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Elections in Fragile States  
Policy Seminar  
Princeton University - Woodrow Wilson School  
Syllabus  
WWS 591c  
Visiting Lecturer, Jeff Fischer  
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Classroom – Robertson Hall  
Fridays – 9:00 A.M.

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### Approach to Policy Topic

Policy elements shape the form and function of electoral processes. These policy elements must be configured in ways which allow electoral processes to be administered fairly, credibly, and transparently in accordance with international standards.

In fragile political and security environments, policy elements take on an enhanced importance because of the consequences of state failure which could result from a flawed electoral process. As a result of these potential consequences, fragile state elections are often the object of international interventions and thus can be significantly influenced by the policy decisions of the international community.

Although electoral policy elements can be organized in different ways, the elements in focus for this seminar are categorized as follows:

1. Elections as Instruments of Governance;
2. State Fragility and Its Impact on Elections;
3. Fragile State Elections and the International Community;
4. Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and Fragile States;
5. Electoral Systems and Representation in Fragile States;
6. Political Party Systems and Campaign;
7. Marginalized Electorates – Victims and Spoilers;
8. Electoral Conflict, Security, and Justice; and
9. Electoral Observation and Evaluation.

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Session One – Elections as Instruments of Governance  
September 18, 2009

***Preparatory Readings for Session One***

Alexander, Justin, *A Vote for the Voteless? A brief history of unofficial and underground voting in the cause of self-determination*

Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad – The Learning Curve*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1999, Chapter One – A New Field

Carothers, Thomas, *The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion*, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006

Carothers, Thomas and Sheri Berman, *How Democracies Emerge*, Journal of Democracy, January 2007

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, *The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism*, Journal of Democracy, April 2002

Lindberg, Staffan I., *Democracy and Elections in Africa*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2006, Chapter One – Introduction

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder; Fukuyama, Francis; Berman, Sheri; and Carothers, Thomas, *The Debate of Sequencing*, Journal of Democracy, January 2007

***Session Description***

Since the 1970s the employment of elections as instruments to determine governance and decide societal questions has significantly expanded on a global scale. The “Third Wave” of democratization, as Huntington termed it, began in Southern Europe and spread to parts of Latin America and Asia in the 1980s. The 1990s saw further democratic openings in Central and Eastern Europe and Africa. Since 1980, 81 countries have taken significant steps toward democracy; 57 percent of the world’s population now resides under democratic governance and 140 of the nearly 200 countries in the world hold elections. This session will introduce different types of election and discuss the role of elections in the broader context of governance.

During the first session, several administrative issues will be addressed. First, there will be a discussion and final decision on the elections in focus for the Group Project(s). Also in this session there will be a selection of cases for the individual electoral scenario papers. A list of scenario locations and the methodology for the intervention scenario will be provided in a separate document.

In addition, the following issues will be discussed:

- Identification of Working Group clients;
- Explanation of the system of grading;

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- Assignment of responsibilities: Liaison with WWS Administration, Budget Director, Travel Coordinator, Liaison with Working Group Clients, Field Work Coordinator, and report drafting assignments; and
- Working Group Budgets.

Session Two – State Fragility and Its Impact on Elections  
September 25, 2009

### ***Preparatory Readings***

Department for International Development (United Kingdom), “Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states,” January 2005 –  
<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/fragilestates-paper.pdf>

Ghani, Ashraf and Claire Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States – A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, Introduction

Guttieri, Karen and Jessica Piobo, Editors, *Interim Government – Institutional Bridges to Peace and Democracy?* United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 2007, Issues and Debates in Transitional Rule

United States Agency for International Development, *Fragile States Strategy*, 2006 -  
[http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005/fragile\\_states\\_strategy](http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005/fragile_states_strategy)

### ***Session Description***

To paraphrase Leo Tolstoy, all functioning states resemble one another, but each fragile state is fragile in its own way. For the purposes of this policy seminar, the “fragile state” is employed to describe an array of “failing, failed, and recovering states.” In this session, the characteristics of fragile states are discussed, as well as triggers of fragilization and trajectories toward stability. Transitional governance will be discussed as well as an approach to characterizing ungoverned territories.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project and the electoral scenario papers.

### ***Election of the Week***

Somaliland – Presidential – September 29, 2009

### ***Web Site Review***

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXABOUTUS/IDA/0,,contentMDK:21>  
- *List of Fragile States 2007*, International Development Association

### ***Electoral Briefing***

Dr. Horacio Boneo  
United Nations Advisor to the Conseil Electoral Provisoire of Haiti  
Haitian national election (1990)

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Session Three - Fragile State Elections and the International Community  
October 2, 2009

***Preparatory Readings***

Boneo, Horacio, *Elections and the United Nations*, unpublished paper

Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations, *EAD Workshop on Monitoring and Certification of Elections*, unpublished background paper

European Commission, United Nations Development Programme, International IDEA, *Joint Training on Effective Electoral Assistance*, 2008, Introduction

Kennedy, Ray and Jeffrey W. Fischer, *Technical Assistance in Elections*, International Encyclopedia (Richard Rose, editor), 2000

***Session Description***

Guest Speaker – Mr. Craig Jenness, Director, Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations Secretariat (scheduled).

As this session will demonstrate, fragile state elections are sometimes not fully sovereign processes. Fragile state elections are often the object of international electoral interventions by inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and bilateral development agencies through international and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This session will discuss the history of international electoral interventions and the modalities currently employed to supervise, certify, assist, or observe fragile state elections.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project and the electoral scenario papers.

***Election of the Week***

Botswana – Parliamentary and Local – October 9, 2009

***Web Site Review***

<http://www.aceproject.org> – Administration and Cost of Elections Project – UN, International IDEA, IFES, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Instituto Federal Electoral and Elections Canada, and International IDEA

<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/> - Psephos – Adam Carr’s Election Archive

<http://www.angelfire.com/ma/maxcrc/elections.html> - Maximiliano Herrera Human Rights Links – Electoral Calendar

***Electoral Briefing***

Michael Maley  
Senior Deputy Chief Electoral Officer

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United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia  
Cambodian national elections (1992-1993)

Session Four - Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and Fragile States  
October 9, 2009

### ***Preparatory Readings***

Pastor, Robert A., "The Role of Electoral Administration in Democratic Transitions: Implication for Policy and Research," *Democratization*, Winter 1999

Pintor, Rafael Lopez, "Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance," United Nations Development Programme, Reading Assignment – *Introduction, Scope of Paper, and Chapter 2 – Classifying Electoral Management Bodies Worldwide*, 2000

Pintor, Rafael Lopez, "Comparative Experiences in Electoral Management Bodies," United Nations Development Programme, April 15, 2004

Pintor, Rafael Lopez and Jeff Fischer, "Getting to the CORE, a Global Survey on the Cost of Registration and Elections," United Nations Development Programme 2005, Reading Assignment, Introduction, Part One – Comparative Costs and Cost Management Case Studies Report and Part Three – Election Cost Survey Results -  
[http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset\\_id=472992](http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/stream/asset/?asset_id=472992)

### ***Session Description***

This session will provide an introduction to the models of Election Management Bodies (EMBs), their relevance for fragile states, and the special features which elections in fragile states should possess. The discussion will consider different structures for appointment of and representation on EMBs. The session will provide an overview of elections and technology in electoral administration.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project and the electoral scenario papers.

### ***Election of the Week***

Guinea – Parliamentary – October 11, 2009

### ***Web Site Review***

<http://www.ifes.org> – International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)

### ***Electoral Briefing***

Ron Gould  
International Member  
Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa  
South African national election (1994)

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Session Five – Electoral Systems and Representation in Fragile States  
October 16, 2009

### ***Preparatory Readings***

Blanc, Jarrett, Aanund Hylland, Kåre Vollan, “State Structure and Electoral Systems in Post-Conflict Situations,” Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006, Reading Assignments - Chapters I.1 and 2; and II.3, 7, 8, 9, 10 –  
[http://www.ifes.org/publication/18e9eaadf913e44e8178acf1987ddf70/State\\_Structure\\_Electoral\\_Systems.pdf](http://www.ifes.org/publication/18e9eaadf913e44e8178acf1987ddf70/State_Structure_Electoral_Systems.pdf)

International IDEA, “Electoral System Design,” New International IDEA Handbook, 2005, Reading Assignments - Chapter 1 – Overview –  
[http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/upload/ESD\\_inlay.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/upload/ESD_inlay.pdf)

Handley, Lisa, *The Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries in Post-Conflict Societies*, unpublished paper, April 10, 2006

Handley, Lisa, Lead Writer, “Delimitation Equity Project Resource Guide,” IFES and United States Agency for International Development, 2006, Reading Assignment - Chapter 1 - Towards Developing International Standards - <http://www.ifes.org/publications-detail.html?id=292>

Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) Project, United Nations Secretariat, United Nations Development Programme, International IDEA, IFES, Elections Canada, Instituto Federal Electoral, and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Reading Assignment - Delimitation, Background Information –  
<http://www.aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/bd10/?searchterm=Delimitation>

### ***Session Description***

The discussion in this session will be directed at the electoral policy element of systems of representation and governance. The policy decisions on representation and governance are influential on the outcomes of an electoral process and can be used to skew election results. This session will explore the options, deliberation processes, and impact of systems of representation and executive selection.

The apportionment and the allocation of seats to delimited districts determine the political outcome of the electoral system. Although delimitation processes shape the composition of elected assemblies, these processes can be opaque and un-monitored. This session will examine the issues surrounding delimitation exercises in fragile states. The case studies of Nigeria and Georgia will be discussed.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project and the electoral scenario papers.

### ***Election of the Week***

Estonia – Municipal – October 18, 2009

### ***Web Site Review***

<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> - Inter-Parliamentary Union, Parliaments On-Line

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### ***Electoral Briefing***

Rafael Lopez Pintor  
Electoral Advisor  
United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador  
El Salvador national and local elections (1994)

Session Six – Political Party Systems and Campaigns  
October 23, 2009

### ***Preparatory Reading***

Carothers, Thomas, *Confronting the Weakest Link – Aiding Political parties in New Democracies*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006, Chapter 1 – The Standard Lament; and Chapter 2 – A Quick Global Tour

Norris, Pippa, *Electoral Engineering – Voting Rules and Political Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, Chapter 4 – Party Systems.

Fischer, Jeff, Marcin Walecki, and Jeffrey Carlson, editors, “Political Finance in Post-Conflict Societies,” IFES and United States Agency for International Development (2006), editors, Reading Assignments - Introduction and Conclusion - <http://www.ifes.org/publications-detail.html?id=295>

### ***Session Description***

This session will explore the role of political parties and political party systems in fragile state elections. It will cover the kinds of parties which have emerged in fragile states, their roles and structures. Moreover, the financing of political parties and campaigns is often opaque in fragile states and influences the fairness of political competition. This session will also examine issues surrounding political finance in fragile states.

### ***Election of the Week***

Ukraine – Presidential – October 25, 2009

### ***Web Site Review***

<http://www.politicalresources.net> – links to political party web sites and resources worldwide

<http://www.moneyandpolitics.net> – IFES sponsored site archiving an international database of political finance information, reports, and documentation

### ***Electoral Briefing***

Linda Edgeworth  
Director General of Elections  
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe  
Bosnia and Herzegovina municipal elections (1997)

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Session Seven - Marginalized Electorates – Victims and Spoilers  
October 30, 2009

***Preparatory Readings***

Bartulac Blanc, Tihana, *Voting in Abu Ghraib*, Democracy at Large, IFES, March 2006 –  
[http://www.democracyatlarge.org/vol2\\_no2/vol2\\_no2\\_AbuGhraib.htm](http://www.democracyatlarge.org/vol2_no2/vol2_no2_AbuGhraib.htm)

Grace, Jeremy, *The Electoral Rights of Conflict Forced Migrants: A Review of Relevant Legal Norms and Instruments*, 2003, International Organization for Migration and United States Agency for International Development, Reading Assignment – general review of paper -  
<http://www.geneseo.edu/~iompress/LeftNav/PressPepOutputs.htm>

Grace, Jeremy and Jeff Fischer, *Enfranchising Conflict-Forced Migrants – Issues, Standards, and Best Practices*, 2003, International Organization for Migration and United States Agency for International Development, Reading Assignment – general review of paper  
<http://www.geneseo.edu/~iompress/LeftNav/PressPepOutputs.htm>

Grace, Jeremy and Jeff Fischer, *Seeking Electoral Equality for IDP Voters*, Forced Migration Review, December 2008

Norris, Pippa, *Electoral Engineering – Voting Rules and Political Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, Chapter 8 – Women’s Representation

Norris, Pippa, *Electoral Engineering – Voting Rules and Political Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, Chapter 9, Ethnic Minorities

Rottinghaus, Brandon, *Incarceration and Enfranchisement – International Practices, Impact and Recommendation for Reform*, IFES, July 2003 –  
[http://www.ifes.org/publication/4bbcc7feabf9b17c41be87346f57c1c4/08\\_18\\_03\\_Manatt\\_Brandon\\_Rottinghaus.pdf](http://www.ifes.org/publication/4bbcc7feabf9b17c41be87346f57c1c4/08_18_03_Manatt_Brandon_Rottinghaus.pdf)

***Session Description***

The session will explore techniques employed to enfranchise marginalized electorates. In fragile states, two categories of marginalized electorates can be identified – victims and spoilers. Victims are those electorates which are more vulnerable to disenfranchisement than other segments of the polity. Victims include women, internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, people with disabilities, detainees, illiterate voters, language minorities, and the rural poor among others. In some cases, the military is disenfranchised. The other category of marginalization is the spoilers. Spoilers include ex-combatants, insurgents, party militia, and criminals among others. The session will examine policies whereby victims can be mobilized and spoilers demobilized and integrated into an electoral process.

The scenario papers are due.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project.

***Election of the Week***

Mozambique – Presidential and Parliamentary – October 28, 2009

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### ***Web Site Review***

<http://www.geneseo.edu/~iompress> – International Organization for Migration - Political Rights and Electoral Systems Strengthening (PRESS)

### ***Electoral Briefing***

Ali Diabacte  
Electoral Advisor  
United Nations Mission in Congo  
Democratic Republic of Congo national election (2007)

Fall Recess  
October 31 – November 8, 2009

Session Eight – Electoral Conflict, Security and Justice  
November 13, 2009

### ***Preparatory Reading***

Autheman, Violaine, *The Resolution of Disputes Related to ‘Election Results’*, IFES Rule of Law Conference Paper, 2004 –  
[http://www.ifes.org/publication/3555a974ddaed52619f7772358e930af/ConfPaper\\_Indonesia\\_FI\\_NAL.pdf](http://www.ifes.org/publication/3555a974ddaed52619f7772358e930af/ConfPaper_Indonesia_FI_NAL.pdf)

Reilly, Ben and Andrew Reynolds, *Electoral Systems and Conflict in Divided Societies*, National Academy Press, 1999, Reading Assignment - Introduction

Fischer, Jeff, *Electoral Conflict and Violence: A Strategy for Study and Prevention*, IFES White Paper Series, 2002 -  
<http://www.ifes.org/publications-detail.html?id=265>

Gralton, Sean, *Mechanisms for Electoral Dispute Resolution*, University of Utah, S. J. Quinney College of Law, Global Justice Project Iraq, 2009

Pastor, Robert, *Mediating Elections*, Journal of Democracy, January 1998.

### ***Session Description***

In fragile electoral processes, the protection of participants, facilities, materials, and information may be complicated by a post-conflict environment, other general weaknesses in administration of justice, and the rule of law. In this session, a methodology will be introduced that provides a structure for the analysis, comparison, and archiving of information about electoral conflict and violence. Examples of electoral security planning documents will be distributed for review and discussion. The electoral case study of Guyana will be discussed in this session. The session will also cover the methods of adjudicating electoral disputes and achieving electoral justice in fragile states.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project.

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***Electoral Briefing***

Dr. Jørgen Elklit  
Member, Electoral Review Commission  
Kenya  
Kenyan presidential election (2007)

***Election of the Week***

Kosovo – Municipal – November 15, 2009

***Web Site Review***

<http://cmev.wordpress.com/> - Centre for Monitoring Electoral violence (Sri Lanka) -

<http://ever.dd.ifes.org> – IFES electoral violence monitoring project

***Case Study Video Tape***

Electoral Conflict in Guyana  
Guyana national elections (1992)

Session Nine – Election Observation and Evaluation  
November 20, 2009

***Preparatory Readings***

Bjornlund, Eric C., *Beyond Free and Fair - Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2004, Reading Assignment - Chapter 1, The Emergence of Election Monitoring

Boneo, Horacio, *Observing Delimitation*, Delimitation Equity Project (Chapter 17), IFES, 2005 – [http://www.ifes.org/publication/a6daa78465c4907cd23912e3429d333a/Delimitations\\_Manual\\_full.pdf](http://www.ifes.org/publication/a6daa78465c4907cd23912e3429d333a/Delimitations_Manual_full.pdf)

Declaration of Principles for International Observation and Code of Conduct for International Election Observers – [http://cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/democracy/des/declaration\\_code\\_english\\_revised.pdf](http://cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/democracy/des/declaration_code_english_revised.pdf)

Elklit, Jørgen and Andrew Reynolds, *A Framework for the Systematic Study of Election Quality*, Democratization, April 2005

Elklit, Jørgen and Palle Svensson, *What Makes Elections Free and Fair?* Journal of Democracy, 1996

International IDEA, *Guidelines for Determining Involvement in International Election Observation*, Guidelines Series, 2000 - <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/topics/election-integrity/Guidelines%20for%20determining%20Observation.pdf/view>

Nevitte, Neil and Santiago Canton, *The Role of Domestic Observers*, Journal of Democracy

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Open Society Justice Initiative, *Monitoring Election Campaign Finance – A Handbook for NGOs*, Justice in Action Series, 2005

[http://www.justiceinitiative.org/db/resource2?res\\_id=102367](http://www.justiceinitiative.org/db/resource2?res_id=102367)

Vollan, Kåre, *Observing Electronic Voting*, NORDEM Report 15, 2005

### ***Session Description***

This session will explore the instruments employed to validate the results of fragile state elections. Citizens governed by the outcomes of fragile state elections must have confidence that these results reflect their will. Given the environment in which fragile state elections often take place, electoral institutions are weak and susceptible to political influence. In fragile state elections, third party monitoring and validation are significant influences in creating public confidence in electoral outcomes.

Discussion time will be reserved for the Group Project.

### ***Election of the Week***

Cote D'Ivoire – President – November 29, 2009

### ***Web Site Review***

<http://www.osce.org/odihr-elections/> - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

### ***Electoral Briefing***

Dr. Fida Nasrallah  
Chief Electoral Adviser  
United Nations Mission in Nepal  
Nepali parliamentary elections (2008)

Thanksgiving Break  
November 27, 2009

Session Ten  
December 4, 2009

Presentation of Group Project to Clients in New York.

Session Eleven  
December 11, 2009

Presentation of Group Project to Clients in Washington, DC.

Session Twelve  
December 18, 2009

Discussion of responses from Clients into final report and presentation.

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Winter Recess  
December 18, 2009 – January 3, 2010

January 2010 (dates open)

Completion of final version of Group Project report and presentation.

Presentation of Group Project to Blue Ribbon Panel.

Seminar close-out.