in El Salvador concerned with environmental protection and 218 NGOs in the health sector. An ongoing USAID compilation of NGOs has yielded 650 organizations, including those already mentioned.

Factors Affecting Civic Participation

The expression of civil society through its organizations depends on the political climate and levels of tolerance within the political system. Although NGOs formed and functioned during the twelve-year civil war, the restrictive political environment during this period has limited their development. Despite the tendency within the population to organize and become involved, the political constraints of war and centralized government have prevented civil society in El Salvador from fully maturing in its mediating role between the citizenry and the state.

According to the LAC Regional Framework for Democratic Development, a highly centralized, authoritarian government restricts political rights and economic reward to those with a privileged relationship with the state. Excluded from the system, many organizations learned to pressure the government through direct opposition. The Democratic Study noted that in El Salvador, these organizations often had become hierarchical and authoritarian as well as highly ideological.

Successful integration of civil society depends as much on the will and ability of people to organize as the opening of the system to universal political participation. The Regional Framework states

...the main requirement of democratic government -- participation by the people, either directly or through their representatives, in the making of laws -- is still very weak in Latin America, and the will of the elites to transform their regimes into genuine democratic systems is still an important missing ingredient to successful democratization (p. 18).

Organizations Supporting Political Participation

The emergence and development of civic organizations that traditionally bring citizens closer to the democratic process have been constrained in El Salvador by narrow political openings due to the civil war, highly centralized government, and limited development of civil society. Evidence from opinion polls shows low levels of citizen awareness and knowledge of political rights, low rates of involvement and participation in the political process, and inadequate identification of needs with appropriate follow-up and support.

The new political space created by the peace process will likely lead to the realignment of organizations and creation of new ones. New associations among and within groups may emerge in ways not previously realized or anticipated. One might anticipate that NGOs dedicated to civic awareness and participation will be among those expanding during this period, given the political and personal risk of becoming involved in such organizations in the past. Issues which have not been effectively addressed during the conflict, but are important to the Salvadoran people, may now come to the surface through these organizations and generate greater and broader interest in political participation.

52

The combination of a government committed to reconciliation, increasing devolution of central authority to municipalities, an end to the war, a willing public and working base of civic organizations (NGOs) creates the appropriate environment to increase the informed and active participation of the citizens of El Salvador in the political process.

Many organizations do not fully conceive links to their constituents, or provide effective outreach to potential membership or clientele. They do not effectively tap a volunteer constituency, and are limited by cash resources. NGOs reflect the highly politicized, fractious nature of society exacerbated by the years of war. Among the findings of the Democratic Study is that, "No single Salvadoran group currently exists with the capacity to recruit organisations and train personnel to assure broad and informed participation in this effort [to turn out the vote and guarantee a fair process]" (page 1).

Levels of Political Participation

There is no means of directly quantifying political participation in the society, since it can take many forms and has been restricted by the political environment for many population groups. However, voter participation in the March 1991 election, where only 40% of the eligible voters (45% of those registered) cast ballots, provides some insight into levels of citizen involvement in the political process when analyzed by gender, education, urban/rural areas and age. The analysis is based on polling data collected by a CID/Gallup post-election survey commissioned by USAID in October 1991.

Gender Differences

Only 54% of the women surveyed by CID/Gallup voted as compared to 69% of the male respondents. Among those who did not vote, more than three times as many women as men listed illness as a cause. This response is vague and can mask many underlying causes that the survey did not explore. Only a few more women than men cited not having the national identification ("cédula") as another reason for not voting. Of those who voted, the same number of men and women complained about the length of the line at the polls. Inconvenience may have been one factor that kept women from going to the polls, perhaps implied in their response that illness prevented them from voting; however, those who voted did not consider the inconvenience of standing in line at the polls a problem.

Participation of women in voting deserves further study in the future, not only to learn causes for abstention but attitudes toward participation. Data from polls conducted in Chile, Ecuador and other country experiences, notably Zambia and the Eastern European bloc, for example, suggest that older and rural women are the most resistant to change in the political process and are most likely to support entrenched leaders. Conversely, women in urban areas, from about 25 to 35 years of age, many of who tend to work outside the home, are a cluster who make up their minds for political candidates very late in the electoral process and then remain committed to their preferences. Men in transitional societies, on the other hand, are more likely to make political preferences early in the process and then vacillate in their decision making as the campaign goes on, following opportunities as they arise to "pick the winner".

Strategies for increasing voter turnout should consider gender difference which need to be analyzed further in future voter surveys. Women represent a significant voting block that has yet to be fully tapped and understood. Several NGOs working in El Salvador are dedicated to women's issues and provide the means for increasing civic, political awareness and participation among their clientele. Their experience might give some additional insight into reasons why women's participation has been constrained and how future voter registration and mobilisation drives might address these constraints. NGOs with access to women, particularly rural women, should be encouraged to participate in the program activities of this project.

Education Levels

The CID/Gallup Poll detected differences in voting behavior according to levels of education. Only 73% of those who completed secondary school education or higher voted, as compared to 61% completing primary school or less. Among the better educated, the most frequent reason for not voting (40% of those who did not vote) was "no interest". Markedly fewer in this category claimed "illness" as a cause.

Future voter education and mobilization campaigns should take into special consideration strategies for involving voters with lower levels of education through appropriately designed materials that are visually literate and methodologies that respond to interest levels and attitudes of the target group to stimulate involvement.

Urban/Rural Differences

A larger percentage of voters residing in San Salvador and secondary cities participated in the election (61% and 68%), as compared to only 60% in the most rural areas of El Salvador. Among the rural non-voters, a slightly larger number claimed "illness" or disinterest as a reason for not participating in the elections.

Reasons for non-participation by rural dwellers are not well-established by this data. As with women, one might assume that a special set of factors contribute to lower participation that are masked by reasons of illness and disinterest. NGOs that naturally link with rural populations such as cooperatives, unions, churches should be tapped to participate in voter registration and mobilization to address the special concerns and needs of this population group.

Age Group Differences

Age group differences were also noted. Only half (49%) of the youngest group of voters between the ages of 18 and 24 years voted as compared to 68% of those between 25 and 59 years of age. Only a smaller proportion of voters over 60 years of age tended to vote as compared to the latter group. Among the youngest who did not vote, they were the least inclined to claim illness and more often than other age groups cited not having a "cédula" as the primary cause.

Special attention should be given to stimulating the awareness and interests of the youth population in future voter-drives. Past efforts may not have adequately linked with this population group because they are more dispersed and difficult to reach. One means of reaching youth in voter education programs is through the formal school system, however, not all youth of voting age or youth who will reach voting age by the next elections are enrolled in schools. Needs and interests of female versus male youth vary and should be considered when designing voter registration and mobilization drives.

Those not enrolled in school are working and most likely have young families. Although the demographics of this population are not fully known, voter drives might include unions, cooperatives, religious organizations and sponsorship of special events that draw youth, such as dances. Programs which target the rural sector and women should include voting-age youth. Health programs that serve young mothers and children and another vehicle for reaching youth and women.

Summary of Findings

The data from the CID/Gallup Poll suggest the following conclusions:

- o Fewer women than men participated in the elections.
- o Rural residents are less likely to participate as compared to residents of San Salvador and secondary cities.
- o Younger adults are included in the political process to a significantly lesser degree than voters 25 years of age or above.
- o Although the reasons for abstention among these groups are not clearly defined, lack of interest may indicate that voter awareness and mobilization campaigns might not have reached a sufficient number of these voters or that they are not motivated to participate because of the issues, candidates or the process.

The findings suggest that programmed activities by NGOs should increase opportunities for all citizens to participate responsibly in the democratic process, including elections with particular attention given to increasing participation of the under-served populations of women, rural dwellers and youth.

Strategies for Increasing Democratic Participation

Civic participation in El Salvador has been constrained by a combination of factors, including: the political environment; civil war; an under developed civil society; and, the concomitant lack of awareness of political rights, responsibilities, and how they can be exercised in a democratic system. Strategies to increase participation need to combine knowledge with practice. Without practice and the results that actions bring, political participation will not become valued. As María Rosa Martini of Consciencia in Argentina states: "People will not defend what they don't value, or value what is unknown to them." Political action is one means of strengthening the value of becoming involved.

55

The first challenge for increasing citizen involvement in the political process is designing programs that are relevant to the individual, interactive and repetitive. Political rights and responsibilities should relate to the concerns and issues of citizens. They must be taught as well as practiced in the context of an individual's experience and reality. The process needs to be interactive, involving individuals in discussion and debate so the information is internalized and eventually used. Information is reinforced through repetition, allowing several exposures to information to ensure understanding and application. Not only are mass media an important tool for imparting information, they also are an effective means for reinforcing information.

Consciencia's experience in civic education in Argentina has been that instruction alone is not sufficient -- repeated practice is needed to internalize the information being taught. According to Consciencia,

Citizens learn by doing, by groping for solutions together in extensive workshops, by meeting frequently to discuss issues and hear the views of others, by teaching these principles to others, by repeatedly listening to civilized and substantive debates of the issues, by keeping actively informed, by creating new organizations of their own (in Diamond, p. 17).

The second challenge is to develop activities that result in democratic action. In addition to learning their political rights and responsibilities, citizens need to understand what mechanisms within the political system are available to them to take action on issues that are important to them. Education should empower citizens with a knowledge of how to network with each other or local groups to take effective actions on situations or problems in their daily life. Knowing how to organize a community around an issue, manage debate, develop consensus, present views to political powerholders, in a word -- advocate -- is also an important part of the education process. It is at the heart of participation in a democratic system.

The third challenge is to develop strategies for reaching under-served groups. Activities should build on organizations with a membership base among women, rural dwellers and youth. Such organizations are connected to the issues and needs facing these population sectors. They also have a natural leadership structure that provides access to these individuals. Collaboration among organizations is one approach of bringing together expertise with outreach. Participa's civic education campaigns, for example, included civic leadership seminars based on interactive adult education techniques and community seminars which reached out to grassroots populations through linkages with sixty-four other civic and professional organizations.

Civic education programs through the formal education system that include teachers and high school students are also an important means for reaching children and youth. Consciencia in El Salvador is currently receiving financial support from USAID to conduct civic education programs in high schools. USAID's Strengthening Achievement in Basic Education (SABE) Project is designing a civic education program with the Ministry of Education for the schools.

Civic education programs through the schools have been mounted in Guatemala, Costa Rica and Argentina, and established in other countries as part of a human rights education program. The experiences of these programs, particularly in Guatemala, demonstrate the importance of upfront teacher training and greater interaction in planning and implementation with other segments of the communities.

Participation at the Local Level

Exercise of civic responsibility may be difficult to communicate to a public that lacks confidence in the political system, especially among under-served population groups. National institutions and national politics are distant and remote in terms of their daily lives. Local politics and institutions, on the other hand, are more real, immediate and concrete, and present an arena for political consciousness-raising and action. The effects of participation are more visible and direct when the legal mechanisms for action are used by the public to advocate for its needs and interests.

The municipal code gives citizens at the local level the means to access political decision-making through the town meetings, and referendums, and pro-development committees that emerge on a spontaneous basis to organize around an issue. Not all citizens are aware of their rights or the process for accessing the system through these means. Also, they are less likely to participate if they don't belong to the same party as the mayor and city council. Some mayors don't open the system to the citizens because it threatens their control.

Many issues bind citizens together at the local level and create a natural will to organize and advocate. The experiences of the MEA (Municipalidades En Acción) program demonstrate the need to teach communities how to organize around issues, select priorities and how to use the structure in place to press for action. Citizens need to know how to approach the mayor, to present their case and how to advocate for their needs through "town meetings" and referendums. Mock town meetings can be held in schools to simulate the process and educate students. Mayors, in turn, need to learn how to encourage community initiative and how to respond to pressure from citizens.

A readily available mechanism for reaching communities and building civic action programs with community leaders is the Association of Ex-becarios (CAPS scholars). The association is divided into a national association, associations each department, with three in San Salvador, and five technical associations (teachers, community promoters, microentrepreneurs, coaches).

Returned CAPS scholars are encouraged to become involved in community projects as a condition of their acceptance in the CAPS program. Many are natural leaders in their community and formulate projects designed to help their communities as a fulfillment of their responsibility, which they submit to the national association for funding, as well as seek funds through locally-sponsored fund-raising events. Now there are 2,000 members in the associations, of which 500-600 are active.

The Small Development Assistance fund of USAID also works with community leaders to design and implement small municipal projects to assist communities in the improvement of roads, water systems and other public works of their choice. Other mechanisms for recognizing community leaders are through municipal programs, religious organizations, and grassroots NGOs working closely with communities on development projects.

Mass Media

Mass media (electronic and print) are an important tool for promoting civic awareness and accelerating the learning process, as are other forms of media for communicating messages, such as brochures, pamphlets, publications and posters. Radio has been used successfully for reaching illiterate and dispersed populations by organizations in the region such as Participa in Chile, Consciencia in Argentina and ASIES in Guatemala.

Mass media also have been used effectively to educate voters and motivate participation in elections. Media campaigns have been an important element of voter education programs conducted by the Interamerican Institute for Human Rights' Center for the Promotion of Elections (CAPEL), and were considered key to the high voter turnout in Nicaragua, for example.

Mass media and alternative media (posters, publications, pamphlets, voters guides) should be incorporated to the fullest extent possible by the implementors of this project to disseminate and reinforce information. Knowing how to access and use the mass media and other forms of media is also an important tool for political action.

In El Salvador, access is obtained through advertising, which is expensive (a full page advertisement typically costs over \$2,000), publicity (having journalists become interested in your story) and community service programs. TCS 246 and Channel 12 television present an early morning (8 a.m.) community service program featuring interviews and discussions on issues of importance. Some radio programs are sponsored by various groups, such as labor unions and women's groups, to carry a message, others include an half-hour program for call-ins and interviews. The print media contains a daily provincial section that can feature community programs and issues of interest. At 7:30 a.m. radio stations maintain an open line for reporters to call in their stories from the departments. Reporters could be informed about special happenings in the community prior to their call-in time so they can include that information in their report.

Media managers and selected journalists interviewed for the Democratic Study believe that radio and T.V. have been instrumental in advancing democracy in El Salvador. In their view, news coverage has improved and management-imposed censorship and reporters' self-censorship have decreased. Interview shows provide political leaders and military figures the opportunity to express their opinions. Radio phone-in shows are recent new attempts by the electronic media to allow citizens to express their opinions in an anonymous setting. However, as the study points out, many broadcast executives find it difficult to attract sponsors for these shows.

33

Although the opportunities for more active use of mass media to promote political participation are narrow now, a persistent demand from NGOs to explore options for using media may produce some unexpected results, especially if coupled with workshops for key figures in the media to build awareness about the importance of their participation in civic education and promotion. Training activities for local NGOs in how to design informational campaigns and literature, such as pamphlets, brochures, publications, voting guides, and posters are also needed and should be included in the training program of the USPVO.

Conclusion

Civil society is a key element in a democratic system. It contributes to the stability of the system and provides citizens the means for expressing their needs to the state outside of political parties. Participation in the political process is predicated on information and knowledge. When knowledge is conveyed in a relevant, interactive, repetitive manner with opportunity for practice, chances increase for its regular application. Citizen involvement in the democratic process, especially the under-served population groups of women, rural dwellers and youth, will most likely occur when experiences relate to their particular needs, allow for interaction, debate and discussion, are repeated through media and other means, and include an action component for participation. Only through successful application and practice will knowledge become valued and internalized.

91

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Institutional Considerations

While the basis for an active civil society exists in El Salvador, non-governmental organizations need to overcome initial barriers and to develop their capacity to serve as intermediate organizations within a democratic system. This annex considers the institutional capacity, management, reach and population sectors of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) involved in activities that could strengthen El Salvador's emerging democracy. It also explores the types of activities the NGOs promote, networks and potential inter-institutional collaboration, and the NGOs' perceived obstacles for greater political participation.

Overview

Since most NGOs do not have legal status ("personería jurídica"), a single source or compilation of NGOs now operating in El Salvador does not exist. Such a list would allow a fuller description of the organizations operating in El Salvador and their current status and background. USAID has constructed a list of 650 NGOs and is gathering information on their programs.

The Democratic Study conducted in November 1991 for USAID's Office of Democratic Initiatives, interviewed 53 organizations involved in "civic-democratic issues". These organizations are active in the areas of electoral process, women's rights, human rights, labor and business issues, research and policy analysis, and the environment. Although not an exhaustive review or necessarily representative of the full range of organizations that qualify within civil society, the study describes the structure and organization of the institutions interviewed and the civic-democratic programs of each group.

There are 31 NGOs in El Salvador concerned with environmental protection. The capacity of these organizations is being analyzed as part of the PROMESA project design to determine their advocacy ability on environmental issues. A June 1990 survey commissioned by USAID's Office of Health of NGOs working in the health sector identified 143 organizations dedicated to providing health services to low-income groups. Eighty-five of these organizations suggested health as their major focus, while the remainder included health among other activities. Since the beginning of the PROSAMI Project, an additional 75 NGOs have been identified, indicating the expanding nature of the NGO field.

Evidence from these studies suggests a strong tendency within Salvadoran society to mobilize and organize citizens around common interests. Even during the years of the civil conflict, a number of organizations representing the interests of the popular sector and workers emerged and remained active throughout the 1980s. These organizations represented the needs of the displaced, squatters, earthquake victims, the unemployed, women, and victims of the war. Several of these organizations were included in the Democratic Study, such as the Christian Committee for the Displaced (CRIPDES), National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), National Union of Workers and Campesinos

(UMOC), and the Committee of Mothers of Prisoners, the Disappeared, and Murdered Political Activists (COMADRES).

The Democratic Study

The sample of 53 organizations interviewed for the Democratic Study characterizes the field of potential applicants for in-kind grants contemplated by the Citizen Involvement Component. Under the more open political atmosphere, new organizations or coalitions among existing organizations most likely will emerge and the field will continue to expand as it has in other sectors. Questionnaires were divided by the Democratic Study into two general categories -- popular civic organizations and more mainstream organizations that included business associations, religious interests and professional groups.

The Democratic Study was originally intended to examine the identity, quality and opinions of organizations working toward increased democratic political participation. A secondary analysis of data collected by the study provides relevant information on the surveyed organizations' structure, funding, personnel composition, and perceptions as to their role in promoting increased political participation. Taken together, the responses to the questionnaire can be analyzed to establish the capacity of the civic-participation NGO sector to support democratic initiatives. The evidence shows that the NGOs surveyed offer a wide range of capabilities and potential outreach.

Target populations and geographical spreads

The data from the study establish NGO interest and initiative to support the project's purpose to increase citizen participation with special attention to women, rural dwellers and youth in all of El Salvador's geographical regions. However, because the respondents did not elaborate on activities carried out, it is not possible to determine the effectiveness of programs or outreach. Of the 53 NGOs surveyed, over half target marginalized populations, including campesinos, workers, women, refugees, and indigenous groups; 20% dedicate themselves to professional groups such as lawyer associations, teachers or businessmen; 13% claim they cover all population sectors; under 6% to students or to mayors and/or specific municipal constituencies; and only one to GOES, ESAF and the FMLN.

Geographically, 60% NGOs claim to work at a national level; 15% in one to three departments; 13% in four to eight departments; under 6% in single municipalities and internationally or regionally (Central America). Some NGOs did not respond.

While the extent and focus of interventions per sector cannot be extrapolated from this data, it does indicate that the majority 70% -- the sum of marginalized, all sectors and students -- of the NGOs work with those populations traditionally isolated from Salvadoran civil society. Additionally, the majority of surveyed NGOs operate at national level, while a third are active in departmental and municipal areas. One may question the claim that they are "national" organizations. Some, like labor unions, ANEP, COMURES, and ISDEM, have a basis to claim national scope. For others it is more a hope.

The findings demonstrate the existing interest through the interviewed NGOs to promote civic participation among women, youth and rural dwellers at national and local levels. Most NGOs see themselves as nationally influential entities; a premise that must be verified by the USPVO. Regardless, data from the survey indicate attention by the NGOs toward the marginalized sectors, with claims to geographical coverage and influence at all levels.

Personnel

The Democratic Study determined NGOs staffing patterns by surveying the number of paid personnel, active members and volunteers. The difference between active membership and volunteers is not clear, but it is assumed that members belong to the organizations without any active responsibility, while volunteers perform specific duties to further the work of the NGO.

Paid personnel: Over half the NGOs had a salaried staff of 15 individuals or less; while another 20% had paid positions for 16-50 persons; and 13% had a staff of 50 or more. Six NGOs did not respond.

Membership: Active membership for all NGOs surveyed totals 134,947 individuals, with 18 NGOs not reporting any. The range of membership numbers in organizations varied greatly, the smallest consisting of five members, the largest 36,000. A breakdown of the totals shows that 40% of the NGOs with membership had 100 members or fewer; 35% between 101 and 1000; and, another 20% from 1000 to 36,000.

Volunteers: Over 70% of the NGOs actively recruit volunteers while 22% do not; three NGOs did not respond. Of the NGOs who recruit volunteers, almost all provide training. The vast majority of reported volunteers perform duties in program areas, while only very few volunteered for administrative duties.

Gender composition of NGOs: The gender breakdown of membership and volunteers in the NGOs also might indicate perceived gender roles and respective responsibilities. Active members in the NGOs are comprised of 70% males, 30% female. However, an examination of the volunteer gender make-up shows women to be the majority: 60% women to 40% men. Several women's organizations were included in the survey which may account for the high percentage of female volunteers.

The data show that most NGOs recruit volunteers and train them. This displays active interest from the beneficiaries' part as well as the NGOs' commitment to maximise their effectiveness. While there is some disparity in the gender proportion per function, the interest in the NGOs' role and tasks is clearly demonstrated by the number of volunteers reported. Additionally, the report illustrates the importance of "field" work as opposed to administrative work, indicating a grounded pursuit of the issues.

Funding:

Budgetary information was collected from the NGOs, although ten organizations did not respond. Half of the institutions that did respond have operating budgets under \$31,000 dollars; 12 report between \$62,000 and

63

\$247,000 dollars; and six above \$247,000 dollars. However, organizations in the latter two groups are not characteristic of the larger set; both groups include recipients of USAID grants and organizations with GOES operational support.

Administration costs in relation to program costs were also noted, as well as the 1992 budget. The breakdown of precisely what constitute administrative and program costs is not specified, but the proportions given between the two allocations indicate that program costs comprise the bulk of expenditures for most of the NGOs. Of the 53 organizations interviewed, 19 did not respond; two reported no administrative costs; two reported no program costs. A quarter of the NGOs allocate under 10% to administration; another quarter between 20% and 30%; a fifth of the NGOs charge over 50%.

In relation to projected budgets for 1992, of the 43 NGOs who responded to budget questions, over half expected increases in 1992; a quarter projected the same funding levels. What is significant is that half of those respondents to the projected budget question did expect funding and growth, although from what source(s) is not clear. The numbers projected in future budgets might indicate wishful thinking (projections are up to eight times the 1991 budget) or a need for planning and realistic goal setting. The leanness of reported administrative costs is representative of where the NGOs consider the abundance of work and funding should go: to projects in the field and their implementation.

Personería Jurídica (legal standing and identity)

Taking the sample of 53 NGOs, there are 31 who have a legal identity; seven which do not for various reasons; and 15 are in the process. Of those who do not hold personería jurídica, two say they have no need for it, two say they have been denied for political reasons, three gave no reason for having it denied, and the rest of the "in process" group gave no response why or for how long the procedure has been going on.

Activities To Promote Civic Participation

An analysis of the responses given by the leader of the organizations interviewed provides some insight into the direction these organizations have taken to engender participation and what obstacles they see to fuller participation in the political process. It also reflects on the capacity of these organizations to engage in political action and grassroots organizing.

The types of activities most organizations within the first grouping of organizations engaged were in workshops and seminar-based information dissemination. Two organizations -- Organización de Mujeres Salvadoreñas (ORMUSA) and Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEMUJER) -- hoped to offer this type of civic education in the future through permanent schools dedicated to that sole purpose.

A significant number of these organizations also offered mass-based activities in voter mobilization and literacy programs. Two groups, Union Nacional Obrero-Campesino (UNOC) and Corporación Camino a la Paz (CAPAZ), have successfully used door-to-door campaigns in the past. This type of activity stands in contrast to that of the second group of more mainstream civic organizations. Except for the community-based Comunidad Segundo Montes, these

groups tended to offer predominantly fora, studies, and lobbying efforts to influence the peace talks between government and guerrilla leaders.

Networks

When asked what other civic groups had been effective or who had most helped their organizations get off the ground, the majority of respondents named several of their fellow civic organizations in El Salvador. In the second group, international foundations and agencies were also mentioned. This suggests that there may already be a fair degree of networking and commonality of interest among the groups. Organizations frequently mentioned as effective were Centro de Estudio Para La Aplicación del Derecho (CESPAD), Centro de Investigaciones Tecnológicas y Científicas (CENITEC), Instituto de Estudios Jurídicos de El Salvador (IEJES) and Centro de Investigación y Acción Social (CINAS) by the first group of respondents. The second group mentioned IEJES, CINAS, and COACES as most effective, but there was much more variation in their response. It should be noted that COACES, la Confederación de Asociaciones Cooperativas de El Salvador, was not among the groups surveyed.

In related question, respondents were asked what kind of group would be most influential in promoting civic education in El Salvador. CAPAZ responded constructively that they did not believe any one organization could influence the process greatly, but that it would be more positive to have a large number of organizations multiplying the efforts and methods of civic education.

Obstacles to Civic Participation

Perhaps the most interesting difference between the above two groups occurred in their evaluation of obstacles to Salvadoran democracy. The main group of respondents overwhelmingly cited lack of education and social justice as the largest impediments to sustained democracy. They also mentioned the need for concertación, poor income distribution, poverty, and lack of access to political participation as important obstacles. The second group of respondents, that is, the mainstream organizations, on the other hand, chose demilitarization and the role of the armed forces as the largest obstacles to democracy in the country. There was also, but to a lesser degree, concern for the issues mentioned by the first group.

There were a wide range of responses on how to overcome these obstacles. The grassroots respondents offered a variety of general solutions such as to expand civic education opportunities; make teachers themselves more aware of civic rights and responsibilities, restructure the judicial system, demilitarize the society, implement economic reforms, and aim for concertación. The more mainstream group of respondents offered quite similar responses, with a greater tendency toward judicial restructuring autonomy and demilitarization.

Future Plans

When asked how they would like to modify their programs, two of the more insightful responses came from UNOC, ORMUSA and CAPAZ. Both UNOC and ORMUSA cited the need for constant civic education, not just an election-oriented and election-driven process. CAPAZ focused on the need and opportunity for massive

65

media involvement in the 1994 elections. Notably, only five out of thirty-five respondents in the first grouping claimed to use radio as a means of communication and dissemination. The majority use paid advertisements and pamphlets. Of those who used radio, three were women's groups, one a think tank, and the other a union federation. One women's group mentioned that radio was a way to get "in the home". Another has used a radio call-in show as part of their outreach.

Political Action

A final point of interest in the responses was the attempt to see if the civic organizations tried to influence the political process through governing bodies. Most respondents gave vague answers that did not indicate what they did to influence government (which was in large part due, perhaps, to the methodology of the study that asked them a "yes/no" question without a follow-up "if so, what?"). One group, however, clearly stated that they were constantly lobbying various levels of government and that they believed that access to government should be wider. This was the national association of private businesses, ANEP.

Conclusions

The responses to the Democratic Study suggest that citizen participation has been largely limited to educational efforts and not fully expanded to strategic political action and issue-based advocacy. Although the reasons are not fully stated for this, one can only assume that the political environment was not conducive for this type of activity in the past for most of the groups interviewed. Also, use of media has been restricted to paid advertising, leaflets and brochures. A natural affiliation has occurred among some groups signaling the potential for collaboration in the future. There appears an overwhelming commitment to the need for more civic education as a way of increasing citizen participation in the political system.

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66

Supreme Electoral Tribunal

The strength of any election regulation entity rests on its image among the population as competent to discharge its responsibilities and scrupulously nonpartisan in its operation. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal can achieve such an image through a strong internal structure, transparent conduct of its duties, and timely announcement of electoral results.

Internal Structure.

A recent administrative analysis of the SET, observed that the SET inherited a series of generally acceptable procedural manuals for the operation of its routine tasks. Updates appear necessary, but the main drag on efficient operation is the lack of committed implementation of the procedures described in the manuals. Lack of coordination and communication among the units impede the timely identification of bottlenecks and solution of problems. Management information is centralized under the Data Processing Unit, which usually is the only one that uses the information available. The lack of coordination is in part due to the impermanence of the staff and to the allocation of jobs by patronage instead of more objective hiring. Manuals are also available for the training of pollworkers for the Voter Reception Committees, but they need updating and simplification. Moreover, the training of the committee chairmen in 1991 was not sufficiently rigorous to ensure that disputes at the polls could be settled quickly and authoritatively.

The administrative analysis also recommended: 1) an internal restructuring, which includes review of the administrative manuals, salary policies, clear definition of job descriptions, separation of the advisory and support staff, and establishment of responsibilities (the General Manager slot, created under the Peace Accords would assist the permanent coordination among the SET units and personnel); 2) staff training; and 3) design of an electoral career track with selection and promotion of personnel to be based on experience and professional skills.

As required by the 1992 Peace Accords, a draft of the revised Electoral Code was submitted to COPAZ for review in April, 1992. The revision incorporates the modification of approximately 200 articles, many of them procedural, which limit the efficient function of the SET. COPAZ had not yet completed its review by September 1992. Major changes that are still in discussion include procedural modifications in the registration process; incorporation of a registry and voting system by "areas", which means that the citizenry can register and vote close to their place of residence; incorporation of a broader and more neutral

control function by the SET; modification of the formation of the Reception Committee; elimination of procedural details, which may be incorporated instead into an Organic Law and administrative manuals. Until a new code is enacted, the SET continues to be governed by the Electoral Code as it was during the 1991 election. After the revised Code is enacted, an Organic Law will be developed to address the internal administration of the SET.

Institutional Image.

The SET must ensure that Salvadoran citizens are aware of its functions, objectives and policies. These policies must clearly show that the SET is a nonpartisan organization, one which supports democracy and as such is apart from the interests of the various political parties. Especially in a country where personal connections have been more important than established procedure, the SET must project its nonpartisan role and the need to separate its work from the personal beliefs of its employees.

The SET has the responsibility to maximize voter turnout. Prior to past elections, neutral, patriotic advertisements were placed on television and radio to promote voter registration and voting itself. Polling places and procedures have been carried in the newspapers, along with sample ballots. However, the SET has never attempted to measure the success of its campaign, relying instead on the turnout as the indication of success.

Voter Registration and Voting.

The SET is responsible for the registration of voters and the maintenance of the voter registry, timely distribution of carnets and rapid identification of registry errors to guarantee their incorporation in the "padrón electoral". It is also charged with the training of permanent and temporary election staff, preparation and conduct of convenient and efficient elections, and with informing the citizens how and where to vote.

Voter registration and maintenance of the registry are not technically difficult, although quality control is important. SET technical officers are aware that procedural problems, which also affect distribution of carnets, can be modified. The SET processes over three quarters of voter registrations within its standard time. Still, the registrations which were delayed, engendered doubt in the citizen's mind as to the cause. Mistrust of the SET can arise also over the absence of the voter's name on the official list at the polls. There is no reason to believe that delays and errors can be attributed to anything other than staff errors and inefficient procedures. However, mistrust damages the SET's reputation and makes the election process more difficult to believe.

A number of minor problems appeared on election day in 1991 at the polls. Errors in the voter list prevented some persons from voting. In San Salvador, the long lines of waiting voters discouraged an unknown number of voters from exercising their right. In some rural areas, the distance which some voters had to travel in order to get to the polls was

thought to be a limiting factor. Some polling stations were questioned because the Reception Committee was not well trained or sufficiently diligent. Taken together, the difficulties call for increased care on the part of the SET for the details of its work as improvements in the larger framework, the Elections Code, become accepted.

The timely announcement of results minimizes the appearance of an opportunity for fraud. Past elections have demonstrated efficiency of the Reception Committees to classify, count and determine final results. However, authorities responsible for compilation of the information resist providing partial results, even though they are available.

The announcement of results occurs after the voted ballots have been taken from public view and counted. In order to maintain confidence in the probity of the vote count, the count must be appropriately monitored and quickly accomplished. The SET has procedures to do this, and with the exception of precincts where recounts are necessary, can provide semi-official results within 24 hours of the voting. If the SET adopts provisions for immediate announcement, technical assistance may be provided to introduce necessary techniques and procedures. Provided the established procedures are respected, recounts proceed without incident.

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SALVADORAN PRIVATE CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

1. **UNION NACIONAL OBRERO CAMPESINO/UNOC**
Represents Workers and Peasants on a non-partisan political basis. It conducts seminars, street demonstrations, forums, door to door propaganda, electoral awareness and mobilizations. They have international private donors such as AIFLD, but don't have a Legal Identity. UNOC participated in the elections in March 1991, conducting seminars and forums to encourage the population to vote.
2. **CASA DE LA AMISTAD**
Its program concentrates on different economic and social sectors through the organization of seminars. It organizes groups to study different situations of the country to identify mutual benefits. Casa de la Amistad has received funds from USAID for a specific short-term activity. Its Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in the March 1991 elections.
3. **ORGANIZACION DE MUJERES SALVADOREÑAS/OEMUSA**
Its purpose is to organize and mobilize women to participate in the process of social, economic, and political changes of the country. It promotes Workshops and Seminars about Human Rights, and legal aid. They have International private donors such as Pan para El Mundo, MICERIOR, DIACONIAS, CARITAS. Its Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in Elections March, 1991
4. **CONCIENCIA**
Manages a Civic-Democratic Education Project for 5,000 students. They have had International donors such as USAID (which funded a single short-term activity) national, non-specific donors, and membership funding. Their Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in the March 1991 Elections.
5. **CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE LA MUJER/CEMUJER**
Strengthens women's organizations through training to develop participants in democracy. They promoted the first national forum on judicial condition for the Salvadoran women, with a permanent working group created from this forum. They have International donor: German Lutheran Women. Their Legal Identity is in process. They participated in promoting the March 1991 Elections, giving Orientation lectures about Democratic Rights.
6. **INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS JURIDICOS DE EL SALVADOR/IEJES**
IEJES promotes the respect and promotion of fundamental human rights. It defends the Constitution and promotes the establishment of the rule of law and democracy, and the ethical exercise of the Legal profession. They were the pioneers in promoting the opening of new spaces for the political debate with the pluralistic participation of all sectors. They have international donors such as Fundaciones HIVOS, Ford, Friedrich Ebert Foundation; they also have national membership as a source. They have Legal Identity. IEJES participated as a national observers team for the March 1991 Elections.

7. CRIPDES

Supports the displaced population in their right of resettlement in their places of origin. As part of their activities, they have prepared an educational program for the displaced population about independence, democracy, elections, human rights, children's rights and women's participation. They have private International and European donors. Their Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in promoting the March 1991 Elections.

8. CORPORACION CAMINO A LA PAZ/CAPAZ

CAPAZ' objectives are to motivate the population to register in the census and to use their citizens' rights. It makes door-to-door visits to encourage the population to register on a census. This activity covered 25,000 persons primarily popular sectors. They have International private donors, such as SVRI and membership as a national source. Their Legal Identity is in process. They participated in promoting elections in March 1991, making registrations, mobilisation, carrying out an opinion poll and supervising elections.

9. CENTRO DE ESTUDIO PARA LA APLICACION DEL DERECHO/CESPAD

Its objective is to encourage knowledge about rights and laws for a better social democratic coexistence. Base work by Workshops, Seminars, theaters, forums and publications in "El Diario El Mundo". They have International donors such as AGNI(Sweden), OXFAM(England); their national funds source is their professional service fees. They have Legal Identity.

10. INSTITUTO PARA EL DESARROLLO ECONOMICO Y SOCIAL (IDESSES)

IDESSES aims to develop peace and democracy; peace with social justice; participative democracy; and the development of an alternative national model. As part of their activities, they have provided technical assistance to popular and union organizations. They have private international donors, and their national funds source is professional service fees. Their Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in promoting the March 1991 Elections.

11. COORDINADORA NACIONAL DE LA MUJER/CONAMUS

Their activities have been focused on involving marginal communities to be aware of problems and help them participate in social, political and economic fields. They receive assistance from international private donors such as Canadian and USA churches; their own resources are obtained from the sales of their magazine "Palabra de Mujer". Their Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in March 1991 Elections.

12. CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES TECNOLOGICAS Y CIENTIFICAS, CENITEC

CENITEC is a Christian Democratic policy analysis organization which aims to strengthen the democratic process of El Salvador. Its activities include seminars and public forums with multisector participation. They receive funds from international donors (USAID and Konrad Adenauer Foundation) and private support; Its own resources are obtained from membership. They have Legal Identity. CENITEC didn't participate directly in March 1991 elections.

11

13. **MUJERES POR LA DIGNIDAD Y LA VIDA**
This civic organisation encourages women to achieve political, social, and economical equity. Their activities include workshops where they analyze women's every day problems. They receive International private assistance such as (NORAJ, ASDI, WINDS, USA). They don't have Legal Identity. They carried out mobilization in order to participate in promoting the March 1991 Elections.
14. **SOCIEDAD DE SEÑORAS DE OFICIALES**
This group of wives of military officers promotes the gathering of their members by social events. They took part in a street demonstration for the Jesuits murder judgement, not asking the freedom of the prisoners, but as a moral support. Their source of funds are memberships. They have Legal Identity. They didn't participate in March 1991 Elections
15. **CENTRO DE INVESTIGACION Y ACCION SOCIAL/CINAS**
They do research to help the democratic process and provide training and consultants. In 1989 elections they conducted seminars to train elections Observers. They published a pamphlet on democratic education. They receive private funds and have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting the March 1991 elections, supervising elections, making opinion polls, orientation seminars, and assisting vote reception committees.
16. **INSTITUTO SALVADOREÑO DE ESTUDIOS POLITICOS/ISEP**
ISEP provides political education for the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). Their activities have been conferences, seminars and radio publicity. They have private international donors such as the Adenauer Foundation. They have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting the March 1991 elections supervising the Elections process and support for the party.
17. **INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACION, CAPACITACION Y DESARROLLO DE LA MUJER/IMI**
This NGO concentrates on the promotion of Salvadoran women and children. Their programs have been directed to the rights and education of women. Their donors are governmental, private, International (Government of the Netherlands). Their Legal Identity is in process; they didn't participate in promoting March 1991 Elections.
18. **INSTITUTO DE HUMANISMO Y DESARROLLO DE EL SALVADOR/UNHUDES**
UNHUDES promotes integrated development and participation in society, incorporating Christian values. As part of their activities, they contribute to social, political and economical conciliation among different sectors of society, promoting a negotiated solution. They have private (Germany) and memberships quotas. Their Legal Identity is in process. They participated in promoting March 1991 Elections by mobilizing people.
19. **ASOCIACION DE MUJERES SALVADOREÑAS/ADEMUSA**
ADEMUSA's objective is to organise, train and develop Salvadoran women. Activities are training, community development workshops, motivational assembly to guide the democratic concept and how this could be implemented by elections. They have International private donors through two offices is New York and Los Angeles and the German Solidarity. Their Legal Identity is in process; they participated in promoting March 1991 elections by mobilizing voters and supervising elections.

12

20. CENTRO DE ORIENTACION RADIAL PARA LA MUJER SALVADOREÑA/CORAMS
CORAMS promotes women through written and spoken media to improve female conditions. They have radio programs to encourage the participation of women by an open telephone; they train women by seminars. They have international governmental and private donors (UNICEF, Canadian Cooperation, Global fund for Women (USA)). They have Legal Identity. They had indirect participation in promoting March 1991 Elections, supporting other women's associations that participated.
21. INSTITUTO SALVADOREÑO DE ADMINISTRACION/IRAM
This organization is concerned with municipal strengthening. They have written articles and held seminars, and also have made studies on municipal participation methods. Their donors are governmental (for the services they offer), private (Konrad Adenauer); their Legal Identity is in process. They didn't participate in elections of March 1991.
22. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SALVADORAN INDIANS/ANIS
ANIS defends the rights, aims, spiritual and cultural values of the Native populations. They participated in activities with the Comité Permanente del Debate Nacional por la Paz (CPDM) and organized some cultural activities in the whole country. They also presented candidates for Mayor. They have private donors and membership dues. They have Legal Identity. They participated in March 1991 elections mobilizing, supervising but not in a permanent or a partisan way.
23. CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DEMOCRATICOS (CEDEM)
CEDEM's program aims to create leaders, analyze policy, and to write laws and recover moral values. Their activities are a monthly seminar about Human Rights given to the Army; and also have given seminars to national and international journalists. They have international private donors (Fundación Hans Seidel) and national membership. They have Legal Identity. They participated in March 1991 elections with opinion polls.
24. CONSEJO DE COMUNIDADES MARGINALES/CCM
To represent and defend the interests of marginal communities. In 1989, they started motivating and encouraging their population to vote because they considered there was a political space for them. They have international governmental and private donors as well as national donors. They don't have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting March 1991 elections by giving orientation talks.
25. CENTRO DE CAPACITACION PROFESIONAL
This organization trains institutions and non-governmental agencies in mass education methodology. They have trained electoral promoters and encouraged participation in elections through the Baptist church and REDES. They have national private donors. Their Legal Identity is in process. They participated in promoting March 1991 elections doing electoral promotion in those sectors.

26. PATROFATO DE DESARROLLO DE LAS COMUNIDADES DE LAS COMUNIDADES DE MORAZAN Y SAN MIGUEL/PADECOMS
PADECOMS promotes integrated community development in order to solve problems of unemployment, health and education. They have organized street demonstrations to publicize problems and injustices. They give loans to community councils for the production of basic grains. They receive assistance from international private donors. They have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting March 1991 Elections enrolling people, mobilizing them and supervising the process.
27. COMUNIDAD SEGUNDO MONTE
This organization promotes integrated development of the community to achieve a better standard of living. They receive assistance from governmental and private international donors (CCE, Swedish DIACONIAS, Pan para el mundo, Ayuda en acción and Lutheran Church). They don't have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting March 1991 elections registering and mobilizing voters and observing the voting tables.
28. PIRUDE
A non partisan women's organization founded in 1982; its main purpose is to contribute to the development of Salvadoran youth and women through educational, cultural and moral programs. Their activities are to train leaders in the cities and rural areas on civic responsibilities. Their economic support comes from membership monthly dues. They participated in promoting March 1991 elections by training in moral and civic responsibilities.
29. FUNDACION SALVADOREÑA PARA EL DESARROLLO ECONOMICO Y SOCIAL/FUSADES
It is a private non partisan institution that promotes studies and finance projects to encourage the Salvadoran social and economic development within a private enterprise framework. Their activities have been to educate the population about the national socio-economic problems by seminars, publications and training. Their international donors have been AID, BID, ONU, CINPE; and their national source of funds are membership dues. They have Legal Identity, but did not participate directly in promoting elections in March 1991.
30. ASOCIACION NACIONAL DE EMPRESAS PRIVADAS/ANEP
Their purpose is to organize and coordinate the business community. Their activities are to promote justice. They have international private donor such as CIPE; they have non specific national donors and membership monthly dues. They have Legal Identity. They participated in promoting March 1991 elections by encouraging people to vote.
31. INSTITUTO DE DERECHOS HUMANOS DE UNIVERSIDAD CENTROAMERICANA/IDHUCA
Their purpose is to look after and strengthen Human Rights in El Salvador.
32. ASOCIACION SALVADOREÑA DE INDUSTRIALES/ASI
Its purpose is to support the industrial sector of El Salvador as source of employment in the country. It conducts seminars, training, and conferences about topics of interest for members. Its source of funds comes from memberships dues, fees from seminars and events, rent for the use of their auditoriums; ASI also receives international financial support from USAID. They have Legal Identity. ASI did not participate directly in the 1991 elections.

14

33. CAMARA DE COMERCIO DE EL SALVADOR

Their purpose is to protect the commercial, industrial and financial interests of the country; defend the principles of economic freedom and of free enterprise; and work for the effective development of the Central American Common Market. Their activities include training, seminars, and support to El Salvador in international trade fairs. Their source of funding comes from memberships dues, seminar fees and also international donors as USAID. They have Legal Identity.

34. COMITE PERMANENTE DEL DEBATE NACIONAL POR LA PAZ/CPDN

Its main purpose is to encourage the political negotiation for peace. Their activities were focused on promoting negotiation between the Government and the FMLN to end the war and reach peace. Street demonstrations and peaceful concentrations were used to create awareness about the unnecessary nature of the war. Their source of funds comes from international private donors and local memberships dues. They do not have Legal Identity.

35. OFICINA DE ASISTENCIA JURIDICA Y DERECHOS HUMANOS

This organization assists the population in judicial and human rights and educates people about their rights. They have not conducted any political activity as they only began in 1992. Their source of funds comes from national unions and labor groups. Their Legal Identity is in process.

36. ASOCIACION DE ABOGADOS DE EL SALVADOR

Its purpose is to maintain the unity of the Bar Association and to maintain relationships with the different sectors of the Government, labor sectors, managers and the media. They have promoted seminars with Central American, Caribbean, Mexican and the United States Bar Associations in El Salvador to study the penal code, labor laws, and professional ethics. They have also developed studies on reforms to the Penal Code, procedural laws, etc. Its source of funds comes from members' monthly dues; USAID funds have provided technical assistance and minor operational support to the national Federation. They have Legal Identity.

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15

Technical Considerations

Working With the Civic Organizations

With the coming of peace in El Salvador, over 650 local NGOs have surfaced. Some had operated small or tentative programs during the conflict, while others are driven by the desire of communities to begin rebuilding after the hostilities ceased. According to USAID's preliminary inventory of NGOs done in early 1992, the majority aim their programs at mobilizing people for locally important development activities and at capturing GOES or donor funds to carry them out. A very few of these NGOs may be qualified as "civic organizations" whose program is principally aimed at increasing understanding and participation in the democratic system of government. The Project concentrates on the civic organizations alone.

The principle implementing mechanism for the Project is the technical assistance contract for citizen involvement. Prior to its award, USAID will analyze the civic/voter education programs of the ten civic organizations identified in Annex C, Institutional Analysis. These civic organizations currently appear to have the greatest outreach and institutional capacity to reach women, younger voters, and the rural population. The information will be made available to the Contractor staff when they arrive in the field.

Under its terms of reference, the technical assistance contractor will operate an umbrella grant mechanism in support of selected Salvadoran civic organizations. USAID will compile a small group of candidates for Project assistance and select the potential grantees from among them. Special care will be taken in selection of civic groups and design of programs to assure outreach to formerly conflictive zones. In order to achieve broad coverage in the pre-election period, consideration will be given to programs which work through, for instance, women's groups, cooperatives, occupational organizations, student associations, and unions and professional associations such as nurses.

USAID will screen the civic organizations against the criteria below in order to establish their eligibility to receive project assistance.

1. Clear commitment to democratic principles, plurality, and freedom of political choice.
2. Non-partisan and inclusive character (no single-party identification; if multi-partisan, then must be broadly representative of the electoral party spectrum).

76

3. Clear mission statement or charter with organisational objectives, relevant to civic education or issue-awareness areas, and an identified governing board.
4. Experience in civic outreach, either organisationally, or through collective membership.
5. Evidence of leadership capabilities; commitment to the objectives of the Project.
6. Developed membership base, volunteer network, and funding base.
7. Potential for national coverage or strong potential for outreach to women, youth, or rural dwellers.
8. Existence of established accounting system and qualified personnel for management of resources. (Only qualified civic organisations would directly manage Project funds.)

The Contractor will help these groups to prepare and refine proposals for voter education activities. The assistance in preparation permits the Contractor to become fully aware of the potential grantee's management and program capacity. The grant applications will include participative methodologies which allow for discussion and examination of issues important to the elections. Training and assistance by the Contractor will encourage the expanded use of print and electronic media and informational leaflets which supplement the more common person-to-person outreach programs. The grantee will also be assisted in setting clear, feasible program goals. Upon USAID concurrence in the proposals, the contractor will execute the grants and administer them.

Prior to the elections, USAID anticipates two to four in-kind grants, each having an average value of \$50,000, for up to ten months of activity. The Contractor will establish Memoranda of Understanding with grant recipients that will detail activities, contributions and budgets, and in-kind costs and small value procurement of goods and services to be managed directly by the Contractor.

The Contractor will request a review panel, with representation of USAID's Office of Democratic Initiatives and the Embassy Political Office, as appropriate, to evaluate proposals submitted by local NGOs. The Contractor is responsible for assigning and matching the relative weight of the criteria to the category of activities being proposed. For example, it may be more difficult for a think tank to define a strategic action that will result from the proposed project as compared to a civic action project. Access and availability to media may be severely constrained in some regions of the country. Limiting participation of organizations in the project for this reason defeats the project purpose. Appropriate adjustments to the criteria that better fit the reality and type of activity being proposed should be expected and made by the Contractor.

11

The proposals submitted by the local NGOs must address the following items in order to clearly show their own absorptive capacity and the value of the proposal to achievement of the Project Purpose.:

1. Qualified personnel to implement the proposed activity.
2. Methodology that meets the selection criteria appropriate to the proposed activities.
3. Realistic timetable for implementing tasks.
4. Management plan for executing proposed activities.
5. Accounting system and qualified personnel for managing project funds.
6. Reasonable and realistic budget to support project costs.
7. Clearly defined target population group and geographical area.
8. Identify a clear methodology for reaching population targets in the specified geographical area.
9. Describe an approach for disseminating information or increasing coverage through the mass media or alternative media.
10. Provide evidence that the proposed activities will increase informed and active participation of citizens in the political process.
11. Demonstrate that project objectives and methodology are relevant, interactive, repetitive, strategic, and verifiable.

Relevance

The strategy proposed for reaching the target audience and the process for increasing citizen involvement must be relevant to the lives of the people who are targeted. Voter education and, after the election, issue awareness and advocacy, should relate to the concerns and issues as expressed by the citizens. The content and methodology of the publicity campaigns should be appropriate to the education level, experience and interests of the target group.

Interaction

The Project will favor activities which are based on interactive or participatory methods. Such methods may include discussions, debates and dialogue to encourage the exchange of ideas, particularly with intact social groupings (such as women's groups, cooperative members, youth groups, neighborhood associations). Much of the confidence in democracy which the Project seeks to promote will depend on the successful participation of a majority of the population. Experience in other USAID projects has demonstrated that small group and informal sessions are more conducive to discussion and process. Practice in participatory democracy is also important to success. As people learn to gain consensus in small groups, they can more

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satisfactorily represent the group in large public gatherings such as the open town meetings. Efforts to increase citizen involvement should result in a specified action or plan for action that is clearly identified and based on consensus with the interested group of citizens.

Repetition

Voter education and organization around issues requires that social and technical skills be transferred to the local leadership. The leaders must master them in order to promote participation at the polls and in building consensus about positions on an issue. Therefore, Project-funded grants will emphasize strategies for repeating the message of the grantee through several channels to maximize its impact. Voter education especially should be disseminated through conventional and alternative media to deliver the message and then to reinforce the information being imparted. Short-range local radio stations have been successfully used for this purpose in agricultural extension and announcements about the United Nations force, ONUSAL. However, the reinforcement process does not mean reliance on costly radio/TV spots or newspaper paid advertisements. Where effective, the grantees can use posters, handouts, leaflets, newsletters, or targeted mailings.

Verifiable

Whatever activity may be undertaken by a grantee, the Contractor will ensure that its effects are concrete and measurable. The grants will include a measurable final output, with interim progress indicators as appropriate. The subgrantee and the contractor will agree at the outset on evaluation criteria and methodology in order to validate the objectives of the activity, and will explicitly state these in the Memorandum of Understanding.

WPPPRJ731
(18-21)



AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A. I. D. MISSION
TO EL SALVADOR
C/O AMERICAN EMBASSY.
SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, C. A.

Annex F

ACTION MEMORANDUM TO THE ACTING MISSION DIRECTOR

From: Deborah Kennedy, ODI and Michael Deal, PAJ

Subject: Democratic and Electoral Processes Project, 519-0391

Issue: Your approval is required for the Project Identification Document and the design of the Democratic and Electoral Processes Project. This \$4.0 million grant to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal will assist it to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic electoral process. The Project, to be carried out over a three year period under a bilateral agreement with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, will cost \$5.35 million, of which \$1.35 million will be funded by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal and participating Salvadoran NGOs.

Background: On January 16, 1992, the Salvadoran Government and armed insurgents signed a peace accord that will bring an end to twelve years of violent conflict. Despite the civil disturbance, the last decade has brought about positive changes toward building a stable democracy. In 1989, for the first time since 1931, a freely elected government peacefully transferred power to another freely elected government from a rival political party.

The upcoming 1994 election will be important due to its truly national scope: the President of the Republic, the 84 deputies in the Legislative Assembly, and all 262 municipal mayors will all be on the ballot. Further, it will be the first participation of the FMLN as a political party. The election will implement constitutional reforms enacted in 1991 which broaden political party representation in the Electoral Tribunal as well as the 1992 Peace Accords which call for a new electoral code.

The Project: Technical and operational weaknesses in the Salvadoran electoral process and low levels of public understanding of electoral and civic issues have limited Salvadorans in the effective exercise of their right to vote. The goal to which the Project contributes is to support the development of a stable democratic society in El Salvador. The Project purpose is to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic electoral process, especially access by women, young adults, and rural people. This purpose will be accomplished by improving procedures and safeguards for carrying out free, fair, and transparent elections and by strengthening the concept among Salvadorans of the right and obligation to vote. The Project will also assist non-governmental civic and issue-awareness organizations to promote wider public debate and involvement, electoral participation, and pluralistic representation.

The Project will have three components: 1) electoral process improvement through support to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal; 2) strengthening of citizen information, awareness, and involvement in the democratic electoral process, and 3) support for international electoral observers in 1994. Project beneficiaries are 3.0 million Salvadorans eligible to vote, including approximately 1.4 million who did not vote during the 1991 election, particularly women, young adults, and rural dwellers. Secondary beneficiaries are the Salvadoran people as a whole.

Discussion: The Project was reviewed by the Mission on February 3, 1992; the minutes of that review are attached. The reviewers recommended that, as modified, the PID be submitted for your approval. Based on the review, the following modifications were made in the PID:

The emphasis on strengthening civic culture, Component Two, will remain in the Project. The PID now includes a stronger link between women, young adults, and rural dwellers and the activities of the Component. The Project Paper will clearly identify the need for potential subgrantees to demonstrate how they will reach these priority groups for increased participation in the electoral process. The EPS section, page 5, explains why the Project does not include a percentage increase in voter participation as an indicator of success.

The text of Component One, page 7, now indicates that under no circumstances does the Mission want project funds to support the SET's operating expenses.

The reviewers agreed that the Mission is disposed to accept the proposed PSC position for ODI, understanding that the Mission still needs to work out the personnel ceiling. The increase of \$500,000 in the ICP funding level to fund the PSC will come from projectized ESF funds.

Concerning assistance to political parties, the Project Paper design will analyze the technical needs of political parties and consider the desirability and feasibility of a small, focussed sub-component for political party training.

The Project Paper design was planned as a collaborative exercise with a USPVO, leading to a July obligation. However, upon further consideration after the review, the Project design was modified to a Handbook 3 grant to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, with a large Handbook 13 subgrant to a USPVO embedded in the Project. The change permits the Mission to expeditiously furnish support to the Electoral Tribunal in an early summer obligation. This is an especially important commitment in view of the changes in the Tribunal and electoral code which were embodied in the Chapultepec Peace Accords. The subgrant will be competed shortly after obligation, allowing additional time to define the USPVO's responsibilities and contribution to the Salvadoran democratic process.

- 91 -

Authority: LAC Delegation of Authority No. 752, dated August 2, 1991, permits you to approve a Project Identification Document provided that approval authority has been redelegated to the field. Authority for you to approve this PID was delegated to you in State cable 069646, dated March 5, 1992.

Recommendation: That by your signature below and on the accompanying Project Identification Document facesheet, you approve the Project Identification Document for the Democratic and Electoral Processes Project.

APPROVAL *John L. Lora*

DISAPPROVAL _____

DATE 3/23/92

Drafted by	Wherry, PRJ	(in draft)	_____	Date	_____
Cleared by	McKee, DPP	(in draft)	_____	Date	_____
	Arnold, CONT	(in draft)	_____	Date	_____
	LMcGhee, CO	(in draft)	_____	Date	_____
	ISayer, MLA	<i>6</i>	_____	Date	<u>3/10/92</u>
	JLovaas, DDIR	<i>1</i>	_____	Date	<u>3/23/92</u>

WPPRJ38:15-17

Technical Considerations

Working With the Civic Organizations

With the coming of peace in El Salvador, over 650 local NGOs have surfaced. Some had operated small or tentative programs during the conflict, while others are driven by the desire of communities to begin rebuilding after the hostilities ceased. According to USAID's preliminary inventory of NGOs done in early 1992, the majority aim their programs at mobilizing people for locally important development activities and at capturing GOES or donor funds to carry them out. A very few of these NGOs may be qualified as "civic organizations" whose program is principally aimed at increasing understanding and participation in the democratic system of government. The Project concentrates on the civic organizations alone.

The principle implementing mechanism for the Project is the technical assistance contract for citizen involvement. Prior to its award, USAID will analyze the civic/voter education programs of the ten civic organizations identified in Annex C, Institutional Analysis. These civic organizations currently appear to have the greatest outreach and institutional capacity to reach women, younger voters, and the rural population. The information will be made available to the Contractor staff when they arrive in the field.

Under its terms of reference, the technical assistance contractor will operate an umbrella grant mechanism in support of selected Salvadoran civic organizations. USAID will compile a small group of candidates for Project assistance and select the potential grantees from among them. Special care will be taken in selection of civic groups and design of programs to assure outreach to formerly conflictive zones. In order to achieve broad coverage in the pre-election period, consideration will be given to programs which work through, for instance, women's groups, cooperatives, occupational organizations, student associations, and unions and professional associations such as nurses.

USAID will screen the civic organizations against the criteria below in order to establish their eligibility to receive project assistance.

1. Clear commitment to democratic principles, plurality, and freedom of political choice.
2. Non-partisan and inclusive character (no single-party identification; if multi-partisan, then must be broadly representative of the electoral party spectrum).

3. Clear mission statement or charter with organisational objectives, relevant to civic education or issue-awareness areas, and an identified governing board.
4. Experience in civic outreach, either organizationally, or through collective membership.
5. Evidence of leadership capabilities; commitment to the objectives of the Project.
6. Developed membership base, volunteer network, and funding base.
7. Potential for national coverage or strong potential for outreach to women, youth, or rural dwellers.
8. Existence of established accounting system and qualified personnel for management of resources. (Only qualified civic organizations would directly manage Project funds.)

The Contractor will help these groups to prepare and refine proposals for voter education activities. The assistance in preparation permits the Contractor to become fully aware of the potential grantee's management and program capacity. The grant applications will include participative methodologies which allow for discussion and examination of issues important to the elections. Training and assistance by the Contractor will encourage the expanded use of print and electronic media and informational leaflets which supplement the more common person-to-person outreach programs. The grantee will also be assisted in setting clear, feasible program goals. Upon USAID concurrence in the proposals, the contractor will execute the grants and administer them.

Prior to the elections, USAID anticipates two to four in-kind grants, each having an average value of \$50,000, for up to ten months of activity. The Contractor will establish Memoranda of Understanding with grant recipients that will detail activities, contributions and budgets, and in-kind costs and small value procurement of goods and services to be managed directly by the Contractor.

The Contractor will request a review panel, with representation of USAID's Office of Democratic Initiatives and the Embassy Political Office, as appropriate, to evaluate proposals submitted by local NGOs. The Contractor is responsible for assigning and matching the relative weight of the criteria to the category of activities being proposed. For example, it may be more difficult for a think tank to define a strategic action that will result from the proposed project as compared to a civic action project. Access and availability to media may be severely constrained in some regions of the country. Limiting participation of organizations in the project for this reason defeats the project purpose. Appropriate adjustments to the criteria that better fit the reality and type of activity being proposed should be expected and made by the Contractor.

84

The proposals submitted by the local NGOs must address the following items in order to clearly show their own absorptive capacity and the value of the proposal to achievement of the Project Purpose.:

1. Qualified personnel to implement the proposed activity.
2. Methodology that meets the selection criteria appropriate to the proposed activities.
3. Realistic timetable for implementing tasks.
4. Management plan for executing proposed activities.
5. Accounting system and qualified personnel for managing project funds.
6. Reasonable and realistic budget to support project costs.
7. Clearly defined target population group and geographical area.
8. Identify a clear methodology for reaching population targets in the specified geographical area.
9. Describe an approach for disseminating information or increasing coverage through the mass media or alternative media.
10. Provide evidence that the proposed activities will increase informed and active participation of citizens in the political process.
11. Demonstrate that project objectives and methodology are relevant, interactive, repetitive, strategic, and verifiable.

Relevance

The strategy proposed for reaching the target audience and the process for increasing citizen involvement must be relevant to the lives of the people who are targetted. Voter education and, after the election, issue awareness and advocacy, should relate to the concerns and issues as expressed by the citizens. The content and methodology of the publicity campaigns should be appropriate to the education level, experience and interests of the target group.

Interaction

The Project will favor activities which are based on interactive or participatory methods. Such methods may include discussions, debates and dialogue to encourage the exchange of ideas, particularly with intact social groupings (such as women's groups, cooperative members, youth groups, neighborhood associations). Much of the confidence in democracy which the Project seeks to promote will depend on the successful participation of a majority of the population. Experience in other USAID projects has demonstrated that small group and informal sessions are more conducive to discussion and process. Practice in participatory democracy is also important to success. As people learn to gain consensus in small groups, they can more



satisfactorily represent the group in large public gatherings such as the open town meetings. Efforts to increase citizen involvement should result in a specified action or plan for action that is clearly identified and based on consensus with the interested group of citizens.

Repetition

Voter education and organization around issues requires that social and technical skills be transferred to the local leadership. The leaders must master them in order to promote participation at the polls and in building consensus about positions on an issue. Therefore, Project-funded grants will emphasize strategies for repeating the message of the grantee through several channels to maximize its impact. Voter education especially should be disseminated through conventional and alternative media to deliver the message and then to reinforce the information being imparted. Short-range local radio stations have been successfully used for this purpose in agricultural extension and announcements about the United Nations force, ONUSAL. However, the reinforcement process does not mean reliance on costly radio/TV spots or newspaper paid advertisements. Where effective, the grantees can use posters, handouts, leaflets, newsletters, or targeted mailings.

Verifiable

Whatever activity may be undertaken by a grantee, the Contractor will ensure that its effects are concrete and measurable. The grants will include a measurable final output, with interim progress indicators as appropriate. The subgrantee and the contractor will agree at the outset on evaluation criteria and methodology in order to validate the objectives of the activity, and will explicitly state these in the Memorandum of Understanding.

WPPPRJ731
(18-21)

86

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A. I. D. MISSION
TO EL SALVADOR
C/O AMERICAN EMBASSY.
SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, C. A.

January 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM

To: See Distribution
Through: Debbie Kennedy, ODI and Marc Scott, PRJ
From: Catherine Balsis, PRJ
Subject: Issues for Mission Review of the PID for Project 519-0391:
Strengthening the Electoral and Democratic Process in El Salvador

The Mission review of the draft PID for Strengthening the Electoral and Democratic Process in El Salvador will be held Monday, February 3, at 2:00 pm in the seventh floor Conference Room. The following issues have been identified for discussion at that time.

1. Focus and Purpose of Project

Originally, this Project was seen as a "one-cylinder" election assistance activity. Now it has grown to include an emphasis on participatory, civic culture (component two) and the title of the Project has been expanded to include the strengthening of democratic processes. The December 12 review of the PID draft let component two stand, with the caveat that it be more clearly focussed and tied more strongly to the election process. Is this PID, as presently elaborated, describing one or two projects?

2. Implementation of the Project

Component two, particularly, describes an array of activities, some of which will require intensive implementation. Are the proposed TA and budget adequate for the task?

Distribution

A/DIR: JLovaas
A/DDIR: JHeard
DPP: TMcKee
CONT: DArnold
CO: LKMcGhee
ODI (4)
PRJ (4)

OET: Playne (Info)
ANR: Kellis (Info)
PRE: SStephenson (Info)
HPN: RThornton (Info)
IRD: DKitson (Info)
ECON: RPeterson (Info)

3. **Project Management: Funding and Staff Levels**

Only \$3.5 million was notified to Congress for this Project. The illustrative budget in the PID (Annex Two) shows total Project costs at \$4.0 million, including \$400,000 for a USAID PSC Project Manager.

(a) Is the proposed project management position warranted in terms of workload? Does it fit within the Mission's PSC ceiling?

(b) Does the Mission agree to an increase of \$500,000 in the LOP funding level of this project?

4. **Criteria for Working with Political Parties** /

Guidelines for training representatives of political parties are discussed in the fourth paragraph of page 8 of the PID. Among other things, it is stated that

"...in the event the Project finances training which is specifically designed for political parties, the Grantee must demonstrate that all recognized political parties have been invited and that they have accepted or rejected the invitation."

Does the Mission want A.I.D. funds used for training events designed specifically for political parties? What other criteria are needed to guide the Grantee?

5. **Design and Obligation Schedule** /

The design schedule on page 13 shows the drafting of the PP commencing mid-May of this year, PP approval two months later (mid-July), and the Project Authorization and amended Cooperative Agreement executed by July 31, 1992. Is this schedule feasible in light of contracting procedures and the demands of the Mission workload? If the schedule cannot be met, the Mission will be unable to meet its projected obligation schedule for July.

MISSION REVIEW MEETING

PROJECT NO. 519-0391

Strengthening Elections and Democratic Processes

The Project Identification Document (PID) for Strengthening Elections and Democratic Processes (519-0391) was reviewed on Monday, February 3, 1992, in the seventh floor Conference Room. The meeting was attended by:

A/DIR: JLovas
DPP: TMcKee
DPP: TLandau
CO: LMcGhee
CONT: RVásquez
ECON: MGallagher
PRJ: MFigoni

ODI: DKennedy
ODI: JAnderson
ODI: AKlenicki
ODI: SGuzmán
PRJ: RWherry
PRJ: MVelásquez
PRJ: CBalsis

The Chair for the meeting, John Lovas, stated that the purpose of the meeting was to (a) assure the project concept was sound and (b) provide guidance for the intensive review and design of the Project. The following items describe the issues discussed and the decisions made.

1. Cooperative Agreement

Issue: The Contracts Officer asked whether a Cooperative Agreement was the best mechanism for implementing the Project. Her concern stemmed from a recent AID/W communication about the possible inappropriate use of cooperative agreements in place of contracts.

Discussion: The ODI Chief explained that prior to designing the PID, ODI had received a series of unsolicited proposals reflecting many of the ideas now in the PID, particularly in relation to Component II. In other words, some of the "possible" grantees are seen as out there, doing the work in varying degrees. The Contracts Officer said the key question for her was the level of management the Mission intended to assert over the Project. A.I.D. guidance states that the cooperative agreement mechanism allows substantial A.I.D. involvement in the Project, but not of a management or controlling nature. When asked about the proposed PSC project manager, ODI explained that this individual would be handling a variety of things beyond the Project and that USAID's role around the time of the election would be intensive.

Decision: The proposed implementation mechanism meets the criteria for a Cooperative Agreement. The respective roles and responsibilities of the Grantee and USAID, and the Grantee's Chief of Party and USAID's PSC will be delineated in the Project Paper.

64

2. Focus and Purpose of the Project

ISSUE: The concept for this Project has grown from being a "one-cylinder" election assistance activity to including an emphasis on strengthening civic culture (Component II). The December 12 review of the PID draft concluded that Component II would remain if it was focussed more directly on the election process. Is that focus now clear or is the PID describing more than one project?

Discussion: The Program Office suggested that the outcomes for Component II were not sufficiently defined. What is the Mission expecting to achieve with this component? What are the specific targets for Component II activities? What are its EOPS, i.e. how will we know we got to where we want to go? ODI explained that whereas Component II was interested in all Salvadorans eligible to vote, special attention would be given to those groups who were not heavily represented during the last election, particularly women, young adults and rural dwellers. ODI fully expects the Grantee to work with NGOs who know how to reach these groups. In reference to the concern with EOPS, the ODI chief said her staff made a conscious decision not to include a percentage increase in voter participation since many variables, beyond the control of the Project, would influence actual voter turnout. Other suggestions, however, would be gratefully received.

Decision: The emphasis on strengthening civic culture will remain in the Project. The PID should include a stronger statement about the priority groups (women, young adults and rural dwellers) relative to the project purpose and Component II activities. The RFA should clearly identify the need for the Grantee to demonstrate in the project design (PP) how they will reach the priority groups for increased participation in the electoral process. The EOPS section of the PID should explain why the Project does not include a percentage increase in voter participation as an indicator of success.

3. Project Implementation: TA and Budget

ISSUE: Are the proposed TA and budget sufficient for implementing the activities described in the PID?

Discussion: The concerns underlying this issue ranged from whether the proposed TA (two long-term, expatriates) was adequate to implement Component II...to whether Component I was underfunded. Previous experience showed that the CCE needed money when the Mission did not have any at its disposal. In regard to the first concern, ODI pointed out that the language of the PID had been changed to include the possibility of local, as well as expatriate, advisors.

Decision: The proposed TA and budget should be seen as illustrative only. What will be required to implement the Project can only be determined during project design. USAID support to the CCE in recent elections did not include operating costs to carry out elections, which remained responsibility of the GOES. Under no circumstances does the Mission want project funds to support the SET's normally recurrent operating expenses.

90

4. Project Management: Funding and Staff Levels

Issue: Only \$3.5 million was notified to Congress for this Project. The illustrative budget in the PID (Annex Two) shows total Project costs at \$4.0 million, including \$400,000 for a USAID PSC Project Manager. Is the proposed project management position warranted in terms of workload? Does it fit within the Mission's PSC ceiling? Does the Mission agree to an increase of \$500,000 in the LOP funding level of this project?

Discussion: As noted earlier, the proposed PSC will have responsibilities beyond the scope of this Project, including: coordinating civic participation activities in other ODI projects and supporting policy dialogue concerns. These duties, combined with the "seasonal" nature of an electoral assistance project which intensifies considerably around the time of an election, suggest a need for an additional PSC in ODI. At present, there is no room under the Mission PSC ceiling for this position.

Decision: The disposition of the Mission is to agree to the proposed PSC position for ODI, understanding that it still needs to work out the ceiling question. The increase of \$500,000 in the LOP funding level will come from projectized ESF funds.

5. Criteria for Working with Political Parties

Issue: Does the Mission want A.I.D. funds to be used for training events designed specifically for political parties? What other criteria are needed to guide the Grantee?

Discussion/Decision: Guidance for the intensive review and PP design will ask the Grantee to analyze the technical needs of political parties and to consider the desirability/feasibility of a small, focussed sub-component for political party training. This type of training may not be essential or necessary, but it was the desire of the committee not to exclude this possibility. Only training will be contemplated; no in-kind assistance will be considered.

6. Design and Obligation Schedule

Issue: Is the schedule on page 13 of the PID realistic? If it cannot be met, the Mission will miss its obligation targets for July.

Discussion: The Contracts Officer reviewed the minimal amount of time required for the RFA and Grant award process. She seriously questioned whether a two-month period would be sufficient for both the project design process and Mission approval of the PP.

Decision: Although the Mission acknowledges the tightness of the schedule, it was decided to "keep the heat on" and maintain the schedule as is.

11

7. Project Implementation: USPVO/consortium capabilities

Issue: The Embassy Political Section could not be present at the Mission review, but asked that the following issue be raised: Can a single USPVO be found that has the capacity to implement all three components of the Project?

Discussion: ODI and PRJ share this concern, which was discussed during drafting of the PID and implementation strategy. For purposes of a single obligation and contracting, a cooperative agreement with one recipient is envisioned, but consortia and sub-agreements with other organizations qualified to provide, e.g., T.A. to the SET or assistance to NGOs, etc., are not excluded.

Decision: The PID and implementing strategy should go forward, as formulated. However, the RFA will state explicitly that responding organizations may submit applications as consortia, or may propose sub-agreement arrangements to implement portions of the project. Applicants will be required to identify organizational experience and capacity in each area in order to be considered for an award.

At the end of the meeting the attendees reviewed the PID page by page to identify small items that needed correction. All of these comments have been incorporated into the final draft of the PID.

Drafted by: CBalsis, PRJ _____
Cleared by: RWherry, PRJ (in draft)
DKennedy, ODI (in draft)
JAnderson, ODI (in draft)

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92

5C(2) - ASSISTANCE CHECKLIST

Listed below are statutory criteria applicable to the assistance resources themselves, rather than to the eligibility of a country to receive assistance. This section is divided into three parts. Part A includes criteria applicable to both Development Assistance and Economic Support Fund resources. Part B includes criteria applicable only to Development Assistance resources. Part C includes criteria applicable only to Economic Support Funds.

CROSS REFERENCE: IS COUNTRY CHECKLIST UP TO DATE?

A. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO BOTH DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS

Yes

1. Host Country Development Efforts (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage efforts of the country to:
 (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture, and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

Improvements in electoral and democratic process are expected to contribute to all of these objectives, since the right to free choice by all citizens will be better protected.

2. U.S. Private Trade and Investment (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how assistance will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

A more efficient electoral process will increase political stability, and thus encourage U.S. participation in the Salvadoran economy.

AB

3. Congressional Notification

a. General requirement (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 523 and 591; FAA Sec. 634A): If money is to be obligated for an activity not previously justified to Congress, or for an amount in excess of amount previously justified to Congress, has Congress been properly notified (unless the notification requirement has been waived because of substantial risk to human health or welfare)?

N/A.

b. Notice of new account obligation (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 514): If funds are being obligated under an appropriation account to which they were not appropriated, has the President consulted with and provided a written justification to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and has such obligation been subject to regular notification procedures?

N/A.

c. Cash transfers and nonproject sector assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b)(3)): If funds are to be made available in the form of cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance, has the Congressional notice included a detailed description of how the funds will be used, with a discussion of U.S. interests to be served and a description of any economic policy reforms to be promoted?

N/A

4. Engineering and Financial Plans (FAA Sec. 611(a)): Prior to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, will there be: (a) engineering, financial or other plans necessary to carry out the assistance; and (b) a reasonably firm estimate of the cost to the U.S. of the assistance?

Yes. A financial plan is included in the Project Paper.

5. Legislative Action (FAA Sec. 611(a)(2)): If legislative action is required within recipient country with respect to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, what is the basis for a reasonable expectation that such action will be completed in time to permit orderly accomplishment of the purpose of the assistance?

Yes. The Ministry of Planning and the Supreme Electoral Tribunal will support the ratification of the Project by the Legislative Assembly.

6. Water Resources (FAA Sec. 611(b); FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 501): If project is for water or water-related land resource construction, have benefits and costs been computed to the extent practicable in accordance with the principles, standards, and procedures established pursuant to the Water Resources Planning Act (42 U.S.C. 1962, et seq.)? (See A.I.D. Handbook 3 for guidelines.)

N/A

7. Cash Transfer and Sector Assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b)): Will cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance be maintained in a separate account and not commingled with other funds (unless such requirements are waived by Congressional notice for nonproject sector assistance)?

N/A

8. Capital Assistance (FAA Sec. 611(e)): If project is capital assistance (e.g., construction), and total U.S. assistance for it will exceed \$1 million, has Mission Director certified and Regional Assistant Administrator taken into consideration the country's capability to maintain and utilize the project effectively?

N/A

9. Multiple Country Objectives (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether projects will encourage efforts of the country to: (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

Improvements in electoral and democratic processes are expected to contribute to all of these objectives since the right to free choice by all citizens will be better protected.

10. U.S. Private Trade (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how project will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

A more efficient electoral process will increase political stability and thus encourage U.S. participation in the Salvadoran economy.

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11. Local Currencies

a. Recipient Contributions (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h)): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, the country is contributing local currencies to meet the cost of contractual and other services, and foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars.

N/A

b. U.S.-Owned Currency (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

N/A

c. Separate Account (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575). If assistance is furnished to a foreign government under arrangements which result in the generation of local currencies:

(1) Has A.I.D. (a) required that local currencies be deposited in a separate account established by the recipient government, (b) entered into an agreement with that government providing the amount of local currencies to be generated and the terms and conditions under which the currencies so deposited may be utilized, and (c) established by agreement the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits into and disbursements from the separate account?

N/A

(2) Will such local currencies, or an equivalent amount of local currencies, be used only to carry out the purposes of the DA or ESF chapters of the FAA (depending on which chapter is the source of the assistance) or for the administrative requirements of the United States Government?

N/A

(3) Has A.I.D. taken all appropriate steps to ensure that the equivalent of local currencies disbursed from the separate account are used for the agreed purposes?

N/A

(4) If assistance is terminated to a country, will any unencumbered balances of funds remaining in a separate account be disposed of for purposes agreed to by the recipient government and the United States Government?

N/A

12. Trade Restrictions

a. Surplus Commodities (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(a)): If assistance is for the production of any commodity for export, is the commodity likely to be in surplus on world markets at the time the resulting productive capacity becomes operative, and is such assistance likely to cause substantial injury to U.S. producers of the same, similar or competing commodity?

N/A

b. Textiles (Lautenberg Amendment) (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(c)): Will the assistance (except for programs in Caribbean Basin Initiative countries under U.S. Tariff Schedule "Section 807," which allows reduced tariffs on articles assembled abroad from U.S.-made components) be used directly to procure feasibility studies, prefeasibility studies, or project profiles of potential investment in, or to assist the establishment of facilities specifically designed for, the manufacture for export to the United States or to third country markets in direct competition with U.S. exports, of textiles, apparel, footwear, handbags, flat goods (such as wallets or coin purses worn on the person), work gloves or leather wearing apparel?

N/A

13. Tropical Forests (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)(3)): Will funds be used for any program, project or activity which would (a) result in any significant loss of tropical forests, or (b) involve industrial timber extraction in primary tropical forest areas?

N/A

14. Sahel Accounting (FAA Sec. 121(d)): If a Sahel project, has a determination been made that the host government has an adequate system for accounting for and controlling receipt and expenditure of project funds (either dollars or local currency generated therefrom)?

N/A.

15. PVO Assistance

a. Auditing and registration (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 537): If assistance is being made available to a PVO, has that organization provided upon timely request any document, file, or record necessary to the auditing requirements of A.I.D., and is the PVO registered with A.I.D.?

N/A

b. Funding sources (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Private and Voluntary Organizations"): If assistance is to be made to a United States PVO (other than a cooperative development organization), does it obtain at least 20 percent of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government?

N/A

16. Project Agreement Documentation (State Authorization Sec. 139 (as interpreted by conference report)): Has confirmation of the date of signing of the project agreement, including the amount involved, been cabled to State L/T and A.I.D. LEG within 60 days of the agreement's entry into force with respect to the United States, and has the full text of the agreement been pouched to those same offices? (See Handbook 3, Appendix 6G for agreements covered by this provision).

The obligation was notified to AID/W according to statute. The Congressional Notification expired June 17, 1992

17. Metric System (Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 Sec. 5164, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance activity use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the

Yes

extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

18. Women in Development (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Women in Development"): Will assistance be designed so that the percentage of women participants will be demonstrably increased?

Yes

19. Regional and Multilateral Assistance (FAA Sec. 209): Is assistance more efficiently and effectively provided through regional or multilateral organizations? If so, why is assistance not so provided? Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage developing countries to cooperate in regional development programs.

No

20. Abortions (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 525):

a. Will assistance be made available to any organization or program which, as determined by the President, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization?

No

b. Will any funds be used to lobby for abortion?

No

21. Cooperatives (FAA Sec. 111): Will assistance help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward a better life?

No

1991

22. U.S.-Owned Foreign Currencies

a. Use of currencies (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h); FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 507, 509): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars to meet the cost of contractual and other services.

N/A

b. Release of currencies (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

N/A

23. Procurement

a. Small business (FAA Sec. 602(a)): Are there arrangements to permit U.S. small business to participate equitably in the furnishing of commodities and services financed?

Project technical assistance and commodities will be accomplished through full and open competition.

b. U.S. procurement (FAA Sec. 604(a)): Will all procurement be from the U.S. except as otherwise determined by the President or determined under delegation from him?

The procurement will be made from the United States according to Buy America policy, unless explicitly waived.

c. Marine insurance (FAA Sec. 604(d)): If the cooperating country discriminates against marine insurance companies authorized to do business in the U.S., will commodities be insured in the United States against marine risk with such a company?

N/A

d. Non-U.S. agricultural procurement (FAA Sec. 604(e)): If non-U.S. procurement of agricultural commodity or product thereof is to be financed, is there provision against such procurement when the domestic price of such commodity is less than parity? (Exception where commodity financed could not reasonably be procured in U.S.)

N/A

e. Construction or engineering services (FAA Sec. 604(g)): Will construction or engineering services be procured from firms of advanced developing countries which are otherwise eligible

N/A

157

under Code 941 and which have attained a competitive capability in international markets in one of these areas? (Exception for those countries which receive direct economic assistance under the FAA and permit United States firms to compete for construction or engineering services financed from assistance programs of these countries.)

f. Cargo preference shipping (FAA Sec. 603): Is the shipping excluded from compliance with the requirement in section 901(b) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, that at least 50 percent of the gross tonnage of commodities (computed separately for dry bulk carriers, dry cargo liners, and tankers) financed shall be transported on privately owned U.S. flag commercial vessels to the extent such vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates?

No

g. Technical assistance (FAA Sec. 621(a)): If technical assistance is financed, will such assistance be furnished by private enterprise on a contract basis to the fullest extent practicable? Will the facilities and resources of other Federal agencies be utilized, when they are particularly suitable, not competitive with private enterprise, and made available without undue interference with domestic programs?

Yes

h. U.S. air carriers (International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act, 1974): If air transportation of persons or property is financed on grant basis, will U.S. carriers be used to the extent such service is available?

Yes

i. Termination for convenience of U.S. Government (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 504): If the U.S. Government is a party to a contract for procurement, does the contract contain a provision authorizing termination of such contract for the convenience of the United States?

Yes

101

j. Consulting services
(FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 524): If assistance is for consulting service through procurement contract pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 3109, are contract expenditures a matter of public record and available for public inspection (unless otherwise provided by law or Executive order)?

Yes

k. Metric conversion
(Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance program use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

Yes

l. Competitive Selection
Procedures (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the assistance utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise?

Yes

24. Construction

a. Capital project (FAA Sec. 601(d)): If capital (e.g., construction) project, will U.S. engineering and professional services be used?

N/A

b. Construction contract (FAA Sec. 611(c)): If contracts for construction are to be financed, will they be let on a competitive basis to maximum extent practicable?

N/A

c. Large projects, Congressional approval (FAA Sec. 620(k)): If for construction of productive enterprise, will aggregate value of assistance to be furnished by the U.S. not exceed \$100 million (except for productive enterprises in Egypt that were described in the Congressional Presentation), or does assistance have the express approval of Congress?

N/A

25. U.S. Audit Rights (FAA Sec. 301(d)): If fund is established solely by U.S. contributions and administered by an international organization, does Comptroller General have audit rights?

N/A

26. Communist Assistance (FAA Sec. 620(h). Do arrangements exist to insure that United States foreign aid is not used in a manner which, contrary to the best interests of the United States, promotes or assists the foreign aid projects or activities of the Communist-bloc countries?

Yes

27. Narcotics

a. Cash reimbursements (FAA Sec. 483): Will arrangements preclude use of financing to make reimbursements, in the form of cash payments, to persons whose illicit drug crops are eradicated?

Yes

b. Assistance to narcotics traffickers (FAA Sec. 487): Will arrangements take "all reasonable steps" to preclude use of financing to or through individuals or entities which we know or have reason to believe have either: (1) been convicted of a violation of any law or regulation of the United States or a foreign country relating to narcotics (or other controlled substances); or (2) been an illicit trafficker in, or otherwise involved in the illicit trafficking of, any such controlled substance?

Yes

28. **Expropriation and Land Reform (FAA Sec. 620(g)):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to compensate owners for expropriated or nationalized property, except to compensate foreign nationals in accordance with a land reform program certified by the President? Yes
29. **Police and Prisons (FAA Sec. 660):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to provide training, advice, or any financial support for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces, except for narcotics programs? Yes
30. **CIA Activities (FAA Sec. 662):** Will assistance preclude use of financing for CIA activities? Yes
31. **Motor Vehicles (FAA Sec. 636(i)):** Will assistance preclude use of financing for purchase, sale, long-term lease, exchange or guaranty of the sale of motor vehicles manufactured outside U.S., unless a waiver is obtained? Yes
32. **Military Personnel (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 503):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to pay pensions, annuities, retirement pay, or adjusted service compensation for prior or current military personnel? Yes
33. **Payment of U.N. Assessments (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 505):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to pay U.N. assessments, arrearages or dues? Yes
34. **Multilateral Organization Lending (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 506):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to carry out provisions of FAA section 209(d) (transfer of FAA funds to multilateral organizations for lending)? Yes
35. **Export of Nuclear Resources (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 510):** Will assistance preclude use of financing to finance the export of nuclear equipment, fuel, or technology? Yes

36. Repression of Population (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 511): Will assistance preclude use of financing for the purpose of aiding the efforts of the government of such country to repress the legitimate rights of the population of such country contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

Yes

37. Publicity or Propoganda (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 516): Will assistance be used for publicity or propoganda purposes designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress, to influence in any way the outcome of a political election in the United States, or for any publicity or propoganda purposes not authorized by Congress?

No

38. Marine Insurance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 563): Will any A.I.D. contract and solicitation, and subcontract entered into under such contract, include a clause requiring that U.S. marine insurance companies have a fair opportunity to bid for marine insurance when such insurance is necessary or appropriate?

Yes

39. Exchange for Prohibited Act (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 569): Will any assistance be provided to any foreign government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person in exchange for that foreign government or person undertaking any action which is, if carried out by the United States Government, a United States official or employee, expressly prohibited by a provision of United States law?

No

125

C. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS ONLY

- 1. Economic and Political Stability (FAA Sec. 531(a)):** Will this assistance promote economic and political stability? To the maximum extent feasible, is this assistance consistent with the policy directions, purposes, and programs of Part I of the FAA?

Yes
- 2. Military Purposes (FAA Sec. 531(a)):** Will this assistance be used for military or paramilitary purposes?

Yes
- 3. Commodity Grants/Separate Accounts (FAA Sec. 609):** If commodities are to be granted so that sale proceeds will accrue to the recipient country, have Special Account (counterpart) arrangements been made?

No
- 4. Generation and Use of Local Currencies (FAA Sec. 531(d)):** Will ESF funds made available for commodity import programs or other program assistance be used to generate local currencies? If so, will at least 50 percent of such local currencies be available to support activities consistent with the objectives of FAA sections 103 through 106?

Not Applicable
- 5. Cash Transfer Requirements (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund," and Sec. 575(b)).** If assistance is in the form of a cash transfer:

 - a. Separate account:** Are all such cash payments to be maintained by the country in a separate account and not to be commingled with any other funds?

No

b. Local currencies: Will all local currencies that may be generated with funds provided as a cash transfer to such a country also be deposited in a special account, and has A.I.D. entered into an agreement with that government setting forth the amount of the local currencies to be generated, the terms and conditions under which they are to be used, and the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits and disbursements?

Not Applicable

c. U.S. Government use of local currencies: Will all such local currencies also be used in accordance with FAA Section 609, which requires such local currencies to be made available to the U.S. government as the U.S. determines necessary for the requirements of the U.S. Government, and which requires the remainder to be used for programs agreed to by the U.S. Government to carry out the purposes for which new funds authorized by the FAA would themselves be available?

Not Applicable

d. Congressional notice: Has Congress received prior notification providing in detail how the funds will be used, including the U.S. interests that will be served by the assistance, and, as appropriate, the economic policy reforms that will be promoted by the cash transfer assistance?

No local currencies to be generated
Congressional notification expired
June 17, 1991

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127

