FROM SUPPORTING ELECTORAL PROCESSES TO DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

JOINT EC/UNDP TRAINING ON EFFECTIVE ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

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Presentation outline

- Context
- Deepening Democracy --- the what?
- Some Pre-requisites
- Some fundamental questions
- Initial Challenges to a DD program
- The Tanzania example
- Important Lessons

Setting the Context

- **Pre-electoral support:** Legal framework; Planning and Implementation, Training and Education
- **Electoral Period:** Registration and Nomination, Electoral Campaign, Voting Operations and Election, Verification of Results
- **Post-electoral Period**: Audits & Evaluation, Voter Lists Update, Archiving and Research, Legal reforms etc
- **First and Second Generation** electoral context
- **Building capacities to deepen democracy**, and strengthen political oversight and accountability mechanism

To Deepen Democracy is to:

- **Strengthen** the human and material elements of existing democratic institutions, making them more responsive, effective and efficient in service delivery.
- **Expand** the enlightened understanding and appreciation of both public officers and citizens for democracy and good governance.
- **Intensify** official and private respect for and function of a democratic state
- **Entrench** democratic principles, values, culture

Pre-requisites for Deepening Democracy

- The presence of political institutions of modern representative democracy that meets the essentials of "minimum requirements for a democratic country" (Robert Dahl, 2005)
- Elected officials
- Free, fair and frequent elections
- Freedom of expression
- Alternative sources of information
- Associational autonomy
- Inclusive citizenship

What to Do and What Condition are Necessary?

- To add momentum, through programmed activities, to the political processes where certain freedoms and proto-democratic characteristics are already present, albeit to a limited degree, but where the power-holders and citizens show a commitment to democratic consolidation.

Some fundamental questions:

- How far, how fast and how deep should the deepening process go?

- What circumstances and what conditions are necessary to support the deepening process?

- What are the possible influence of culture, history and economy on the democratization process and how to manage such forces in the program design and implementation?

Avoiding Blanket Approaches:

- "The question of how to democratize a deeply institutionalized one-party state might not pose quite the same puzzles, or address identical problems, to questions about how to democratize a personal dictatorship, or to end a lengthy period of military-bureaucratic rule" (Peter Burnell, 2004)

- Recognize & Appreciate: Limitations placed by history, culture and economy

Initial Challenges to DD Program

- Ascertaining the realities of political development & dynamics: Avoid assumptions!
- Undertaking an all-inclusive assessment
- Determining the Priorities: Credible electoral observation reports important foundation
- Government buy-in and sustaining Leadership Commitment
- Ensuring LOCAL OWNERSHIP
- Initiating & sustaining political engagement

The Tanzania Example: Essential Factors

- One-party socialist state for 30 years (63-92)
- Multiparty system, 1992 & Elections 95, 00, 05
- Buoyed by 05 Elections success – the trigger!
- GoT: receptive and ready
- Donors: ready to support – Spirit of Paris Dec
- Extensive consultations
- The Union Factor – the Zanzibar conundrum!

Reforms as Precursor in Tanzania

Linking DDTP to ongoing national processes:
  Anchor DDTP on Existing National Framework

- *Trigger*: Warioba Report on Corruption, 1977
- National Framework for Good Governance, 1999
- NACSAP I - 2001; NACSAP II - 2008
- Sector Reforms: PSRP, PFMRP, LSRP, LGRP
- Development Framework: NSGRP-MKUKUTA

Assessment Results: Democratic Deficits

- **Constitutional deficits**: "balance of power" issues
- **Competitive politics**: inequities in legal framework, weak parties
- **Accountable Governance**: domestic accountability
- **Electoral Politics**: EMB – questionable independence, inadequate capacities, illiberal legal framework
- **Civil Society**: culturally constrained, official intimidation, weak advocacy
- **Political participation**: low citizenship, "un-captured" citizens,

Broad Objectives

- Promote **popular participation** in policymaking and implem'tation
- Improve **legislative responsiveness** to CSO
- Improve **horizontal accountability** (The Bunge)
- Support **electoral democracy**
- Build and sustain a **national political dialogue**
- Strengthen **key governance institutions**: Bunge, Judiciary, CHRGG, Parties, NEC, ZEC
- Support GoT in **APRM** and the peer review process.
- Support reforms for a **liberalized political environment**
- Promote **free and responsible expression** (Media prof'snalism)
- Promote **civic education** for responsible citizenship
- Promote the **culture** of accountability, transparency and integrity

Four Key Program Components

SETTING THE PRIORITIES:

- The APRM – Reports to reinforce DDTP
- Electoral Management Bodies: NEC, ZEC
- Accountable Governance: Parliaments, Political Parties
- Civic Education – toward institutionalization
- Civil Society & Media – (dropped for other programs)

Sharing Achievements and Visibility

To ensure ALL Donors get visibility and share in DDTP, a Donor was assigned as Lead for each component:

- Program Management – UNDP
- APRM – DFID
- Election Management Bodies – Denmark
- Accountable Governance – EU
- Civic Education - Ireland

Some Outcomes

- Political Parties Dialogue Series instituted (TCD)
- New Political Parties Law being prepared
- NEC, ZEC, Reg. of Political Parties reviewed –
  Review of legal frameworks - reports pending stakeholder review
- Strategy for Civic Education being developed
- Implementing Partners trained and functioning
- GoT continuing commitment assured

Threats/Challenges

- Weak capacity of Implementing Partners
- Balancing DPs interest and involvement in management
- Funding delays
- Slack in program coordination
- Weak management arrangements
- Declining political will of GoT
- Sustaining Local Ownership

10 Important Lessons

- **Timing is paramount:** leveraging a successful event (Elections, Constitutional Reform, APRM etc)

- **The precursors –** the framework to ground the DD (Credible electoral observation report: Governance assessments; Governance reform programme?)

- **Determining appropriate home:** how and where to fit project? – Central or State level (Federal context); Which branch of Government?

- **Identify local champions early:** credibility and political traction

- **Government buy-in and Local Ownership**

10 Important Lessons

- **Optimally set the priorities –** must reflect broad consensus anchored in a felt need
- **Appropriately set the boundaries** : determining the limitations – history, culture, econ
- **Get the strategic communications right -** what the programme is and what it is not
- **Management Arrangements –** Managing agent function, overall coordination, sharing roles etc
- **Where needed, go for a local branding -** strengthen local ownership

THE END

- THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

- ANY QUESTIONS?