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THUNDER

Electoral Support and Political Party Development

TRENDS ANALYSIS

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TRENDS ANALYSIS

In preparation for writing the design for the electoral support and political process development program several indicators of the future demand in this area have been identified. This discussion, with accompanying graphs, budgets and calendars, addresses four factors impacting demand and presents projections for electoral support and political process development demand over the next five years based on that information.

I. Budget Trends

A. Africa

Electoral Assistance and Political Process Development funding in Africa is peaking currently, in FY 1994, with obligations just over \$34 million. Approximately \$14.5 million have been allocated to elections assistance, \$13 million to civic education and \$6.6 million to political party development. Electoral assistance in Africa was actually at its zenith in FY 1993 and has shown a steady decrease since that time. By FY 1996 it is projected to be a half of the FY 1993 obligation. The same is true for political party development, which is projected to be at levels less than 50% of its FY 1994 allocation.

Civic education funding is also projected to decrease after FY 1994. However, of the three activities, it is projected to decrease at the slowest rate. Civic education in FY 1996 will still be higher than FY 1993 levels. In fact, for the first time since FY 1992, civic education funding is projected to exceed electoral assistance funding.

Within the region obligations for South Africa greatly exceed other countries for the period FY 1992-1996. Mozambique is a strong second and Ghana third.

In FY 1993 South Africa obligations emphasized electoral assistance. However, by the FY 1996 elections assistance had decreased to 1/7 of the 1993 figure. Political party development also shows a steady downward slide during the FY 1994-1996 period.

Civic education in South Africa has also experienced a decline since climaxing in FY 1994. However, it has remained the most consistent category of funding. Civic education funding began in FY 1992 and has remain relatively consistent. Unlike the rapidly declining trends of electoral and political party development assistance, civic education has remained the largest category of funding in four of the five years. And FY 1996 projections remain consistent with the FY 1995 figures.

B. ANE Region

Electoral and political process development assistance in Asia and the Near East is only a fraction of the Africa Region's budget. However, it is the only region to show continuing growth for the FY 1992-1996 period. Another noticeable difference about the ANE region is

that there is no funding indicated for political party development. ANE funding focuses on civic education. And, according to the budget that will remain a core activity. However, the electoral assistance funding is increasing at a faster rate than the civic education funding.

C. ENI Region:

Funding in the ENI Region is also peaking in FY 1994. What is unique about the ENI budget is the category in which it is peaking. Unlike any of the other regions political party development receives more funding than the other categories of assistance. All categories are steadily decreasing according to the budget figures.

During FY 1994 obligations to Russia account for almost 50% of all ENI funding for electoral support and political process development, including the regional projects. Even though funding is projected to decline in FY 1995 Russia's funding will still be twice as much as any other country in the region. The Ukraine and Kazakhstan have the highest obligations after Russia. And again, there is a vast disparity in the obligation levels. The budget for the Ukraine is more than twice that of Kazakhstan for the FY 1992-1996 period. Following Kazakhstan, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland all have commensurate levels of funding.

Contrary to South Africa, Russia's funding initially emphasized political party development. In fact, in FY 1994 funding for political parties was almost equal to elections assistance and civic education combined. And, although the projected funding progresses in a downward trend, it is not nearly as great as the rate of decline for elections and civic education. Between FY 1994 and FY 1995 elections assistance is projected to decrease by 75% with funding ceasing in FY 1996. Civic education remains constant in FY 1994 and FY 1995. However, it also faces a rapid slide in FY 1996.

D. LAC Region

In LAC funding obligations actually peaked in FY 1993. Elections assistance and political party development have shown a steady decline since that time. Civic education remained steady in FY 1992-1994. It is projected to drop in FY 1995 but rebounds in FY 1996 approaching its original funding in FY 1992. FY 1996 will be the first year that civic education is the leading category of funding in the region.

E. Budget Compilation Comments

It should be noted that the information included in the accompanying budgets was provided by the regional bureaus, where possible, the FY 1995 Congressional Presentation and AC/SI Codes (See Exhibits I-A through I-D & II-A through II-D). The numbers are based on obligations, not expenditures. The budgets outline assistance in three categories: Civic Education (Civ. Ed.), Electoral Assistance (Elections) and Political Party Development (PPD).

Generally speaking project budgets are not broken down into specific categories of assistance. However, AC/SI codes classify assistance by several categories including Elections Assistance, Civic Education and Political Party Support. Unfortunately, there are some limitations associated with using these figures. One such limitation is associated with the category of Political Party Support which was not created until FY 1994. Consequently, before that time most of the regions did not identify these amounts in a separate category. Another factor to keep in mind is that individual definitions of civic education vary. As a result, some of those numbers may be over inclusive.

In addition, several of the regional projects do not specifically identified the countries receiving support. Examples are the AREAF Program and the IFES/NDI/IRI Cooperative Agreements used in the NIS in FY 1992 & FY 1993. Thus, some countries that are receiving assistance will not specifically reflect that assistance. It is, however, reflected in the overall funding in the regional categories.

Finally, note that the budgets only include the USAID Assisted Countries, excluding the 1995 close-out countries. Thus, some projections may seem understated at a regional level since, for example, a country like Panama that received assistance in the past is not included in the budgets.

II. Elections as a Source of Demand

A. Elections Scheduled for the Period 1995-2000

An obvious aspect of electoral support and political process development demand is the occurrence of elections in USAID assisted countries. As can be seen from the attached graphs (See Exhibits III-A through III-D) the overall presidential and parliamentary/legislative elections demand remains relatively constant over the next five years. There are approximately 14 presidential elections scheduled for each of the next five years. The only exception is in 1996 when 23 elections are scheduled. Presidential elections in both the Africa and ENI regions are at a high point during this year. Parliamentary/legislative elections peak in 1995, mainly as a result of the number of ENI parliamentary elections that year.

The demand in Africa is relatively constant ranging from 5 to 8 presidential and 6 to 9 parliamentary/legislative elections per year. Combining the election results in a low of 11 elections in 1997 and a high of 15 in both 1996 and 1998.

In the ANE region there are still a minimum number of countries where presidents are popularly elected. Consequently, the focus here is currently on parliamentary/legislative elections. However, combining both the popularly elected presidential and the parliamentary/legislative elections provides for a low of 4 elections in 1997 and a high of 9 elections in 1996.

Demand in the ENI ranges from a total of 7 national elections in 1999 to 17 in 1996. Ten

presidential elections are to take place during 1996. Parliamentary/legislative demand peaks in 1995, with 10 elections scheduled.

The highest demand in LAC occurs in the first and last years of the calendar. With a total of 11 national elections in 1995 and 13 in 2000. There are 6 presidential elections in both of these years. The demand for parliamentary/legislative elections is strongest in 1997 and 2000, with 7 elections scheduled in each year.

In summary, demand for the next 5 years based on the current elections schedule is:

AFRICA

Very consistent demand with presidential elections peaking in 1996 and parliamentary/legislative elections in 1999.

ANE

Presidential elections peaking in 1998 and parliamentary/legislative in 1996.

ENI

Presidential elections peaking in 1996 and parliamentary/legislative in 1997.

LAC

Presidential elections peaking in 1995 and 2000 and parliamentary/legislative in 1997 and 2000.

B. Election Calendar

The accompanying elections calendar utilizes two models (See Exhibits IV-A & IV-B). The first is organized by year within each region and provides specific dates for the elections when available. The second chart is organized by region. It provides, when possible, the next two elections in each category (i.e. president; legislature; parliament; regional & local elections). The date for the second election is based on the election term as indicated in the country's constitution.

It is important to note that in developing nations election schedules are often changed and elections are often called at unscheduled times. Additionally, several countries have legislation allowing for presidential dismissal of parliament or resignation of the president upon a vote of no confidence. Furthermore, several countries are currently adjusting the terms of their constitutions. Consequently, caution should be exercised in using this demand analysis and the accompanying calendar since election dates are frequently changing.

III. Demand for Specific Election and Political Process Development Activities

To better grasp fields needs a survey sent to all Missions requested various information about

their democracy programs (See Exhibit V). One question specifically requested the Missions to describe their portfolio of election and political process development activities by completing a chart that listed 13 unique assistance activities. Based on those responses the following discussion identifies trends and attempts to project the future demand for activities by identifying the highest and lowest priorities for activities over the next five years (See Exhibits VI & VII-A through VII-D).

This discussion is limited to the responses from the USAID Missions in the following countries:

Africa Region: Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

ANE Region: Cambodia, Egypt, India, Jordan, Morocco, Nepal, Sri Lanka.

ENI Region: Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Russia, and the Ukraine.

LAC Region: Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Mexico and Peru.

A. Combined Results

Looking at the demand for assistance as a whole over the 1992-2000 period the greatest demand has been for voter/civic education. This is followed by short term technical assistance, support to the electoral commission and political party development, respectively. Demand is peaking in FY 1994 & FY 1995 with 120 and 116 activities planned by the Missions responding to the questionnaire. Comparing that number to the 56 activities requested in FY 1992 or the 8 planned in FY 2000 it is clear that electoral support and political process development activities are currently at their apex. The demand for years FY 1994-1996, in order of priority, is as follows:

FY 1994

- 1. Voter/Civic Education**
- 2. Short Term Technical Assistance; Electoral Commission Support**
- 4. Election Monitoring/observation**
- 5. Design/Strategy/ Election Administration**
- 7. Political Party Development**
- 8. Poll Worker Training**
- 9. Election Commodities; Long Term Technical Assistance; Post Electoral Training**
- 12. Election Legislation Development**
- 13. Pre-Election Assessment**

FY 1995

1. Voter/Civic Education
2. Short Term Technical Assistance; Electoral Commission Support
4. Political Party Development
5. Election Administration
6. Elections Legislation Development
7. Long Term Technical Assistance
7. Poll Worker Training
9. Design/Strategy Assistance; Election Monitoring/Observing; Election Commodities
12. Post Electoral Training
13. Pre-Election Assessment

FY 1996

1. Voter/Civic Education
2. Political Party Development
3. Short Term Technical Assistance; Long Term Technical Assistance
5. Electoral Commission Support
6. Election Monitoring/Observation
7. Election Administration; Poll Worker Training; Election Legislation Development; Post Electoral Training
11. Pre-Election Assessment
12. Elections Commodities
- 13 Design/Strategy (no requests)

Following FY 1996 the demand for assistance drops rapidly among our respondents, however, civic education, short & long term technical assistance and political party development all remain on the top of the planned assistance lists.

B. Individual Region

1. Africa

Since Africa accounts for almost 40% of the responses it is no surprise that the trends in this region are similar to the trends above. Numerous activities are planned during the FY 1994-1996 period with voter/civic education leading the demand for assistance. Voter/civic education also exhibits the most dramatic increase and decrease. Although the decrease is dramatic, it still remains a top priority along with short term technical assistance. On the other hand, post electoral training remains one of the most constant requests for assistance throughout the period.

Design/strategy also has a strong showing during FY 1994-1995, however, a dramatic drop occurs after FY 1995 with only 1 request indicated over the next three years. Electoral commissions exhibit the same trend with only 2 of the 22 requests occurring after FY 1996. The trend continues with election commodities. Of the 14 requests for commodities only 3 are

indicated after FY 1995.

2. ANE

Asia Near East is one of the more difficult regions to identify trends since the original assistance indicated is so limited. Electoral assistance and political process development clearly peak in FY 1994 and dramatically drop in FY 1995, with only one proposed funding activity. Although, having said that, voter/civic education still remains the dominant activity and is the most consistent throughout the period. It is worth noting that there is no indication of election administration or election legislation development activities during the eight year period in question. And, in great contrast to the other regions there are minimal political party development activities. Similarly, little attention is given to design/strategy; election commodities and long term technical assistance.

3. ENI

The ENI Region probably shows the greatest contrast to the ANE region with its heavy emphasis on political party development. Political party development and voter/civic education are the most frequently requested activities. Assistance to the electoral commissions and short term technical assistance follow. There are two glaring trends in this region. This first is that of all the indicated activities only 1 is for design/strategy. The other striking trend is that activities basically cease after FY 1997. There are only two activities planned after that time, both of which are political party development.

The survey and its projections for the years after FY 1997 may be understated since funding is so uncertain at this time. For example, during the field visit to the Ukraine an inquiry was made as to whether all electoral and political process assistance would cease in the Ukraine in FY 1996 as indicated in the survey. The Democracy Officer responded that since funding for projects after FY 1996 is so uncertain she did not complete the chart following that period.

4. LAC

The LAC Region also differs somewhat from the combined findings. Although voter/civic education is a strong component of the mission portfolios, it is was not among the top three areas of concentration. Nor, for that matter, is political party development. This shift may well be the result of a longer history of democratic elections. Thus, the focus here turns to support for the electoral commissions and election administration. Short & long term technical assistance follows closely behind those activities.

There are also several activities that received little response in this region. First, there was no indication of planned post electoral training over the eight year period. There was also very little pre-election assessment, none after FY 1993. Nor are there any plans for election

commodities and election legislation development after FY 1995.

B. Demand Projections

Based solely on the responses to the questionnaire the following activities have the highest and lowest demand over the next five years:

AFRICA REGION

High Demand

1. Voter/Civic Education
2. Short Term Technical Assistance
3. Political Party Development

Low Demand

1. Election Commodities
2. Pre-Election Assessment
3. Design/Strategy

ANE

Highest Demand

1. Voter/Civic Education [there were not enough responses to draw any other conclusions]

ENI Region

High Demand

1. Political Party Development
2. Voter/Civic Education
3. Election Legislation Development

Low Demand

1. Design/Strategy
2. Election Commodities; Poll Worker Training; Long Term Technical

Assistance

LAC Region

High Demand

1. Electoral Commissions; Poll Worker Training
3. Election Administration

Low Demand

1. Pre-Election Assessment
2. Post Electoral Training
3. Elections Commodities

Combined Regions

High Demand

Low Demand

1. Voter/Civic Education
2. Short Term Technical Assistance
3. Political Party Development

1. Election Commodities
2. Design/Strategy
3. Pre-Election Assessment

IV. Interview Projections

During the interviews conducted in preparation for the design of the electoral support and political process development program several people interviewed had comments on the direction of assistance in this field. The following are some recurrent themes addressing future demand.

A. Voter Registries

Better civil and voter registries are needed. This is a concern to people working in LAC, ENI and Africa. It was also introduced as a concern in three of the four Missions visited.

B. International vs. Local Observers

Although international observers are still requested by countries there is a clear trend toward smaller delegation with more focus on training local observers. Several people interviewed commented that they believe large delegations are not an effective use of limited funding. When foreign observers are used it should be limited to smaller delegation employing, where possible, more people from surrounding areas, who have faced similar problems.

C. Election Opinion Polls

During the next three years there may be an increase in the use of opinion polls. They are a good source of lessons learned and a valuable way to detect gaps in the assistance provided.

D. Poll Worker Training

With the advent of stronger electoral commissions the duty of training poll workers should begin to fall on the commission's shoulders.

E. Civic Education

Civic education will remain a crucial activity through 2000, however, in the next couple of years the focus should shift from expatriates to local and regional people, thus decreasing the cost and moving toward sustainable assistance.

IV. Conclusions

Based on the above discussion of the factors impacting demand for electoral support and political process development assistance the following conclusion regarding demand can be made.

A. Africa

Although the budget for the region will be decreasing the demand for assistance will remain fairly constant as a result of the elections schedule. A small surge in demand should be observed in FY 1996 and 1998, as a result of the larger number of elections scheduled. Civic education will remain a strong activity in the region. Short term technical assistance and political party development will also be in high demand. There will be a decline in commodities, pre-election assessment and design/strategy.

B. ANE

The ANE budget will slowly and moderately increase over the next few years. The demand should be higher in 1996 and 1999 as a result of the increased number of elections scheduled. Civic education will remain an important activity but funding for electoral assistance will increase at a greater rate. Political party development will also begin to develop in the region.

C. ENI

The ENI shows a sharp decline funding following FY 1997. This is consistent with the election demand which is strongest in 1996 and 1997. Political party development will maintain a strong emphasis in the region. Civic education, elections law development and electoral commissions will also be in high demand during this period. Opinion polls are likely to be used more frequently.

D. LAC

LAC funding continues to decline. The demand for assistance should be stronger in 1995 and 2000 based on the elections scheduled. Demand will be focused in elections administration, including electoral commissions and voter registries. Civic education will also remain a strong component of the planned activities. There will be little demand for electoral commodities, elections law design, program design and pre-election assessments.

E. Combined Regions

Demand will remain high in voter/civic education, short term technical assistance and political party development. Demand should decrease markedly for commodities, design/strategy and pre-election assessments. Overall demand should peak in 1995 and 1996 based on the elections scheduled, however, the funding available is currently peaking in FY 1994 and is facing a

downward trend through FY 1997.

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