



EURECS

A EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO ELECTORAL CYCLE SUPPORT































Table of Contents

FOREWORDS	2
PREFACE	4
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
LIST OF ACRONYMS	9
SECTION I. OVERVIEW OF EU ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE	11
I. BACKGROUND, FUNDING AND IMPLEMENTATION	12
II. EVALUATING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EU-FUNDED ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE	16
III. RECOMMENDATIONS	21
SECTION II. IMPLEMENTING THE EURECS	24
IV. AN INNOVATIVE AND ALTERNATIVE DELIVERY MECHANISM	25
V. ADDED VALUE AND COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES	27
SECTION III. EXAMPLES OF EURECS-SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES	31
A) Electoral Political Economy Analyses	32
B) Prevent, Mitigate and Manage Electoral Related Conflicts	32
C) Leadership and Conflict management Skills for Electoral Stakeholders	34
D) Election Situation Room and Conflict Mapping	36
E) Political Party Support	38
F) Parliamentary Support	39
G) Media Monitoring and Institutional Communication	40
H) Civic and Voter Education: Nation-wide Sensitization Campaigns	41
I) Local Authorities for Credible and Sustainable Electoral Processes	43
J) Integrity and Quality Management Systems in Electoral Processes	44
K) Procurement of Electoral Material following EU Procedures	47
L) Ballot paper Design and Transmission of Results, Technical Considerations for Political Affairs	50
SECTION IV. ANNEX	53
ANNEX I: DESCRIPTION OF EPD, ITS SECRETARIAT AND EPD MEMBERS	54
ANNEX II: EPD MULTI-ANNUAL STRATEGY 2016-2019	59
ANNEX III: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION	
OF ELECTORAL RELATED CONFLICT IN THE SADC REGION	68
ANNEX IV: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE:	
PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY BUILDING: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	71
ANNEX V: STUDY ON PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS	
DEVELOPED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EC-UNDP PARTNERSHIP ON	
ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE; CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	72
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES	73
ABOUT THE AUTHORS AND CONTRIBUTORS	76
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	82

FOREWORDS



In my capacity as President of the Management Board of the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES), I am delighted to welcome the publication of this paper that outlines the lessons accumulated in the last five years by ECES and the members of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) in their support to electoral and democratisation processes. This paper raises some of the major opportunities and impediments to democracy and stability that I experienced first-hand, prior to becoming the President of ECES. Acknowledging the multidimensional, complex and long term nature of electoral and democracy support, this paper elaborates on best practices from a practitioners' point of view in a field that has been one of the European Union (EU) external action priority for several years now.

In 2006, when I was in between my two mandates as Member of the European Parliament, I was fortunate enough to be appointed Chief Observer for the EU Election Observation Missions (EU EOMs) to Venezuela and Bolivia, by the then EU Commissioner for External Relations, Ms. Benita Ferrero Waldner. In this period, EU EOM recommendations were still insufficiently translated into electoral and democracy assistance activities funded by the EU and its Member States. This restricted the potential impact of recommendations and left political dialogue on electoral performance somewhat unexplored.

The EU has now become one of the most important global players in the promotion of credible and transparent elections through its election observation and electoral assistance activities. These complementary and mutually reinforcing activities are often embedded in a broader support framework including institution-building. However, the objectives of the Communication of the Commission 191/2000 on Election Assistance and Obseration which opened the modern era of EU electoral support, have been only half achieved. While the observation pillar has considerably evolved and become a key external policy instrument, the other envisaged pillar of the Communication, electoral assistance, despite the conspicuous allocation of funds from different EU financial instruments, has not benefited of an equal degree of institutional attention and related operational development.

EU election observation missions are guided by a clear, systematic and regularly updated policy and methodology, on the other hand the "EC Methodological Guide for Electoral Assistance", which makes use of the Electoral Cycle Approach methodological tool, dates back to 2006. This approach remains pertinent since it advocates for long term support, notably in the period between elections, fostering capacity development and knowledge transfer for sustainability resilience to eventual democratic setbacks.

Ten years down the line, we can conclude that the electoral cycle approach has yet to be fully implemented when it comes to long-term support in the period between elections. Furthermore, support to electoral stakeholders remains largely focused on electoral management bodies.

The need to open up the scope of support even further is patent and has been echoed in many global evaluations carried out by various actors, including evaluations that target EU-funded projects implemented by various electoral assistance providers.

Considering that the EU is one of the largest contributors and that its latest global evaluation of electoral assistance activities was incorporated into the 2006 EC Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance would seem to advocate for a new review process to incorporate the wealth of knowledge gathered

over the last five years. Such a process should include an evaluation of the implementation modalities of EU-funded electoral assistance that historically, and even more so in the last decade, have featured the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and other UN agencies as the main implementing partners.

Throughout this period and since the late 1980s the United States of America has funded (through the US Agency for International Development USAID), electoral assistance, observation and democracy support activities via not for profit US-based organisations. This has facilitated the emergence and establishment of several organisations that are still the main recipients of USAID funding in this end.

Given the rapid shifts in the electoral and democracy assistance sector funded by the EU and also the consolidation of European specialised non-profit organisations, including (but not only) ECES and EPD members, it seems appropriate for the EU and its Member States to take stock of the lessons learned in these last years. Through the numerous projects that have been implemented it is possible to assess the efficacy of the different delivery mechanisms according to budget instruments designed to this end and built to deliver responses to different contexts. Evaluating cost effectiveness, sustainability and EU political visibility for each delivery mechanism could be another priority to help determine whether the EU and EU Member States are making the most out of their electoral support when it comes to result attainment and value for money. The final objective would be to create a framework whereby all interested European non-profit actors and interested regional, international and multi-governmental organisations are informed about the possibilities and regularly considered or invited to compete to implement EU-funded electoral and democracy support projects.

In this context, ECES and the EPD members, supported by its Secretariat have drafted this paper and are currently implementing a joint "European response to electoral cycle support" strategy known as EURECS. These initiatives are very much in line with the five strategic areas of the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy 2015-2019, and the call to "strengthen long term planning and integrated deployment of all aspects of EU and Member State support to the electoral cycle, by exploring innovative aid delivery mechanisms".

This paper is launched on 28 September 2016 as a contribution to the International Day of Democracy, celebrated at the European Parliament in cooperation with the European External Action Service and in partnership with International IDEA, the European Network of Political Foundations and the European Endowment for Democracy and the European Partnership for Democracy.

On this symbolic date, ECES and EPD, reconfirm their commitment and readiness to implement electoral and democracy assistance activities in a tailored and holistic way. ECES and EPD jointly ensure a global, empirical based understanding of the multiple challenges related to support throughout electoral cycles, stemming from extensive field experience from having implemented activities in more than 200 projects in more than 130 countries and for over 100 Million Euro in the last five years. These projects occupy 1,200 persons at present among the EPD members, in more than 50 Project/ Regional offices. This broad presence is a testament to the resources and knowledge that ECES and EPD have in relation to electoral cycle and democracy support, as funded and therefore shaped by the European Union, its Member States and other European donors.

Monica Frassoni President

European Centre for Electoral Support

formae frontale!

PREFACE

Citizens in developing democracies want more than just being able to vote on Election Day. The visible and symbolic act of voting is of course vital in creating the representative elements within our political systems. Yet, the majority of political competition and more importantly, the day-to-day activities of democratic politics, occur at other moments within the electoral cycle. That is why it is important for policy makers and democracy assistance organisations to move 'beyond ballots' and try to come up with an integrated approach towards democracy support.

The international community observes and assists multiple elections each year and EU has become a major player in this field in the last 10 years. EU

Election Observation missions provide an assessment of a particular election process and also outline recommendations for future elections. These recommendations follow a clear election observation methodology that is increasingly pertinent and rigorous. However, there are still difficulties in transforming these recommendations into effective electoral assistance that can bring about positive electoral reform and democratic development. This is often because of a lack of political will of national governments or lack of consensus among political actors, rather than any lack of technical understanding of electoral or democratic processes.

It is therefore our opinion that electoral assistance should expand in two dimensions, in both time and in space. Firstly, a long-term approach to elections based on support throughout all stages of the electoral cycle should move from ambition to reality. A broader and more integrated approach will stimulate ownership among political players and also create opportunities for concrete results. After all, when it comes down to influencing change, timing is everything. Windows of opportunity often present themselves between elections, not during.

Secondly, in addition to an integrated and long-term approach, greater space should be given to the full gambit of electoral stakeholders - including police, security, local authorities, political parties, media, civil society and religious groups - on top of the traditional support given to electoral management bodies.

The European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) has been active in democracy support since 2008 and departs from the philosophy that civil society organisations should work together to improve assistance to democracy around the world. All the constituent elements of a political system are interlinked and it is therefore paramount for links to be made between specialists from different fields of democracy support. EURECS is based on this philosophy and brings together the collective experience on democracy support of the members from around Europe that make up our network.



President, European Partnership for Democracy

Executive Director of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the early 1990s, the European Union (EU) has evolved and become one of the most important global players in democracy support. In so doing, it has operationsalised its external policies in the areas of democracy and human rights. This support includes the promotion of credible and transparent elections, often within a broader governance enhancement strategy. In parallel, other civil society support and institution-building activities have emerged to complement these activities.

EU electoral support revolves around two activities: **election observation and electoral assistance**. While election observation focuses on the process close to the electoral event, electoral assistance may be provided throughout the entire electoral cycle. The essential difference lies in the fact that while election observation is based on the principle of ensuring an independent and impartial assessment of an election process; electoral assistance goes into the process, directly supporting national authorities and other electoral stakeholders, while refraining from making public comments on the electoral process as such.

Both activities, when embedded in a broader institution-building and democracy support strategy, have a political finality. Election observation is, without a doubt, "the most visible" action with the presence of hundreds of observers deployed throughout a country around Election Day. However, its longer-term impact depends on accompanying programmes such as assistance to the entire political and electoral cycle. In order to foster real and durable change, such support activities should target a broad range of electoral stakeholders¹, including but not limited to election management bodies (EMBs).

Electoral support is now a priority area for the EU and its Member States. This interest and attention is translated into funding of election observation and electoral assistance activities. Respect for democracy, the rule of law, and civil and political rights are an integral part of the EU's political dialogue with selected partner countries that receive development cooperation funds. These fundamental themes cut across all EU geographical financial instruments that fund development cooperation.

"Election observation is a vital EU activity aiming to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law worldwide. It contributes to strengthening democratic institutions, building public confidence in electoral processes, helping to deter fraud, intimidation and violence. It also reinforces other key EU foreign policy objectives, in particular peace-building. Election observation gives the opportunity to assess an electoral process according to international standards. The EU is a leading global actor in providing and financing electoral assistance complementary to election observation. This dual form of EU election support constitutes a significant contribution to the promotion of governance and development objectives"²

A decisive step to link these two pillars from a policy perspective was finally taken in the EU Council's Strategic Framework and Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (Section III, Item 6) of June 2012. In that document, it was agreed to "systematize the use of EU EOMs and their reports in support of the whole electoral cycle" to ensure coherent policy objectives in support of democracy. Electoral observation represents a tool, that can also indirectly assess how electoral assistance to a country has been delivered.

¹ Civil Society Organizations, Parliaments, Political Parties, Justice sector institutions, Media actors, Security forces, Local authorities, Religious groups.

² http://eeas.europa.eu/eueom/index_en.htm

On the other hand, electoral assistance becomes a necessary sequitur for electoral observation. This confirms once again that an effective EU electoral support strategy requires that both components, while implemented separately and independently, should be programmed and coordinated in a similar manner to ensure that the overall EU democracy support strategy is properly implemented.

"The methodological approach to election assistance was outlined in the 2000 Communication. In recent years, there has been a significant increase in the funding and coverage of electoral assistance, which is tailored towards implementing long term support strategies within the framework of democratic development and support to good governance. The European External Action Service and the European Commission work closely with partner countries to follow-up on the recommendations of EU EOMs, especially in relation to strengthening the institutional capacity of election management bodies and the long term needs of civil society. However, an EU EOM is independent from any EU-funded technical assistance projects that may be taking place in the country being observed. A comprehensive overview of the role of the European Commission in election assistance is provided by the EC Methodological Guide on Election Assistance"³.

In parallel to the institutional aspects of electoral support, a number of dedicated European not-forprofit organisations have been working in the field of democracy and electoral support and have thus been following its evolution over the years. Taking into account the lessons learned by ECES and the members of EPD, particularly in the last five years, have devised and are currently implementing a joint "European response to electoral cycle support", also known as EURECS. This strategy encompasses a practical implementation approach to electoral support, informed by past experience also from EUEOMs. Thus, EURECS focuses systematically on EUEOM recommendations⁴ or indications of EU Services and Institutions in Brussels and EU Delegations if an EUEOM has yet to be deployed⁵.

The strategy builds on several key objectives, which are in line with the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019). The EU Action Plan provides clear indications on all aspects of EU policy in support of human rights and democracy, which commit the EU, until the end of 2019, to⁶:

Action 2.a.

Enhance the role and capacity of, and public confidence in, Election Management Bodies to organise elections in particular through enhanced dedicated dialogue and long term support strategy with the objective to promote the integrity of the electoral processes

Action 2.b.

Encourage participatory and inclusive dialogue between Election Management Bodies and key stakeholders throughout the overall democratic cycle, with a view to increase participation of political parties and civil society organisations.

Action 2.c.

Encourage the increased participation of women and persons belonging to marginalised groups in all stages of the election process.

³ Handbook for European Union Election Observation, 3rd Edition, page 23. http://eeas.europa.eu/eueom/pdf/handbook_eom_2016_en.pdf

⁴ In the different formats that EU electoral missions are deployed nowadays, namely: fully-fledged EU EOMs, EU Election Assessment Teams (EU EAT), EU Election Expert Missions (EU EEM) and Follow-up Missions to assess the implementation of EU EOM recommendations.

⁵ This was the case recently in Burkina Faso. Prior to the deployment of an EU EOM, a €7.8 million basket fund, with EU and Member State funding –including Austria, Denmark, France, Germany and Luxemburg- was established and managed by ECES from the beginning of 2015 to support the Independent Electoral Commission; see www.pacte-burkinafaso.eu

⁶ The EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019) is available at the following address: http://eeas.europa.eu/human_rights/docs/eu_action_plan_on_human_rights_and_democracy_en.pdf

Action 3.b.

Include a parliamentary dimension into EU and EU Member States' good governance programmes and budget support.

Action 7.a.

Facilitate and support structured exchanges, inter alia through sharing best practices and lessons learned, between government, members of parliament and civil society.

Action 7.d.

Step up EU engagement with political parties and citizen movements with a view to strengthening political pluralism and parties' role in fostering accountable institutions and practices, as well as inclusive national reform processes.

Action 32.a.

Support and re-commit to the implementation of the Declaration of Principles (DoP) for International Election Observation and co-operate closely with organisations that are applying the DoP in observation methodology, such as ODIHR.

Action 32.b.

Consolidate best practices for leveraging EU EOMs and OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Missions recommendations in EU and EU Member State political dialogues and democracy support activities.

Action 32.c.

Strengthen long term planning and integrated deployment of all aspects of EU and Member State support to the electoral cycle, by exploring innovative aid delivery mechanisms.

The main aim of the EURECS is to offer the EU, its Member States, other European donors and beneficiary countries an innovative delivery mechanism for electoral and democracy assistance to implement projects and programmes that are consistent with European values and EU policies. Secondly, it is built to help prevent, mitigate and manage electoral related conflicts, in line with international standards and obligations. Finally, based on the idea that elections are long-term processes, EURECS is designed to include a wide range of actors from election management bodies, civil society, political parties, local authorities, parliament, security forces and media to ensure a truly comprehensive and more sustainable approach.⁷

The joint experience of the EPD network⁸ ensures the knowledge and expertise required to implement a robust European response to electoral support activities geared at preventing, mitigating and managing electoral related conflicts and works at different levels within society (political leadership, elected representatives, civil society and grassroots community representatives).

EPD is the only network of European civil and political society organisations working comprehensively on democracy assistance. It brings together different specialisations from the democracy support field (elections, political parties, parliaments, executive leadership, local authorities and local democracy

⁷ International electoral standards and obligations are established by universal and regional treaties and political commitments; they provide a basis for the assessment of an election process including consolidated good practices. For more information see the publications on this subject by the EU, International IDEA and The Carter Center http://eeas.europa.eu/eueom/pdf/compendium-of-int-standards-for-elections_en.pdf http://www.idea.int/publications/international-obligations-for-elections/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&pageID=65167

⁸ European Association for Local Democracy - ALDA, AWEPA, Club de Madrid, DEMO Finland, CFI Media Cooperation, Eastern European Studies Centre, Elbarlament, European Centre for Electoral Support, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Netherlands Helsinki Committee, People in Need, Universidade Catolica Portugesa, Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

agencies, media etc.). EPD facilitates the exchange of knowledge and best practices in democratic transformations around the world.

ECES and EPD first introduced EURECS during the 10th EU Development Days⁹ as a contribution towards a broader understanding of democracy, conflict prevention and electoral processes by demonstrating how seemingly diverse fields in democracy support are interconnected¹⁰. These fields include support to political parties, parliaments, security forces, civil society organisations, media, women, youth, religious groups and local authorities. Potential sources of



conflict, or root causes that are left unaddressed are complex and difficult to tackle once they take the shape of civil unrest and violence. Since root causes of conflict are planted in the relationships between stakeholders, a holistic approach is best suited to effectively tackle their origins.

The discussions held during the EU Development Days on 15 June 2016 also aimed to raise awareness of the past, present and future of EU support, tailored to specific electoral cycles. As such, these debates constituted a **forum to examine the multifacetted electoral field jointly** and included several discussions organised by different EPD members.

During this event, ECES and EPD were represented in the high-level panel chaired by the High Representative and Vice-president of the European Commission (EU-HRVP), Federica Mogherini with the participation of the Presidents of the Republic of Burkina Faso (Roch March Christian Kaboré) and of the Central African Republic (Faustin-Archange Toauderá). The panel was on "Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals 2016 (SDG 16)¹¹ in relation with the opportunities and challenges to the security and development nexus"¹². Thijs Berman represented ECES, while bringing in his own experience as a former Member of the European Parliament and three times Chief Observer of EU EOMs. Mr. Berman currently serves as Team Leader of the EU-funded project in support of the Electoral Commission in the Central African Republic, implemented by ECES¹³.

During this session, the EU-HRVP stated that the EU must work with third countries through long term, inclusive and holistic partnerships, that should aim to reach as many beneficiaries and interlocutors as possible with each project. Furthermore, Ms. Mogherini also reiterated the importance of working with partner countries at every level of their administration, starting with local authorities as actors whose actions directly affect the lives of citizens.





⁹ Brussels, 15-16 June 2016

¹⁰ https://www.eudevdays.eu/sessions/european-response-electoral-cycle-support

¹¹ https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16

¹² https://eudevdays.eu/sessions/implementing-sustainable-development-goal-16-peaceful-and-inclusive-societies; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aCxkRe-9mLw&feature=youtu.be

¹³ During his mandate at the European Parliament Mr. Berman was a member of the Development Committee, member of the Sub-Committee for Human Rights and Rapporteur of the legal framework for the Instrument for Cooperation and Development and of the multiannual budget for the Cooperation and Development Policy. Mr. Berman's intervention during the High-level panel "Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals 2016 (SDG 16) in relation with the opportunities and challenges to the security and development nexus" is available at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=px7LQqL-X3l&feature=youtu.be

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACP Africa, Caribbean and Pacific
ADF African Democracy Forum
ALDA Association for Local Democracy
APRM African Peer Review Mechanism

AU African Union

A-WEB Association of World Election Bodies

AWEPA Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa
BRIDGE Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections

CAPEL Centre for Electoral Promotion and Assistance

CBC Cross boarder Cooperation
CCL Centre for Creative Leadership
CCCR Communal Results Compilation Centre
CCPR United Nations Human Rights Committee

CdM Club of Madrid

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination against Women

CEPPS Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States

CODEL Convention of Civil Society Organisation for Domestic Observation of the Elections

COE Council of Europe

CSOs Civil Society Organisations

DCI Development Cooperation Instrument

DECO Department of Electoral Cooperation and observation
DEVCO Directorate General for Development and Cooperation

DFID Department for International Development

DOP Declaration of Principles
EAT Electoral Assessment Teams
EC European Commission

ECES European Centre for Electoral Support

ECF-SADC Electoral Commission Forum of the Southern African Development

ECONEC Network of Electoral Commissions

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

EDF European Development Fund EEAS European External Action Service

EEM Election Expert Mission
EFM Election Follow-up Mission

EIDHR European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights

EIP European Institute for Peace EMB Electoral Management Body

ENI European Neighbourhood Instrument ENOPS European Network for Political Parties

EODS Election Observation and Democratic Support

EOM Election Observation Mission
EPEA Electoral Political Economy Analysis
EPD European Partnership for Democracy
ERIS Electoral Reform International Services

EU European Union

EU-HRVP European Union High Representative and Vice President

EURECS European Response to Electoral Cycles Support

EUTFs EU Trust Funds

ExM Election Exploratory Mission

FPI European Commission Service for Foreign Policy Instruments

FWC Framework Contracts
GEO Global Electoral Organization

GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICSP Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace ICTs Information and communications technology

IDEA International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

IEABInternational Electoral Accreditation BodyIFESInternational Foundation for Election SystemsINECNational Independent Electoral CommissionIOMInternational Organisation for MigrationIPAInstrument for Pre-accession AssistanceIRIInternational Republican Institute

ISO International Organisation for Standardisation

ISO/TS International Organisation for Standardisation / Technical Specification

LA Local Authorities

LDA Local Democracy Agency

LEAD Leadership and Conflict Management Skills for Electoral Stakeholders

MDC Movement for Democratic Change

MP Member of Parliament

NEED Network for Enhanced Electoral and Democratic Support

NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development

NDI National Democratic Institute NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NIMD Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

NHC Netherlands Helsinki Committee
OAS Organisation of American States
OCT Overseas Countries and Territories
ODA Official Development Assistance

ODIHR Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OECD-DAC Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Assistance Committee

OIF Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
OPDS Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation
OSCE Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

PACTE-BF Projet d'Appui à la Credibilité et à la Transparence des Elections au Burkina-Faso

PEMMO Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation

PEV-SADC Preventing Electoral Violence in the SADC Region

PIN People in Need

PRAG Procedures and Practical Guide
PVT Parallel Vote Tabulation
QMS Quality Management System
QSG Quality Support Groups

RECEF Réseau des compétences électorales francophones
RESEAC Réseau du Savoir Electoral de l'Afrique Centrale
SADC Southern Africa Development Community

SADC ESN Southern African Development Community Election Support Network

SADC PF SADC Parliamentary Forum SDG Sustainable development Goals

SWOT Strengths, Weakness Opportunities and Threats

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program
UN EAD United Nations Electoral Assistance Division

USAID United States Agency for International Development

SECTION IOVERVIEW OF EU ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE



I. BACKGROUND, FUNDING AND IMPLEMENTATION

The post-cold war period is mainly characterised by two distinctive trends in world politics, first, an **intensified process of globalisation** and second, **intra-state conflict** that peaked in 1995 (Peters 2010: 120). Worldwide interconnectedness draws international attention to the causes and consequences of local conflicts, increasingly regarded as global concerns (International Peace Academy, April 2004: i). In the midst of these two parallel phenomena, irregular migration is both a *consequence and cause* of unresolved root causes of profound societal tension that may manifest itself in violence and conflict, or structures of inequality stemming from a wide range of socio-economic, political and territorial factors.

The classic state system as seen through international relations theory is well captured by Chandler; 'if states armed themselves for reasons of defence or attack then other states would take similar precautions, similarly if a state became too powerful relative to others, then other states would make alliances against them' (Chandler, 2010: 94). Since the reframing of a global sphere, anchored in liberal ideals, state sovereignty is challenged by 'collective interests of the international society'. The primary security threat, according to the new security doctrine, lies not in state power, but instead in 'failing states that are held to lack the capacity to secure themselves or to prevent becoming a security threat to others' (Chandler, 2010: 97).

Electoral assistance has been part of the foreign policy of several established democracies since the 1960s. Following the end of World War II, article 21 of the United Nations (UN) Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948)¹⁴ and subsequently article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966)¹⁵ provide the legal and moral justification for international support to the accession to independence of non-self-governing territories, such as trusteeships. It was however only after the end of the Cold War that the importance of supporting the establishment of functioning and transparent governance institutions was widely acknowledged as a priority for the creation of more stable, peaceful and economically sustainable democracies. From a system where elections were considered a pure internal prerogative of states, shielded from external scrutiny, a new modus-vivendi arose, whereby several countries were called to reform their electoral systems and processes.¹⁶

Electoral support activities have skyrocketed since the 1990s as countries in a number of regions, in particular in Africa and post-communist Eastern Europe, held multiparty elections for the first time. This enthusiasm for elections spread despite the fact that international assistance was very often uncoordinated and promoted inappropriate or unsustainable solutions¹⁷.

The gradual accumulation of electoral experience as well as the consolidation of international and regional legal instruments and authoritative jurisprudence relevant to this sector, contributed to gradual shift away from narrow, pinpointed electoral support activities towards more long term, cyclical and process-oriented support.

¹⁴ Art 21: 1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. 2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country. 3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures. UN Declaration of Human Rights is available at http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR Translations/eng.pdf

¹⁵ Art. 25 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

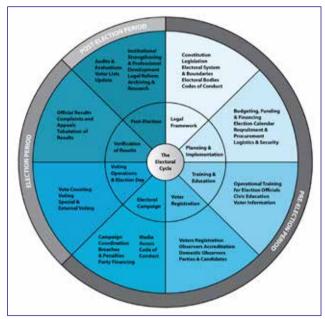
⁽a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country. The ICCPR is available at: http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx

¹⁶ The Electoral Cycle Approach: Effectiveness and Sustainability of Electoral Assistance, ISPI - Istituto di Studi di Politica Internazionale – Working Paper - Fabio Bargiacchi, Ricardo Godinho Gomes and Mette Bakken, 2011. Available at: http://www.eces.eu/en/posts/-electoral-cycle-approach

¹⁷ ACE Focus on Effective Electoral Assistance, ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, Tuccinardi, Domenico, Paul Guerin, Fabio Bargiacchi and Linda Maguire (2007). Available at: http://www.eces.eu/en/posts/electoral-assistance

In order to address criticism on the disproportionate attention given to the electoral event itself, the electoral cycle approach has become an essential tool for the programming of elections and electoral support.

Regular elections are by no means a panacea to all ills threatening democracy and stability. Nevertheless, elections constitute a key process whereby a given country's democratic maturity can be expressed and assessed, while recognising that **voters have often out-performed their elected leaders in demonstrating respect for democracy and justice.**



The contemporary **shift towards a longer-term vision of electoral support** addressed criticisms of the Election Day centric approach that for long dominated the field and gave rise to short term and ad hoc support. In hindsight, many internationally assisted elections adopting this event-based approach led (as a result of complacency) to unsustainable processes and unachievable expectations¹⁸.

In this context, the Electoral Cycle Approach emerged as the methodology of reference in 2006. This approach was developed by electoral specialists as a collaborative effort to bring theory closer to reality in electoral process. Drawing on extensive field experience from the European Commission and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)¹⁹, **the electoral cycle approach was**

crafted as a response to the lack of a coherent methodology for electoral assistance programming.All interventions that set out to support the consolidation of democracies effectively take place during the pre-electoral, electoral and post-electoral phases in a given country.

Furthermore, an electoral cycle perspective with specific attention to the post or inter-election periods coupled with a careful assessment of local dynamics through electoral political analysis allows for:

- Awareness of the multi-layered set of long term interactions among national and local, governmental and non-governmental actors involved in electoral and political processes;
- Understanding all potential triggers as well as all potential dynamics for positive change and reform;
- More targeted identification of needs, including more urgent short-term responses;
- Advance planning, to improve the overall coherence and complementarity of actions.

Larger scale EU electoral assistance projects commenced in 1994 with the technical and financial support provided to the legislative and presidential elections in Mozambique. This was followed, two years later with support to the elections in the West Bank and Gaza. Since then, EU electoral assistance has grown

¹⁸ The Electoral Cycle Approach: Effectiveness and Sustainability of Electoral Assistance, ISPI - Istituto di Studi di Politica Internazionale – Working Paper - Fabio Bargiacchi, Ricardo Godinho Gomes and Mette Bakken, 2011. Available at: http://www.eces.eu/en/posts/-electoral-cycle-approach

¹⁹ F. Bargiacchi, P. Guerin, D. Tuccinardi of the European Commission, A. Spinelli and T. Lanela of International IDEA. The Electoral Cycle approach was then explained in detail in October 2006 in the EC Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance, in the IDEA Handbook on Electoral Management Design (December 2006) and later on also in the UNDP Implementation Guide on Electoral Assistance (November 2007).

considerably in numbers and scope. To date, more than 200 electoral assistance projects have been formulated and implemented with EU funding, contributing to electoral processes in over 100 countries worldwide. Since 2004, the EU is making available between €80 and €140 million a year for electoral assistance.

The financial instruments that the EU is currently using to fund electoral (and democracy) assistance are: the European Development Funds (EDF), European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), the Civil Society Organisations and Local Authorities programme (CSO-LA), the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) and EU Trust Funds.

The EDF is the main EU instrument for providing development aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and overseas countries and territories (OCTs), it is also the most used to fund electoral assistance. The EDF is concluded for a multiannual period (currently for 2014-2020) and is implemented within the framework of an international agreement between the European Union and the partner countries. For the current period (11th EDF), EU Member States will contribute €30.5 billion, making the EDF the largest fund of EU development assistance. Roughly, 80% of these funds will be geographical allocations to ACP countries. The remaining 20% will finance thematic actions that should benefit many or all of the ACP countries.

The **DCI** geographic programmes aim firstly to reduce poverty, but also aim to contribute to the achievement of other goals of EU external action, including promoting democracy, the rule of law, good governance and respect for human rights. The agreed overall budget for the new DCI is €19.7 billion. DCI provides funding through a geographic programme as well as two thematic programmes. The thematic programme "Civil Society Organisations and Local Authorities programme (CSO-LA)" is part of the DCI, providing funding through geographic and thematic programmes. It focuses on EU engagement with local CSOs in developing, neighbourhood and enlargement countries. The Multiannual Indicative Programme 2014-2020 allocated €1.9 billion to this financial instrument.

The **ENI**, European Neighbourhood Instrument, provides the bulk of funding to the 16 partner countries covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy and it aims at promoting human rights and the rule of law, establishing deep and sustainable democracy and developing a thriving civil society. The ENI provides support through bilateral, multi-country and Cross Border Co-operation (CBC) programmes. For the period 2014-2020, the budget for the ENI is €15.4 billion.

The **EIDHR** is the only EU funding instrument focused exclusively on promoting human rights and democracy. Under the current EIDHR regulation and Multiannual Indicative Programme 2014-2017, the EIDHR's **democracy priorities**²⁰ for financing for the period 2014-2017 with an overall budget of €1.3 billion for the period 2014-2020.

The IcSP, which replaces the old Instrument for Peace (IfS) aims to provide support to peace-building activities. The financial envelope allocated to the IcSP over the period 2014-2020 is €2.3 billion and it is divided into three components or objectives, namely response to situations of crisis or emerging crisis to prevent conflicts, conflict prevention, peace-building and crisis preparedness and capacity building to address global and trans-regional security threats.

EU Trust Funds (EUTFs) are relatively new development instruments under the EU's Financial Regulation of 2013 allowing the EC to combine aid resources from various sources. They aim to offer a collective, but swift, flexible and coherent EU response to fragile situations. Currently, three EUTFs exist: The European Trust Fund for the Central African Republic (Bêkou Trust Fund), the EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis (Madad Fund), and the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. Of these three, the **EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa is potentially the most relevant for democracy assistance** as one of its four core objectives is to support improvement of **overall governance, rule of law**, security and development (incl. border management) and conflict-prevention systems. At present, a total of €1.8 billion has been earmarked to this fund.

²⁰ Other priorities under the EIDHR are: support to human rights and human rights defenders in situations where they are most at risk; support to other EU human rights priorities; and support to targeted key actors and processes, including international and regional human rights instruments and mechanisms.

EU funded electoral assistance has mostly, but not exclusively, been provided through and with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Over the past 12 years, the EU and the United Nations have been increasingly working together in the conceptualisation and implementation of electoral assistance. While the European Commission and UNDP have been collaborating in the field of electoral assistance since 1995, their partnership has intensified since the implementation of the Action in Support of the Electoral Processes in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The EC-UNDP Partnership on Electoral Assistance was established largely following lessons learned and close interactions between both organisations within this €165 million project in support of the 2005-2006 electoral processes in the DRC.

The lessons from the DRC were gathered in the EU Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance published in October 2006²¹ (which also contains case studies of EU-funded electoral assistance with different delivery mechanisms in Indonesia, Madagascar and the West Bank and Gaza). EC-UNDP partnership was also facilitated at the time by the lack of European operational not-for-profit organisations specialised in electoral assistance²².

Since 2004, most EU funds have been allocated through direct negotiation and via contribution agreements with the UNDP through the EC-UNDP Partnership on Electoral Assistance. The terms of this partnership are regulated by the "Operational Guidelines" signed by the Director General of DEVCO and UNDP's Assistant Administrator in 2006 and reviewed for the first time in 2008. Recently, UNDP Administrator, Helen Clark and the EU Commissioner for Development, Neven Mimica, signed the third revision of these Operational Guidelines.

The EU is therefore the most important UNDP donor for electoral assistance followed by several EU Member States²³. Since 1995, the EU has contributed to over 150 electoral assistance projects implemented by UNDP **worth over one billion US dollars**²⁴ with 23 projects worth €84 million for the period 1995-2003, 70 projects worth €618 million from 2004 to 2010 and the remainder from 2011 to 2016.

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM)²⁵ was awarded several EU-funded contracts in relation to their expertise in out-of-country registration and voting, particularly in difficult contexts like Afghanistan and Iraq. Several other EU-funded projects have been implemented by International IDEA. The remaining projects have been awarded to European non-profit organisations specialised in delivering electoral assistance such as Democracy Reporting International, founded in 2006, and ECES, who started to operate in 2011. The UK originated Electoral Reform International Services (ERIS)²⁶ was founded in 1992 and while a highly reputable organisation, it terminated its projects and activities in 2014.

If we consider electoral cycle support as a part of wider democracy support and we include support to political parties, local authorities and parliaments, that unit recently were not included in the electoral assistance account, we must acknowledge that other important actors received funds from the EU and EU Member States. These other actors include all the members of the European Partnership for Democracy, the political party foundations regrouped in the European Network for Political Parties (ENOP) but also several EU Member States' Development Cooperation Agencies.

²¹ EU Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance, 2006. Fabio Bargiacchi, Paul Guerin, Domenico Tuccinardi, Mario Rui Queiro.

²² The activities of the EC UNDP Partnership are carried out via the work of the Joint EC UNDP Task Force established in 2007 and composed by the HQ services in Brussels and New York of the EU and UN/UNDP supported by the EC UNDP Operational Guidelines for the implementation of Electoral Assistance Projects signed between the European Commission and UNDP in 2006 and updated in 2008 and in 2016. http://www.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=172&Itemid=178&Ianq=en

²³ http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2016/04/15/-eu-and-undp-re-new-partnership-on-electoral-assistance.html

²⁴ http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ GPECS/gpecs%20JTF VF.pdf

²⁵ International Organisation for Migration, www.iom.int

²⁶ Electoral Reform International Services, www.eris.org.uk

This historical overview is in striking contract with the way the USA has funded electoral assistance. Since the 1980s, the USA has facilitated the creation and maintenance of a number of not-for-profit, mainly US based organisations working in the field of electoral assistance, observation and democracy support, through regular funding by USAID.

[...] Towards the end of the 1980s the US started to offer electoral assistance through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of State and the National Endowment for Democracy. This development occurred after Presidents Carter and Reagan made democracy promotion a central strategy of the US foreign policy. Initially, the emphasis of the assistance was heavily placed on election observation missions and political party support - with a private foundation like The Carter Center specialising in electoral observation, and institutions such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) more active in political parties' development. It was in 1987 that USAID also began to consider the establishment of a more technical-oriented and professional NGO, dedicated exclusively to providing assistance to the organisation of the technical aspects of electoral processes in developing countries. This was when IFES was established as the International Foundation for Election Systems (see for a detailed account "Every Vote Counts", IFES 2007). Since then, USAID has generally maintained a sort of division between the political party and civil society organisations (CSOs) development work, generally entrusted to specialised institutions like NDI and IRI, and the technical assistance activities in support of electoral processes, that are generally entrusted to IFES. Thanks to a sound and technical-oriented approach to electoral assistance, IFES has grown in these twenty years to become the most respected NGO in this field, providing electoral technical assistance across the globe in a very large range of electoral-related activities and always dedicating resources for the professionalism and independence of Election Management Bodies."27

II. EVALUATING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EU-FUNDED ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

Since the implementation of EU-funded projects based on the Electoral Cycle Approach, a set of evaluations and key lessons learned have been synthesised by key players in the field, namely the European Commission, International IDEA, DFID-UKAID and the UNDP.

In addition, the OECD-DAC Governance Network (GOVNET) invited a wider set of global stakeholders for a First Roundtable on International Support for Elections: Effective Strategies and Accountability Systems, held in Paris, in March 2010. The 34 Member States of the OECD²⁸ constitute the largest international donors to election support activities worldwide.

The Roundtable eventually led to a set of Draft Strategic Principles for International Support for Elections, with additional recommendations crafted by Commissioners and representatives of the Election Management Bodies of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Zambia and the Electoral Commission Forum of the South African Development Community (ECF-SADC). The draft principles were discussed at the Fifth Global Electoral Organization (GEO) meeting, held in March 2011 in Gaborone, Botswana. During this occasion, GEO brought together over 300 participants from all over the world. The conclusions of these discussions ultimately resulted in the Gaborone Declaration.

The key points of the Gaborone Declaration emphasise the universal value of electoral processes and their interdependence with an added focus on the damaging consequences of electoral mismanagement. It recommends a greater focus on strengthening and professionalising electoral institutions. The

²⁷ ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, ACE Focus on Effective Electoral Assistance, Domenico Tuccinardi, Paul Guerin, Fabio Bargiacchi and Linda Maguire, 2007

²⁸ Australia, Austria Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States.

declaration also establishes that **activities focusing on preventing election-related violence and on promoting gender equality** (in political participation pertaining to electoral processes, especially regarding, but not only limited to voting) **are equally important.** Indeed, women can become targets of violence but they can also avoid social spaces altogether and thus be indirectly affected by violence.

Several other evaluations have been carried regarding the impact of electoral support in the context of democracy assistance²⁹ including a study on performance indicators for electoral assistance projects³⁰ and a study on the perception of EU-funded Electoral Assistance from African beneficiaries³¹.

The 2012-2017 **Electoral Integrity Project**, with its dedicated team of researchers from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the Department of Government and International Relations of the University of Sydney, ³² carried out several studies whose findings are contained in three books responding to three core questions:

- What happens when elections violate international standards of electoral integrity?
- Why do elections fail? and,
- What can be done to mitigate these problems?

In their upcoming book, to be published in 2017³³, but already available to practitioners for review, the Electoral Integrity Project evaluates electoral assistance efforts of Western countries, including the pessimistic perceptions of several scholars regarding the effectiveness of actions to strengthen elections and democracy abroad. The book also reports the opinions of some election observers and populist politicians who claim that democracy is in decline or retreat, suggesting that Western countries should abandon nation-building abroad and concentrate more on their own domestic interests.

Finally, this new book presents novel evidence with respect to the pragmatic case of why international programs of electoral assistance work.

"Systematic research demonstrates that electoral integrity is strengthened by a series of practical projects where international organizations and bilateral donors support the efforts of local stakeholders —to reform electoral laws, strengthen women's representation, build electoral management bodies, promote balanced campaign communications, regulate political money, improve voter registration, and expand civic education. Success should not be exaggerated. Not everything works, by any means. Electoral assistance is most effective where the strengths and weaknesses of international agencies and programs match the threats and opportunities facing each society. There are good reasons for genuine doubt. Efforts are often greatest in the riskiest contexts. Expectations are inflated. Agencies need to gather better evidence to evaluate programs. But this does not mean that international attempts to strengthen elections should be reduced or even abandoned. Since 1948, the world has been committed to supporting free and fair contests

²⁹ Evaluation of UNDP contribution to strengthening electoral systems and processes. https://www.oecd.org/derec/undp/elections.pdf

³⁰ Study on Performance Indicators for Electoral Assistance projects developed within the context of the EC-UNDP Partnership on Electoral Assistance. Maria Macchiaverna and Mario Giuseppe Varrenti. http://www.eidhr.eu/files/dmfile/StudyonPerformanceindicatorsforelectoralassistanceprojects.pdf

³¹ The European Union's Electoral Assistance: Perceptions of African Democracy Building. International IDEA. http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/loader.cfm?csmodule=security/getfile&pageid=40605

³² The project has been supported by many agencies, especially through the \$2.6M Kathleen Kitzpatrick Laureate Award by the Australian Research Council, as well as by the University of Sydney, International IDEA, and at Harvard University by the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Committee on Australian Studies, and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Partnerships have been developed to collaborate with many multilateral agencies, including International IDEA, the Organization of American States, Global Integrity, UNDP, The Carter Center, UN-EAD, and A-WEB. The five-year project was launched in Madrid in July 2012.

³³ Strengthening Electoral Integrity: The Pragmatic Case for Assistance. Author: Pippa Norris New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017

reflecting the general will of the people. It would be a tragedy to undermine progress now by slipping backwards, withdrawing from international engagement, ignoring requests for support by local reformers, and thereby weakening fundamental electoral rights to self-determination".³⁴

The book further indicates that electoral assistance in the last 20 years took on an important part of the percentage of the overall Official Development Assistance (ODA)³⁵ dedicated to democratic governance from Western countries. Ultimately, as recognised above, a more accurate evaluation methodology is needed to assess the real impact of democratisation processes mainly using the SWOT approach measuring strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

"It is important to address skeptical arguments by trying to gather more comprehensive, systematic, and rigorous evidence about the effectiveness of electoral assistance programs and projects in order to assess 'what works' in different contexts -- and also to identify what often fails. Programs in electoral assistance have expanded sharply since 1990, so it is now timely to collect a report card on experience of these initiatives over the last twenty-five years. In general, program and project evaluations seek to learn from experience, to provide the basis for informed decision-making about policy priorities, to reinforce organizational accountability to oversight agencies, and to ensure that scarce resources are rationally allocated. The danger of failing to evaluate programs is that, as Thomas Carothers notes, democracy promotion and electoral assistance agencies repeat standard programs which fail to adapt and meet new challenges".

Given this context, now that there are many more implemented projects and earmarked funds, the EU would greatly benefit from updating the global evaluation that was part of the 2006 EC Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance. A first starting point is to underline the considerable di erences in the implementation of election observation and electoral assistance activities funded by the EU. The table on the following page presents the main differences of EU election observation and electoral assistance as recorded in the third version of the Handbook for EU Election Observation³⁶ and in the EC Methodological Guide on Electoral Assistance³⁷.



³⁴ Strengthening Electoral Integrity: The Pragmatic Case for Assistance. Author: Pippa Norris New York: Cambridge University Press. 2017

³⁵ The author indicates that the amount devoted to this sector tripled from around 4% to 12% during the last decade. Their estimates suggest that around \$20 billion a year in ODA is currently invested in electoral assistance, which seems rather high but definitely reflects the recorded trend.

³⁶ http://www.eods.eu/library/EUEOM_Handbook_2016.pdf

³⁷ http://www.needsproject.eu/files/EC_Methodological_Guide_on_Electoral_Assistance.pdf

Election Observation

- Funded by one budget line (EIDHR) managed by the EU HQ with the Service for Foreign Policy Instruments (FPI), which manages operations, including their financing. FPI is a service of the European Commission which works alongside the European External Action Service (EEAS);
- It is regulated and implemented following an updated and very comprehensive Handbook for election observation, whose third edition was published on April 2016;
- The Vice President of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini, in consultation with the European Parliament, is in charge of appointing the Chief Observers for EU EOMs who are in principle Members of the European Parliament;
- FPI, in consultation with the EEAS, is in charge of the selection of the core team of experts for EU EOMs;
- Each Member State has a focal point for the selection of their seconded long term and shortterm observers;
- For the last 10 years, the EU has been funding a capacity development project for EU EOM core team experts and long term observers (NEEDS first, EODS after). A tender was launched in 2016 to select the consortium that will implement the project over the next 3 years for €5 million (EODS II)
- For the last 10 years, the EU has established an EIDHR funded framework contract to select service providers to support the implementation of EU EOMs. The chef de file of different consortia of the on-going framework contract for EU EOM implementation are profit-making companies with the exception of IOM and GIZ.
- The EU has deployed EU EOM since 1994 and in the last 10-12 years have invested an average of 20-25 million EURO a year for deploying the different format of missions of EU election observation. This amount is about to be increased with the launching of two new LOT for supporting EU EOM activities but it will never reach the amounts invested for electoral assistance.

Electoral Assistance

- Partially funded by financial instruments managed by EU HQ such as EIDHR and IcSP.
- Most of the funding comes from the European Development Fund for the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (EDF) and other geographical instruments.
- EU Delegations, funded through geographical instruments, are in charge of all project steps (identification, formulation, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and audit).
- If funded with EDF or other geographical instruments, the National Authorising Officer of each beneficiary country plays a role in the decisional process for each step of the project cycle.
- Contracts are awarded on a case-by-case basis and there is no framework contract or centralized information available for every funding possibility for electoral assistance.
- Most of the contracts have been awarded via direct negotiations, mostly to UNDP, which is one of the largest electoral assistance providers on the global stage and via the EC-UNDP Partnership on Electoral Assistance;
- IOM was awarded several contracts by the EU in relation to their expertise in out-of-country registration and voting;
- The remaining contracts, following the usual EU procedures were awarded to few other multigovernmental organisation as International IDEA or not-for-profit organisations (ERIS, EISA, DRI, ECES) and very few to Development Cooperation Agencies of EU Member States and European consulting for profit companies.
- There is more funding available for electoral assistance than for election observation with an average from 2004 of €80 to €140 million per year. Since 1995 the EU has invested in electoral assistance more than a billion €, much more than the funds invested in election observation.

In this context, and given the fast and evolving pace of the electoral support sector and the consolidation of European not-for-profit specialised organisations, the EU should commission an external global evaluation of its electoral assistance. Evaluating cost effectiveness, sustainability and EU political visibility for each delivery mechanism should be a priority of this exercise. The goal being to make sure the EU and EU Member States are making the most out of future support projects given that there is no longer neither a de facto nor a de jure semi-monopoly to justify the implementation of EU-funded electoral and democracy assistance continuously and mainly through UN agencies.

UN agencies had, have, and will continue to play an important role in the delivery of electoral assistance projects funded by the EU in the years to come. On the other hand, the moment is ripe for the EU and its Member States to take stock of the global lessons learned from projects implemented in the last 20 years to support electoral cycles after having invested more than 1 billion EURO. The EU should assess the efficacy of the different delivery mechanisms according to budget instruments designed to this end and built to deliver results in different contexts. ECES and EPD believe that an external global evaluation

of EU-funded electoral assistance should take into account the following topics:

CONTRACTING

- The total amount invested by the EU in to electoral assistance in the last 20 years and the total for amount for each contracting-implementation modalities.
- The specificities of each budget instrument funding electoral assistance, whether it is primarily managed by EU HQ (like EIDHR and IcPS) or by EU Delegations (like the European Development Funds and all other geographical instruments);
- Contract awarding mechanisms such as:
 - Call for proposals for grant contracts for international organisations and European not-forprofit organisations;
 - Open or restricted international tenders for service contracts also open to consultancy for profit companies;
 - Direct contracts with international organisations, European not-for-profit organisations and EU Member States Cooperation Agencies.
- Assess the feasibility of establishing a framework contract or roster of specialized electoral assistance providers among international organisations and European not-for-profit organisations;
- By assessing cost effectiveness first, assess the possibility of establishing a framework contract following the lines of the ones established for the implementation of EU election observation and open these to private companies.

PLANNING

- SWOT Analyses for each delivery mechanism such as:
 - Projects funded exclusively by the EU or through multi-donor basket funds managed by international organisations;
 - Projects funded by the EU or multi-donor basket funds managed by European not-forprofit organisations and EU Member States Cooperation Agencies;
 - Service contracts implemented by consultancy for profit companies.

DELIVERY

- Project evaluations already carried out by EU Delegations on previous EU-funded electoral assistance projects;
- Translation of EU EOM recommendations into electoral assistance activities during the formulation period must be considered during evaluation;
- Assessment or surveys gathering the perceptions and operational feedback from EU Delegations, EU Member States and beneficiaries.
- Speed in mobilizing specialised electoral assistance human resources for each delivery mechanism;
- Identification and formulation methods and specific delivery mechanisms including use of the LOT 7 contract, concerning Governance and Home Affairs, within the European Framework

Contract beneficiaries for the period 2013-2017³⁸;

- Cost Effectiveness for each delivery mechanism focusing on costs for:
 - Human resources;
 - Procurement of material;
 - Management fees and/or profit margins.
- Quality, frequency and accuracy of Financial and Narrative Reporting;
- Implementation of EU visibility guidelines and assessment of political visibility of the EU according to the different delivery mechanisms;
- Procedures for the external project verification of expenses and external audit for each delivery mechanism.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

ECES and EPD encourage the EU services to establish an operational framework allowing EU Delegations, EU services and beneficiary countries to choose the best implementing partners for electoral and democracy assistance according to the various contexts and following the usual EU possible contractual modalities outlined in the PRAG.

There are nowadays sufficient specialised not-for-profit international and European actors that can implement electoral assistance and democracy activities. Ideally, all interested organisations should be kept regularly informed about funding possibilities and placed regularly in competition to implement projects via open calls for proposals, restricted tenders or be assigned direct contracts from the EU, EU Member States and other European donors. In this context, ECES and EPD suggest that the EU services consider the implementation of two short-term actions in the immediate future and two mid-term options following the aforementioned global evaluation:

SHORT TERM OPTIONS

- o Consideration be given to the regular or even systematic **launch of calls for applications for international, regional and not-for-profit organizations following** aims at enhancing the EU's support to democratic governance in accompanying the beneficiary country in its political reform process through its full electoral cycle. The actions could specifically aims at strengthening the capacity of Electoral Management Bodies, Parliament, Political Parties, Justice Sector Institutions dealing with electoral dispute resolution, CSOs, Media, Security Forces and promoting increased political participation of women and youth.
- Consider using the Quality Support Groups (QSG) organised for each thematic and geographic directorate of EuropeAid (with the exception of the two directorates for Africa who operate a combined QSG) to interact with all interested not-for-profit implementing partners as per different project possibilities. Office Quality Support Groups, known inhouse as QSG, are a decision-making process that brings together staff in headquarters

³⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/consortium_members_all_lots.pdf

with colleagues in EU Delegation to ensure the European Commission funded projects are as robust and coherent as possible. During a QSG, headquarters and Delegation staff, gather to assess the potential challenges and pitfalls of a new project jointly. The core members of each QSG are EuropeAid staff based in Brussels in charge of the geographical coordination, sector and thematic perspectives and contractual and financial aspects. Other Commission Directorates-General and representatives from the European External Action Service are also invited to participate in QSG meetings. QSG meetings are organized in the form of videoconferences with the colleagues from the EU Delegation in charge of preparing the project or programme. Meetings are, as a rule, chaired by the Director of the geographical or thematic directorate concerned. The QSGs intervene during two specific moments of the process. Firstly, at the end of the identification stage, the preliminary stage of project and programme preparation, where the different options for implementing an action are examined (it is at this stage that potential interested parties should be informed of project possibilities that will be later confirmed). Secondly, at the end of the formulation stage, when the QSGs assess the quality of the key project or programme documents that is to be submitted for a financing decision.

MID TERM OPTIONS

- Consider the example of USAID and launch a call for applications to establish a framework or long term agreement of sorts, for European specialised organisations for the implementation of electoral and democracy support activities. Even without ensuring specific contracts or involving financial issues, such a call can help to make sure the potential implementing partners are known to all EU services in Brussels and EU Delegations in the field. In 1995 USAID established, and supervises a cooperative agreement known as, the **Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS)**. As part of USAID's Acceleration Success initiative, this agreement is the principal contractor for the Office of Democracy and Government's elections and political processes program, providing technical assistance and support to USAID missions worldwide. The agreement includes key organisations such as, the International Republican Institute (IRI), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).
- Consider creating a framework contract equal or similar to the ones already established over the last 10 years by the EU services for the support to the implementation of EU EOM, which are renewed every three years. The objective of these framework contracts (FWC) which are also open to consulting for profit companies is to provide, through specific contracts, integrated logistical, financial and security support to the Commission in deploying election observation missions and other electoral mission modalities, as well as to provide the necessary support in terms of daily management, security and logistical expertise. This involves the organisation of travel (including payment for travel costs), insurance and accommodation to the election observation team, provision of necessary local services (transport, translation, etc.), office and communication facilities, security support including in case of emergency or eventual evacuation, payment of fees, per diems and allowances etc. The new FWC launched in 2016 comprises two separate lots, one for election observation (EU EOMs and EU EATs) and another for other electoral missions (EEMs, ExMs and EFMs):
 - Lot 1: (a) Election Observation Missions (EU EOMs) which usually deploy 50-100 observers and electoral experts in the partner country to observe the electoral process, and (b) Election Assessment Team (EATs) missions deployed in countries with a volatile security environment to observe and assess the electoral process,
 - Lot 2: (a) Election Expert Missions (EEMs) small expert missions to assess the electoral process in the partner country; (b) Election Exploratory Missions (ExM) to assess the

usefulness, feasibility and advisability of deploying an EOM or EAT; and, (c) Election Follow-up Missions (EFM) – to examine the extent to which the recommendations of past EU EOMs have been taken on-board by the partner country.

The maximum estimated budgets are of €215 million for Lot 1 and €25 million for Lot 2. This Framework Contract will be awarded for an initial period of two years, with the possibility of extension for a maximum of two additional years. It is worth noting that the EU may increase the maximum budget of the Framework Contract, not exceeding 50% of the value of the initial Framework Contract.

SECTION II IMPLEMENTING THE EURECS



IV. AN INNOVATIVE AND ALTERNATIVE DELIVERY MECHANISM

The coordination of the EURECS will be handled by ECES as the foremost expert in electoral processes within the EPD, and in its present capacity as holder of the EPD Vice Presidency. EPD Secretariat will support ECES in this role also facilitated by ECES and EPD Secretariat permanent presence in Brussels with the possibility of a liaisons with EU services, EU institutions and EU Member States' representations.

ECES and EPD can also rely on specific support and expertise from ECES' Management Unit and the high-level networks of both ECES' and EPD's Management and Board Members, based on their more than 20 years' experience working with or for the different EU institutions in Brussels and in the field.

All EPD members recognise the crucial value of respecting thorough financial and administrative procedures. Projects will therefore be managed according to the best practices and lessons learned from the implementation of over 200 projects combined for over 100m EUR in the last five years and mostly with funding from the EU and/or EU Member States. Complying with the Consortium's consolidated current practices, all projects implemented under EURECS will undergo due diligence and robust internal verification of expenses, external audits, evaluation and setting of milestones.

EURECS aims at providing a proactive and systematic strategy towards the implementation of electoral cycle support. The **European consortium behind this strategy has all the necessary technical and professional capacities to support the implementation of European policies that permeate electoral cycle support strategically in partner countries.**

EURECS enhances the inclusiveness of these interventions by recognising the importance of addressing a broad set of stakeholders involved at different stages of the electoral cycle trough multi-track political dialogue.

Due to the intrinsic conflict-dynamics of political competition, dialogue between various stakeholders is an effective tool for conflict mitigation, prevention and management. Furthermore, dialogue can contribute to ensure a better coordination among electoral stakeholders. It is essential for dialogue to be seen as an infrastructure of communication between key stakeholders and protagonists whereby EPD and its members jointly hold a unique potential to reach different levels of stakeholders.

These stakeholders range from non-state organisations such as CSOs, faith-based organisations, media, women's groups, youth wings, private sector organisations and institutions with a more political connotation such as EMBs, police, security, local authorities, judges, election dispute resolution mechanisms, executive and legislative branches and local authorities, political party leaders and members, international community, and local power-holders. It is crucial for the EURECS to build bridges actively between electoral stakeholders on all these levels in order to facilitate their mutual interaction.

Furthermore, ECES and EPD place a particular emphasis on the shrinking space for civil society organisations, in many contexts. Investing in CSOs is an absolute priority in order to help bridge the gap between the people/the electors and their elected institutions on the one hand, and to promote inclusiveness in electoral processes on the other.

However, comprehensive support to all electoral stakeholders as part of one single cohesive initiative is often a missing link in electoral support. Indeed, either electoral support tends to focus on grassroots level organisations and local authorities with broad horizontal reach, or on organisations, institutions and stakeholders that are more instrumental to the process as well as having more power in determining the operational and political aspects of the process, such as the electoral management bodies, political parties and the judiciary.

ECES and EPD recognise that support should not only be extended to all electoral stakeholders but equally importantly, that support should aim to bring stakeholders closer together, enhance coordination and invest in trust-building. Stakeholders worth investing in as part of a holistic approach to the support of electoral processes include the following (non-exhaustive) list:

- Political parties and candidates
- EMB
- Executive branch of government
- Legislative body
- Electoral dispute resolution bodies
- Judiciary system
- International and National Observers
- Former Heads of State
- International and Diplomatic Community
- CSOs

- Faith-based organisations
- Local authorities
- Media
- Private sector
- Regional umbrella networks
- Unions
- Women's Groups
- Youth Associations
- Donors and electoral assistance agencies

Some civil society groups that ECES and most EPD partners work with in the majority of their projects are also widely approached as homogenous groups. As a response to the shrinking space for CSOs in many contexts, acknowledging the existing variety amongst CSOs and especially their different access levels, reach and scope may open up possibilities for greater impact of activities and more effective support. In order to understand the variety of CSOs better, it is useful to break them down into four broad categories:

- 1. **Grassroots level groups** This category includes community-based organisations, self-help groups, informal citizens' groups and committees and services users' committees. It may also include informal and web-based movements that are playing a growing role in democratisation processes in many countries. These are typically all groups that divide their stakeholders between the "activists" and the "beneficiaries" of their action;
- 2. Intermediate level groups This category includes CSOs that are mainly "shaping the environment", including foundations, think-thanks, training organisations and member-based organisations. Most often these organisations are aimed at supporting beneficiaries/actors that are "outside" the organisation itself and are characterised by the presence of professionals, by formal structures and by a stronger institutional and organisational consistency;
- **3. Umbrella organisations and coalitions** Groups within this category typically have a thematic or a geographic nature, involving "intermediary organisations" to coordinate work, to establish common agendas and intervene in sector/thematic policy settings and policy-dialogue initiatives. These organisations would then take a leadership role at the central level;
- **4. General platforms and networks** Under this category one can fit all kinds of CSOs and often even "individual leaders" participating in policy dialogue and political processes at a central level, but organised collectively, assuming a stronger voice vis-à-vis both government and international actors.

The diversity among CSOs is certainly greater than reflected in the categories above. Moreover, CSOs are often positioned in between two groupings. Nevertheless, such a categorisation can help specific projects (and in turn EU Delegations) to identify the diverse roles that CSOs can play, be it in grassroots democracy, in the setting of participatory mechanisms for the management of public services, in national policy-making formulations or democratic governance and rule of law promotion at central and local levels. At each level, not only are the organisations different, but they also function according to different modalities and assume diverse roles. At each level, challenges, development dynamics and capacity needs are therefore different. Knowing these differences will help identify the most appropriate channel to communicate and interact with them.

Activities that involve more than one stakeholder are essential to identify drivers of change. This assumption is based on the logic that change resides also in the relationships amongst stakeholders, whereas the absence of a relationship may very well become an obstacle to reform. EURECS will be able to support key stakeholders within the multiplicity of stakeholders and the nuances within broad stakeholder groups, to promote and facilitate dialogue amongst them. **Contributing to the overall confidence and trust between electoral stakeholders and, in turn, to stakeholders' trust and active contribution to the electoral process, lies at the very core of the EURECS.**

ECES and EPD members harbour vast capacities with various access and influence levels related to key stakeholders, according to a multi-track approach that will be defined in accordance with each specific situation and in line with identified needs³⁹.

- Track 1. Heads of States, Elected Leaders, Influential Figures and the Diplomatic Community
 - Under this category, we can include all elected leaders, presidents, prime ministers, mayors, local governors, ambassadors, but also former elected leaders and, in some cases, other influential figures such as kings or religious leaders, even though these might be in power through succession.
- Track 2. State bodies, Legislative bodies, Security and Legal institutions, Local authorities, EMBs, Political parties
 - Legislative bodies and various ministries and bodies under state control, such as legal and security bodies, including the police, special forces, local authorities, courts and election dispute resolution bodies, EMBs. Political parties include both central committees and decentralised party structures, mid-level managers, such as campaign leaders, all the way down to local political cadres and up to candidate level.
- ♦ Track 3. Civil society, grassroots and faith-based organisations

This category includes: CSOs, Faith-based organisations, National Observer groups⁴⁰, Community-based organisations, self-help groups, foundations, think-tanks, training organisations and member-based organisations, informal citizens' groups and committees and services users' committees.

V. ADDED VALUE AND COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

The values of inclusiveness and bridge-building between stakeholders are also in line with the principles of the new EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019). The flexible yet distinctly European approach outlined in this document is best placed to safeguard the implementation of an inclusive approach, factoring in the complex and delicate set of interactions among different electoral stakeholders when implementing electoral support programmes. The comprehensive and effective management of these relationships requires specific skills, going well beyond the confines of technical advice.

³⁹ https://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/conflict_prevention/docs/2013_eeas_mediation_support_factsheet_electoral_process_en.pdf
40 Using International Standards Handbook for Domestic Floring Observers, Council of Europa 2014, Editor: Marie-Carin von

⁴⁰ Using International Standards Handbook for Domestic Election Observers, Council of Europe 2014, Editor: Marie-Carin von Gumppenberg, Contributors: Fabio Bargiacchi, Tim Baker, Igor Gaon, Marie-Carin von Gumppenberg, Milica Kovačević, Mathieu Merino, Andria Nadiradze, Eva Palmans, Vladimir Pran. The publication is available at the following address: http:// www.eces.eu/template/default/files/ECES%20Publications/Handbook-Internl-Standards_EN.pdf

The combined set of capabilities and competence areas can – and should - be placed at the disposal of the EU and its Member States to manage electoral support programs in an inclusive, holistic and durable manner. In this framework, the EURECS will implement activities following these characteristics:

COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

- Take recommendations of EU EOMs, EEMs and Follow-up missions consistently into consideration in the formulation and implementation of activities in support of a given electoral cycle. Liaise constantly with the EU Parliament, European Commission and EEAS services dealing with Election Observation at Brussels level
- Cover all sectors of the democracy support thanks to the complementary expertise of the different EPD members in working with and strengthening: parliaments/civil society, electoral management bodies, media, security forces, political organisations/ local authorities, lawyers/ legal institutions, political leadership, youth and women's groups.
- Capacity to tap into EPD members' complementary areas of specialisation, spanning from
 developing trust-building mechanisms for emerging stakeholders, setting-up reformoriented dialogues, organising large scale EU events, designing customised capacity building
 mechanisms, training of security and judiciary sector staff, delivering electoral assistance
 in following-up of EU EOM recommendations. In this framework, the EURECS will elaborate
 democracy development data for customised use.
- A network of local and regional expertise gathered from the implementation of previous projects and available on demand, as well as partnership agreements with all existing global and regional networks of electoral management bodies (A-WEB, CAPEL, SADC ESN, ECONEC, RECEF, RESEAC, ArabEMBs).
- Specific attention is given to empowering Local Authorities (LAs) and civil society groups, supporting their cooperation in order to strengthen local democracy and contribute to combat corruption, trengthen accountability and foster inclusive and sustainable development.

TECHNICAL EXPERTISE

- EPD members provide **long-standing**, **specific and complementary expertise in implementing EU democracy support actions** at both headquarters and partner country levels. The partners can thus guarantee a unique level of understanding and reactivity to all kinds of emergency situations arising during the electoral cycle.
- Mobilise Key experts for any joint project, including professional profiles with a broad overarching perspective on the democracy support sector, complemented by an in-depth understanding of donor procedural and operational framework for robust response to electoral cycle support.
- A holistic approach that integrates all tasks envisaged by the EU, by joining the partners' experiences and different areas of specialisation into one single consistent operational model with a clear service-orientation.

EU PROCEDURES (FINANCE AND CONTRACTS)

 Proven ability to implement activities in full compliance with EU project management cycle procedures. This is further guaranteed by the fact that all EPD members have already successfully

- managed EU projects in the democratisation/electoral field, particularly projects managed at delegation level but also centrally at the level of EU's HQ.
- Promote Cost Effectiveness with expenses based on real costs, 7% management fees and work
 on reimbursable costs for human resources with no extra costs for procurement of material at
 central level.
- External Verification of Expenses and External Audit are considered as a management tool for accountability and further improvements, notably by allowing EU Delegations and EU services to select the particular audit companies.

PROGRAMME MANAGEMENT

- Carry out assessment, identification and formulation missions with ECES-EPD resources as a request-based service to the EU, EU Member States and other donors as a contribution to specific electoral cycles given the not-for-profit nature of EURECS and the possibility of reinvesting in other projects.
- Ensure a higher level of EU visibility in all implemented actions, thanks to the solid internal coordination mechanism among members through the EPD Secretariat, and in line with the Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019). This objective will be operationalised by taking into account ECES and EPD members' previous project best practices in implementing the EU Visibility Guidelines for External Actions including submitting dedicated Visibility Plans for approval by EU Delegations and EU services.
- Joint selection of experts for Project Management Unit with EU Delegation, EU services and other donors.
- Place great emphasis in maintaining and fostering a constant political dialogue with EU partner countries on democracy, human rights and the rule of law in view of jointly elaborating short-, mid and long term goals.
- Implement best practices in terms of transparency and accountability. Drawing on the
 consolidated practical experience of EPD members in project implementation, the joint EURECS
 will be able to ensure the effective and proper implementation of activities, while respecting
 contractual requirements in terms of reporting, procedures and evaluation of expenditures thus
 placing accountability as a first priority.
- Bring capacity to mobilise additional funds from other donors and contribute to established larger basket funds for which ECES and EPD members can start activities and advance funds following agreements with the EU or other donors, thanks to the solid financial management implemented over the years.
- Bring an important capacity to co-contribute to projects.

SECTION IIIEXAMPLES OF EURECS-SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES



A) Electoral Political Economy Analyses

The unique Electoral Political Economy Analysis (EPEA) methodology developed by ECES is designed for use in democracy support contexts at a country level. We refer to this form of analysis as EPEA given its largely electoral focus blended with political economy methodology (PEA). EPEA provides an analytical framework to identify underlying factors, frameworks (both formal and informal) and dynamics that shape stakeholder perceptions, motivations, values and ideas in relation to electoral processes. These relationships and underlying forces are traditionally understudied in the analysis of electoral processes. In the same way, electoral aspects are rarely addressed comprehensively in traditional political economy analysis.

The objective of EPEA is to suggest the most influential constraints and opportunities facing a defined question of concern with a view to promoting stability and democratic development, based on the fundamental political, economic, cultural and social pillars of any given society, its structures, institutions and individuals all within an electoral framework. This approach heightens national and international understanding of the complex dynamics and interactions between key electoral stakeholders.

EPEA provides critical insights on how to steer national reform initiatives and/or democracy support actions to better cater for the needs of a particular society at a given moment in time. Recognising potential blockages or conflict can also feed into conflict prevention and mitigation strategies. As such, EPEA is a powerful analytical framework to find the right actions, spaces and timings to affect attitudes, behaviours and dynamics in a sustainable manner. Mitigating the fears of those who perceive that they stand to lose and bolster the expectations of those who perceive that they stand to win from change. Technical solutions that are not built upon solid knowledge of the subjacent needs and interests of a society, including individuals and institutions, as well as their complex relations are unlikely to be effective.

An EPEA is structured around a leading concern, question or hypothesis pertaining to the electoral process and its impact on political stability or other over-arching concepts such as peace or democratic development. The definition of this Question of Concern contributes to focus, shape and structure the analysis throughout the process.

Essentially, an EPEA aims at identifying and understanding the Contextual Factors, the political and economic factors that shape the boundaries within which electoral stakeholders operate concerning the initial Question of Concern. These boundaries circumscribe what can be defined as the Electoral Framework, which includes both formal and informal frameworks as well as stakeholder dynamics. Stakeholder dynamics are analysed in terms of Motivations, Perceptions, Values and Ideas. Ultimately, an EPEA identifies a series of structural, institutional and individual Opportunities and Constraints regarding the concern that forms the basis of the particular EPEA analysis.

B) Prevent, Mitigate and Manage Electoral Related Conflicts

An adequate understanding of the various elements, stages and entry points within the electoral cycle is crucial to plan and respond appropriately to requests for electoral support and clarify from the outset what is achievable and needed in the short-term, as well as identify what are the objectives of midand longer-term initiatives. Adding to the complexity of the inter-connected set of stages in the electoral cycle is the fact that each phase, and the transition to the next, usually comes with its own set of conflict dynamics. This creates a third dimension on top of the electoral cycle that does not necessarily follow a clockwise direction, as the electoral cycle does. Looking at the electoral cycle from

above, conflicts resemble moving clouds (which cannot necessarily be predicted) on top of the electoral cycle.

Conflict during the electoral cycle is not necessarily cyclical or predictable. Conflict mapping and monitoring of actors and root causes can be helpful, but only if this analysis is constantly updated. Otherwise, conventional context analysis conducted at the beginning of a given intervention that is seldom updated or revised may not be very effective. A one-time context analysis could constitute a poor match to the reality of potential conflicts that may play out through the different stages of the electoral cycle and, instead of providing a useful tool to better spot potential causes of conflict, be misleading. Context analysis should therefore be replaced by political economy analysis, whenever time and resources allow, shedding light on why conflict or political blockages emerge, as opposed to how they play out, hence focusing more on causality and correlation. As mentioned in the previous section, ECES has developed a specific electoral political economy analysis methodology with the input of EPD members that addresses the shortcomings of conventional context analysis.

Because of the multidimensional nature of electoral support, elections are an entry point to work on crosscutting issues that are not necessarily always related to elections. An example is that **flawed elections have allowed radical groups to gain a foothold in fragile state institutions**. In contrast, the involvement of a wide range of formal and informal regional and national stakeholders working in close coordination would ideally counter-act these trends, complemented by community early warning networks, and jointly enhance the potential for positive progress, thereby preventing elections from being used for undemocratic goals.

ECES has implemented an EU-funded Project to support the prevention of election related violence in the SADC region since 2013 (with ECES' own financial contribution amounting to 25% of the total envelope). The project, abbreviated PEV-SADC (www.pevsadc) has a built-in research component that has collected data on election related conflict and violence in all 14 countries comprising the SADC. This group of high-level national researchers is in turn forming a human Observatory on election related conflict, the first of its kind in the SADC region, focusing exclusively on electoral processes and conflict prevention, mitigation and management. The Observatory's main recommendations, originating from comparative data from all 14 SADC countries, are summarized below. This unique empirical data set has been influential in honing a strategy to tackle election related conflict more effectively in the region. The EURECS is thus built as a practical response to these recommendations (see annex IV). Examples of conflict prevention activities that have been deemed to the most effective and relevant include:

Early Warning Systems: The PEV-SADC project underlines the importance of Early Warning Systems to avoid or minimize violence, deprivation or humanitarian crises that threaten the sustainability of human development in the region. Researchers recognise the need to strengthen structural risk assessments/analysis and to develop early response mechanisms to address structural problems. It is worth noting that early detection of electoral violence presents wider opportunities for action but requires the genuine involvement of all stakeholders from the very early stages of the process.

Conflict typology database: Researchers recommend the establishment of a Conflict Typology Database to facilitate the task of identifying and analysing various forms of conflict. Along with this, the development of socio-economic indicators, judicial indicators, political stability and security indicators, etc. would assist the efforts of 'tracking' conflict in the region. The paucity of data on such a fundamental problem for the region is seen as a serious concern, which should be addressed at all levels. Encouraging the development of documentation systems, knowledge management as well as information sharing and monitoring systems is a viable means of building on any existing physical libraries.

Integrated approaches to elections and conflict programming: From a regional perspective, the research identifies the opportunities presented by the SADC's conflict prevention mechanisms. The most recent one directly relates to elections and prevention of electoral related conflict, that is, the adoption of the revised *SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections* by the regional body. PEV-SADC notes that there is an opportunity for researchers to provide a valuable information base to regional observers and conflict specialists and collaborate on many fronts

(essentially by developing methodologies that integrate conflict cycle approaches with electoral cycle approaches). The introduction of long term observation under the revised SADC electoral framework could further assist in identifying potential conflict root causes, which could be extremely useful for early warning systems and preventative diplomacy. However, such systems cannot operate in isolation and therefore the input of projects such as PEV-SADC is crucial.

A suitable response to some of the main challenges that the research has shed light on could be based on the following areas of intervention:

Strengthening post-election adjudication processes: the failure to accept results by losing parties leads to violence, especially where there is no legal recourse. Hence, in countries such as Tanzania, ensuring the strengthening of post-election adjudication processes is a key imperative. In other countries, there is a need for time-bound Electoral Courts to avoid protracted judicial processes in formal courts. Advocacy on these issues is required, as well as strategic dialogue with key decision-makers to catalyse change.

Multiparty Liaison Committees: Researchers also either note or support the establishment or strengthening of multi-party consultative forums to discuss any concerns that may arise around the electoral process. Although these have been implemented in several countries, their effects are varied and there are still good practices to be shared.

National Elections Consultative Fora: Others have called for broader multi-stakeholder fora to address issues that are beyond the process itself. Matters such as Constitutional reviews and Referenda are contentious and have direct impacts on how the electoral process is managed and adjudicated; therefore, they require inputs from all relevant sectors. The promotion of such fora is thus an imperative in such contexts.

Enforceable Codes of Conduct: One of the concerns that was frequently raised is the extent to which codes of conduct are legally enforceable. The generalised understanding is that unless they transcend the level of tacit agreements, political actors will ignore agreed codes of conduct. To be effective, these should carry a penalty in law. Promoting the tenets of regional frameworks such as those contained in the revised *SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections*, could be one way of fostering change.

Platforms for consensus-based institutional reform: Finally, according to the majority of the research reports, strategic interventions with all stakeholders are essential in matters of: electoral system reform, constitutional reviews, and the promotion and monitoring of implementation by national government of regional norms and standards at country level. Without consensus, the likelihood for post-election disputes and conflicts increases, as has been shown in many cases highlighted in the reports.

C) Leadership and Conflict Management Skills for Electoral Stakeholders



Among the different capacity-building programmes that are specific to ECES and EPD members, the pioneering training program in **Leadership and Electoral Conflict Management for Electoral Stakeholders** (better known as LEAD) strengthens the long term leadership capacities of electoral stakeholders. It contributes to increasing participants' confidence, providing them with expertise in strategic decision-making, as well as extensive insights into conflict management throughout the electoral cycle.

The programme was initially developed through the close collaboration and synergies created between ECES and the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL)

through its Leadership Beyond Boundaries initiative (LBB, leadbeyond.com). The aim was to respond to an observed need in accessible multi-stakeholder high-level training focused on election-related conflicts, election violence and intimidation, crisis management and dealing with unanticipated change within electoral processes. Indeed, conventional capacity development strategies did not provide for this type of high-level training and the work that had been carried out was mainly theoretical and not practical enough for it to be fully effective in the field. Similarly, electoral conflict and violence are recurrent concerns in many countries around the world and several key concepts of leadership were evidently applicable to help mitigate, manage and prevent electoral conflict and violence.

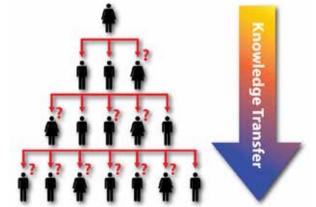
ECES experts together with those from the Centre for Creative Leadership-Leadership Beyond Boundaries began developing a curriculum in 2009 to respond to these identified needs. This curriculum is the basis of what is now the LEAD. The initial contents and methodology were tried, tested and refined and are still regularly improved and updated, through different training sessions and workshops carried out around the world.



The LEAD program is built around the core values of inclusiveness and the value of exchanging specific experience and knowledge between electoral stakeholders. LEAD is designed for representatives of electoral management bodies, civil society, NGOs, political parties, bodies entrusted with delivering electoral justice, academics, security forces, the media and media regulatory bodies.

The objective of this specific training methodology is to strengthen the management and leadership abilities of electoral stakeholders and improve their conflict management skills while giving them the necessary resources and skills to replicate the key training contents in their own formal and informal networks, thereby enhancing sustainability. LEAD is a flexible learning tool that is consistently tailored to the specific context, needs and interests of the target group of participants.

Indeed, the LEAD training program is inspired by one key objective, the sustainability of all knowledge transfers. The rationale behind the LEAD system lies in a commitment to the **long term strengthening of capacities.** The creation of a pool of national LEAD trainers ensures that they themselves have the capacity to train other future participants in an autonomous manner. To this end, the program focuses on the appropriation of its contents through the implementation of a comprehensive training cycle, which includes three different stages of certification. All LEAD trainings are supervised by a Certifying



A message is generally gradually lost as it is widespread. Thanks to the LEAD certification system, the message is always given by a trusted source and therefore never distorted

Facilitator to guarantee the highest standards in terms of content and delivery; and partly delivered by an ever-expanding pool of semi-certified and certified trainers.

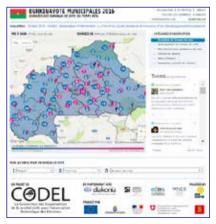
LEAD is not only groundbreaking in terms of its contents; it also employs cutting-edge learning tools to maximise sustainable appropriation. All trainings are focused on the participants and their collective learning needs, employing innovative techniques in adult education. The effective use of case studies, comparative examples, group work and role-plays immerse participants into the actual challenges they face, enabling the group to arrive at their own conclusions and solutions.

LEAD also incorporates relevant audio-visual materials, including the Sundance Film Festival nominee "An African Election" (nominated for the Grand Jury prize), directed by Jarreth Mertz. Its fascinating depiction of the Ghanaian elections in 2008, with rising electoral tension and powerful displays of how leadership skills can be applied to electoral conflict management and prevention, is one of the foundations upon which LEAD trainings are built. LEAD training courses include sessions on:

- The application of leadership skills to electoral processes
- The electoral cycle and its potential fragilities
- Electoral crises, conflicts and violence
- Leading principles behind conflict management
- The application of leadership skills in the prevention of electoral crises
- Individual and organizational leadership
- Mediation and conflict prevention
- The core values of leadership, tolerance and development

Experience has shown that these training sessions, when delivered in the pre-electoral period to representatives from different electoral stakeholders in common workshops, enhance the potential for improved understanding, communication and collaboration between different actors. The positive effects of these interactions are often visible during subsequent electoral processes.

D) Election Situation Room and Conflict Mapping



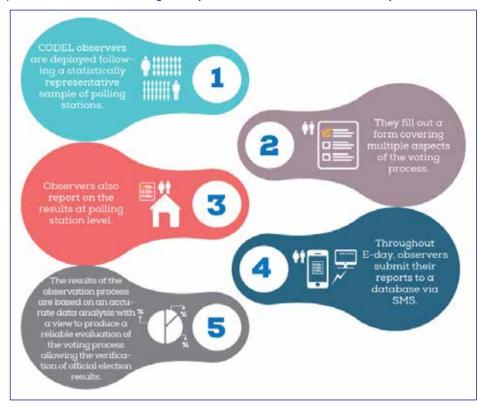
A certain level of antagonism might appear between EMBs and civil society organisations engaging in citizen electoral observation. This is often the result of a lack of understanding of the specific role of each respective group. Yet it is clear that both key stakeholders contribute, in their own manner, to the credibility of elections.

For ECES and other EPD members, civil society organisations engaged in national electoral observation are crucial stakeholders within the electoral cycle. In this context, capacity-building activities for the benefit of national electoral observation platforms are an integral part of ECES' electoral support strategy.



In Burkina Faso, ECES, Diakonia and OneWorld (a fellow EPD Member) supported the interest of CODEL (Convention of Civil Society Organisations for Domestic Observation of the Elections) in carrying out a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) to provide independent verification of official election

results. PVT are extremely sensitive technical exercises, which if done inaccurately, can undermine the electoral process. However, if done right, they can further enhance the credibility of the electoral exercise.



As part of its engagement in the electoral process, the CODEL initiated an electoral monitoring system in order to bring together the initiatives of civil society organisations and positively contribute to the electoral process. This innovative device, called the **electoral situation-room (ESR)**, is an information-sharing platform among civil society members involved in the electoral process.

Composed of three interdependent departments, the ESR processed information received from the field to keep the National Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) of Burkina Faso informed in real-time, contributing to prevent and mitigate problematic issues, which might arise during elections. For example, on Election Day, thousands of CODEL observers deployed in the field, were in direct contact with the technical department, composed of data processing experts. Observers used their phones to send all relevant information concerning the situation at polling station level. This information was then processed by the technical room and sent to the intermediate room composed of experts in charge of analysing data and reporting it through in accordance with their area of expertise. Finally, the analysis room took appropriate decisions according to the data that was reported, and communicated outstanding issues to the INEC, which was therefore able to address them in an effective and timely manner.

By providing critical technical and operational support for the implementation of the PVT and the ESR, ECES and OneWorld demonstrated their commitment to support civil society efforts aimed at facilitating the acceptance of election results and contributing to a peaceful political landscape. Furthermore, OneWorld has enabled CSOs in different countries to adopt, refine, and implement several groundbreaking managerial, information and communication technology (ICT) innovations that have transformed election observation from a traditional, slow paper-and-pencil activity to a state-of-the-art iterative and responsive process. The OneWorld platform merges age-old observation approaches with the latest data collection, analysis tools and techniques. Election observers send their observations by

text message (SMS) or through a tailor-made smartphone app; messages are instantly de-coded, verified, aggregated and published. Easy-to-read charts, maps, and spreadsheets give civil society leaders a real-time picture of what is happening around the country at the local, regional, and national levels. Organisations can decide which data is made public, for the whole world to see, while sensitive data can be kept offline, to be shared exclusively with trusted and authorised partners.

Following the 2012 national elections in Senegal, OneWorld has supported the implementation of this election observation platform in four countries, which had all experienced significant recent dysfunctions in their electoral or political processes: Sierra Leone (2012), Mali (2013), Guinea-Bissau (2014) and Burkina Faso (2015) in collaboration with ECES as mentioned above. For the historic elections in Myanmar held in November 2015, OneWorld launched New Niti, a smartphone app to help young people understand the democratic process and to hold their elected representatives to account after the election.

E) Political Party Support

Political parties are key democratic and electoral stakeholders. Through EURECS holistic approach, it supports the organisational, programmatic, campaigning and mobilisation capacities of political parties, aims at promoting political parties to take up their democratic roles and become crucial actors of change and reform. In so doing, EURECS aspires to enhance national ownership of democratic and electoral processes. Furthermore, in order to secure shared democratic values and principles, EURECS supports political parties in accepting the rules of the political game and conducting responsible politics. Some of the key activities include:

- Facilitate National Political dialogue: Support the organisation of inclusive round tables on fundamental issues concerning the democratic and electoral process aimed at strengthening the adherence of political actor to core democratic principles and values;
- 2) Interparty dialogue: It is crucial for political parties to recognise the importance of an enabling environment where they can work together and discuss the rules of the political game. These interparty dialogue platforms provide a safe and informal meeting space where dialogue can start and where politicians of all political denominations can meet and build trust and confidence at interpersonal and interparty levels. Once a basic level of trust and confidence is in place, parties can deliberate on issues of national interest and formulate a national reform agenda. This entails assisting the parties in making an analysis and formulating a common agenda for democratic reform. Interparty dialogue activities are crucial to establish common and shared democratic practices thus reducing potential political conflicts and tensions. In line with identified needs, interparty dialogue platforms can be formal or informal, temporary or long term.
- 3) Capacity strengthening of political parties: A democracy needs democrats. Political parties are often poorly organised and lack the skills and experience to fulfil their key roles within the political and social life of their countries and become responsible and accountable players. Customised support can be provided to these actors in order to strengthen their strategic planning, policy analyses and enable them to effectively communicate with voters. Activities can also be envisaged to assist political parties in the identification of their strategic priorities and in subsequent planning for their implementation. In line with the specific needs of the beneficiary, capacity-building activities can focus on developing internal procedures and political programmes as well as on strengthening capacities in carrying out policy analysis. In addition, training and technical support for parties can also be implemented with the aim of supporting these actors in developing clear

and realistic policy positions as well as alternatives that are encapsulated in manifestos or electoral programmes.

- 4) Political Education: In order to sustain reform processes from within, investing in strengthening the capacities of the next generation of politicians is crucial to make them actors of democratic change. Democracy schools are designed as places for learning, debate, discussion, networking, and exchanging ideas, and aim to give to people involved in politics the knowledge and skills for working in a structured democratic culture. Participants can practice and consolidate the democratic skills and behaviour that are required to work in a multiparty democracy. Important issues addressed at these schools are the concepts of democracy and the rule of law, democratic principles and practises, equality, social justice, human rights, ethics in politics and democratic and leadership skills. These schools can either, focus on training young politicians, or target mixed groups consisting of (aspiring) politicians and representatives from civil society organisations.
- 5) Facilitating best practices and peer exchange among political parties: Learning from peers has proven to be one of the most effective approaches for sustainable change. In order to promote best practice exchange among political parties, conferences and workshops at national, regional and international level on specific themes pertaining to political party functioning, can be organised. In addition, specific thematic exchanges between political parties from different countries can also be organised to facilitate networking as well as the sharing of experiences and ideas.
- 6) Promoting political participation of women, youth and other marginalised groups: Inclusive democracy requires that all citizens should feel represented and their voices heard. However, many political parties around the world structurally exclude women and young people, as well as minorities and marginalised groups. As a result, the political representation, participation and political leadership of women, young people, and members of indigenous and other marginalised groups remains low. Working with political parties on their internal party regulations is crucial to enhance inclusiveness, as is the fostering of an open political culture at the local and national levels. There is also a need to address unwritten rules and practices that exclude women and other groups from participating in the political arena.

F) Parliamentary Support

Parliaments are at the core of democratic systems and of sustainable democratic reforms. As the institutions in charge of federating and representing the interests of different societal groups in a country, parliaments are the place where citizens' needs and expectations meet national decision-making. Therefore, EURECS' comprehensive approach puts great emphasis in empowering parliaments to exercise their functions and roles effectively while strengthening their relations with constituents and civil society. Importantly, parliaments play a key role in ensuring that the legal framework for elections guarantee a level playing field for all competitors.

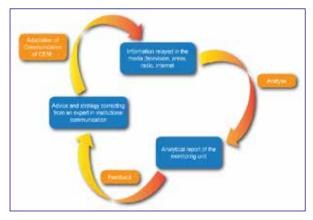
1) Capacity Building for Parliaments and newly elected parliamentarians: In order to allow parliaments to carry out their legislative, representative and oversight roles effectively, elected members need to be aware of their roles and responsibilities. Induction seminars for recently elected parliamentarians can help to provide them with a sufficient knowledge base to settle into and function optimally in the early stages of the legislature. These seminars can focus on:

- a. parliamentary processes and procedures;
- b. the representative and oversight functions of parliamentarians and scrutiny and formulation of draft laws.

Thematic seminars and conferences can also be organised to deepen parliamentarians' knowledge on specific issues, thereby facilitating the inclusive balancing of interests and decision-making within parliamentary committees. Additional targeted activities can also be envisaged, such as trainings on the role of parliamentary oppositions in a multiparty democracy, the role of MPs in peace-building and conflict prevention, and the need for an electoral legal framework that guarantees equal competition, free and fair balloting and independent electoral institutions.

- 2) Institutional strengthening of the Parliamentary Administration: A professional administration that is capable of providing adequate support to parliament is crucial in order to ensure its smooth functioning. Capacity-building activities can be organised in line with specific identified needs such as Hansard, legislative drafting, human resource management, etc.
 - Training on the use of social media and communication and information tools can enhance parliamentary communication strategies and visibility. Such activities contribute to reduce existing gaps between the institution and citizens while improving the overall transparency of parliamentary work.
- 3) Supporting women in parliament: Representing roughly half of the electorate, promoting the voice and interests of women in elected institutions needs attention. Activities advocating for the political participation of women in parliament and other political institutions must be considered, developed and implemented. Enhancing the political representation of women requires mainstreaming successful examples and stories from around the world.
- 4) Connecting the parliament with citizens: Strengthening the link between citizens and elected parliaments contributes to more inclusive policy-making and greater accountability. Consultation mechanisms can be set-up, to enable constituents and civil society organizations to deliver input on Bills. Specific events such as Open Door days can help to strengthen these links, allowing citizens to meet parliamentarians and become acquainted with their work.

G) Media Monitoring and Institutional Communication



Media monitoring and institutional communication at the service of all electoral stakeholders and elected institutions are key activities within EURECS.

The media play a crucial role in voters' awareness and information, they are also a determining factor regarding how people form opinions that will influence their choices when voting. To ensure the respect of the free will of the voters, it is essential to observe and analyse media coverage all along the electoral process -not only during the election campaign, but beforehand. It is equally important to monitor

the institutional communication of electoral management bodies, to keep a track of how they are perceived and portrayed in the media in order to take timely and opportune measures.



Media monitoring is at the heart of any assessment of media coverage of electoral processes. This implies the supervision of all (or key) media broadcasts, following a systematic, objective and standardised methodology to monitor their output and analyse their content. All forms of media can be monitored, be they audio-visual such as radio or television, written press or online sources.

Media monitoring is a long term activity, which requires committing qualified human resources. It is not a goal in itself, but rather a tool that will only be effective if it has clear objectives. We can distinguish between four different types of media monitoring objectives, although they may also be intertwined:

- 1) Media monitoring at the service of public and institutional communication. The aim being to support electoral management bodies' communication strategies and assess their visibility, as well as understanding of technical aspects of the electoral process, in order to adjust public communication depending on the actual needs and goals.
- 2) **Monitoring incitement to violence**, through the media. This generally implies hate speech and any other message that incites violence, discrimination, social and political tensions, etc.
- 3) **Monitoring related to electoral campaign regulations**. This serves as a complementary tool to verify campaign spending, abuse of public resources and the use of any banned symbols during the campaign (e.g. national flags and symbols).
- 4) **Monitoring political pluralism**; to verify whether the press, primarily state-owned media, ensures equitable coverage of political actors (or equal coverage, as established in relevant regulations concerning the role of the media during electoral campaigns).

Both media monitoring and institutional communication tools can be put at the service of all electoral stakeholders and adapted to the identified needs of the beneficiary. These powerful tools are also useful for elected institutions at the national and local level.



Concerning Media Monitoring and Institutional Communication activities, ECES collaborates with the **Osservatorio di Pavia** (www. osservatorio.it), a top of the field research institute specialised in media analysis at the theoretical and empirical level. The Osservatorio di Pavia was founded in 1994 by CARES (Cooperative for Social and Economic Analysis and Research) together with a group of professors of Social Sciences of the University of Pavia. Since then, it has become an

internationally recognised institute for the analysis and research on mass communication. Osservatorio's mission is the safeguard of social, cultural and political pluralism in the field of mass media through the elaboration of research and analysis methodologies applied to media studies. The Osservatorio's media monitoring approach and methodology regarding media coverage in elections has been adopted by EU and OSCE/ODIHR election observation missions, and many of the media monitoring experts in these missions are trained by the Osservatorio. Furthermore, Osservatorio di Pavia pioneered media monitoring methodology applied to electoral assistance with the aim of implementing a long term observation of the media coverage of electoral and political processes.

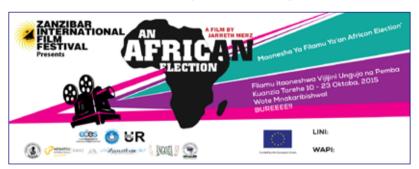
H) Civic and Voter Education: Nation-wide Sensitization Campaigns



ECES and Urban republic, an Los Angeles-based film production company created by film-maker Jarreth Merz, entered into a partnership in May 2012. The aim of the partnership was to promote innovative democratic development through the creation of visual content, in order to raise awareness and create pro-peace incitements of all the actors involved in the electoral processes, especially youth in urban and remote areas. The main principle was to make the visual content, namely films on democracy and

electoral processes, available and accessible to all. The first collaboration translated into the launching of the project "A Political Safari". The project was specifically designed at reaching the places where people do not have access to electricity, internet and cinema and presenting the inspirational documentary "An African Election" to people who want to, and must, be part of the political process including youth.

In August 2012, with financial support from the EU, a truck was equipped with a projector and generator - effectively transforming it into a movie theater on wheels. The truck travelled through 10 different regions in Ghana to screen this film and an inspiring vision for African democracy. A Political Safari is currently working with international partners and local democracy trainers to create non-partisan voter education workshops and training tools, specifically designed for youth, women, and marginalised communities in Ghana. This is an unique and exciting collaboration that relies on local expertise and supports self-determination and effective dialogue across ideological, socio-economic and ethnic lines.



"A Political Safari: An African Adventure in Democracy Building" is essentially an adaptable outreach campaign initiative that can be delivered all across Africa in order to raise awareness of the role of different electoral stakeholders play, including young people and first time votes in upholding peace and respect for the process.

few more words about the movie "An African Election" that is used, it chronicles the 2008 presidential elections in Ghana and follows the presidential candidates in the unpredictable months leading up to the final night and the announcement of the election results and depicts the "heated" electoral race between the two front runners as well as the vision and strategies used by the EMB to ensure that the electoral and democratization process remained on track. As such, the movie provides an unprecedented tool for inspiring and educating African stakeholders and electorates in how a well-implemented electoral process can bring about peaceful change of power and democratic continuity where the result could have been an open conflict. Using this educational tool, the Political Safari is a mobile-cinema with specific voter education potential that supports Africans that engage in promoting democracy and peaceful electoral processes.

This activity can also be used to create space for dialogue and aims to support local peacemakers to promote democracy, provide real-life examples of people bridging divides, showcases African media that helps prevent electoral conflict, facilitates voter education and engaged a wide range of groups including in particular women, youth and ethnic minorities. Local CSOs and youth groups, women groups or FBOs can be brought onboard in preparing the Political Safari campaign and moderate discussions that should follow. By demonstrating the linkages and ownership of youth wings and women's organisations in carrying out this campaign, a possible positive result of the campaign could also be that of raising the profiles and increase leverage to underrepresented groups in political and electoral processes. The Political Safari has so far been delivered in Ghana 2012, Kenya 2013, Madagascar 2013, Comoros 2015, Guinea Conakry 2015 and Zanzibar 2015, implemeted predominantly by ECES with financial support from the EU.

ECES and Urban Republic has also produced several street interview documentaries that captures citizens fears and aspirations before and after the most recent elections in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Madagascar.

I) Local Autorities for Credible and Sustainable Electoral Processes

Capable and responsible local authorities, working together with empowered and democratically functioning civil society, represent the core structure of local governance. They constitute an asset to development and are of clear added value for democracy, peace, the protection of human rights and sustainable development. In many countries, centralised power does not attribute the possibility for local authorities to be democratically elected locally. As a result, these local authorities rather represent the decentralised organization of the State and, thus, may respond only to central guidance. In such cases, the role of civil society at the local level is even more important as regards cooperation and oversight of these authorities.

The relevance of working hand-in-hand with local and regional authorities is fully in line with the EU's new intervention strategy, as recently presented by the EU-HRVP, Federica Mogherini, in her speech at the 2016 European Development Days high-level panel, in which both ECES and EPD were represented. In her speech, Mrs. Mogherini stressed the EU's commitment to work in partner countries with a long term perspective, in tight cooperation with local and regional authorities and other key stakeholders in order to build and consolidate peace, democracy, and governance.

In this context, there is a need to **promote positive cooperation between local authorities (LA) and civil society organizations**; often perceived as opponents or competitors, with the purpose of supporting good local governance and triggering positive change also at the national level. This can be achieved through interventions on the different phases of the Pre and Post-electoral periods:

- Pre-electoral period: initiatives promoting civic education, information on the vote and the role of elected bodies, active citizenship and its implications. This type of activity particularly targets CSOs working on citizenship, human rights, youth and community development, as well as the media -in order to educate journalists on these topics and on their role as a key social cohesion actor, promoting a sense of belonging within the community, and the importance of punctual information.
- Post-electoral period: initiatives aimed at increasing the skills and capacities of elected bodies and representatives, as well as raising their awareness on the value of cooperation with civil society and on techniques to stimulate citizen participation. This type of activity does not only target local authorities, but also civil society and CSOs that follow the pre-electoral educational activities. These organisations should be empowered to engage actively in exchanges and constructive cooperation with local decision-makers.

These activities create an enabling environment for democratic processes by strengthening the capacities and skills of local authorities as well as those of civil society organisations, further promoting synergic cooperation.



Since its foundation as an umbrella organisation coordinating and promoting the activities of Local Democracy Agencies in Western Balkan countries transitioning towards democracy, the **European Association for Local Democracy** (ALDA) –a longstanding EPD member- has worked actively with and in local communities fostering social cohesion and citizen participation. It has promoted virtuous cooperation among local authorities and civil society, while empowering their representatives –in short, building the basis for local

democracy and development. ALDA's work is by definition multi-stakeholder, synergic, and inclusive; fostering local communities' democracy, resilience and development. The stakeholders ALDA works with are empowered and pushed to take action within their communities.

LDAs are self-sustainable, locally registered NGOs with employed local staff, functioning on the basis of partnerships between local and international actors. They work as promoters of democracy and local self-governance, promoting human rights and sustainable development, while representing an operational platform for debates, dialogue, capacity-building and cooperation between local authorities and civil

society, in coordination and under the supervision of ALDA, which is the umbrella organization for the entire LDAs network. The sustainability and continuity of the LDAs is granted by the support of the two main aforementioned actors: its official International Partners, who provide financial support, develop and participate in joint projects and share their experience; and by Local Authorities with whom they work in close cooperation at the local level.

ALDA's success is patent in the fact that it has progressively enlarged its geographical scope, furthering its horizons and activities to encompass all European Union and Neighbourhood countries. Its partnership with the EPD and the joint design of an integrated and holistic EURECS is therefore a natural development of the association's work, as well as a recognition of the crucial importance of local level initiatives and work for global democracy and development.

J) Integrity and Quality Management Systems in Electoral Processes



The General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, (OAS), together with the electoral authorities of the Western Hemisphere, has been making inroads in the area of electoral quality management since 2006. The collaborative efforts between electoral authorities and international organisations in favour of quality and continuous improvement have placed EMBs in the Americas at the forefront of this process. Beginning in 2007 and based on the requests of its Member States, the OAS began providing technical accompaniment to

those countries that requested it through the implementation of quality management and certification systems under ISO 9001 norms. Since that initiative, nearly ten years ago, the OAS has become a pioneer in the field of quality management systems applied to the electoral field and has been at the forefront of the momentum behind the creation of an ISO electoral standard under which electoral authorities across the world could be certified.

This new technical specification, developed essentially by a joint working group of representatives from regional EMBs, provides a valuable guide for the design and implementation of quality management systems within electoral authorities. The standard also establishes the minimum requirements for implementation, providing a standardised baseline for the evaluation of electoral processes.

In February 2014, "ISO/TS 17582:2014, Quality Management Systems – Particular requirements for the application of ISO 9001:2008 for electoral organizations at all levels of government", was published by ISO. It is designed for use by electoral bodies to focus on the quality of the services provided by an EMB and the satisfaction of the electorate.

ISO/TS 17582:2014 involves eight key electoral processes: voter registration, registration of political organizations and candidates, electoral logistics, vote casting, vote counting and declaration of results, electoral education, oversight of campaign financing, and resolution of electoral disputes. This process complements the international obligations-based approach and allows EMBs:

- to identify operational vulnerabilities;
- highlight opportunities for improvement;
- place a greater emphasis on leadership communication and management of change;
- create a framework to evaluate services provided to citizens and all electoral stakeholders;
- Promote a culture of continual improvement.





May 2015, the OAS established the International **Electoral Accreditation Body** (IEAB), as an Office within its Department of Electoral Cooperation and Observation (DECO). The IEAB's mission is to promote transparency and quality in elections by supporting the certification election of management bodies against international electoral standards. The ultimate objective of the IEAB

is to guarantee the integrity of the certification process with the ISO/TS 17582:2014 by ensuring that standard criteria are used in certification assessments and that "Lead assessors and auditors" possess the requisite knowledge and abilities to carry out assessments, and to ensure that certification decisions are the product of consensus⁴¹.

ECES and IEAB are collaborating to spread the knowledge and comprehension of ISO/TS 17582:2014 and the IEAB Assessment Methodology. The majority of ECES Senior Staff have been trained by IEAB enabling ECES to support and accompany electoral management bodies in their certification process. **ECES and IEAB are collaborating jointly to support certification processes for interested EMBs in Africa, the Middle East and other regions or countries where ECES implements activities and projects.** This process guarantees transparency through audit and certification, builds confidence among the electorate and stakeholders and consolidates the reputation of certified EMB among the international community.

ECES and EPD believe the EU could consider supporting EMBs in adopting a quality management approach regarding their work, with the aim of improving and revising their institutional objectives. Indeed, quality management systems for EMBs are **geared towards the improvement of internal processes and procedures, including the management of information in decision-making, and the promotion of an organisational culture oriented towards continual improvement in the services provided to citizens.** One of the key advantages of implementing a Quality Management System (QMS) in an electoral context is that it allows international organisations to harmonise the criteria with which they evaluate performance while also engendering a level of transparency that generates greater levels of confidence in the electoral process among stakeholders, crucially political parties and citizens.

The implementation of ISO/TS 17582:2014 adheres to and contributes to the aim of enhancing "the role and capacity of, and public confidence in, Election Management Bodies to independently and effectively organise credible, inclusive and transparent elections, in particular through enhanced dedicated dialogue and long term support strategy with the objective to promote the integrity of the electoral processes", as established in the EU Action Plan for Democracy 2015-2019.

The implementation of a quality management system for EMBs can facilitate the regulation of areas as diverse as procurement, training, logistics, the formation of polling locations, citizen outreach, and electoral and civil registries. The regulation of each process and procedure can lead to a higher level of accountability, generating further institutional development and minimising the potential for undue influence by individual personnel. The management and certification of quality has a direct impact on the transparency and the modernisation of an electoral authority, as certification demonstrates the firm commitment of the electoral management body to improve and to achieve the highest standards of quality. Additional benefits of quality management for electoral processes include:

⁴¹ www.ieab-oas.org

With respect to transparency and accountability:

- Improvement of the internal procedures and processes within the institution: Quality management systems allow for the detection of irregularities and for promoting the introduction of improvements, which, when implemented correctly, guarantee continuous improvement for the institution. Based on diagnostics of the specifications of each institution, QMS provide a clear frame of reference through which electoral authorities can better and more efficiently carry out their functions, responsibilities, management structures and citizen services. With better documentation and supervision of processes, it is possible to achieve stability in management and a reduction in the number of actions that do not provide value.
- Better flow of information in the management of decision-making: A quality management system allows for: disseminating objectives to those areas that have direct contact with citizens, providing a better flow of information and more visibility for the administration, integrating processes to achieve a better provision of services and higher levels of citizen satisfaction.
- Generation of a culture of continuous improvement: QMS facilitate the continuous improvement of both internal and external structures, demanding certain levels of quality in management systems as well as in products and services. The application of a quality management focus provides the opportunity to improve various processes simultaneously within a holistic framework, instead of solving them on an ad hoc basis. The priority for those organisations developing QMS is to improve the electoral authority's capacity to comply with client requirements.
- Building citizen confidence: The assessments that are part of the certification process
 demonstrate the clear willingness of the organisation to be evaluated by an external entity.
 Furthermore, the certification process itself engenders trust among citizens and political parties.
 In a similar fashion, external assessments provide a visible display of the institution's compliance
 with pre-established quality norms.

With respect to modernization:

Satisfying citizen demands: The implementation of quality management systems constitutes an effective way to modernise electoral management bodies. The objective is to guarantee continuous improvement in relation to efficacy, efficiency, transparency, credibility and equity. As a result, these systems need to focus on the needs and expectations of electoral clients (citizens), who are the principal beneficiaries. Given that the concept of quality encompasses the provision of goods and services, while taking into account the satisfaction of citizen demands, the implementation of QMS is a useful tool for the promotion of the full exercise of political rights.

With respect to professionalising public service:

- The implementation of QMS standards can foster the professionalisation of EMB staff and engender improved performance by introducing incentives that positively affect the services provided to citizens. Employees in every institution represent a key component of services and their performance is crucial for client satisfaction. As a result, their links to institutional goals are strategic elements that influence the quality of service.
- The implementation of a QMS leads to the professionalisation of the civil service, by allowing every public servant to have a clearly defined role within the chain of command so that managers can exercise greater control over the quality of their work. Greater control is achieved over work and organisational capacities by empowering employees through training, as well as by aligning processes, procedures and the provision of tools. These processes foster positive attitude changes amongst personnel.

K) Procurement of Electoral Material following EU Procedures

Procurement of electoral material and services represent one of the most important and costly parts of an election. As such, it merits particular attention given the consequences of any mischief or misperceptions. Delays or shortcomings in the procurement of services or in the distribution of electoral materials can have an extremely negative impact on an election, damaging credibility and transparency. Some key attributes of a successful procurement process are worth highlighting as guiding principles:

- Timely disbursement of funds available for procurement purposes
- Staffing the procurement unit with competent staff. Staff should have a clear understanding of materials and services required. When foreign consultants are working on procurement, they should possess country specific knowledge such as, for example, the need for water resistant, solar energy/ long lasting batteries/generators for remote areas, language requirements, and so forth;
- Coordination between the various actors involved, local stakeholders, especially the EMB, and including international organisations (if providing technical assistance to the procurement process);
- Ensure that the procurement process complies with the legal framework of the country;
- Clear and early development of requirements and specifications (where politically and legally possible) for electoral goods and services ensuring confidence among all stakeholders that the procured items are appropriate;
- Achieving the support and buy-in of all stakeholders for the procurement process;
- Familiarisation with published and approved practices developed within the particular area;
- Consideration of potential technological and skill transfers to EMBs, rather than only seeking "total" solutions;
- Cost-effectiveness through a transparent and competitive process;
- Exploration of long term sustainability and its relation to operational cost effectiveness and quality assurance, and possibly alignment with other similar national initiatives and expertise;
- Well planned and well organised management of the supply chain, including transportation and delivery in-country, packing, in-country distribution, interim warehousing at both central and regional level for various types of material, as well as secure storage in-between elections;
- Consideration of environmental aspects, including disposal;
- Avoidance of unrealistic expectations that cannot be met in a timely fashion, or in subsequent elections⁴².

Considering these principles, there was an understandable hesitation from EU services and EU Delegations to follow EU procurement rules for service, supply and work contracts in the electoral field⁴³. However, in the last five years, ECES has repeatedly demonstrated that through scrupulous respect of PRAG procedures it is possible to carry out effective procurement exercises for electoral material and services.

⁴² Procurement Aspects of Introducing ICT Solutions in Electoral Processes: The Specific Case of Voter Registration, Operational Paper, Joint EC-UNDP Task Force and International IDEA. Multi-authors: Richard Atwood, Mette Bakken, Fabio Bargiacchi, Anne-Sofie Holm Gerhard, Chris Kyriakides, Linda Maguire, Victor Margall von Hegyeshalmy, Niall McCann, Frick Olivier, Dunia Ramazani, Francesco Torcoli and Domenico Tuccinardi.

⁴³ Practical Guide to Contract Procedures for EU External Actions http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/about-funding-and-procedures/procedures-and-practical-guide-prag_en



For example, through the basket fund managed by ECES in Burkina Faso (PACTE-BF)44 which included contributions from the EU. Austria, Denmark, France, Germany and Luxembourg, ECES provided support to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of Burkina Faso. Among the different areas of support, ECES contributed to develop the technical specifications and procurement of a substantial quantity of electoral material. The collaboration with the INEC and donors enabled the identification of needs and the development of the most appropriate management methodology and calendar taking into account the challenges related to the overall electoral calendar.

The effective organisation of tenders by ECES through the adoption of broader technical specifications, allowed for inclusive competition, which resulted, in turn, in competitive offers

being submitted that produced significant savings, especially concerning the supply of: ballot boxes, security seals, secured envelopes, boxes for the transport of filing cardboard folders and lamps. The effective management of this tender allowed for 35% savings from the initial budget, or an equivalent sum of €957,901 on the initially foreseen unit costs calculated on data received from procurement processes carried out for previous electoral processes in Burkina Faso with different specifications. The savings allowed the project to broaden the financial support to additional INEC activities, in agreement with PACTE-BF donors.

In this regard, two additional tenders were launched, allowing the INEC to acquire computing and electrical equipment for the Communal Results Compilation Centres and visibility vests for its entire polling station staff. Furthermore, to guarantee full respect of INEC specifications, ECES organised a visit to the site where ballot boxes and security seals were being produced, to oversee the quality of the products, implement timely changes and correct production when necessary. Given the very tight deadlines within the electoral calendar, tenders were launched with a suspensive clause immediately after signature of the project contract between ECES and the PACTE-BF donors. This measure proved to be crucial in order to abide by and respect the electoral calendar in Burkina Faso and the EU's procurement rules.

As established in PRAG, an evaluation committee was responsible for the selection process for each tender. Chaired by the PACTE-BF Expert in EU Procedures, the committee included both INEC and ECES representatives, as well as donors' representatives and the relevant Burkinabe governmental institutions as observers. Representatives from the different tenders were also present during the opening of their offers. In order to ensure the confidentiality and neutrality of tender evaluations, ECES, INEC evaluators and donor observers signed the necessary documentation in this regard. To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of the public contract awarding process and in order to ensure equal opportunities among tenderers, all relevant tender information was publicly accessible on relevant websites and in local and international media. In addition, PACTE-BF organised two information sessions on EU procedures for the local awarding of supply (mid-June 2015) and service (mid-June 2015) contracts in its premises in Ouagadougou. The following materials were acquired in the framework of tenders launched by ECES for the PACTE-BF project:

⁴⁴ http://www.pacte-burkinafaso.eu

Polling Station Material:

- 28 000 ballot boxes
- 28 000 ballot box lids
- 154 560 hard cover paper folders for the presidential election
- 77 280 hard cover paper folders for the legislative elections
- 30 912 cardboard boxes (for transport) for the presidential election
- 14 546 cardboard boxes (for transport) for the legislative elections
- 26 600 lamps with batteries
 - 20 420 electoral visibility vests (produced in Burkina Faso)

Material for Communal Results Compilation Centres:

- 383 generators
- 383 laser printers
- 383 scanners
- 383 voltage stabilisers
- 383 inverter
- 383 electrical current and overload protection devices
- 4 FTP servers
- 50 8-port switches
- 1487 toners

Sensitive Material:

- 480 000 secure seals
- 38 000 non-tamper envelopes

Public contracts for a total value of €3,476,000 were signed with the selected suppliers after the awarding process. It is worth to highlighting that ECES successfully ensured the procurement of electoral materials without charging any additional costs to the usual 7% of the total amount of the project as administrative fees, foreseen by the PRAG. Furthermore, other international organisations carrying out electoral procurement, including for the EU, are allowed to charge an additional 5% on the total amount of the related public contracts according to their internal standard procedures.

ECES organised the procurement of 584 pallets of electoral material for polling stations and ensured delivery follow-up until the handover of all materials from different suppliers at the INEC warehouses in Ouagadougou. In addition, ECES ensured the procurement and delivery of all materials for the electronic transmission of results destined to the Communal Results Compilation Centres. Material handover was organised on an ongoing basis, as it became available, allowing the INEC to deploy it promptly to the field.

ECES experts provided continuous support to the INEC coordinated activities from the beginning of the project, and most particularly during the sensitive phases of electoral operations. The contributions of the project's experts focused on the identification of storage sites, the recruitment and training of warehouse personnel, improving warehouse operational procedures, operational advice and consulting, etc. Assisting in the development of "election kits" was one of the most significant operational contributions. These kits contained all the necessary materials required for the proper functioning of individual polling stations. The aim being to ensure that all polling stations around the country received all the materials they required. The development and implementation of the deployment plan to ensure the delivery of electoral materials to polling stations remained INEC's responsibility.

L) Ballot paper Design and Transmission of Results, Technical Considerations for Political Affairs



Ballot papers security and transmission of results are two of the most critical elements in all electoral processes.

When it comes to ballot papers, the design and method of production are fundamental for the transparency and professional conduct of an election. Research on different ballot paper components and its effect on voter behavior indicate that the order of candidates, the fonts used and the type of logos or photographs employed are perceived as value-laden to voters hence not neutral. Candidate placement on the ballot paper in general is determined by randomisation to ensure that all candidates received equal

treatment. To further guarantee candidates' equal treatment all logos are designed according to a common set of rules regarding backgrounds, basic colors and templates. Different methods of the security features of ballot paper are available. Drawing on past experiences allowing comparison between methods in effectiveness, ECES may propose various options to electoral management bodies of how to ensure the security of the ballot papers, notably:

- 1. Photochromics: The use of special ink whereby the color changes depending on the light. This is a relatively common technique that indoors, with little light, the color is green yet turns yellow when exposed to daylight. The advantage is that this technique does not require any specific instrument for verification.
- 2. Thermochromic ink: This technique also uses special ink, although in this case it changes color depending on the temperature.
- 3. Microprinting: A very popular and effective technique, which involves incorporating a minuscule component, be it a text or background that is only visible with an extremely precise magnifying lens. Any photocopying or scanning of these ballot papers would render the microprinted element untraceable. Although effective, this technique requires highly performing printing houses.
- 4. Watermarks: Incorporating a text or an image that is only visible when the ballot paper is held up to the light.
- 5. Two colours technique: This technique uses two special inks that are visible only through a specific instrument. Although not very well known by the general public, it is a highly effective technique for securing ballot papers. Numerous organisations around the world employ this technique to protect sensitive documents.





For instance, in Burkina Faso, ECES was heavily involved in the designing of the ballot papers for the latest 2015-2016 elections where the Independent Electoral Commission of Burkina Faso (INEC) requested ECES to contribute to their security by ensuring that duplication or any other form of fraud pertaining the ballot paper would be impossible. Among the solutions proposed, the INEC opted for securing the ballot papers and ensuring their authenticity through micro-impression.

This method was coupled with the use of photochromic, i.e. changes colors in accordance to the light. In order to further strengthen the ballot paper's security, an additional security element was added to the back of the ballot paper using a logo with two colors technique, which can be validated only by using a specific instrument.

Four printing houses, selected through an open tender, were entrusted with the production of the ballot papers. Ensuring coherence and consistency in terms of quality proved to be a challenge. Production was supervised 24/7 at each printing house by four Burkinabe graphic designers with the support of the ECES Ballot Paper Design Expert. The transfer of documents towards the printing houses followed strict security procedures outlined by the INEC.

Accurate election results are a crucial element for credible elections. If this is not ensured, the entire process can be put into question and post-election violence break out. At the request of INEC Burkina Faso ECES provided support to:

- Develop an efficient, reliable and fast software for processing and transmitting election results; -
- Procure technical and computer equipment to the Communal Results Compilation Centres (CCCR, see above in the procurement section).
- Coordinate the results management and transmission procedures including the INEC collaborations with several other international partners, such as USAID/IFES and UNDP that were also providing support on the results transmission. Coordination among INEC, ECES, UNDP and IFES was therefore critical in order to implement the results transmission system adequately.







The security of the results transmission system was ensured through a permanent double control process operated in the presence of polling station, observers, candidates and candidates' representatives. In this context, a very specific role was given to each CCCR member in advance. This division of labor was set forth in clear procedures that were disseminated through trainings around the country and included in a handbook delivered to every Communal Centre for Results Compilation (CCCR). The security of the software used for the transmission of results was further enhanced by an encrypting system.

Technical support centres were established and manned in every province to provide assistance if required. Various scenarios were already anticipated and responses planned accordingly in order to react quickly to different situations.

The result transmission system was presented by the INEC Director of Information Technology and Voters roll, Nouroudine Tall and ECES experts in results transmission, to presidential and legislative candidates, donors and members of the European Parliament on several occasions. During these presentations, practical cases of results transmission were simulated. These mock-exercises, which contributed to enhance the overall transparency of the system, were greatly appreciated by representatives of civil society organisations and by presidential and legislative candidates. As stated by Françoise Toe, a presidential candidate, these presentations contributed to the overall acceptance of results, "When there is trust in the software and the processes, there is no room for challenges." The real-time publication of results, locality by locality, also contributed to enhance confidence in the system, and to determine trends throughout the process in full transparency. INEC's goal, as stated repeatedly by its president, was to publish the results of the presidential elections on the day after election-day.

The challenge was to reduce the tabulation time compared to the 2012 elections, and thus the uncertainty, to the absolute minimum within a particularly sensitive political context. Although a very ambitious challenge, INEC full-filled its goal thanks to the good performance of the results transmission system. The same process was followed, with the same success, for the legislative elections.

SECTION IV ANNEX



ANNEX I: DESCRIPTION OF EPD, ITS SECRETARIAT AND EPD MEMBERS⁴⁵



The European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) brings together all the members of the EURECS into one European network for democracy support. EPD is a Belgian ASBL (association sans but lucratif) with an expanding membership of European organisations specialising in democracy support (see the annex section for more information on EPD and its Strategy 2016-2019). The organisation strives to bring together democracy support organisations in order to ensure that different sectors do not work in silos but share experience and knowledge from the eld. All members are represented at the General Assembly where the Board of EPD is elected. The Board is composed of 7 organisations of which NIMD at present

ensured the Presidency, ECES the Vice Presidency and Club de Madrid is the Treasurer, The daily management of the organisation is handled by the EPD Secretariat. Thanks to this legal and practical bond, the EPD Secretariat (based in Brussels) will be able to ensure smooth coordination between the various organisations and their specific specialisations.

The EPD Secretariat also provides a wide range of expertise through its network of democracy support practitioners, focusing on knowledge of the EU (procedures and policies), innovative methodologies for inclusive and participatory dialogue, CSO capacity-building and comprehensive knowledge of democracy support. EPD's areas of specific competence span from developing trust- building mechanisms for emerging stakeholders, setting-up reform-oriented dialogues, organising large EU events, designing customised capacity-building mechanisms, civil society support and elaborating democracy development data for customised use. Through the specific multi-stakeholder dialogue methodology INSPIRED, EPD will contribute to process design and to tailoring dialogue activities in an inclusive and participatory manner. www.epd.eu



The **European Association for Local Democracy** (ALDA) was established in 1999 at the initiative of the Council of Europe's Congress of Local and Regional Authorities for coordinating the work of the Local Democracy Agencies (LDAs) established in early 1990s in the Western Balkans supporting and strengthening local democracy and fostering respect to human rights. With the acceleration of transition processes in the countries of Eastern Europe, ALDA has started to develop its cooperation with various stakeholders in the region. It has consequently implemented a number of projects in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, working primarily on empowering

Local Authorities (LAs) and civil societies, supporting their cooperation for strengthening local democracy and contributing to inclusive and sustainable development. The favourable developments in some of these countries led to the launching of new LDAs in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine, joining the network of 11 LDAs already working at full capacity in the Balkans. Lately and taking into consideration the events around the "Arab Spring", ALDA enlarged its sphere of activities to the Mediterranean area. A number of initiatives to create favourable environments for democracy and to stimulate active citizenship have been developed together with relevant partners, such as EPD and the PASC (Programme D'Appui a la Societé Civile) programme. Currently, ALDA is actively working on the opening of an LDA in Tunisia. http://www.alda-europe.eu/newSite/



The Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA) works in cooperation with African Parliaments to strengthen parliamentary democracy in Africa, to keep Africa high on the political agenda in Europe and to facilitate African-European Parliamentary dialogue. The partnerships with national and regional parliaments pursue the realisation of human rights and development in Africa by strengthening democratic institutions. AWEPA

⁴⁵ In Alphabetical order.



facilitates institutional strengthening of partner parliaments by assisting in the development of their parliamentary structures, such as the Committee system, the Administration and the legislative workflow. MPs are trained on their core legislation, representation and oversight duties as well as on consultation of stakeholders. AWEPA also engages parliamentarians in thematic policy issues, by organizing conferences and workshops to raise awareness on certain pressing questions. Examples are the programmes around Child Marriage and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and the programmes on the Sustainable Development Goals and on Public Financial Management, with Africa's regional parliaments. AWEPA has its Headquarters in Amsterdam, an office in Brussels and offices in Bamako (Mali), Cotonou (Benin), Kinshasa (DRC), Kampala (Uganda), Juba (South-Sudan), Mogadishu (Somalia), Nairobi (Kenya), Arusha (Tanzania/EALA), Maputo (Mozambique) and Cape-Town (South-Africa / PAP / SADC-PF). AWEPA's specific contribution in the European Response Strategy is to draw on its membership composed of more than 1500 current and former European parliamentarians to facilitate peer-to-peer learning between African and European parliaments and build bridges between decision-makers across national, regional and international levels. www.awepa.org



The **French Media Cooperation Agency** (CFI www.cfi.fr) is a public sector operator funded primarily by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, tasked with coordinating and implementing France's aid policy for media's development in partner countries. CFI provides assistance to stakeholders, both public and private, in the media sector with the aim of strengthening the processes

of modernisation and democratisation, a central mission of the France development policy. CFI was founded in 1989 by the Ministry of Cooperation with a cultural assistance mission to supply overseas television stations with French television programmes free of charge. Even if the link between freedom of expression and its impact on development is still the subject of much debate, there is no longer any doubt that media cooperation is now considered to be a constituent part of governance programmes. In this context, the global development process proposed by the United Nations, recognised media in developing countries as a endogenous developmental factor. In this context, CFI's added value to EURECS lies in its multidimensional approach towards media that fall within four major programmes: media and pluralism, media and enterprise, media and development, and media and human resources.



Club de Madrid (CdM) is the world's largest independent group of former democratic political leaders (either Prime Ministers or President of the Republic), committed to addressing the challenges of democratic transition. CdM is ideally positioned for mediation, political dialogue and informal avenues to pursue peaceful resolutions to electoral conflicts and political stalemates. CdM is also the Secretariat for a network entitled

NetPluss, composed of notable leaders, although not necessarily democratically elected, who are willing to take on more long term assignments in electoral and democracy support. The Club de Madrid acts to strengthen democratic leadership and institutional capacity tackling today's major global challenges from a democratic perspective as well as fostering good governance at a local, regional and national level, particularly democratic transitions and consolidation processes. The potential to establish direct exchanges with current leaders on a peer-to-peer basis is the CdM's main added value, together with its members' ability to deliver messages based on democratic values. Furthermore, former political leaders can be an asset in promoting political dialogue based on democratic values and contributing to build consensus towards positive change among key political and social stakeholders. Club de Madrid's projects can be classified into two main key areas: Key Area 1: Addressing global challenges from a democratic perspective (Madrid+10: Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism, Shared Societies Project: Democratic Leadership for Dialogue, Diversity and Social Cohesion, Participation, Dialogue and Democratic Values in the Middle East & North Africa Project, The Political Dimensions of the World Economic Crisis) and Key Area 2: Supporting democratic transition and consolidation processes (Effective dialogue in Myanmar, Promoting dialogue for democratic reform in Haiti). https://www.clubdemadrid.org



DEMO Finland is a co-operative organisation of Finnish parliamentary parties and it is a leading expert organisation on democracy support in Finland. Demo Finland is not ideologically, religiously or politically tied to any particular movement. It seeks to enhance democracy by carrying out and facilitating collaborative projects between Finnish political parties and political movements in new and developing

democracies. The basis of Demo Finland's work is the importance of democracy to development, as well as the importance of functional and responsible political parties to democracy; therefore, Demo Finland brings the input of political parties into Finnish development cooperation. Demo Finland works to strengthen equality in participation, constructive cross-party cooperation, pluralistic political discussions and the ability of politicians to impact peacefully on socio-political development. DEMO Finland contributes valuable experience and know-how in promoting the involvement of women and youth in democratic and electoral processes. Concerning Demo Finland's work with women and youth, the gender working group consists of the women's organisations of member parties along with the Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations (NYTKIS). As per the youth working group, it consists of the youth and student organisations of parties. Currently, Demo Finland is implementing a School of Politics (MySoP) to support Myanmar's democratic transformation, supporting a new generation of politicians in Tunisia, enhancing the role of women in politics in Zambia, while raising awareness in issues concerning development and democracy among Finnish political parties http://demofinland.org/?lang=en



The European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES) has long-standing experience in effective project management ranging from implementing projects in hardship contexts, opening field offices at short notice, responding to urgent requests and adapting to changing political landscapes. From February 2012 until the beginning of 2016, ECES has managed 61 predominantly EUfunded contracts, several of which are currently ongoing. ECES will be the prime managing partner for projects that fall within the framework given its significant past experience in the management of EU funds for electoral assistance.

Moreover, EPD members, associates or strategic partners of EURECS may be selected to be in prime depending on the specific conditions, donors or partners. Project management will hinge on the nature and scope of specific projects, reflecting the strategy's inherent **flexibility**. The **joint pooling of resources** beyond access to high-end expertise is incorporated into the strategy's management aspects. The partnership's combined resources, both human and in terms of assets (i.e. headquarters, field offices, partner networks, etc.) guarantees the provision of experienced project managers and high-level experts, both locally and centrally. This approach also ensures flexibility in the choice of headquarters, depending on the most strategic and suitable option, both for partners and donors, apart from the natural choice of Brussels for coordination and management related issues.

ECES is a non-profit private foundation headquartered in Brussels with a global remit. ECES promotes sustainable democratic development through the provision of advisory services, operational support and management of projects and large basket funds in favour of electoral processes. ECES works with all electoral stakeholders, including electoral management bodies, civil society organizations involved in civic and voter education and election observation, political parties and parliaments; dealing with electoral reforms, media, security forces and legal institutions confronted with electoral dispute resolution. ECES is experienced in managing large basket funds and regional and multi-faceted projects in support of democratic and electoral processes with a strong South-South and national ownership-oriented approach following EU procedures from identification up to audit of expenses. Since February 2012, ECES has signed more than 60 contracts in support of electoral processes and the strengthening of democratic institutions in more than 35 countries mainly, but not exclusively, in Africa and the Middle East. In addition, ECES founders and personnel have acquired extensive field experience in many other countries and in conjunction, ECES can count on specific knowledge and a well established networks in over 70 countries around the world.



The **Eastern Europe Studies Centre** (is a non-governmental, non-profit organization aiming to build civil society and promote democracy in Eastern Europe by monitoring and researching political, economic, and social developments in the region, and by developing qualitative analyses of them. In 2007, EESC expanded its field of activity by establishing the Democracy and Development Assistance Fund. Its fundamental aim is to promote Freedom and Democracy in Eastern Europe by strengthening cooperation across borders

and building networks that could implement development-oriented projects that would put grounds for emerging democratic processes in the region. The Fund has six programmes and is willing to support various projects in different fields. www.eesc.lt



Elbarlament (www.elbarlament.org) is an independent, non-partisan and impartial organisation founded on the premise that parliaments, assemblies, governments, administrations and civil society in transition require a specific and innovative quality of technical assistance and advisory practice, taking into consideration political analysis, research and evaluation of assistance practices. Elbarlament supports partners and beneficiaries in developing their potential to contribute to good governance, the rule of

law and the prosperity of the people they serve as well as represent through open and effective administrative, operational and decision-making processes and structures. Elbarlament provides knowledge and tools to enhance the capacities and effectiveness of parliaments, governments and civil society. Its work includes capacity-building; organisational development; and leadership training.



The **Netherlands Helsinki Committee** (NHC http://www.nhc.nl/) is a non-governmental organisation that promotes human rights and strengthens the rule of law and democracy in the OSCE region, with a special focus on the Balkans, Central Asia and Eastern Europe. NHC's work lies primarily in executing projects to strengthen legal protection and improve public policies that affect vulnerable or disadvantaged groups. Additionally, NHC works to improve the implementation of OSCE human dimension commitments and other international human rights agreements. It takes an active part in several civil society networks of human rights

NGOs in Europe. The activities of NHC are concentrated around five main topics: Prison reform and probation, Trafficked persons, Strengthening access to justice, Supporting civil society human rights work, Human rights advocacy.

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD NIMD has been working with political parties for over 15 years. NIMD works globally, with currently over 20 programmes in Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, Eastern European Neighborhood and the MENA region. NIMD's approach is non-partisan and inclusive and primarily focusses on the facilitation of interparty dialogue, strengthening of

parties' capacities and democracy education.) Through the facilitation of interparty dialogue, it brings parties across the political spectrum together and encourages cooperation and deliberation on political issues. This is crucial to establish an enabling environment for a country's democratic development and for the consolidation of multiparty democracy. In order to achieve this goal, NIMD assists poliΔtical parties in developing democracies. NIMD also works directly with parties to strengthen their organisational and programmatic capacities and provide political education programmes. NIMD seeks to make an impact on three levels: political system, actor, and culture. These levels are interrelated. However, in every country, the political system, the actors, and the political culture differ. Therefore, NIMD always starts with an in-depth political analysis of the country and uses this to develop tailor-made activities.. NIMD works with local partner organizations or country offices. They have an intrinsic knowledge of the people and the political culture of the country and are perceived as trustworthy counterparts by the politicians. This allows them to advise and bring politicians together. as a practitioners organisation, NIMD's added value lies generating

applied knowledge and skills on inclusive politics and bringing together political party networks at local, regional and global levels.. http://www.nimd.org



OneWorld is a non-profit UK-based organisation that work on new media, mobile and web technologies for social good, helping people across the world to improve their lives and become active citizens. Within the context of Democracy Support, OneWorld's real-time election monitoring platform is empowering civil society in some of the world's most fragile democracies. Its live-updating data platform provides the information they need to respond quickly to electoral faults and hold officials to account for fair and credible elections. Recognising that democratic foundations are also built before and after Election Day, OneWorld's holistic

approach includes cross-media civic education tools, media-training and media-monitoring components; long term electoral observation and "Ask Your MP", an accountability tool that connects citizens directly to their elected officials by SMS, email, or Facebook. Within the context of the Project supporting the Credibility and Transparency of Elections in Burkina Faso (PACTE-BF), ECES collaborated closely with OneWorld for the implementation of the Electoral Situation Room (BurkinaVote 2015 www. burkinavote.com). https://oneworld.org/democracy-and-governance



People in Need, PIN, is a non-governmental, non-profit organization based on the ideas of humanism, freedom, equality and solidarity. PIN considers human dignity and freedom to be fundamental values. PIN believes that people anywhere in the world should have the right to make decisions about their lives and to enjoy the rights expressed in the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. PIN strives for an open, informed, engaged and responsible society that would be able to address problems at home as well as around the world. It aims to participate actively in shaping a society where cultural, ethnic, racial and other differences are a source of enrichment rather than conflict. PIN's work is based not only on personal initiatives and the activity of hundreds of PIN employees and volunteers,

both in the Czech Republic and in dozens of other countries, where PIN operates, but also on the trust and support PIN that PIN receives from individuals, businesses, governments and international institutions. In troubled regions around the world, PIN provides humanitarian aid based on specific needs in the spirit of the <u>Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross</u>. PIN helps to alleviate people's distress and to support them in the recovery period to be able to get back on their feet. PIN fights poverty, whose causes are seen in the limitations created by poor access to education, natural resources, healthcare, unequal treatment and discrimination, or by bad governance. PIN assists people in lifting these restrictions and supports them so that they can enhance their quality of life. PIN tries to identify the root causes of these problems and, together with the concerned individuals, to try to eliminate them.



Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD www.wfd.org) is a UK's leading democracy-strengthening organisation. Established in 1992, WFD is an independent public body sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. WFD believes that democracy is strengthened through peaceful political competition between representative, mass-membership parties, leading to legitimately

elected governments whose executive power is held in check by parliaments that represent citizens and scrutinise government, and civil society and media that demand fairness and effectiveness. In this context, WFD works with countries undergoing a transition to democracy by providing expertise in developing parliaments, political party structures and civil society organisation – the vital institutions of a functioning democracy. Since its establishment, WFD has established parliamentary strengthening programmes in 22 countries and, with the UK parties, political party programmes in over 40 countries in Eastern Europe, MENA, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean.



MULTI-ANNUAL STRATEGY 2016 - 2019

1. Introduction

The European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) was established in 2008 with the goal of contributing to, and reinforcing, European endeavours in the field of democracy assistance. EPD is a Belgian non-profit association (ASBL) based in Brussels that brings together 14 members from 11 member states across Europe, specialising in different sectors of democracy assistance. Its membership is active in over 100 countries across the world and has implemented over 200 projects in the field of democracy support (mainly funded by EUMS and the EU institutions) in the last 5 years, for a total of over EUR 100 million in funding.

EPD is the first Community of Practice at the EU level - where practitioners from different dimensions of democracy support can produce and share knowledge and experience in order to increase the impact of their work. EPD currently comprises members with a long track record and specialisations in working:

- a) on different fields of democracy support: political parties, local authorities, elections, multistakeholder dialogue, political and civil rights, civil society capacity building, media monitoring and civic and political education;
- b) at *different levels of society*: political leadership, elected representatives, state officials, civil society and grassroots community representatives.

By covering different fields and levels of support, EPD has direct insight and hands-on experience of the various dimensions of democratic governance that must work in parallel in a functioning democracy. The current members of EPD (June 2016) are active in the following domains.

<u>Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa</u> Parliaments

<u>Club de Madrid</u> High-level leadership

<u>Demo Finland</u> Political parties

<u>European Association for Local Democracy</u> Local democracy

Eastern European Studies Centre

elbarlament

Parliaments

European Centre for Electoral Support

Elections

Netherlands Helsinki Committee Human Rights and Rule of Law

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy Political parties

OneWorld Communication and Information

Osservatorio di Pavia Media Monitoring

<u>People in Need</u> Democracy and Human Rights

<u>The Universidade Católica Portuguesa</u>

Research

EPD carries out a wide range of activities both in Brussels and abroad, such as lobby and advocacy, managing projects and facilitating the work of the Community of Practice.

Over the past three years EPD has evolved as an organisation, improving its reputation in Brussels, strengthening its programmatic influence and expanding its membership. Nevertheless, the political



context is changing rapidly and funding for democracy support is under threat due to reductions in international development assistance from a number of important donors. Considering the on-going refugee crisis and intra-state conflicts in the EU neighbourhood, funding for democracy support has never been more important. The role that EPD can play in this support is crucial for the work of the EU and its member states in the analysis of the complexities of the challenges ahead, for sharing knowledge and for implementing activities in the field. This multi-annual strategy sets out the priorities for the organisation in the period 2016-2019.

2. Vision and Mission

EPD was set up with the "purpose of making a contribution to, and reinforcing the impact of European endeavours in democracy assistance across the world. In doing so, the Association is by nature a community of practice bringing together in an effective partnership the know-how and added value of European organisations implementing democracy support programmes in third countries." (Article 3 of EPD statutes)

This aim is based on the belief that democracy - widely defined and in all its varieties - holds both intrinsic and instrumental value for society. Democracy gives citizens greater autonomy and liberty, while encouraging participation and transparency in decision-making. Democracy also represents the political system with the greatest potential for achieving sustainable development, respect for human rights and long-term stability. Nevertheless, democracy is not a perfect system and can be dominated by powerful interest groups, short-termism and the translation of healthy competition into conflict and potential violence. This is why working to improve the legitimacy and effectiveness of political governance – in democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian states - is more important than ever. The vision of EPD is of a world of democracies that truly represent the interests of citizens.

EPD holds unique potential to tap into different levels of societal groups in third countries given the vast range of organisational profiles of EPD members. This support can be in favour of stakeholders such as CSOs, faith-based organisations, media, women's groups, youth wings, private sector, etc. Support is also in favour of institutional stakeholders on the democratic ladder such as political parties, parliaments, election management bodies and other electoral stakeholders (security and justice sector, regional organisation and power-holders). EPD is a platform that can be geared to build bridges amongst stakeholders in the democratic process on all these levels in order to facilitate the interaction between them.

3. Context

Since EPD was first established in 2008, there have been significant changes in global and European affairs that have had important implications on the work of EPD and its members. The organisation itself has also evolved in a number of important ways. As always, reality changes as events unfold and the effects on the sector are manifold.

Democracy

Several international commentators have argued that democracy is in decline or under threat. High expectations of the power of democracy promotion at the turn of the century did not lead to a radical new wave of democracies. The 'Arab Spring' has not met the high aspirations of citizens in the region

since it began in 2011. Nevertheless, other commentators have highlighted the fact that there has yet been no 'reverse wave' following the major increases in democratic governance following the end of the Cold War. There has also been an unprecedented decrease, never seen before in human history, in the number of autocracies in the last 25 years. In analysing the literature, there are two main reasons that democracy is currently seen as under threat:

• Weakness in developed democracies

The lack of economic growth in advanced democracies has made them seem less stable and prosperous in recent years. Democracy is criticised with increased vigour for failing to represent citizens - for example, due to the power of special interests. Meanwhile, a growth in inequality over the past 30 years is now increasingly seen as a major problem by all sectors of the political spectrum.

Assertiveness of autocracies

Several autocratic governments have become more influential on the international scene, both in terms of economic power as well as in political and diplomatic assertiveness. While some have pushed their brand of governance forcefully in its near abroad, others have doubled down on support to autocrats in the Middle East or use economic clout to great effect all around the world, particularly with regards the control of information. Authoritarian regimes are not the only states to support dictatorial government abroad, but the effect on geopolitics is noticeable and therefore has an ensuing impact on international norms.

Despite these trends, democracy still has an overwhelming normative appeal that is consistently shown in national surveys. Indeed, autocracies still employ the discourse of democracy in generating appeals to rights or organising (fraudulent) elections. Democracies still remain overwhelmingly richer on average than authoritarian regimes and significantly less prone to conflict. EPD remains optimistic over the future of democracy in all its guises (representative, participatory, liberal etc.) while noting that there is no perfect system for any polity. There are significant challenges for democracy that vary to different degrees depending on context but the flexibility inherent in the system allows it to seek renewal from crisis and development from stability. There is significant work to be done both on the emergence and the quality of democratic governance in the coming years.

Democracy support

Neither the names of the main players in the field of democracy support nor the major donors active in the field have altered since the last strategic EPD review in 2013. The field is relatively stable from an institutional point of view. Nevertheless, several distinct trends can be identified that EPD is well placed to react to and influence within the democracy support community given its federative nature and links to the EU:

Financial and political priorities of donors

Economic stagnation in traditional donor states has led to a reduction in public support for funding for overseas development assistance (ODA) and in many EU member states a reduction in ODA itself. Meanwhile, the importance of democracy support in foreign policy has changed in recent years, particularly in Europe. The review of the European Neighbourhood Policy conducted by the European Commission in 2015 is an example of this, as it outlined a move from prioritising 'deep democracy' to a focus on stability and security in the region.

Political approach to development

Donors have traditionally been reluctant to become involved in national politics, leading to the predominantly technical focus of international development assistance. Democracy support is still too sensitive for some donors, who prefer to retain a focus on governance. All the same, several major donors have become more sensitised to the prominence of local politics when designing and implementing development assistance projects, particularly given the oft-cited goal of local ownership. This has led to a greater use of political analysis to design programming and more politically smart methods for implementing programmes.

The rise of civil society support

The importance of support for civil society (broadly defined) has grown over the past 10 years and it is now seen by donors as a legitimate counterweight to state or private power. This has been reflected in policy as well as in financial support. Indeed, the new stringent regulations on foreign funding for NGOs by many governments around the world are a cause and effect of this. The implications for democracy support are important to reflect upon, particularly as civil society can be seen as a) a watchdog of government, b) a service provider itself or c) a partner of government. On one hand, creating a voice that can check the power of a government and feed into policy making is crucial. On the other, civil society can become more closely linked to donors than citizens and should not be seen as a replacement for government or political parties.

Electoral cycle support

Electoral support consists of electoral assistance and election observation and in the last 10 years several large international donors, including the EU, have increased funding in the sector. In particular, support has moved from emphasising elections as an event to addressing elections as a process with several different stages. The EU Action Plan for Human Rights and Democracy commits the EU to "Encourage participatory and inclusive dialogue between Election Management Bodies and key stakeholders throughout the overall democratic cycle, with a view to increase participation of political parties and civil society organisations"⁴⁶. There is now a clear recognition of the need to focus on the full electoral cycle as well as involving more stakeholders (parties, parliaments, CSOs, leadership) in electoral work.

Sustainable developments goals (SDGs)

The agreement on a new Agenda for Sustainable Development includes seventeen new overarching global goals to be attained by 2030. Goal 16, on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions is the most relevant for work on democracy as it seeks to "develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels" and "ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels". The targets within goal 16 will likely form a vital part of democracy support in the coming years (even if sometimes indirectly).

EPD is well placed to react and influence these trends within the democracy support community given its federative nature and its links to the EU. It is within this context that the objectives of the organisation over the coming three-year period have been formulated.

⁴⁶ Art 2.b.The EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2015-2019) is available at the following address http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-10897-2015-INIT/en/pdf

4. Objectives

The overall objective of the organisation for the next three years (June 2016 – June 2019) is to ensure that EPD is seen as the key federator of democracy assistance at the EU level and a key source of knowledge for both donors, beneficiaries and practitioners.

In light of this, EPD will retain the three pillars for which it is recognised: knowledge, advocacy and programmes.

Objective 1 - Knowledge

To produce and share knowledge related to democracy support activities, methodologies and priorities between EPD members, donors, practitioners, beneficiaries and citizens in order to improve programming and policies in the non-profit sector.

The activities under this objective involve a wide range of stakeholders and therefore require strong communication and coordination. The EPD Secretariat will need to build on recent improvements in terms of knowledge sharing in order for the organisation to be seen as a 'go-to' source for knowledge about the sector including face-to-face and distance training activities. Given the width and breadth of the experience and expertise within the EPD membership, the EPD secretariat is well placed to be a hub for information for the whole range of stakeholders interested in democracy (donors, think-tanks, academic, citizens). Through the coordination of the EPD Secretariat, the expertise of the network can be systematically brought to the fore for the benefit of donors, practitioners and citizens.

Objective 2 – Advocacy

To promote the interests of the democracy support community through the use of evidenced-based demands that take into account policy and programming cycles (primarily of the European Union).

The main target for EPD advocacy activities continues to be the European Union. EPD is based in Brussels and has been working closely with the EU on democracy support since its creation. The organisation will continue to advocate for the importance of democracy support in the field of development assistance, which is, of course, increasingly vital given the trends mentioned above. Building on the successful use of evidence-based advocacy in recent years, the Secretariat will closely monitor methodological developments in the sector and members' programmes while simultaneously following and influencing EU policy-making processes. EPD recognises the importance of flexibility and adaptability within projects/programmes and will therefore support a more politically aware approach to development work that takes into account local political realities.

Objective 3 – Programmes

To coordinate projects and programmes in cooperation with EPD members and stimulate cooperation between EPD members, through information sharing and the promotion of comprehensive and innovative programming.



The EPD Secretariat has gained significant experience in terms of programming in recent years, including working on several joint programmes with EPD members. The EPD community will continue to emphasise the added value of the INSPIRED methodology for inclusive and participatory dialogue particularly with relation to the impact it can have on democratic culture. EPD members have also increased cooperation on projects and the European Response to Electoral Cycle Support underlines the desire of members to find areas of cooperation where each bring a specialisation to the table.

The added value of EPD for members (and, where appropriate, non-member organisations) is that EPD brings a whole network of expertise to projects, possibilities for stronger consortia and an in-depth understanding of EU financing requirements. For donors, EPD has added value due to the coverage and expertise of the network in a wide variety of different democracy support sectors. As a general rule, the EPD Secretariat (presenting all of the members) will apply for projects in instances where it is in the interests of the organisation as a whole.

5. Approach

The three EPD pillars are interlinked and must be seen as complementary. Good advocacy depends on an excellent understanding of how democracy support programmes function as well as knowledge of democracy support trends and donor priorities. Similarly, successful programming requires the necessary management skills that result from research and practical experience related to specific themes, donor priorities and country expertise. Finally, through the coordination of knowledge, democracy support organisations can improve subsequent programming and engage in evidence-based advocacy, particularly related to EU policies. These links are made explicit in Figure 1 below.

The difference between EPD and other networks is the practical experience it brings to its advocacy work stemming from over 200 projects implemented around the world. This has served the organisation extremely well in past years and will be further solidified. Similarly, the advantage from a programming perspective is that the organisation is greater than the sum of its parts – it brings together expertise on different sectors of democracy in order to combat the traditional approach of working in silos. The various organisations that make up EPD have specialised thematic and geographical knowledge that means that when harnessed the network is a veritable centre of expertise for the sector.

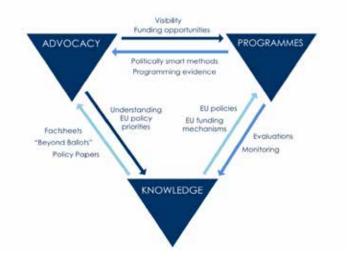


Figure 1: The EPD approach

6. Governance

In terms of organisational governance, the EPD statutes outline the necessity of a General Assembly, a Board, and a Secretariat.

The General Assembly is composed of all the members of the organisation and is the final decision-making body. EPD is managed by a Board composed of at least 3 legal persons (and a maximum of 7 legal persons) elected amongst the members of the organisation. The maximum number of Board members is 7 and their mandate is for 2 years. The board elects within itself a President, Vice-President and a Treasurer. The Board delegates the daily management of the Association to Executive Director who is assisted by the EPD Secretariat.

The Secretariat is the engine and coordinating hub of EPD and will continue to be based in Brussels. In the same spirit, EPD members based either in Brussels of in other countries, most notably in important European capitals, act as the EPD liaison office in that particular country and extend the same courtesy to EPD members to facilitate exchange of information and coordinate between the centre of the European Union and its member states around Europe.

7. Organisation

The EPD Secretariat conducted strategic reflections in 2014 and 2015 in order to review the direction of the organisation. These reflections have provided the input for this document and based on the three objectives outlines above, all of the members of EPD view financial sustainability as a key target for the organisation going forward. From an institutional perspective the organisation commits itself to working on the following issues in the upcoming period:

Membership

The organisation will need to ensure a strong membership base in coming years. Membership increased significantly in 2015-2016 and the organisation will continue to be open to membership from external organisations in the coming years. The key requirements for new memberships will be a balanced assessment of the added value of an organisation in terms of their thematic and geographic expertise (particularly in relation to the competencies of existing members) as well as their professional and financial capacity.

EPD Secretariat

The Secretariat is the engine of EPD and will continue to be based in Brussels. The offices of EPD Tunisia, based in Tunis, will continue to be at the services of EPD members in that country.

Partnerships

EPD values the strong partnerships it has developed with organisations in the countries in which the Secretariat and EPD members have worked and will continue to work closely with these organisations. EPD may seek new partnerships with both European and non-European organisation for strategic reasons. In Brussels, EPD will continue to work with the organisations of the Human Rights and Democracy Network regarding advocacy vis-à-vis the EU.



Communications

The visual identity of EPD, developed in 2012, forms the basis of communication with external stakeholders. The EPD website is the primary means of information sharing and the external identity of the network, while recognising the primacy of social media for mobilisation and visibility. The organisation will continue to build its presence on twitter over other social media and to use its database of experts and EU staff for targeted communications. This communication will be a blend of information about current affairs and news from EPD members.

ANNEX III: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF ELECTORAL RELATED CONFLICT IN THE SADC REGION

ECES launched the research component of the project for the Prevention of Electoral Related Violence in the Southern African Development Community (PEV-SADC) in 14 countries⁴⁷. The research was aimed at systematically gathering data on electoral related conflict and providing empirically grounded insights into the root causes and trends in violent episodes during elections in the region. ECES' ultimate goal was to establish an Electoral Observatory designed to monitor the electoral cycle and to serve as an early warning mechanism.



Research was conducted by ECES in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. ECES also commissioned a combined report on SADC/Botswana, which questioned the manner in which regional normative frameworks interacted with national jurisdictions to forestall electoral related violence. ECES assembled a carefully selected group of country-based researchers with proven research credentials and substantive knowledge of electoral processes and conflict in their respective countries and the region more generally. The research was exposed to regular peer review processes and concluded by a technical LEAD workshop held in Gaborone, Botswana, in December 2015.

The key focus of the research was:

- Understanding the key drivers of electoral related violence in the SADC region;
- Mapping trends of electoral related violence in the region;
- Identifying key factors in preventing electoral related violence.

Researchers were encouraged to adopt mixed methods in exploring this under-studied phenomenon and to propose tangible steps for dealing with it nationally and regionally. They generally encountered difficulties in gathering data on violence for a variety of reasons – the main ones being the paucity of

⁴⁷ www.pevsadc.eu

current information in state and non-state repositories. In several cases, neither the electoral management bodies nor the security forces had a specific pool of information dedicated to electoral related violence. Indeed, this type of violence was generally deemed to fall under the penal code and classified within crime typology databases. Given this situation, data was collected from various sources including libraries, government documents, newspapers and electronic sources as well as through key informant interviews, discussions and direct observations. Qualitative data was complemented by quantitative data from the Afro-barometer, in order to illustrate public perceptions of electoral related violence, its drivers and causes. The regional report on SADC employed the Social Conflict in Africa Database (SCAD) in addition to Afro-barometer data.

The different studies are not informed by any single theory of electoral related violence. Indeed, they generally acknowledge that no specific theory can explain the complex nature of this problem. Instead, they embark on several approaches of theoretical testing, inevitably converging around consensus-based definitions of electoral related conflict and violence. The PEV-SADC research underlines the notion that electoral violence –a subtype of political violence– falls within three broad categories of violence analysis: the metaphysical (micro-analytical level), structural (macro-analytical levels), and cultural explanations to violence. Proponents of metaphysical explanations posit that violence occurs because of individual pathologies. The micro-analytical explanations for violence focus on the psychological characteristics of perpetrators, driven by social disaffection and feelings of relative deprivation and frustration. The structural explanation assesses environmental factors, the socio-economic conditions that bring about those frustrations and disaffections. Most researchers approached the problem from the prism of structural theories to violence, largely considering the social conditions under which violence is triggered.

- Firstly, it is critical to note that regional and national research generally shows that electoral related violence is a symptom of much deeper social and demographic root causes, which need to be comprehensively researched and understood in order to devise short and long term mitigation strategies.
- Secondly, while each country has experienced various forms of electoral related violence, these appear to be sporadic or episodic – and quite often a result of political engineering.
- Thirdly, from a regional perspective, we find that the Southern African region has been, in relative terms, the most peaceful geographical area on the continent. Its most violent episodes occurred during transitional elections in the early and mid-1990s. The analysis of data on conflict from the Social Conflict in Africa Database (SCAD) shows that only three of the 15 SADC countries feature within the 'Top ten most violent elections' held between 1990 and 2010, i.e. elections where fatalities were registered. These cases were those of South Africa in 1994 [239 deaths]; Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 2006 [42 deaths]; and Zimbabwe in 2008 [114 deaths]. However, data from country researchers does show a much broader perspective, particularly in the case of Zimbabwe, where non-governmental organisations invested in independent documentation processes on violence since the early 2000s. We note that after the dawn of the 21st century, the region saw unprecedented levels of violent conflict in Lesotho, Madagascar and Zimbabwe, which required protracted negotiations and facilitated consociational arrangements by the regional body the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Eventually, this led to relative calm and to the restoration of democratic processes, or a re-modelling of legal and constitutional frameworks. Concerns about the tenuous environment in Mozambique, where two former self defined liberation movements-turned-political parties [Frelimo and Renamo] persistently appear to be on the brink of an armed conflict, are presented as well, underlining the delicate nature of conflict management measures deployed in that country. More broadly, several of the sampled studies recognise that the foundations of political violence (and implicitly its sub-type, electoral related violence) are manifold and necessarily rooted in historical, structural and cultural contexts. Furthermore, underlying causes exist at various levels, including informal patronage systems, the distribution of wealth, rights,

privilege and power elicited by exclusionary politics. Ethno-religious tensions, socio-economic exclusion and inequality are also identified as significant catalysts.

As stated earlier, these studies show that the early 1990s, when many African countries were experiencing transitions to multiparty democracies, were the most violent, particularly in 1992/1993; and later in the 2000 and 2005 periods. The research consolidates the following statements:

- Countries with a history of civil war or civil discord will exhibit the highest levels of electoral conflict;
- There are a wide range of causes of electoral related violence, including: high youth unemployment, land disputes, ethno-religious tensions; nepotism; cronyism; patronage; partisan politics; competition over access to resources and horizontal inequality (Small, 2015; AU/IPI. 2015; PSC, 2015).
- Additional root causes can be found in: institutional weakness; attempts at unconstitutionally extending presidential term limits; politicisation of state and security institutions; unequal access to state resources by political parties; inequality; social exclusion and lack of autonomy of the Electoral Management Bodies.

ANNEX IV: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE: PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY BUILDING: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS⁴⁸

Effective electoral assistance, which contributes to democracy building primarily means long term institutional strengthening and capacity development. In its numerous policy documents, the EU clearly articulates its electoral assistance institutions in the context of democratic governance, for instance, by focusing on parliament, the media and civil. However, observers and the general public have noted that the electoral cycle approach is not always taken, and assistance is based on the electoral event rather than sustainable and long-term. The task of ensuring continued progress and sustaining electoral processes beyond the electoral event is undoubtedly 14 more challenging than the transition to democracy, but the EU seems committed to such an undertaking. Nonetheless, the EU should be more pragmatic in translating declarations into actions, and be more proactive in addressing the misconceptions about its role in electoral assistance and democracy building in Africa. It is imperative that the EU takes responsibility for ensuring that the objectives of its electoral assistance programmes support the longer-term objectives of a democratization strategy in the partner countries. Equally, recipient counties should take responsibility for ensuring the alignment of these programmes with the priorities and plans articulated in national development assistance programmes. This should serve as the basis of EU-partner government electoral assistance cooperation, which is perceived as benefiting democracy-building endeavours.

The recommendations set out below are intended to guide the implementation of the EU's electoral support framework in African countries and provide input into positively promoting its electoral assistance activities.

- The EC must clearly identify and more comprehensively, align the democratization policy objectives in the African recipient country with those of the electoral assistance framework.
- There is a need to develop a focal point at the European Commission for electoral assistance in support of delegations and national authorities.
- There is a need to ensure synergies with electoral assistance activities and other activities in the area
 of democratic governance. Although policy documents emphasize the electoral cycle approach,
 focus on the long term institutional strengthening and capacity development of EMBs, political
 parties and civil society in a sustainable manner, rather than focusing solely on training needs for
 procedures related to a given electoral event is required.
- More information and education are required about the EU's electoral assistance in recipient
 countries. It is recommended that the EU continue to take the initiative to organize national,
 regional and continental meetings on its election assistance operations. This could also have the
 effect of redressing some of the misperceptions about the EU's work in this area.
- Partnerships should continue with existing development agencies, electoral assistance providers and other stakeholders in recipient countries. The objective should be a coordinated effort to deal with current and future electoral support needs.
- More collaboration with partner country implementing agencies and institutions is still required to ensure constant support for reforms.
- The EU must deepen its cooperation with the AU in the electoral field, in particular on initiatives, which strengthen the capacities of African observers, by providing appropriate training and invitations to observe elections in Europe. Cooperation with the AU's Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit should be increased.

⁴⁸ http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/loader.cfm?csmodule=security/getfile&pageid=40605

ANNEX V: STUDY ON PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS DEVELOPED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EC-UNDP PARTNERSHIP ON ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE; CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS⁴⁹

As one of the leading actors in electoral assistance worldwide it is essential for the EU to dispose of a methodology capable of demonstrating the effectiveness of such support. Existing indicators measure basic project inputs and outputs or focused on far-reaching overall objectives, without giving proper consideration to expected results/outcomes. There is a perceived need for indicators to measure the actual effectiveness of support programmes to electoral cycles in given countries. The present study addresses this need through the development of quality indicators that can measure results/outcome of electoral assistance programmes. In order to do this, it identifies nine focus areas in electoral assistance in which possible results/outcome indicators are defined (both quantitative and qualitative). The study focused on the identification/measurement of the positive impacts of specific electoral assistance projects in the various phases of an electoral cycle/process. For each of the focus areas, the study offers a methodology of finding the most adequate logical indicators, which were then reproduced in the tables. The study underlines the fact that the identification of indicators requires giving careful consideration to a number of issues when assessing performance. These are rendered below in a series of recommendations which are intended as operational suggestions:

- 1. In the initial stage of project design, optimally during the identification phase (conducted to decide the appropriateness of support to a given electoral process and propose a possible strategy and approach) it is necessary to ensure that the programme logic is in line with the intended outcomes.
- 2. A matrix or set of indicators should be established, together with the means of attaining them. If indicators are not immediately available, it is suggested that a parallel "small size project" in coordination with local academics or CSOs be integrated in the overall support project design to identify indicators.
- 3. A performance assessment should be integrated within the project design and implementation. The performance assessment should be mid-term and allow for adjustment to planned support activities, if necessary.
- 4. A final evaluation (or a series of evaluations for each support activity foreseen in the programme) should also be included in the programme design.
- 5. While designing an electoral assistance programme, realistic targets should be set, knowing that all actual electoral cycle activities are country owned and the State's responsibility. When defining objectives and expected results/outcomes, the project designer should avoid overly-ambitious formulation. Electoral assistance activities should be clearly outlined as support and contribution to national efforts.

 $^{49 \}quad http://www.eidhr.eu/files/dmfile/StudyonPerformanceindicators for electoral assistance projects.pdf$

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Fabio Bargiacchi is the Executive Director of ECES and member of the ECES Management Board since August 2011. In this period, he led ECES into becoming an important actor in the field of electoral support, both at a European and a global level. He has a wealth of experience from many years active work in the field and in different senior positions, such as: Senior Election Operations Expert, Training/Reporting Advisor and Coordinator of EU Election Observers and through long term assignments in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria, Suriname, Tanzania, West Bank and Gaza, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Fabio has a deep understanding of project cycle management, particularly in Democratic Governance, through his long-standing experience

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Victoria joined ECES in November 2012 as Project Analyst after seven years of international work in the development sector, mostly in Africa and the Caribbean. Victoria's field of expertise is political psychology and election related conflict and violence. Given her background, Victoria is the lead team member of ECES' most geographically diverse project entitled Preventing Electoral Violence in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Region (PEV-SADC) that Victoria supported from Madagascar during her first 18 months with ECES. Since 2014, Victoria holds the position of Election Conflict Management Advisor and is at the same time the Project Director of the Project in Support of a Peaceful and Inclusive Electoral Process in Zanzibar – PROPEL that delivers mediation support and political

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Ken Godfrey is the Executive Director of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD). Before being appointed as Executive Director, Ken worked as a Programmer Manager for EPD, contributing to the success of several democracy assistance projects in Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Zimbabwe, as well as the PASC project in Tunisia that supports civil society through a network of 6 local offices and 30 field staff. Prior to joining EPD, Ken worked as an Electoral Advisor for the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste providing electoral assistance for three national elections. Ken has worked for the EU, as a Procurement Officer for the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan, at the European Parliament and as an external consultant for the European Commission. He graduated from the London School of Economics

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Vera joined ECES Headquarters in 2016 in the role of Senior Programmes Advisor after collaborating with ECES' projects in the field. Over the past nine years, Vera has participated in a number of election observation missions with the EU and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), including as a core team member, mainly in Africa (Algeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Togo and Tunisia). Within the context of these missions, she trained and coordinated all international observers deployed in country. More recently, Vera worked as Gender and Youth Analyst for NDI and as Political Analyst for the EU. Vera has also worked in electoral assistance missions in Guinea and Sierra Leone. Throughout these field experiences, she has accumulated significant expertise in analysing and reporting on election administration, legal

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Eva Palmans is the Head of Programmes at ECES and has been working in the area of elections, democracy and governance for the last ten years. With a masters degree in "Governance and Development" from the Institute of Development Policy and Management and a PhD on Elections in Burundi from the University of Antwerp, Eva conducted substantial field research on elections in Africa (especially in post-conflict countries), building strong relationships with research networks and key actors in the area of elections. She published several articles on political and electoral processes and on the role that media and civil society organisations play in these processes. Eva held several management and coordination positions in organisations that specialised in capacity building programmes for electoral

stakeholders (including Electoral Management Bodies, political parties, civil society organisations and media). For two years (2008-2010) she was the regional coordinator in Central-Africa (Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda) for a Belgian NGO (Coalition of the Flemish North South Movement - 11.11.11) managing projects with local organisations in the field of elections and democracy (civic education, election monitoring and observation). In collaboration with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), she provided capacity building programmes for electoral stakeholders, and contributed to the creation of the platform of domestic observation organisations in Burundi. In 2011, Eva worked as a political programme officer at the Madagascar office of EISA where she was in charge of implementing the "strengthening electoral and democratic processes programme". She provided training and technical assistance in the areas of civic and voter education, election observation, election conflict management and political party strengthening and established a network with international and regional organisations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), EU, UNDP and OIF. She has extensive experience working in election observation missions with the European Commission and EISA both as an observer (Mozambique 2009, Togo 2010, Ivory Coast 2010, Seychelles 2011, Tunisia 2011) and as a political/country expert (Burundi 2010, Ivory Coast 2011). Eva is an accredited BRIDGE trainer facilitator. She conducted several training programmes and provided technical assistance to domestic observers, electoral management bodies and political parties. She entered ECES as a Senior Election Advisor and was appointed Head of Programmes in September 2013.

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Hans Bruning (1957) has been the Executive Director of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) since 2010. He has an extensive track record in development cooperation, civil society, and politics, having been General Secretary of CNV (the National Federation of Christian Trade Unions in the Netherlands), International Director for ICCO Cooperation (an inter-church organization for development cooperation), and Director of the Association of Healthcare Providers for People with Disabilities (VGN). Besides his active duties, Hans is also a board member on several organizations, including Fairfood International, a Dutch NGO focusing on food security and the European Union for Christian Democratic Workers in the Netherlands. Hans holds a law degree from the University of Leiden in the

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RICARDO HIDALGO, CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER OF CLUB DE MADRID TREASURER OF EPD



Ricardo Hidalgo is Chief Financial Officer of the Club of Madrid. Mr. Hidalgo has worked in the private sector and international NGOs, starting his professional career in 1988 in the financial departments of small and medium size industrial firms in the Basque Country. In 1996, he moved to the non profit sector and joined Action Contre la Faim (Action Against Hunger), a French international humanitarian NGO based in Paris, assuming responsibility for financial relations with institutional donors. In 1998 he changed to the sister organization in Spain "Accion contra el Hambre", first as its administrator for projects in Angola, and then as Chief Financial Officer.

Mr. Hidalgo returned to the private sector in 2001, when he joined TRACK, S.A., a consultant firm based in Bilbao (Spain), as head of the strategy and management department. In 2003 he became an associate of TRACK, a position he held until becoming Chief Financial Officer of the Club de Madrid in July 2005. Mr. Hidalgo has a B.A. in Business Administration from the University of Deusto (Bilbao-Spain), and has also completed postgraduate studies at the Universities of Cornell and Colorado. He has been a professor of Business Mathematics at the University of Deusto, and of "Financial aspects of Project cycle management" at the Universities of Deusto and Comillas (Madrid-Spain).

ANTONELLA VALMORBIDA, ALDA SECRETARY GENERAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EPD



Antonella Valmorbida is the Secretary General of the European Association of Local Democracy. She manages a team of 30 people and a networks of 13 Local Democracy Agencies with an sold experience in project management and strategic planning. She has a senior experience in promoting local democracy and empowerment of local authorities and decentralisation, empowerment of civil society and good governance in Europe, Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Med area. She is the coordinator of the Subgroup on Local Government and Public Administration reform of the Civil Society Forum for Eastern Partnership. She is Board member of EPD - the European Partnership for Democracy. She has been coordinator of the subgroup of Concord Europe on the Neighborhoud. Since 2008,

she is teaching at the University of Padova in international decentralized cooperation and empowerment of local authorities as actors for development. She has been coordinating networks of local authorities and civil society groups for twenty years, with a very extended knowledge of processes of empowerment

of territorial and public administration reforms post conflict and in transnational countries. She has long standing cooperation on the field of expertise with the Council of Europe and the European Union institutions as well with UNDP. She speaks fluently Italian, French, English and Russian. Speaks Spanish and German.

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Mr. Theo Kralt is the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) at the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA), a position he has held since January 2010. His previous roles included Director of Espria, Director of the Board of Directors at the Philadelphia Care Foundation, International Secretary to the CDA Party and Secretary-Coordinator of the Eduardo Frei Foundation and Policy and European Officer at the Dutch Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture (WVC). Mr. Kralt currently chairs the Board of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) Alumni Association Netherlands (LAAN) and is Commissioner of the Foundation De Roos-Gesink to support Dutch culture and science. Previous side jobs were vice-chair of the board of Foundation Wilde Geese/IKON and the board of

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Ms. Anu Juvonen (MA Development Studies, BA (Hons) Social Anthropology – both from the University of Sussex, UK, as well as studies at University of Helsinki) has worked over 15 years in the field of development policy and international affairs. She has lived and worked long term in Nepal, where she worked in the field of education; in Ethiopia, as an expert in community participation and gender; and recently in Sri Lanka, where she worked as a Head of Good Governance for an international NGO, as well as having made numerous short-term missions to different countries in Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, Tunisia) and Asia (Vietnam, Myanmar, India and Sri Lanka, Nepal). She has worked as a consultant, a civil servant and worked in CSOs, taking varying roles, from CSO coordination related to the EU

presidency and the ASEM summit to advocacy and campaigning. She has a very strong background in project management. She has been with Demo Finland for two years, first as a Director of Programmes and (since early 2016) as acting Executive Director. She has held various board positions, from being the vice-chair of an umbrella NGO with 300 members to being a board member of the EPD. She has also written numerous articles and manuals and is very experienced as a facilitator.

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Sylva Horakova has eight years of practice with work in non-profit sector including experience of humanitarian and development field work, based mainly in post-Soviet sector (Russia, Georgia, Abkhazia, Moldova) where she was leading development programs focused primarily on support of education, healthcare, livelihoods and empowerment of civil society organisations. She currently works for a Prague based organisation People in Need at the position of Deputy Director in the Center for Human Rights and Democracy. She graduated from University of Thomas Bata in Zlin Czech Republic, Master in Business Economics. Currently she is studying towards MSc in Development Management at the Open University, UK. She speaks Czech (mother tongue), English, Russian and German.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper was coordinated and conceptualised by ECES together with the Secretariat of the European Partnership for Democracy. Similarly, the paper was authored mainly by ECES Executive Director Fabio Bargiacchi, ECES Election Conflict Management Advisor Victoria Florinder, ECES Programmes Advisor, Martina Garbuglia ECES Senior Electoral Advisor Vera Lourenco and the EPD Secretariat's Executive Director Ken Godfrey. Eva Palmans, ECES Head of Programmes and member of ECES Management Board have supported the process with peer reviewing and technical inputs.

The crafting of this paper started out as a lessons learned exercise for the EPD network to capitalize on the solid foundation that we stand on today, having grown in both number and competences over the last years. This process, requiring both introspection and looking beyond the confines of our network, eventually came to unfold as a creative and collaborative process driven by the strong engagement and passion for our work that brought us to form the EPD Community of Practice in the first place. EPD members began to scrutinise the many intersections that emerged in the seams of our different areas of competence. These many overlaps are what essentially can be attributed to the creation and ongoing implementation of EPDs distinct European response to electoral cycle support.

The co-authors and contributors of this paper, namely the representatives of all EPD Board of Directors, brought contributions that allowed this paper to demonstrate the wealth of experience that the EPD jointly harbour. The paper would not have been possible without the support of Hans Brunning, Executive Director of NIMD, Karijn de Jong, Head of Programmes and Projects NIMD, Ricardo Hidalgo, Chief Financial Officer Club de Madrid, Ruben Campos, Programs Coordinator Club de Madrid, Theo Kralt, Chief Administrative Officer AWEPA, Antonella Valmorbida, Secretary General of ALDA, Sylvia Horacova, Deputy Director of People in Need, Anu Juvonen, Executive Director of DEMO Finland and Koshin Aden, International Coordinator from Osservatorio di Pavia.

A special thank to ECES President Monica Frassoni and ECES Board member Lino Francescon for supporting ECES and EDPs with their experiences matured at the European Parliament and European Commission. This, has brought a greater understanding and responsiveness from the network to the challenges to produce this paper in describing, at both implementation and policy level, what the EU is facing when providing democracy and electoral support in partner countries.

In addition to that, it is important to remember that the preparation of this paper also served as a reminder of some of the most valuable partners that have enabled ECES and EPD members to harvest its experiences stemming from all over the world and contributing indirectly but greatly to this paper whose first concepts were introduced during the EU Development Days organized by the European Commission in Brussels in June 2016. We have also benefitted greatly from the partnership of several global and regional organisations such as the Election Support Network of Southern Africa, Chaired by Steve Duwa and co-Chaired by Rindai Chipfunde Vava. The Association of World Election Bodies, (A-WEB), operate at global level and their partnership has constituted a rich forum for exchange. The ECONEC, Network of Electoral Commissions in West Africa is another regional body that especially ECES has had

the pleasure of collaborating with. Together with long-standing partner RECEF (Network of Francophone Electoral Management Bodies), ECES has contributed to several of their training and conferences and the same goes with the SADC Electoral Commission Forum.

Leandro Nagore, ECES Senior Election Advisor and Head of Research of EDGE (Experts in Democracy, Governance & Elections) has provided important feedback and linguistic fine-tuning seen from the electoral practitioners point of view.

The external evaluators of EPD's projects over the last five years have brought important ideas and suggestions for improvements on how to deliver electoral assistance and finally we also wish to collectively thank the donors to EPD members' projects over the years, whereby the European Union and its Member States are worth mentioning as the most important contributors and partners.





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