
Managing Elections in Fragile States
WWS591cF2007
Syllabus
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Classroom – Robertson Hall 012

Approach to Policy Topic

Electoral processes are shaped by policy decisions on the form, function, and focus of their elements. These policy elements must be combined in ways which allow electoral processes to be administered in fair, credible, and transparent fashions. In fragile political and security environments, policy elements take on an enhanced importance because of the consequences of political failure which could result from a flawed electoral process. Because of this fragility, these electoral processes are often the object of international interventions and, as a result, are significantly influenced by policy decisions of the international community.

Although electoral policy elements can be configured in different ways, the groupings of elements in focus for this workshop are the following:

1. Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and methods of supervision and assistance.
2. Constitutional framework, electoral systems, executive election, and delimitation.
3. Participation by diasporas and enfranchisement of forcibly displaced electorates.
4. Protection of electoral processes, participants, facilities, materials, and information.
5. Funding and activities of political parties and costs of election administration.

Preparatory Reading for Session One

Pintor, Rafael Lopez Electoral Management Bodies as Institutes of Governance, United Nations Development Programme, Reading Assignment - *Introduction, Scope of the 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.

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

United States Agency for International Development, “Fragile States Strategy,” 2006 - http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005/fragile_states_strategy

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>

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Fragile States: Policy Commitment and Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations,” Fragile States – The LICUS Initiative, April 2007 –

<http://web.worldbank.org/>

International Development Agency, “Operational Approaches and Financing in Fragile States,” Reading Assignment – Chapter II *World Bank Strategy and Organizational Approach for Fragile States*, June 2007 –

<http://web.worldbank.org/>

Fischer, Jeff, “An Introduction to Elections and Peace Operations, 1989 – 2001”.

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

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

Session One – Introduction to Elections, Fragile States, and International Initiatives in Democracy Development - September 21, 2007

Session Description

This session will provide an introduction to the models of electoral administration, their relevance for fragile states, and the special features which elections in fragile states should possess. The discussion will cover current policy thinking about fragile states from the perspectives of bilateral development agencies and international monetary institutions. The discussion will include a specific examination of electoral interventions which have combined an international peacekeeping mandate with that of elections.

In order to illustrate the different models of international electoral interventions, the case studies of Namibia (1989), Haiti (1990-91), Guyana (1993), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1996), and Timor-Leste (2007) will be discussed.

Telephone Conversation – Dr. Rafael Lopez Pintor, author, Electoral Management Bodies as Institutes of Governance, IFES/Nicaragua

Power Point Presentation – Elections and Peace Operations – An Historical Perspective

Power Point Presentation – NGO Actors and Complex Political Emergencies

Election of the Week – Morocco Parliamentary – September 2007¹

¹ There will be an election in focus each week until the mid-term break. Each student is requested to research one article on the election for class discussion.

Handouts

Acronyms for NGDO Pretenders
An Alphabet Soup of Acronyms

Web site demonstration – <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

During the first session, several administrative issues will have to 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 of selection cases for the individual electoral intervention scenarios papers. A list of scenario locations and the methodology for the intervention scenario will be provided in a separate document. The scenario papers will be due on October 26.

In addition, the following issues will be discussed:

- Identification of Working Group clients;
- Explanation of the system of grading;
- Assignment of responsibilities: Liaison with WWS Administration, Budget Director, Travel Coordinator, Liaison with Working Group Client, Field Work Coordinator, and report drafting assignments; and
- Working Group Budgets.

Session Two – Electoral Systems - September 28, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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, and 1; and electoral case study of Sudan – <http://www.ifes.org> (publications)

International IDEA, “Electoral System Design,” New International IDEA Handbook, 2005, Reading Assignments - Chapter 1 – Overview.

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 case study of Sudan will be discussed in the context of policy decisions representation and governance.

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

Guest Speaker – Jarrett Blanc, Open Society Institute

Telephone Conversation – Kåre Vollan, electoral consultant

Power Point Presentation – Systems of Representation in Post-Conflict Elections: A Policy Perspective

Election of the Week – Kosovo – Assembly – October 2007

Handout

Blanc, Jarrett, *Rules do Matter, What the Iraqi and Palestinian Elections Tell Us*, democracy@large magazine

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

Session Three – Delimitation - October 5, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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 and Chapter 17 - Observing Delimitation - <http://www.ifes.org/publications-detail.html?id=292> .

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

Session Description

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.

Guest Speaker – Dr. Lisa Handley, Frontier International

Power Point Presentation – Delimiting Electoral Boundaries in Post-Conflict and Fragile States

Election of the Week – Pakistan – Parliamentary – October 2007

The Working Group budgets are due.

Session Four – Forcibly Displaced Electorates - October 12, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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

Session Description

Fragile societies experience displacement of people related to conflict, economics, and other factors that have a bearing on the electoral process. In many fragile societies, this displacement represents political cleavages that must be closed in the electoral process for the outcomes to be widely accepted. This session will explore the kinds of programming that has been conducted for the enfranchisement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), refugees, asylum seekers, and diasporas. The electoral case study of the Kosovo municipal elections of 2000 will be discussed.

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

Guest Speaker – Professor Jeremy Grace, State University of New York, Geneseo

Power Point Presentation – Elections and the Displaced

Telephone Conversation – Erin Mooney, United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the Brookings-Bern IDP Project

Election of the Week – Oman – Legislative – October 2007

Web site demonstration – <http://www.geneseo.edu/~iompress>

Session Five – Electoral Violence and Conflict - October 19, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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> .

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

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

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 resolving grievances in fragile states.

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

Guest Speaker – Tihana Bartulac-Blanc, electoral consultant

Telephone Conversation – Ali-Diabacte Tadjoudine, Director of Elections, United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC)

Video Tape – Guyana electoral rioting of 1993

Power Point Presentation – Elections at Risk

Power Point Presentation – Electoral Violence – Guyana and Electoral Violence Education and Resolution (EVER) Project, IFES

Election of the Week – Jamaica – Legislative – October 2007

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

Handouts –

Fischer, Jeff, “Electoral Conflict and Violence,” *Elections Today*, 2005
IFES EVER Reports

Virtual Handout –

Review of election security plans on CD ROM

Session Six – Political Finance and Competition - October 26, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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> .

Carlson, Jeffrey and Marcin Walecki, “Money and Politics Program - Guide to Applying Lessons Learned,” IFES and United States Agency for International Development 2006, General Review - <http://www.ifes.org/publications-detail.html?id=293>

Lindberg, Staffan I., Democracy and Elections in Africa, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, Reading Assignment - Introduction.

Session Description

The financing of political parties and campaigns is often opaque in elections conducted in fragile societies and has a direct impact on the fairness of political competition. The election organizers cite the difficulties with enforcement of serious crimes as evidence that the enforcement capacity does not exist for political finance law to be effective. Nevertheless, embedding the precedent of political finance accountability in the process in its early transitional stages provides more opportunities for development and sustainability. Fragile political environments are susceptible to illicit funding practices to obtain governance; the early introduction of a regulatory framework to establish ground rules and disclosure requirements should be examined.

The issue of political finance is also linked to that of political competition. The ability of political stakeholders to effectively compete for governance is a critical for the long term credibility of an electoral process. The experience of Africa holds a number of lessons regarding founding and succession elections and the growth and role of political parties. Research on the development of political competition in Africa will be discussed.

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

Guest Speaker – Dr. Marcin Walecki, IFES Senior Advisor on Political Finance

Telephone Conversation – Dr. Staffan I. Lindberg, author, Democracy and Elections in Africa, and Assistant Professor of Comparative and Transnational Politics and Policy, University of Florida

Power Point Presentation – Political Finance in Fragile States

Election of the Week – Guatemala – Presidential - 2007

Electoral scenario papers are due

Fall Recess – October 27 – November 4, 2007

Field work on Group Project

Session Seven – Electoral Planning and Budgeting - November 9, 2007

Preparatory Reading

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 .

Telephone Conversation – Dr. Rafael Lopez Pintor, co-editor, Getting to the CORE

Power Point Presentation – Cost of Registration and Elections (CORE) Project, UNDP

Election of the Week – Ethiopia – Presidential – November 2007

Web site demonstration – <http://www.moneyandpolitics.net> IFES web site

Handouts for Review – election planning and budgeting documents

Session Eight – November 16, 2007

In-class work sessions on final reports and briefings

Thanksgiving Break - November 22 - 25 2007

Thanksgiving Break.

Session Nine – November 30, 2007

Presentation of Group Project to Clients in New York

Session Ten – December 7, 2007

Presentation of Group Project to Clients in Washington, DC

Session Eleven – December 14, 2007

Discussion and feedback from client and preparation of final Blue Ribbon Panel Report.

Completion of first draft of final reports reflecting clients' questions.

Winter Recess – December 18, 2007 – January 6, 2008

January 2008 (dates open)

Completion of final version of Group Project papers

Presentation of Group Projects to Blue Ribbon Panel

Class close-out

Electoral Scenarios for Fragile States
Writing Assignment
Terms of Reference
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Classroom – Robertson Hall 012

Background

The development of electoral processes in fragile states involves dozens of policy decisions that must be assembled into a publicly acceptable, transparent, and manageable whole. In fragile states lacking existing or effective electoral institutions and processes, the policy-making process must be comprehensive in nature.

In such an environment, international and national stakeholders must make fundamental decisions about eligibility, representation, and governance. These decisions will determine the make-up of electoral processes and institutions. Whether these institutions are transitional or permanent in nature, their character and effectiveness will have a bearing on the politics, economy, and social character of the country for years to come.

Assignment

The objective of the electoral scenario exercise is for the writer to gain working familiarity with the major policy decisions associated with the development of electoral processes and institutions, and to assemble these decisions into a plausible scenario or set of scenarios for a given hypothetical fragile state election, in this case, a newly established state. The scenario paper should be from ten to twelve pages in length and provide a description of electoral timelines, processes, and outcomes of an electoral process to fill the seats of government for the first time.

In the wave of democratization during the 1990s that occurred in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere, new states emerged that required an electoral process and an institutional framework which had to be developed through international assistance and national affirmation.

Although the first elections in your scenario will be hypothetical, the case options are taken from existing locations of dispute concerning independence or autonomy issues. The exercise is intended to draw from actual research on specific locations where the issues of territorial independence are relevant. Each student will be asked to each select one of the following locations for the scenario paper.

The scenario locations are shown below.

- Chechnya (Russian Federation)
- Tamil Eeilem (Sri Lanka)
- Tibet (People's Republic of China)
- Jammu and Kashmir (India and Pakistan)
- Western Sahara (Morocco and Polisario Front)
- Kurdistan (Iraq)
- Mindanao (Philippines)
- Chiapas (Mexico)

These scenario papers should be drafted into a descriptive narrative with supporting numbers where required. In assembling an electoral scenario, the writer must be cognizant of the activities that must occur in sequence and those that can move in parallel with other activities.

The writers must be able to identify the dependencies (i.e. voter registration and casting ballots) associated with each of these policy decisions. Please include a bibliography with the paper. The scenarios should be based upon research and the facts of the case, but the solutions should be speculative and innovative.

Scenario Content

The scenario paper should describe the processes and outcomes of the electoral issues outlined below.

A. Assumptions on the Circumstances of Independence

1. Conflict – if there is an ongoing conflict associated with the scenario case, then describe a plausible resolution of the conflict
2. Political or Peace Agreements – describe the existing or speculated political or peace agreements underlying the independence measure
3. Legislation – describe the legislative process employed for the development of an electoral legal framework

B. System of Representation

1. Formula – describe the electoral formula selected to translate votes into seats
2. List System - select a closed list or open list system of parties and candidacies
3. Districting – describe the system of electoral districting
4. Unicameral or Bicameral – select a one chamber or two chamber assembly

5. Size – determine the number of seats and the criteria for selecting this number
6. Ethnic and Gender Quotas – describe any program of set aside seats for women or minorities
7. Term – determine if the offices are transitional or permanent in nature

C. Levels of Governance

1. Executive – describe how the executive is selected
2. National, Regional, Local Mandates – describe the relationship among different levels of governance

D. Election Security

1. Security Force – describe the international and national security forces protecting the electoral process.
2. Threats – describe the threat scenario against electoral facilities, stakeholders, supplies, and information
3. Victims, Perpetrators, and Motives – describe the likely victims of electoral violence, the perpetrators of that violence and their motives

E. Election Management Body

1. Structure and Selection – describe the organization and composition of the Election Management Body (EMB)
2. National and Local – describe the system of local election authorities

F. Other Institutional Stakeholders

1. International Stakeholders
 - a) Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) – describe the roles of IGOs in overseeing and supporting the electoral process
 - b) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) – describe the roles of NGOs in monitoring and assisting the electoral process.
2. National Stakeholders
 - a) Security Forces – describe the roles of the police and military

b) Other Government Agencies – describe the assistance to be provided or roles to be played by other government agencies will play such as the Ministry of Education or the Civil Registry

G. Eligibility and Registration Programs

1. Parties, Independent Candidate, Coalitions, Civic Alliances – describe the organizational options and eligibility criteria for political entities to be established and contest for office
2. Candidates – describe the eligibility requirements including lustration provisions such as indictments for wars crimes, officials in previous regime, etc., to be employed in certifying legitimate candidates
3. Voters – describe the eligibility for voter inside and outside of the country including the mean by which voter identification, documentation, and registration will occur
4. Observers – describe the eligibility requirements and certification process for national monitors, political entity agents, and international observers
5. Media - describe the accreditation process for media and media access opportunities for political entities

H. Electoral Operations

1. Staffing and Training – describe the level of staff required for the administration of the process and the training requirements; include an organizational chart for the election management body
2. Voter Education – describe the audiences, messages, and media to be used to inform voters about campaign news and election information inside and outside of the country
3. Balloting – design the ballot and describe the balloting process
4. Tabulation, Results Reporting, and Certification – describe where the votes are counted and how this tabulation process accumulates to a total; describe the measures for transparency and audits of the results; describe the criteria for certification of the results
5. Adjudication – describe the process by which election complaints and challenges are adjudicated

I. Outcome Scenarios

1. Using different sets of assumptions, provide plausible outcomes for the elections including winners, losers, boycotts, challenges, and prospects for sustainability

Managing Elections in Fragile States
Information Resources
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- Amy, Douglas J. 2000. *Behind the ballot box: A citizen's guide to voting systems*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Asongwed, Tah. 2004. *Guide to electoral fraud: Loser take all*. USA: Self published Xlibris Corporation.
- Blanc, Jarrett and Aanund Hylland and Kåre Vollan. 2006. *State structure and electoral systems in post-conflict situations*. Washington, DC: IFES.
- Budge, Ian and Hans Keman, eds. 1990. *Parties and democracy: Coalition formation and government functioning in twenty states*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Carothers, Thomas. 1999. *Aiding democracy abroad, the learning curve*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- _____. 2004. *Critical mission: Essays on democracy promotion*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
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- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Dahl, Robert A. 1998. *On democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Davis, Steve and Larry Elin and Grant Reeher. 2002. *Click on democracy: The internet's power to change political apathy into civic action*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Di Palma, Giuseppe. 1990. *To craft democracies: An essay on democratic transitions*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Fischer, Jeff and Marcin Walecki and Jeffrey Carlson, eds. 2006. *Political finance in post-conflict societies*. Washington, DC: IFES.
- Florini, Ann. 2005. *The coming democracy: New rules for running a new world*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-building: Governance and world order in the 21st century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Fuller, Graham E. 1991. *The democracy trap: Perils of the post-cold war world*. New York, NY: Penguin Group.
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- Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The political economy of democratic transitions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Handley, Lisa, lead writer. 2006. *Delimitation equity project resource guide*. Washington, DC: IFES.
- Herman, Edward S. and Frank Brodhead. 1984. *Demonstration elections: U.S.-staged elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Issacharoff, Samuel and Pamela S. Karlan and Richard H. Pildes. 2002. *The law of democracy: Legal structure of the political process*. New York, NY: Foundation Press.
- Keyssar, Alexander. 2000. *The right to vote: The contested history of democracy in the United States*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Lijphart, Arendt. 1984. *Democracies: Patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
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- Lowenthal, Abraham F., ed. 1991a. *Exporting democracy: The United States and Latin America — Case studies*. Baltimore, MD and London, UK: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
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- Lyman, Princeton N. 2002. *Partner to history: The U.S. role in South Africa's transition to democracy*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
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- Moore, Ray A. and Donald L. Robinson. 2002. *Partners for democracy: Crafting the new Japanese state under MacArthur*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
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Reiter, Dan and Allan C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at war*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Reynolds, Andrew and Ben Reilly. 2005. *Electoral system design: The new international IDEA handbook*. Stockholm, Sweden: International IDEA.

Weiner, Myron and Ergun Ozbudun, eds. 1987. *Competitive elections in developing countries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.