

PD-ABP-013

95242

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES OFFICE**  
**FOR EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (REDSO /ESA)**

United States Postal Address  
U.S.A.I.D./REDSO/ESA  
UNIT 64102  
APO AE 09831-4102

International Postal Address  
POST OFFICE BOX 30261  
NAIROBI, KENYA  
TEL: 254-2-751613  
FAX: 254-2-748607/743204

August 25, 1997

Grace Githu  
Executive Director  
Institute for Education in Democracy  
P.O. Box 43874  
Nairobi, Kenya

Subject: Award No. 623-G-00-97-00043-00

Dear Ms. Githu:

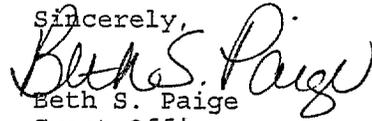
Pursuant to the authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the U.S. Agency for International Development (hereinafter referred to as "USAID" or "Grantor") hereby grants to the Institute for Education in Democracy (herein after referred to as IED or "Recipient"), the sum of \$142,908.00 to provide support for a program in Electoral Process-Setting the Stage for the 1997 General Elections and Beyond, as described in the Schedule of this award and the Attachment 2, entitled "Program Description."

This award is effective and obligation is made as of the date of this letter and shall apply to commitments made by the Recipient in furtherance of program objectives during the period beginning with the effective date and ending 06/24/1998. USAID shall not be liable for reimbursing the Recipient for any costs in excess of the obligated amount.

This award is made to IED, on condition that the funds will be administered in accordance with the terms and conditions as set forth in Attachment 1, entitled "Schedule"; Attachment 2, entitled "Program Description"; and Attachment 3 entitled "Standard Provisions."

Please sign the original and each copy of this letter to acknowledge your receipt of this award, and return the original and all but one copy to the Grant Officer.

Sincerely,



Beth S. Paige  
Grant Officer  
REDSO/ESA/PRO

Attachments:

1. Schedule
2. Program Description
3. Standard Provisions
4. Standards for USAID Funded Communications Projects

ACKNOWLEDGED: Institute for Education in Democracy



BY: MARREN AKATSA-BUKACHI

Title: PROGRAMME OFFICER

Date: 25TH AUGUST, 1997

ACCOUNTING AND APPROPRIATION DATA

A. GENERAL

- 1. Total Estimated Amount: \$142,908.00
- 2. Total Program Amount: \$204,527.00
- 3. Total Obligated Amount: \$142,908.00
- 4. Cost-Sharing Percentage  
(Non-Federal): 30.1%
- 5. Activity Title:
- 6. USAID Technical Office: OSPP, USAID/Kenya  
P.O. Box 30261  
Nairobi, Kenya
- 7. Tax I.D. Number: N/A
- 8. CEC No.: N/A
- 9. LOC Number: N/A

B. SPECIFIC

APP: 727/81021  
BPC: GDV79721615KG13  
RSCTL: V271019

ATTACHMENT 1

SCHEDULE

1.1 PURPOSE OF AGREEMENT

The purpose of this Agreement is to provide support for the program described in Attachment 2 of this Agreement entitled "Program Description."

1.2 PERIOD OF AGREEMENT

The effective date of this Agreement is the date of the Cover Letter and the estimated completion date is 06/24/1998.

1.3 AMOUNT OF AWARD AND PAYMENT

- (a) USAID hereby obligates the amount of \$142,908.00 for the purposes of this Award.
- (b) Payment shall be made to the Recipient in accordance with procedures set forth in the Standard Provision of this Award entitled Payment - Periodic Advance as shown in Attachment 3.

1.4 AWARD BUDGET

The following is the Award Budget, including local cost financing items, if authorized. Revisions to this budget shall be made in accordance with the Standard Provision of the Award entitled "Revision of Grant Budget".

BUDGET ITEM	USAID AMOUNT (\$) IED COST SHARING AMOUNT (\$)	IED COST SHARE (\$)
CAPITAL COST	10,638	9,640
MOTOR VEHICLE	28,293	- 0-
PERSONNEL COSTS	34,966	34,674
PROJECT COSTS	11,508	-0-
ELECTIONS MONITORING MANUAL	16,312	-0-
OPINION POLLS	23,254	5,816
OTHER DIRECT COSTS (rent, stationary, insurance, maintanance, office expenses, subscriptions, telephone and fax)	12,264	11,489
AUDIT	1,418	-0-
EVALUATION	4,255	-0-
TOTAL	142,908	61,619

1.5 REPORTING

1.5.1 Financial Reporting

- (a) Financial reporting requirements shall be in accordance with the Standard Provision of this award entitled Payment - Periodic Advance as shown in Attachment 3.

1.5.2 Performance Monitoring and Planning Reports

- (a) Reports. The Recipient shall submit an original and one copy of brief quarterly program performance reports, which coincide with the financial reporting periods, to the USAID Technical Office specified in the Cover Letter of this Award. In addition, one copy shall be submitted to USAID/CDIE/D, Washington, DC 20523-1802. These reports shall be submitted within 30 days following the end of the reporting period.

*Continued on page 3.*

1.5.2 (Continued)

(b) Paying Office. The paying office for this award is:

Controller  
USAID/Kenya  
P.O. Box 30261  
Nairobi, Kenya

(c) Final Report. Within 90 days following the estimated completion date of this Award, the Recipient shall submit the original and one (1) copy of a final report to the USAID Technical Office specified in the Cover Letter of this Award. In addition, one copy shall be submitted to USAID/CDIE/D, Washington, DC 20523-1802. It will cover the entire period of the Award.

1.6 RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

Conflicts between any of the Attachments of this Award shall be resolved by applying the following descending order of precedence:

- Attachment 1 - Schedule
- Attachment 3 - Standard Provisions
- Attachment 2 - Program Description

1.7 COST SHARING

The Recipient agrees to expend an amount not less than 29.7% of the total Federal contribution. Cost sharing contributions will meet the criteria as set out in the Standard Provision entitled "Cost Sharing (Matching)" as shown in Attachment 3.

1.8 TITLE TO PROPERTY

Title to all property financed under this award shall vest in the Recipient in accordance with the Standard Provisions of this Award set forth in Attachment 3.

1.9 AUTHORIZED GEOGRAPHIC CODE

The authorized geographic code for procurement of goods and services under this award is 935.

1.10 COMMUNICATIONS PRODUCTS (OCT 1994)

(a) Definition - Communications products are any printed materials (other than non-color photocopy material), photographic services or video production services.

## 1.10 (Continued)

- (b) Standards - USAID has established standards for communications products. These standards must be followed unless otherwise specifically provided in the agreement or approved in writing by the agreement officer. A copy of the standards for USAID financed publications and video productions is attached.
- (c) Communications products which meet any of the following criteria are not eligible for USAID financing under this agreement unless specifically authorized in the agreement schedule or in writing by the agreement officer:
- (1) Any communication product costing over \$25,000, including the costs of both preparation and execution. For example, in the case of a publication, the costs will include research, writing and other editorial services (including any associated overhead), design, layout and production costs.
  - (2) Any communication products that will be sent directly to, or likely to be seen by, a Member of Congress or Congressional staffer; and
  - (3) Any publication that will have more than 50 percent of its copies distributed in the United States (excluding copies provided to CDIE and other USAID/W offices for internal use.

## 1.11 SPECIAL PROVISIONS

In accordance with OMB Circular A-122, Section 13.b. (1) grant officer approval is required for the purchase of general purpose equipment with a unit value over \$500. Approval is hereby provided to purchase the following general purpose equipment as budgeted in the negotiated agreement budget:

1. 1 Computer  
1 Lap top  
1 UPS unit  
1 4WD motor vehicle
2. Grantee shall submit a copy of its travel policies and procedures within 2 months after award.

ATTACHMENT 2

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The Recipient's proposal entitled "Electoral Process-Setting the Stage for the 1997 General Elections and Beyond" consisting of 30 pages and dated July 1997 is attached hereto as the Program Description (Attachment 2) and is made a part of this Award.

B

ELECTORAL PROCESS - SETTING THE STAGE  
FOR  
THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS  
AND  
BEYOND

A project of the  
Institute for Education in Democracy (IED)  
P. O. BOX 43874  
NAIROBI

Tel. 566871 / 560002  
FAX NO. 564794

Re-submitted to  
USAID Kenya, July, 1997

### LIST OF ALL RELATED CONTRACTS AND GRANTS SINCE 1994

Title of the project	Project period	Funded by	Amount
1. Gender empowerment for political participation	1994-1995	EEC	2,347,570
2. Youth peer civic education	May 1996 - May 1997	SIDA	4,831,890
3. Electoral environment project	March 1996 - August 1996	RNE	823,786
4. Electoral education and capacity building	June 1996 - March 1997	ODA	7,849,294
5. National Elections Data Book, Kenya	August 1996 - March 1997	British Council	1,695,650

**ELECTORAL PROCESS-SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND BEYOND**

<b>Title of Project:</b>	Setting the Stage for the Next General Elections
<b>Duration of Project</b>	One Year (July 1997-April 1998)
<b>Name of Organisation:</b>	Institute for Education in Democracy
<b>Contact Person:</b>	Marren Akatsa-Bukachi
<b>Programmatic Matters:</b>	Programme Officer
<b>Policy Matters:</b>	Grace Githu, Executive Director
<b>Address:</b>	Adams Arcade Elgeyo Marakwet Road P. O. BOX 43874 NAIROBI
<b>Telephone:</b>	560002 / 566871 / 568996
<b>Fax</b>	564794
<b>TOTAL FUNDS REQUESTED</b>	KSh. 10,293,234
<b>When Funds Needed</b>	As soon as possible

**INTRODUCTION**

*Institute for Education in Democracy*

The primary objective of the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED) is to raise public awareness, to equip both the general electorate and political leaders with the information and knowledge necessary to allow everyone to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities freely, effectively, and without fear.

IED rose up to fill the critical information gap realised in the democratic process, after the last general elections in 1992, and in realisation of this believes in a co-ordinated, sustainable, and professional approach to continue nurturing the fragile democratic process and to promote political education.

Towards this end, IED aims to:

- a) Promote and influence the evolution of a democratic ethic and culture in the management of national affairs;
- b) Provide information and skills related to positive political behaviour, thus enabling the development of positive attitudes about the general electorate's own abilities to contribute to the development of policies and the form of government which they deem desirable for the country;
- c) Support the evolution and growth of an institutional framework that will motivate people to voluntarily participate and share in the election of their political leaders and in the formulation of public policy.

## IED'S PROGRAMMES

On the domestic scene, IED has spearheaded elections monitoring in 28 of the 30 by-elections held since 1992 and is planning to monitor the forthcoming general-elections to be held later this year.

This has been accompanied by deliberate effort at information gathering to support its voter and civic education programmes. A survey in nineteen constituencies on what voters considered to be electoral information gaps was carried out in mid 1996. This survey has proved particularly useful in IED's voter education process as it revealed critical information gaps necessary for more effective public participation in the electoral process.

In this respect, IED endeavours to give citizens the information that they require in response to their stated needs.

In the four years of its existence, IED has produced information, education and communication materials which have been distributed widely throughout the country. These have included a number of posters that raise social awareness and address pertinent voter education issues in both English and Kiswahili. They have been designed to address specific groups of voters and have been specifically targeted at the various categories of voters namely women, youth and the general public. The issues addressed by these posters include voter apathy, electoral violence, women's political participation, youth political participation, electoral bribery and secrecy of the ballot. IED has also developed a video documentary entitled "**My Vote Makes the Difference**" with a translation into Kiswahili, to further fill the electoral information gaps. The posters have been distributed widely within IED's training workshops and among its network while the video is used as a training tool in all IED's civic and voter education workshops as well as by other organisations which have purchased the video.

IED's interest in the electoral process can further be seen in one of its current ongoing activities in which it is in the final stages of putting together publication called the *National Elections Data Book, Kenya* based on voter trends since 1963 to date and the

relevant themes or pertinent issues in every election year such as the first post independence election in 1963, The first post-Kenyatta elections in 1979, the impact of queue voting in 1988 and the multiparty election in 1992. This book is currently at the editorial stage and will contain important data relevant to the electoral process. It is the first book of its kind and is being produced after detailed research. This book will be useful to a large spectrum of people including legislators, policy makers, the electorate, members of the public and NGOs, and civil society organisations interested in the electoral process.

In striving for a more positive electoral environment, IED also commissioned research into institutions that impact on the electoral process, with a view to opening up dialogue on reforms among all the stakeholders; that is government, political parties, civil society organisations, among others. The research areas included:

- The Role of the Provincial Administration in the Electoral Process
- The Role of the Media in the Electoral Process
- Electoral Laws and Other Laws that Impact on the Electoral Process
- Electoral Commission of Kenya
- The Conduct of Political Parties
- Lessons from Selected African Countries
- Communities and Grassroots Perception of the Democratic Process in Kenya

IED is currently in the process of publishing the research findings and recommendations based on the outcome of a national dissemination workshop held in September, 1996, to discuss the research findings. A lobby document based on the outcome of this workshop will also be available for use by interested parties.

In the absence of a thorough-going constitutional review, IED is advocating for minimal but meaningful reforms which will at least create a more even playing field for all political parties. The lobby document will be one of the tools IED will offer towards this process.

Civic education has been recognised by IED as education for life and over the past the past two years IED has been working with the youth as its main target group in the civic education programme. The youth themselves identified their needs following a national youth workshop organised by IED to assist youth in identifying areas in which they make a contribution to this country. The youth identified issues affecting them as lack of participation in decision making, lack of participation in development, lack of positive participation in politics as well as unemployment and the attendant impact such as social isolation that accompanies unemployment and poverty.

Prior to this IED's focus was on women's political participation where emphasis was laid on gender empowerment for political participation. Several workshops were held in various parts of the country where a total of 156 women and men were trained as trainers.

## IED's MANAGEMENT

IED works with a Board of Directors and an International Advisory Council.

## PROJECT RATIONALE

Over the past four years, since 1992, the people of Kenya have been trying to consolidate the multiparty democracy they embraced in December 1992. Many lessons have been learnt from the errors made in the past, and the massive number of parliamentary by-elections (thirty) that have been conducted since the last general elections, many caused by defections from the opposition to the ruling party, points a great deal about the fact that democracy has still not quite taken root in Kenya.

Elections monitoring by IED and the research into areas that impact on the electoral process revealed that many Kenyans are still not clear as to what democracy entails and in particular what the electoral process is all about and how they can participate in it.

This experience indicates that the concerns raised in the Elections Monitoring Report by National Elections Monitoring Unit (NEMU), following the 1992 multiparty elections are still valid. Issues that need to be addressed include voter apathy, voter illiteracy, manipulation of voters by politicians vote buying, electoral violence, among a host of others. Many civil society organisations have attempted to address these issues through writing books or holding workshops but none has had the advantage that IED has, that of monitoring twenty eight out of the thirty by-election that have taken place in the country since the 1992 general elections.

Elections monitoring reports by IED have captured detailed information on citizens fears and expectations such as the need for free and fair elections, campaign activities and what issues move the people. Comprehensive reports on all the by-elections monitored by IED have been disseminated to all interested parties, such as the electoral Commission, all political parties, the donor community and NGOs. These reports contain useful information and recommendations made over a period of time that could be concretised and compiled into a book providing insights into lessons learned in the electoral process and what pitfalls one should look out for. IED is best suited to come up with such a book considering its unrivalled reputation in this field. IED will also back up this information with other information gathered from research it commissioned on the electoral process and the *National Elections Data Book* it is currently producing encompassing electoral information and data dating from the 1963 general elections to the 1992 multiparty elections.

IED, among other members of civil society organisations has endeavoured over the last four to five years to address electoral issues affecting the society, through civic

education, with an aim of creating awareness on the relationship between the people and the state. IED's experience has been shared through workshops at the grassroots level and has reached at least six hundred persons who are in turn carrying the same message to their constituents. Even though such efforts have been successful in that the message was successfully delivered, it is not possible to reach all the citizens who need to receive such education.

Citizens need to be informed through all the means possible on what options are open to them and made aware of the choices available to them.

## HOW DOES IED INTEND TO DO THIS?

In this effort, IED intends to come up with two publications, one entitled, *The Political Party Audit* and the other an "Elections Monitoring Manual", derived mainly from its elections monitoring experience. IED also intends to carry out opinion polls on pertinent issues on the electoral process as they arise in the build-up to the general elections and one final one after the elections.

In this proposal IED is endeavouring to prepare what needs to be done in readiness for the forthcoming general elections, both from the perspective of citizens participation and from the perspective of civil society organisations which will be carrying out elections monitoring and civic education. Citizens need to be informed of the situation as it is by those who have gained more insight into these areas.

It will inform through the power of the written word, and the perspective of citizens participation through opinion polling, and in this way achieve a double pronged initiative into the electoral process.

## Objectives

The project has the following objectives;

- Produce a manual on how to monitor political parties
- Revise and improve on an already existing election monitoring manual to be used by domestic observers
- Carry out three opinion polls on electoral issues

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## 1. THE POLITICAL PARTY AUDIT

### Justification

Currently, political participation (especially with regard to elections) in Kenya cannot take place outside the purview of the political party. This is because Kenyan election laws do not allow the participation of independent candidates. The law provides that candidates for any elective posts have to be nominated by political parties. The Constitution of Kenya, for example, states at section 34(d) that a person shall not be qualified to be elected as a member of the National Assembly unless:

*"he is nominated by a political party in the manner prescribed by or under an Act of Parliament."*

The relevant Act of Parliament is the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act which provides at section 17 that the nomination shall be done in the manner provided for in the constitution or rules of the political party concerned relating to members of that party who wish to contest parliamentary elections. The Local Government Act, which governs the election of civic leaders, contains a provision of like effect.

There is in existence a party called the Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK). This, however, does not change the foregoing position. It is a contradiction in terms because an independent candidate is one who is not supported by any political party. The importance of the party as a vehicle for democratisation cannot therefore be gainsaid.

IED has also conducted workshops throughout the country at which it has trained Constituency Based Voter Educators (CBVEs)<sup>1</sup>. At these workshops the participants always say they do not know what the policies of the different political parties in Kenya. This lack of knowledge has to be seen in the light of the fact that the relevant information on the political parties is not published in one source from which a quick comparison can be done but is scattered in manifestos and party constitutions that are not easily accessible.

What's more, there is the dilemma that many of the participants say they encounter when making the decision to vote: *Do I vote for the candidate that my party has nominated or do I vote for the candidate I consider to be the best irrespective of the party that nominated her/him?* This concern needs to be addressed. It cannot, however, be addressed well if the issue of party policies is not canvassed as a necessary prerequisite.

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<sup>1</sup> This is an ODA funded project that has been running for the last one year and will be completed in March, 1997.

IED hopes that as a result of the production of the Political Party Audit, those who have access to it will be able to use it to demand and obtain accountability and democracy within their own political parties. IED hopes that party members who will be educated by the manual will therefore be in a better position to examine their respective parties and call upon the leadership in those parties to live up to the parties' expectations. More importantly they will be awakened to the lack of internal democracy that now characterises almost all the political parties in Kenya<sup>2</sup>. They will then be in a good position to insist on reforms in their own political parties. The effect of this democratisation of political parties is expected to cascade to the democratisation of the whole country.

The intended publication will provide voters with relevant information on their respective political parties to enable them to monitor their performance and to audit their commitment to the ideals professed in the different party documents. The publication will also make recommendations for political party management which citizens will find useful in determining whether their parties are managed well.

### Methodology

IED will commission research into nine<sup>3</sup> registered political parties in Kenya. These are FORD Kenya, FORD Asili, Kenya African National Union, Democratic Party of Kenya, Kenya National Congress, Kenya Social Congress, Social Democratic Party, National Development Party of Kenya and Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya. Three researchers will collect and analyse all the information that is available on the said parties by studying the different party constitutions, manifestos, flyers etc. They will then look at the parties' missions, objectives, promises, policies their adherence to those policies. Party performance from 1991 to early 1998<sup>4</sup> will also be analysed.

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<sup>2</sup> In 1996 IED conducted research into the electoral environment in Kenya whose findings are contained in a Research Report that has been made available to all the key players in the political arena. This research revealed that most of the political parties lack internal democracy. Worse still, some are at the mercy of those who fund their programmes.

<sup>3</sup> There are twelve registered political parties in Kenya. The first four are the main ones while three of the other five either are or have at one time been represented in Parliament. Kenya National Congress and Social Democratic Party have not been represented in Parliament but are evidently shaping the political scene with some of their ideas. The other three (Kenya National Democratic Alliance, Labour Party Democracy and Democratic Movement), however, are not represented in parliament and have yet to make an impact on Kenya's political landscape. They have therefore been deliberately left out of the scope of this project.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the political parties were established after the re-introduction of multipartism in 1991 when section 2A of the Constitution which hitherto outlawed all other parties was repealed. The ruling party KANU has been in existence since 1962. For the purposes of this study we shall not analyse KANU's performance in the years prior to the reintroduction of multipartism. The period of study extends to early

Interviews with party spokesmen will be conducted to make sure the information obtained relating to each party is from reliable sources and therefore accurate. This notwithstanding, the research will rely mostly on documentary proof of facts. A Minimum Standards Document (MSD) will be developed based on information obtained through a checklist to be developed and distributed to a certain number of citizens who will serve as the research sample.

The relevant period of the study will be from 1991 to early 1998. The findings will then be published in the form of a manual setting out the information relating to each political party including the manner of nominating candidates to contest political office together with the measurable standard on which party members can assess their party and arrive at a conclusion on what needs to be done to make their parties better. The publication will also suggest ways in which party member can increase their control on what the party officials do and how they can hold party leaders accountable for their actions regarding the party policies.

## 2. ELECTIONS MONITORING MANUAL

### Justification

There are in existence one or two manuals on election monitoring. They do not address elections from the Kenyan perspective, because they are based on other electoral systems different from ours. However, there is one manual entitled *A Manual for Election Monitors*, prepared by the now defunct National Election Monitoring Unit (NEMU) whose infrastructure IED inherited, that addresses most of the elements that require monitoring in an election in Kenya.

This manual nevertheless has a few shortcomings that would if corrected make it a more relevant document. Like most other election monitoring manuals the emphasis is on polling day itself with very little attention paid to pre-election and post-election aspects.

### Methodology

IED has monitored twenty eight out of thirty by-elections that have taken place in this country since the 1992 general elections and has documented what has transpired in them. IED therefore proposes to revise and improve this manual into a compact document which will cover all the three stages of election monitoring, that is monitoring the electoral environment prior to the elections, monitoring the polling day itself and continuous monitoring after the elections.

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1988 because the late 1997 electioneering will give us an invaluable insight into the behaviour of parties in response to elections and electioneering.

This last aspect has largely been ignored yet this is when the impact of the election outcome is felt. The bearing this impact has on the electorate requires constant monitoring. This will give an insight into emerging trends on the national political scene and give a pointer towards what to expect in the next elections. Monitoring will thus become a continuous process not just limited to the actual polling exercise. The manual will also have a continuous utility stretching beyond the 1997 elections..

The proposed changes to the above mentioned manual include inclusion of the election timetable inside (the one in the existing manual limited it to the 1992 elections), inclusion of checklists developed by IED from experiences encountered during elections monitored since 1992 and insertion of a glossary. These changes will give the manual a facelift while updating it into a manual for contemporary use and for posterity.

IED will recruit suitable consultants to undertake the compilation of the manual. These consultants will be persons identified for their ability in writing documents of similar nature. IED will provide them with the electoral information it has collected over the years and the elections monitoring checklist filled out by its poll watchers in the twenty eight by-elections as some of the data for analysis and compilation.

This information will be of value to parties interested in the electoral process, including political parties, NGOs, religious organisations, voters among others.

This Manual will be backed up by the information gathered from a research IED commissioned on the electoral process and the forthcoming *National Elections Data Book, Kenya*, encompassing electoral information and data dating from the 1963 general elections to by-elections held in 1997.

This is in readiness for the forthcoming general elections both from the perspective of citizens participation and from the perspective of civil society organisations which will carry out elections monitoring and civic education. Interested parties need to be informed of the situation as it is by those who have gained more insights into these areas. IED intends to use information so gained to continue to advocate for peaceful positive change in the country.

The informed citizens will also be aware of their citizens' rights and can act as a watchdog should they observe any irregularities in the electoral process.

This manual will be widely disseminated through IED's workshops and all its network members on the ground. These include the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, the Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK), Ecumenical Centre for Justice and Peace (ECJP), Legal and Human Rights NGOs Network and IED's individual network of 600 Constituency Based Voter Educators who have passed through IED's workshops and have equipped with basic elections monitoring skills.

An important activity in the process of producing the manual will be the to pre-test it with key representatives of the target audience and political experts from the field of political science, writers and users , in order to receive **critique** and make relevant adjustments prior to finalising it. This will be done through a half day workshop to which key representatives of the target audience and other political experts will be invited.

Once completed, the manual will be used by trainers to train elections monitors during the forthcoming elections and subsequent ones thereafter. IED through its ongoing programmes will integrate the use of the manual as part of its training programme. IED has already carried out monitoring of the 1997 registration of voters and the report will be released before the end of July, 1997.

### 3. **OPINION POLLING**

#### Justification

Public opinion polling is a contemporary manifestation of a classical democratic theory; it attests the ability of the rational and wise citizen to make informed judgements on the major issues of the day.

The run up to the general elections will be a test case for Kenya and it is crucial that citizens get involved at an early stage. One of the most popular ways for citizen's participation is through opinion polling as it provides immediate feedback on what the political environment is at a given time. Polls are a significant way for citizens to participate in society and to become informed about the relationship between the decisions of government and opinions of citizenry. Opinion polling has been used successfully in Northern countries to provide information on wide ranging issues and in this way provide citizens on both sides of the political divide with feedback that may help them make important choices and provide a general idea of the direction citizens may wish their country to take.

Public opinion polling attempts to provide a fairly exact analysis of the distribution of opinions on any issue within specific population. Because opinions change rapidly, we propose to take two polls, one before elections and another after elections. Before elections will give an indication of the results while the opinion after elections will try to give a pointer as to the direction the results have taken.

In democratic society citizens are encouraged to form their own opinions on candidates for public office, taxes, constitutional reforms among other issues.

Examples of issues that may addressed in the poll include the following:

- factors that will determine the election of certain candidates
- presidential candidates chances of winning an election

Other issues will be identified in the build up to the elections.

### Methodology

The approach we intend to use to select the sample is proportionate systematic sampling. This method uses a specified criteria to draw a proportionate sample from the population to be surveyed. Our population in this case would be the registered number of voters and a desired sample size of 1,500 people to be interviewed. This sample size has been arrived at by carefully considering constraints of time, communication and finances.

IED will divide the country into 8 blocks (by province). This ensures as equal representation as is possible in terms of ethnic distribution. A sample interval of 5 was arrived at considering the geographical spread of the list of 210 constituencies. For each province, each fifth constituency, beginning with a random start, will be picked to get the sample constituency. Certain constituencies will also go into the sample due to their unique political dispensations. An example is Westlands constituency in Nairobi which is metropolitan and has a population that is diverse. Out of a possible 210 constituencies we shall focus on 42 constituencies. The distribution of the questionnaires by constituency will therefore be 36. Every fourth house in the constituency beginning with a random start will be selected for the administration of the questionnaire. One registered voter in each selected household will be a respondent in the exercise.

We intend that the poll should be conducted in one day for purposes of reporting the information while it is still valid.

IED intends to develop a questionnaire that will be used to gather information on the issues we would like to get feedback on. This will undergo two pre-tests by a small group of individuals who will be identified by IED. We intend to pre-test with a fairly rural audience and an urban audience.

The project will also hire the specialised services of a pollster who will come into the project to design and analyse the polls information in the most expedient way ready for publication. There will also be need to recruit a team of data collectors as the need arises and an analysis team with every opinion poll carried out. These will then be taken through a short course by a research organisation before the commencement of data collection, on research methodology.

Data collectors will be sent to the identified constituencies and are expected to interview a minimum of eighteen people each. Each poll will employ eighty four data collectors, enabling the IED to have a sample size of one thousand five hundred people

interviewed. IED will get the information within one day either by hand delivery from constituencies close to itself, and by allowing the data collectors to fax or send the questionnaires by courier service back to IED. After the information has been received we will contract ten data analysts who will analyse and interpret the data ready for publication within three days.

Within the nine months of the project, IED intends to carry out at least two opinion polls, one before elections and one after.

## EQUIPMENT AND RESOURCES NEEDED FOR THE PROJECT

### 1. Desktop Computer and Laptop

For results to be released expediently, IED will require the use of a computer to be used by the Pollster to input and to analyse data and produce the relevant report. A laptop will also be necessary to support the data analysis and will be used at various times in the field to speed up the computer data input and at the head office for data analysis.

### 2. Computer Networking

The desired process and outcome of the opinion polling activity will be based on expediency in the collection, analysis and release of the opinion polls result. For this to be achieved successfully, it will be necessary to have an internal in-house network of the three computers currently used by the Programme Officers together with the one to be used by the Pollster. This in-house networking will enable the Programme Officers to log into each other's computers, especially during the analysis period when teamwork will be most necessary. Networking will also contribute to efficiency in the running of the project as it will reduce delay and enable one to complete work started by another should the other party not be available.

### 3. Computer Software

For effective maximisation of this equipment, it will be necessary to provide accompanying computer software such as SPSS, DBase and desktop publishing software.

### 4. Resource Centre

IED has established a modest resource centre in which it has a collection of its publications and information on democracy and governance. Newspaper cuttings on such issues also make up part of the documentation in the resource centre. This resource centre is still being built up and IED requires to subscribe to as many such publications possible in order to build up the resource centre to credible levels. This centre is open to all interested persons who are free to come and use its materials.

## 5. Motor Vehicle

IED currently operates on hired motor vehicles as it has no vehicle of its own. For an institution whose activities are mainly in the field, this has proved not only cumbersome but also expensive. It is expected that the opinion polling activity will be very intensive and in particular the face to face interviews in the data collection. IED staff will also be involved in the process, both during the data collection and the follow-up and monitoring activities which will require reliable transportation. IED is therefore seeking funds for the purchase of a four wheel drive motor vehicle to enable it achieve its programme objectives more successfully.

## EXPECTED OUTPUTS OF THE PROJECT

- A manual on monitoring the elections and the electoral process, published and disseminated
- A document on lessons learned and what to look out for, published and disseminated
- Three opinion polls carried out and the results thereof published

## STAFF OF THE PROJECT

IED will avail staff for the project. However, it will be necessary for new positions to be established with regard to this project as follows:

### New Positions

#### 1. Pollster

IED intends to recruit a Pollster cum Researcher for a period of at least nine months to carry out quarterly opinion polls. In the interim period, this person will be involved in collecting related data relevant to the electoral process. The Pollster will be expected to be a graduate with a postgraduate qualification in a research related field and will have a strong commitment to research with several years experience in both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.

#### 2. Driver

A project driver will also be necessary for the vehicle IED is hoping to purchase.

#### 3. Secretary

IED currently operates without the services of a secretary. The opinion polling project is anticipated to be very intensive and will involve a great deal of paper work, correspondence and general administration. While the Pollster will be expected to spearhead the operational aspect of the project, he/she will require assistance with the general administration of the project. and it has become necessary to fill this position with an efficient person who will be able to handle the paper work that comes with implementing and managing projects. The presence of a secretary will also allow Programme Officers more time to work on project work.

### Existing Staff

#### 1. *Executive Director*

The Executive Director is the over-all head of the Institute and will be expected to devote at least 38% of her time to the project.

#### 2. *Programme Officer*

The project will be overseen by a Programme Officer in the Institute reporting to the Executive Director as the over-all head of the organisation. The Programme Officer is currently involved in one other project in the Institute and will be expected to devote at least 50% of her time to this project. The Programme Officer will backstop the project and ensure project implementation and follow-up. The Pollster will work as a team with the Programme Officer.

#### 3. *Finance and Administration Officer*

Project funds will need to be closely monitored and accounts properly kept, and accurate and timely reports made to USAID. Opinion polling will also involve disbursement of large amounts of funds during the data collection process. The Finance and Administration Officer will be an important person in this project and will be responsible for making requests for funds, disbursing it internally and making the final accounts to USAID.

### STAFF TRAINING

IED staff will also need to be familiarised on research methods to enable them work as a team with the Pollster. Apart from the Programme Officer who will be backstopping the project, at least five other members of staff will need to be trained, especially in the use of soft ware for data analysis. There are several research organisations such as AFIP (Association of Free and Independent Press), which carry out training in research methods.

## ASSUMPTIONS

- That elections will be held in November 1997.

*This assumption is considered valid in that registration of voters has been announced to began in the month of May 1997 and the activities in the electoral process after that are mainly statutory, that is, assuming inspection of the voters roll takes one month (August), after that, raising of any issues on the roll is given another month, dissolution of Parliament, nominations and campaigns all point to a November/December election date.*

- That citizens will be interested in participating in opinion polls and in the electoral process at all levels.
- That there will be no hostility from the government towards this activity. In the nearly four years of its existence, IED has not had any interference from the government.
- That USAID will be willing to fund the project.
- That funds will be availed on time and the project will not be overtaken by events.

## EVALUATION

IED will also keep progress reports which shall be availed to USAID on a quarterly basis. An evaluation process will take place at the end of the project.

Other monitoring indicators will include:

- Political Party Audit developed, distributed and in use
- Elections Monitoring Manual revised, distributed and in use
- Actual number of persons responding to opinion polls
- Monitoring of voter registration process carried out and pre-election report prepared and disseminated.
- Constraints experienced and how they can be overcome.

On completion of the project a final evaluation will be carried out to assess achievement of objectives, effectiveness of the project, efficiency/cost effectiveness of the project and the impact. Independent consultants will be hired for this purpose.

## **SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PROJECT**

This project aims at institutional sustainability. IED is still in its infancy and needs to develop new areas of capability which will in the long run help in achieving financial sustainability. Should IED distinguish itself in the area of opinion polling, this will be one aspect to explore for financial sustainability as other organisations and institutions will have confidence in IED and contract it to carry out opinion polling in different areas of interest.

**Budget of the project** see Appendix 1

**Logical Framework** see Appendix 2

**Project implementation Plan** see appendix 3

## PROJECT BUDGET

ITEM	MEANS OF JUSTIFICATION	BUDGETED AMOUNT KSh.	TOTAL AMOUNT KSh.
<b>CAPITAL COST</b>			
1 586 Computer	The computers will be used in data processing & analysis for the project. Quotations for the costing have been sought from at least three vendors.	150,000	
1 Lap top 586		180,000	
1 UPS unit		35,000	
Computer soft ware (SPSS)	IED will require computer software packages for processing, analysing & compilation of statistical data. SPSS @ 300,000/=	300,000	
Office furniture	IED will require a computer desk @ 15000/=, 2 working desks @15000/= each for the Pollster & secretary , a computer chair @ 10000/=, 2 working chairs @15,000 each	85,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>750,000</b>
4 Wheel Drive Motor Vehicle	IED's projects are mainly in the field and have in the past incurred high transport costs on hiring vehicles. IED will require a reliable 4 wheel drive vehicle. This cost is for a Subaru Legacy or any such vehicle of similar make. The cost of Kshs 1,860,870, 10% comprehensive insurance of Kshs 186,087 for one year and a DFR 550 multilock alarm system at Kshs 17,680. Quotations had been sought from two dealers.	2,064,637	<b>2,064,637</b>

<b><u>CAPACITY BUILDING PERSONNEL COST</u></b>			
Executive Director	The Executive Director will devote 31% of her time to the project. This is partly financed by funds from other projects.	682,772	
Programme Officer	The Programme Officer devote 50% of her time to the project. Her salary is partly financed by funds from other projects.	386,175	
Finance Officer	The Finance Officer's salary is part contribution of the total consolidated salary for the period which is partly financed by funds from other projects. She will spend 48.7 % of her time on the project	376,134	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>1,445,081</b>
<b><u>New Positions</u></b>			
Pollster/Data Analyst for 6 months @ KSh. 80,000 per month x 6 months	The Pollster will be expected to design, analyse research findings and opinion polling which IED intends to revitalise as a feedback		

	mechanism from the electorate for a maximum period of 6 months.	480,000	
Secretary	This is a new position which will be necessary due to the nature of work, especially opinion polling, which will require a lot of paper work, communication, organisation and consultation. This position will back up the Pollster, especially in organising the data received while the latter is in the field.	360,000	
Driver	A driver will be necessary to transport the staff to the field	180,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>1,020,000</b>
<b>PROJECT COST</b>			
<b>POLITICAL PARTY AUDIT</b>			
Consultancy fees for 3 researchers @ for five months 100,000/- each	It is necessary to have 3 researchers because of the volume of work involved and the need for objectivity. Besides conducting the research the researchers will also write the first draft of the Political Party Audit.	300,000	
Preparation of a checklist for the Minimum Standards Document Consultancy @ 3,500 x 3 people Photocopying @ 1000 copies x 2 pages x 5/- per	The development of the Minimum Standards Document has to follow a consensual approach that will require the gathering of different views on party management.		

copy		20,500	
A one-day workshop to critique the findings of the research Hire of hall, meals and transport for 12 participants @ KSh. 40,800/-	For the document to have wide acceptability, the research findings and the manner of their presentation must be challenged and refined at a workshop. This meeting is expected to be at the mayfair hotel .Rates per participant are Lunch 600/=, Teas 200/=, Equipment 100/=, Stationry 50/= and beverages 200/= .Transport per participant @ 1,000/= each and one facilitators fees @ 15,000/=.		
		40,800	
Consultancy fees for an Editor @ KSh. 100,000/-	The Editor will take the draft prepared by the researchers and, together with the recommendations of the critique workshop, compile the final camera ready publication.	100,000	
Printing and publication of a document of 50 pages @ KSh. 70/- per book for 5000 copies	This document has to be circulated to as many people as possible to a cross section of Kenyans. Cost per copy also goes down when more copies are printed. Hence the need to do at least 5000 copies	350,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>811,300</b>
<b><u>ELECTIONS MONITORING MANUAL</u></b>			
Re-writing and revising of	IED will work with a consultant who will		

the Elections Monitoring Manual	revise and improve the existing manual	150,000	
Printing and Publication of elections monitoring manual of at least 70 pages A5 @ KSh. 100 per manual x 10000 manuals	Every official involved in monitoring the elections has to have the manual. Working on a possible 8,000 poll watchers and 2,000 other officials the most reasonable number of copies is 10,000.	1,000,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>1,150,000</b>
<b><u>OPINION POLLS</u></b>			
Recruitment of a pollster.	The project requires the specialised services of a pollster who will design, analyse and interpret the data ready for publication	40,000	
Training for staff on data collection and analysis at Research International @ Ksh. 75,000/-	For co-ordinated team work, it will be necessary for more than just the Pollster to be equipped with this skill	75,000	
Pre-test of the questionnaire a) Audience 1 (Rural-Kitui) Transport @14,000 X 2 polls Hire of Consultants @ 2,500 X 5 people X 2 polls Hire of halls @ 3,000 x 2 polls Accommodation @ 2,000 X	To ensure that the questions make sense to the people for whom we will seek information from the instruments need to be pre tested. We propose to do this during both the polls with two different audiences both times. One audience will be largely rural while the other will be drawn from an urban centre	79,000	

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5 people X 2 polls			
b)Audience 2 (Urban-Nairobi.) Transport @ 5,000 Hire of Consultants @ 2,500 X 5 people X 2 polls Hire of hall @ 3,000 X 2 polls Lunch @ 3,000			<b>39,000</b>
Data collectors travel @ 3,000 X 84 people X 2 polls	It will be necessary to recruit research assistants or data collectors for every poll. These will travel to the different areas identified in the sample		<b>504,000</b>
Data collectors working allowance @ 1,500 X 84 people X 2 polls	A working allowance will be given to all the data collectors		<b>252,000</b>
Accommodation @ 2,000 X 32 people X 2 polls	Some of the data collectors will have to get accommodation in their respective areas of operation due to transport and communication constraints.		<b>128,000</b>
Lunch for data collectors @ 1,000 X 52 people X 2 polls	The other data collectors will only need lunch		<b>104,000</b>
Photocopy of questionnaires @ 5 a page X 84 People X 16 questionnaires X 2 polls	This is for the reproduction of the questionnaires and cheaper than printing.		<b>13,440</b>

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Postage costs by courier service @ 500 per letter X 52 people X 2 polls	This is necessary for purposes of smooth running of the whole exercise	52,000	
Telephone and fax costs @800 per page X 30 people X2 polls	Due to the fast changing nature of polls we need to get the information back to us in the shortest time possible to facilitate immediate release. Depending on where the areas of operation are the data collectors will either send the responses through express mail or fax the details to us from the nearest centre.	48,000	
10 Data analysts @ 2,000 X 2 polls	It will also be necessary to recruit a group of people to assist with the analysis of the data before it can be released for publication.	40,000	
Refreshments for the team @ 1,000 X 10 data analysts X 2 polls	The data analysts will work the whole day, possibly round the clock to ensure that the results are out in good time	20,000	
Advertisements in the Newspaper @ 85000/= per ½ page advertisement	Besides compiling reports for documentation, the results of the poll will have to be reduced into ½ page releases which will be published in the local print media	170,000	
Monitoring during the project	IED intends to carry out monitoring activities during the running of the project	75,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>1,639,440</b>
<b><u>CONTRIBUTION TO SECRETARIAT</u></b>			

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Rent contribution @ 30,100 x 10 months	This is 43% contribution to total IED rent of KSh. 70,000 per month. IED moved to its own premises at the beginning of May, 1997. Other donors currently contributing to IED's rent are ODA and the Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE).	301,000	
Training for 5 staff members @ 20,000/= each	Training on the use of different computer software and other work related courses for staff	100,000	
Stationery/photocopying/printing @ 9,387 x 10 months	Office stationery @ 5,600/=, photocopying @2,000/= per month x 10 months. Printing of office documents @ 1787/= x 10 months	93,870	
Insurance and maintenance of office equipment	Insurance cover under all risk for the capital cost items at the rate of 4% of the app. 1.2 million sum assured @ 48000/= & maintenance /service costs @ 5000/= per month x 10 months	98,000	
Office consumable, Bank charges and other incidentals	Office consumable @ 5,000/- per month x 10 months. Bank charges @ 1,500/- per month x 10 months and other incidentals @ 1,500/- per month x 10 months	80,000	
Subscriptions	IED will subscribe to democracy journals, periodicals and other educational materials which will be used as a resource during implementation of this project.	21,765	

Telephone , fax & postage	Contribution to telephone/fax costs 15,000/= per month x 10 months & postage costs @ 2000/= per month x 10 months.	170,000	
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>864,635</b>
<b>Audit and Evaluation</b>	End of project evaluation 300,000/= and audit @ 100,000/=	400,000	<b>400,000</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>10,145,093</b>	<b>10,145,093</b>

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LOGICAL FRAMEWORK

	Key Focus/Narrative Summary	Objectively verifiable indicators	Means of Verification	Key assumptions	
GOAL	To work towards the enhancement of electoral democracy in Kenya	Those participating in elections are seen to be more democratic	Elections monitoring reports by IED Opinion polling reports by IED	That elections and democracy are viewed as important processes and Kenyans and donors are interested in enhancing the same	
PURPOSE	To conduct certain activities that will enable the electorate to monitor and participate more effectively in the 1997 General Elections and beyond.	Qualified consultants identified to work on the Election Monitoring Manual and the Political Party Audit	Existence of formal contracts between IED and consultants	Donors will fund this project and elections will be held	
		Opinion polling system put in place	Opinion polling instruments in use		
		Relevant secretariat and field staff recruited and trained	Training/deployment forms		
		Equipment purchased and put in place	Purchase documents and operational secretariat		
OUTPUTS	Experienced consultant recruited to re-write and revise the Election Monitoring Manual	Consultant recruited and working	Formal contract between IED and the consultant	That the people recruited will be committed to their work	
	Experienced consultants recruited to research and write up the Political Party Audit	Consultants recruited and working	Formal contracts between the consultants and IED		
	Opinion polling system put in place	Pollster recruited and working	Letter of appointment		
		Secretary recruited and working	Letter of appointment		
		Data collectors recruited and working	Formal contracts between IED and data collectors		
		Data analysts recruited and working	Formal contracts between IED and data analysts		
		Driver recruited and working	Letter of appointment		
ACTIVITIES	Re-writing and revision of the	10,000 copies of the re-written and	Documents of payment by		

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JULY 1, 1997 TO APRIL 30, 1998

PROJECT/ ACTIVITY	JUL '97	AUG '97	SEP '97	OCT '97	NOV '97	DEC '97	JAN '98	FEB '98	MAR '98	APR '98
OPINION POLLING	Advertising of positions	Recruitment  Design pre-test instruments for opinion polling	Identify data collection and data analysis team.  Training of staff on research methods  Carry out pre- test of instruments	Carry out first opinion poll and publish it.	Make preparations for second opinion poll making necessary adjustments based on previous poll's experience	Pre-test instruments for second poll  Carry out of second opinion poll	Report Writing and handing over			
CAPITAL EQUIPMENT	Purchase of computers and motor vehicle				GENERAL ELECTIONS					
ELECTIONS MONITORING MANUAL		Identify and commission Consultant  Re- writing/revising of Elections Monitoring Manual	Critique workshop and finalisation of the Elections Monitoring Manual							
POLITICAL PARTIES AUDIT	Recruitment of Researchers for Political Parties Audit  Collection of materials and data	Continue with collection of materials  Development of checklist	Continue with collection of materials  Begin study of materials  Administration of checklist	Study and analysis of materials continue  Carry out interviews	Continue with study and analysis of materials  Carry out interviews	Continue with study and analysis of materials  Carry out interviews	Continue with study and analysis of materials  Carry out interviews  Development of Minimum Standards	Compilatio n of the Political Party Audit  Editing of the Political Party Audit	One day workshop to critique Political Party Audit  Printing and publication	Printing and Publication  Launch and Dissemination  Evaluation

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