

» Democracy in the making «

IN THIS ISSUE

FOCUS

SEE Public Agenda I-4

OPINION

Zimbabwe Elections

Reginald Austin 5

FROM THE FIELD

Georgia, Training Election Officials
in East Timor 6-7

IN ACTION

UN and Democracy Conference,
Burkina Faso, Indonesia, Nigeria,
Burma 8-9

IDEA CALENDAR 10

UPCOMING PUBLICATIONS ... 11

OFF THE PRESS 12

TRACKING THE PUBLIC AGENDA

PAGE 3

The three most important issues for citizens of South East Europe (SEE) are unemployment, poverty and corruption, according to the newly-released SEE Public Agenda Survey, an opinion poll conducted by a network of regional survey organizations and think tanks supported by International IDEA.



Belgrade, February 2002. Yugoslav magazine *Vreme* (Time) features the opening of the trial of Slobodan Milosevic. Public attitudes towards the Hague Tribunal (ICTY) across the region is one of the issues tracked in the SEE Public Agenda Survey.



Board of Directors Announces New Secretary-General

On 25 April the International IDEA Board of Directors unanimously appointed Ambassador Karen Fogg as the new Secretary-General of the organization, now in its seventh year of operation. Ambassador Fogg, a British national, presently serves as Head of the European Community Representation in Turkey. She has previously served as EU Ambassador to Romania, and with PHARE, the EU's Central and Eastern Europe assistance agency.

"The Board was unanimous in its selection of Ambassador Fogg among a field of excellent candidates," said Chairman of the Board of International IDEA Ambassador Thorvald Stoltenberg. "We are convinced she will provide the leadership and experience necessary to meet the many complex challenges facing International IDEA."

The first Secretary-General and founder of International IDEA, Mr Bengt Säv-Söderbergh, stepped down in mid-April. The organization has also recently undergone a significant restructuring.

Dr Erling Olsen, past Board member and more recently Deputy Secretary-General, was appointed acting Secretary-General following Säv-Söderbergh's resignation. "International IDEA has been a pioneer and rather unique in the promotion of sustainable democracy worldwide," said Dr Olsen. "We look forward to Ambassador Fogg leading the organization as we increase our membership of democratic states and develop new methods to directly assist new and re-established democracies the world over."

During her assignments with the European Union Ambassador Fogg has been known for her expertise on democracy and governance issues. She is expected to start work at the Strömsborg headquarters of International IDEA this August.

Tracking The Public Agenda

As the adage goes there are lies, damned lies – and statistics. And nowhere more so than with opinion polls, many a politician would add. So why is International IDEA backing a new initiative to track the views and attitudes of ordinary citizens in South East Europe (SEE) on the basis of a region-wide opinion poll?

The answer is to be found in the track record of a decade of democratic reform in SEE – often known as the Balkans, an increasingly unpopular term in the region itself. Simply put, even in countries such as Romania and Bulgaria that underwent the formal transition to democracy following the collapse of communist rule at the end of the 1980s, there are lingering concerns over the depth of commitment to democratic reform. And such concerns are further amplified in the successor states of former Yugoslavia, many of which are still recovering from the devastating wars unleashed in the wake of the country's disintegration in the early 1990s.

In the latter case, the international community is also faced with increasingly tough questions about its involvement in the region. Are the billions of dollars of assistance and squadrons of peacekeepers that the EU, UN, OSCE and others continue to pour into the region making a real difference? And, equally importantly, what do the intended beneficiaries – the people of the region – really think about these efforts?

PUBLIC AGENDA SURVEY

The need for hard facts about what the people, as well as the political elites, of SEE think about progress to date with democratic reform, as well as their future priorities, is the starting point for the first International IDEA-sponsored SEE Public Agenda Survey. In line with the Institute's commitment to building and supporting local capacities, the SEE survey initiative has been developed over the last two years in co-operation with a regional consortium of research organizations and think-tanks known as the South East Europe Democracy Support (SEEDS) network. The first regional survey, based on the results of face-to-face interviews with around 10,000 people conducted in nine SEE countries and territories in January - February 2002, was officially launched at a Press Conference held in Belgrade in mid-March.

Key issues covered in the survey for all the countries and territories in focus (Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herze-

govina – two separate surveys, one each for the BiH Federation and Republika Srpska, Croatia, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Romania) are:

- Attitudes towards economic, social and political issues
- Trust in public figures and domestic institutions
- Trust in international institutions

The full survey results, available at: www.idea.int/balkans/index.htm, provide a fascinating snapshot of what ordinary people in SEE are currently thinking about a wide swathe of issues, ranging from their own current economic situation and future prospects to attitudes to national institutions such as the church, the police and

useful material for local authorities throughout the region as well as for the international community to help design their policies and actions in the Balkan countries." He went on to describe it as "a tool to promote democratic governance by making the opinions of citizens heard on the key questions confronting their societies."

According to Alin Teodorescu, CEO of Bucharest-based opinion polling company IMAS and a founding member of the SEEDS network, the main findings show that public opinion in SEE countries is in "very varying stages of development." At one end is Kosovo, says Teodorescu, characterized by strong appreciation of international organizations coupled with high levels of optimism about the future. At the other end of the scale are countries such as Bulgaria

“ The survey shows that the public is more concerned about domestic problems than ethnic and international issues ”

government, as well as trust in international political figures such as Presidents Bush and Putin, and international institutions including the EU, NATO, UN and World Bank.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Overall, the regional survey indicates that the SEE public is more concerned about domestic problems such as unemployment, corruption and crime than ethnic, historical and international issues. But despite pervasive mistrust and a widely-held belief that many key decisions are made outside their own country, the majority of people in the region are none the less optimistic about their own – and their country's – future economic prospects. (*For samples of the survey results see boxes*)

Reacting to the survey's release Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and a member of the Board of International IDEA noted that the report contains "very

and Macedonia, where the survey provides evidence of widespread disappointment over the current course of developments, low optimism concerning the future and a low appreciation of international organizations.

Moreover, with the notable exception of Kosovo, Teodorescu notes that the survey reveals a critical lack of trust in official institutions of all kinds across the region – in itself an important obstacle to development, since lack of trust spells a lack of respect for rules and laws.

Teodorescu also points out that the survey shows that SEE public opinion is dominated by day-to-day concerns such as poverty, inflation and corruption – concerns that, as he sees it "have little connection with what at least a section of the ruling elite in the region considers important. Simply put", he continues, "the ethnic, historical

or anti-globalizing agenda of these elites is not supported by the people of the region.”

POLICY MAKING

Overall, Teodorescu highlights the survey as “a good basis for policy-making, since it shows the kind of policies for which there is genuine public support – policies designed to reduce unemployment and inflation, social policies to combat poverty and marginalization.” And he goes on to warn that if SEE governments want to achieve greater public support in their own countries, they will need to start focusing on policies dealing with “the public’s primary concerns”.

Regional reaction to the survey report has been enthusiastic, with a wide range of local media devoting space to reporting its findings on public attitudes in both their own and neighbouring countries. And equally importantly from International IDEA’s perspective, the survey has been gaining the attention of national and international policy makers in the SEE region. In a recent speech to the West Balkans Democracy Forum, for example, EU Commissioner for External Relations Chris Patten described it as a “fascinating poll” providing evidence that “our [EU Commission] priorities are the people’s priorities: creating effective institutions, the rule of law, beating crime and corruption, and generating jobs.” The project has not finished with the production of the first survey. Beyond providing data on the SEE public agenda, International

IDEA aims to use the findings as the basis for providing focused policy options and analysis. A series of briefings for key international actors in the region has already taken Institute staff to Kosovo, for an OSCE regional heads of mission meeting, and Belgium, for a discussion with representatives of the EU, Stability Pact and other Brussels-based international organizations active in SEE. Additionally, the first of an ongoing series

of Policy Briefs analysing the survey findings in more detail have recently been published and distributed widely (*for details see box.*)

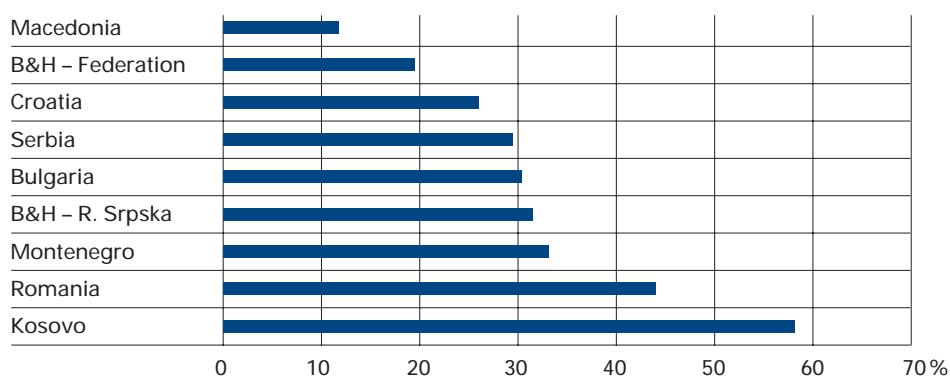
For the future, plans are to conduct a new survey poll in the second half of 2002, the aim eventually being to provide a practical instrument for tracking the continued development of the SEE public agenda in the years to come.

SOME SURVEY RESULTS:

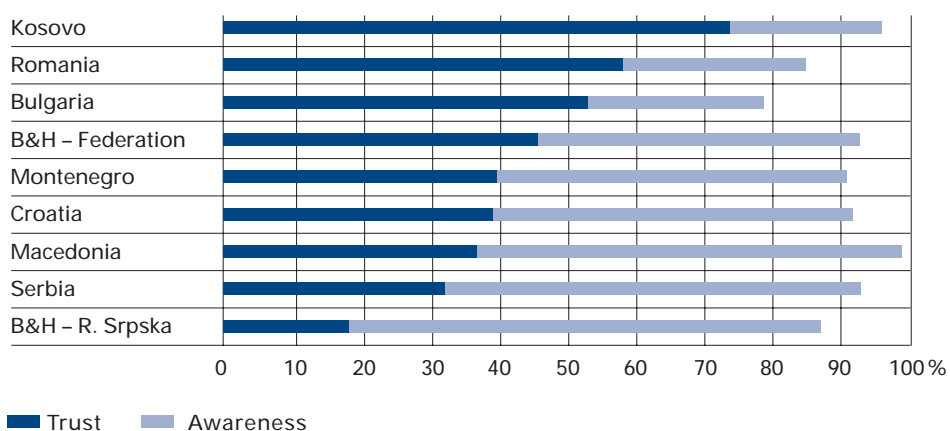
PUBLIC ISSUES (Three most important public issues)

B&H – R. Srpska	Unemployment	Corruption	Crime
B&H – Federation	Unemployment	Corruption	Poverty
Kosovo	Unemployment	Poverty	Corruption
Croatia	Unemployment	Poverty	Corruption
Serbia	Unemployment	Corruption	Poverty
Macedonia	Unemployment	Poverty	Corruption
Bulgaria	Unemployment	Poverty	Crime
Romania	Corruption	Poverty	Unemployment
Montenegro	Corruption	Unemployment	Poverty

TRUST IN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS (Government)



TRUST IN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (European Union)



SEE Survey Project Resources

In March 2002 International IDEA launched the democracy information portal **South Eastern Europe: New Means for Regional Analysis**

www.idea.int/balkans

Items available include:

- Full Survey results
- Press materials

Policy Briefs based on data collected for the SEE Public Agenda Survey:

No.1 by Dr Vladimir Gligorov
www.idea.int/balkans/policy_brief_balkans.pdf

No.2 by Dr Mark Thompson
www.idea.int/balkans/policy_brief_balkans_2.pdf

The Challenge Of Election Observation: The Zimbabwean Experience

One of the main international institutional innovations to emerge following the collapse of the Soviet empire and the demise of apartheid has been the practice of international election observation. International election observation has been through many experiences in the past decade, and some lessons have been learnt. The March 2002 Presidential election in Zimbabwe provides further experience and deserves the reflection and attention it has had and will get. *Professor Reginald Austin*

Democratic elections conducted in the context of the rule of law are one key to the establishment and strengthening of a democratic state. In the early period of the new 'era of democracy', elections were the first and most dramatic evidence of the transition. What election observation lacked, however, was a clearly stated and internationally agreed set of standards for defining when an election is judged to have provided a legitimate basis for democratic government. The essential elements of a free and fair election are not a mystery. They have been clearly and simply stated by Jörgen Elklit and Palle Svensson as follows: "Freedom . . . contrasts with coercion . . . and entails the right and the opportunity to choose".

regards international election observation as an important part of the contemporary democratizing 'system'. But it has always defined it as 'the purposeful gathering of information regarding an electoral process and the making of informed judgements about the process on the basis of the information collected.' (*International IDEA Guidelines for Determining Involvement in International Election Observation*).

Zimbabwe's 2002 election posed for some would-be observers the question: is it worthwhile to observe an election where the context makes it obvious in advance that it can be neither free nor fair? The tendency has been to observe rather than decline. The danger of this approach is the probability that the mission once there will seek to avoid

Mission's Report on the 2002 Zimbabwean Presidential election. Having considered the broader context as well as the immediate conditions of the campaign and polling, and despite finding that 'the actual polling and counting processes were peaceful and secrecy of the ballot was assured', the Report concludes that conditions in Zimbabwe 'did not adequately allow for a free expression of will by the electors'.

Indeed, the Commonwealth subsequently decided to suspend Zimbabwe from the organization for one year. This is an important landmark in giving additional meaning to the claims of democratically assertive sections of the international community to be the promoters and defenders of the transition to democracy. Along with actions by the USA, the EU and some individual states acting bilaterally protesting a variety of alleged abuses and misgovernment by Zimbabwe, it is the most cogent example to date of the determination of a part of the international community to act against a 'stolen election'.

Less attention has been paid to the conclusion of the SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADCPF) observer mission "that the election process could not be said to adequately comply with the norms and standards for elections in the SADC region." There is an important lesson to be learnt here relating to the long-term status of international election observation in general, and connected to the fact that the SADCPF judges electoral democracy within a well-articulated framework of standards, agreed and publicized in advance. They are SADC standards.

Put simply, the SADCPF had identified and agreed what they were looking for. Looking ahead, the report also suggests that peer review, if not left to ad hoc political pressures and unrestrained subjectivity, is a viable proposition in the region.

DIFFERING AGENDAS

However, the conclusions of other regional observer missions underlines the continued problem of 'co-ordination'. There have been frequent demands, and occasionally practical steps to ensure that international missions do not grossly contradict one another. These have generally been to no avail, and the Zimbabwean election illustrates the

continued on page 9 ➔

“ Is it worthwhile to observe an election where it is obvious that it can be neither free nor fair? ”



ELECTORAL ESSENTIALS

However, the cost of this convenient fudging has taken its toll. International election observation, which purports to uphold and strengthen the integrity of the electoral dimension of democracies in transition, has continued and multiplied. But, with some exceptions, it has failed to set and apply agreed standards and has focused on the most immediate elements of the election 'event' – the campaign, poll and count. This has meant insufficient attention to the fact that an election is a highly political event within a political setting.

This enables politicians paying only lip service to plural democracy, to undermine the integrity of an apparently fair poll in advance. The consequence – 'elected governments' devoid of democracy. International IDEA

condemning the integrity of an election. Thus a mission entering such a prejudiced environment risks granting legitimacy to a government which has not been 'elected' through an exercise of free choice.

Observer missions often serve purposes other than judging the integrity of the election. One is to build the confidence of – or to protect – a contesting party facing intimidation or gross manipulation. These are normally in opposition and almost invariably they prefer observers to be present. This was true in Zimbabwe, and it will always create a dilemma for those facing difficult elections, if they do so without a clear set of standards.

ELECTORAL INTEGRITY?

There is a possible major development arising from the Commonwealth Observer

Democracy In Georgia: Bringing The People Back In

In June 2002 Georgia is heading for its second local elections. But after ten years of democratic transition, communities still feel that their voices count for little.

By Jaba Devdariani

International IDEA's newly-launched 'Georgia and the South Caucasus' project has gathered local government and civil society representatives in Georgia to discuss the results and challenges of democratic transition in the country. Ten regional work-



shops were held between February and April this year in five regions of Georgia: Kakheti Region (Telavi), Imereti Region (Kutaisi), Samegrelo Region, Ajara (Batumi) and Samtskhe-Javakheti.

Emerging from the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union in early 1990s, Georgia rapidly fell into a quagmire of political confrontation and civil clashes. A process of recovery began in 1995 and established the basic constitutional elements of a democratic system, but people say these declarations alone are not sufficient to make the democracy work.

REGIONAL WORKSHOPS

Most of the workshop participants in all provinces stated that elected local government lacks real power to influence people's lives. The majority of decisions are still taken by appointed rather than elected representatives, which lessens civil oversight and accountability.

Officials present conceded that these problems need to be tackled, but gradually, not to upset the fragile balance of an ethnically and economically diverse country. But participants responded that constitutional freedoms cannot be limited by political expediency. This is one of the toughest questions due to be tackled by the International IDEA local team of partners, in consultation with governmental and international organizations, as a follow-up to the workshops.

While self-governance issues were undeniably the most important topic in the workshops, participants also talked about shadow economy, economic crisis and flawed privatization processes that have left many people in urban and rural areas without jobs and in relative poverty. Most of the participants thought that encouraging fair competition and enabling legislation that would create a functioning environment for private initiatives could help to solve these economic problems.

“ Local government lacks real power to influence people's lives ”

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

But along with problems, the representatives of burgeoning civil society in the provinces of Georgia said that they do their best to demand responses from the bureaucrats, defend the rights of minorities, and help those in need. The International IDEA initiative, they said, is an additional tool for them to better serve the needs of the communities and for engaging in direct dialogue with both government and internationals.

On 8-9 June International IDEA will hold a national conference in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, titled 'Georgia and the South

Caucasus: Challenges Towards Sustainable Democracy', which will allow representatives of the regional workshops, elected during the meetings, to carry their message to leading experts, officials and members of the development community.

Arnold Stepanian of the NGO Multinational Georgia, one of International IDEA's partners, says he has acquired many new insights during the provincial workshop meetings, insights that will be used in drafting a chapter for the International IDEA *Georgia Democracy Assessment Report* – a framework document that will be used to shape advocacy initiatives based on local needs.

Jaba Devdariani is Founding Director and Chairman of the Board of the United Nations Association (UNA) in Georgia and an International IDEA local expert partner.

International IDEA's **Georgia and the South Caucasus** site area provides an overview and up-to-date information on the progress of the International IDEA programme of democracy assessment through dialogue in Georgia, and an upcoming expanded regional initiative, as well as a library of links to relevant documents and resources.

To view the site visit:
www.idea.int/georgia

Building Election Administration Capacity

International IDEA, the Australian Electoral Commission and the United Nations have recently co-operated in the development of a draft Curriculum for Election Administrators. The first version of the hands-on, nine-module course for mid-level election managers was successfully run this past year in East Timor.

International IDEA is only one of a number of agencies recognizing that the building of a strong and stable electoral administration capacity in-country is more valuable in the long run than providing ad hoc electoral assistance from outside. Investing in people is a key component of this more sustainable approach.

EAST TIMOR ELECTIONS

In East Timor, for the first time in UN-run elections, an intensive and comprehensive capacity-building effort was built into the electoral process. A major part of that initiative was a course that aimed at transforming local recruits into professional election administrators in a remarkably short time frame.



Elections in East Timor.

About 70 Timorese were trained in this course. During the recent presidential election in April, these graduates served as District Co-ordinators and in the headquarters of the Election Commission.

Wide international recognition of the professional conduct of staff at polling stations around the territory confirmed the hopes of the course organizers. The Carter Center observation team stated the following: "It is noteworthy that in this election half of the officers presiding over voting centres were Timorese. Election Commission head-quarter offices in each of the 13 districts

were co-ordinated by Timorese, in what is clearly an achievement in capacity-building. This election demonstrates that East Timor has a cadre of trained and qualified electoral staff needed to conduct future elections at an international standard."

CURRICULUM

This initiative in East Timor is just one example of an attempt to address the increase in requests from newer election mana-



Bridge course in Dili, East Timor.

“ Investing in people is key when building a strong and stable electoral administration ”

gement bodies for electoral training assistance. Under the name the Bridge Project, International IDEA, the Australian Electoral Commission and the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division have developed jointly a curriculum and course structure aimed at enhancing the skills, confidence, and networks of election managers. The course encourages participants to make informed assessments about the electoral systems and structures which best suit their needs by using adult learning principles and a wealth of material such as that found in the www.aceproject.org site (Administration and Cost of Elections Project).

A training team will normally mix the services of trained facilitators and electoral experts. Australian Ross Attrill, co-ordinator of the curriculum development and a principal trainer for the initial modules run in East Timor, describes his experience as follows:

"The workshops have been filled with laughter, serious opinion, ordered and moving discussion, outstanding work and a real sense of comradeship. Everyone's confidence has grown at a remarkable rate."

Bridge Courses in 2001-2002:

East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Australia and Fiji.

Accredited Trainers to date from:

Australia, France, East Timor, United Kingdom

Upcoming Courses:

A series of Bridge pilot courses are planned to be held by International IDEA in Mozambique in the final quarter of 2002. International IDEA plans to run the full Bridge course in Mozambique in 2003-2004 prior to the December 2004 general elections.

For more information contact:

t.laanela@idea.int
ross.attrill@aec.gov.au
dunnes@un.org

UN & Democracy Conference

AS PART OF International IDEA's 'UN and Democracy' project a conference was held in New York on 3 May to address linkages between democratization, peace-building and development in UN peace keeping operations. General agreement was reached between International IDEA staff and an audience of UN officials, academics and members of diplomatic missions on the need to mainstream democratization as an integral component of peace-building, develop preventive strategies and initiate debates on specific policy ideas within UN agencies. Specifically, many participants urged that International IDEA attempt to generate more debate on effective intervention strategies for building democratic governance.

International IDEA is currently preparing a publication outlining practical recommendations for focusing democracy-building policy in UN interventions. Case studies from the eight peace-keeping operations discussed in two regional seminars held last year will be included, with initial distribution intended for the UN Secretariat and member states. Follow-up activities will include meetings with selected UN staff, both from headquarters and the field, to translate the recommendations into specific practical democratization strategies, as well as to further broaden the debate on this important topic. ■

Elections in Burkina Faso

'A BREAKTHROUGH FOR DEMOCRACY' is how many observers have described the May legislative elections in Burkina Faso, where the opposition party ADF-RDA gained 12.6 percent of the votes and 17 seats, thereby becoming the first opposition party in the country's history to gain significant parliamentary representation.

According to national and international observers the elections were free and fair. And despite some fraud and irregularities, public opinion, the electoral commission, political authorities and political parties alike expressed their satisfaction, since the results will make it possible to set up a more representative national assembly. According to Professor Augustin Loada, Director of the Burkinabe Centre for Democratic Development, one of the electoral system's past insufficiencies was its inequitable character. "It led to serious distortions between numbers of votes cast and seats obtained by parties. In the 1997 elections, with approximately 70 percent of the votes the [majority] CDP obtained 91 percent of seats in the assembly. This situation led to marginalization of the parliamentary opposition", says Loada.

International IDEA has supported Burkinabe efforts to establish consolidated democracy for the last five years with the support of the Centre for Democratic Governance (CDG), formally constituted in 2001 by International IDEA's Contact Group.

Media, national observers and diplomats in the capital Ouagadougou, including the new opposition leader Herman Yaméogo, have underlined the prominent role played by International IDEA and the CDG in the success of the May elections. "The president of the Electoral Commission specifically thanked the CDG in his 12 May speech following the release of the provisional election results", says Loada. ■

Burma

INTERNATIONAL IDEA WELCOMED the release of its Board member Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest on 5 May. In a telegram sent to Suu Kyi following her release, Chairman of the Board Thorvald Stoltenberg expressed the good wishes of "all your friends in the Board of International IDEA" and noted that the Institute is "looking forward to working with you again". On 27 May the Institute also commemorated the 12th anniversary of the Burmese election and called on the Myanmar autho-

rities to build on the goodwill engendered by the release of Aung San Suu Kyi to move towards a democratic transition.

The Institute continues its work with Burmese civil society groups in exile, and has recently organized activities intended to highlight the important political role women can and should play in peace-building and democratic transitions. In this context two workshops were held in New Delhi, India (16-17 May) and Chiang Mai, Thailand (19-20 May), where the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Radhika Coomarswamy, was one of the panellists.



Aung San Suu Kyi.

Tracking Gender in Indonesia

INTERNATIONAL IDEA IS organizing a series of gender-related activities during August and September 2002 in Indonesia.

From 31 August – 7 September Indonesian political activists will visit India, Philippines and Thailand to share experiences and knowledge. The groups will discuss themes such as affirmative action, gender mainstreaming and gender-sensitive policy design. A national conference titled 'Strengthening Women's Political Participation' will take place on 24

September. The conference will highlight the findings from the study visit teams as well as examining formal mechanisms to boost women's representation.

The main purpose is to produce and develop strategies to improve the effective participation of women in politics in Indonesia. The conference outcome will be an action plan for implementation by Indonesian gender activists. A new regionalized edition of the International IDEA Handbook *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* in Bahasa Indonesian will be launched at the same event. The conference will be followed by a workshop on quota systems to be held on 25 September. The purpose is to draw together politicians, researchers and activists to discuss the issue of quotas as a transitional tool for increasing women's political participation. ■

Nigeria Seminars

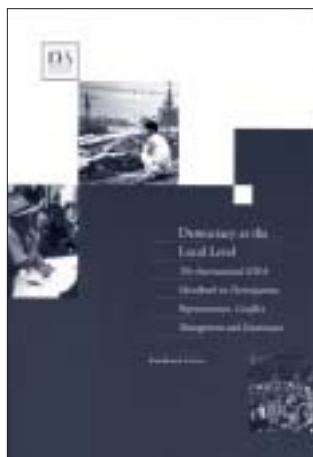
FROM JUNE TO August 2002 International IDEA will organize a series of seminars on the theme of 'Democracy at the Local Level' in Nigeria, the first three being held in Port Harcourt, Abeokuta and Kaduna. Spread across Nigeria's six geo-political zones, the seminars are intended to assist in mapping out the critical challenges and opportunities for democratic reforms at the local level. Issues of political responsiveness, participation, transparency, accountability and service delivery will be highlighted during the seminars. The output will feed into a fledgling programme on democracy at the local level in Nigeria, based on the publication *Democracy at the Local Level: The International IDEA Handbook on Participation, Representation, Conflict Management and Governance*. ■

Leadership for Local Democracy

LEADERSHIP FOR LOCAL DEMOCRACY is a series of advanced workshops for policymakers and practitioners around the world

on the design and practice of local democracy. The first workshop in the series will be a three-day event for Southern African mayors due to be held in August/September in South Africa. The workshop is organized by International IDEA together with the Africa section of the International Union of Local Authorities – the Africa Union of Local Authorities (IULA/AULA).

Before the workshop, survey questionnaires will be sent to the mayors of 37 cities in Southern Africa to identify the most pressing problems they face and the issues of local democracy that most directly impinge upon their ability to address these problems. The findings of the survey and the workshop will be shared with other relevant organizations. ■



Berlin Conference

ON 27-28 MAY International IDEA and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) organized a conference in Berlin titled 'Assisting Good Governance and Democracy: A Learning Process – Reflections on Developments in Africa'.

The conference was an opportunity for academics, political leaders, practitioners and representatives from a wide variety of organizations and countries to take a critical look at developments in Africa, and in particular, at international co-operation in the field of good governance and democracy. ■

continued from page 5

problem well. Arguably, the lack of 'co-ordination' is not due to inadequate communication or consultation during the election, but to a serious failure to achieve consensus on the actual purpose of observation, the procedures to be applied in observing and the standards by which judgements will be made. The reality is that the multiplicity of election missions means that a wide variety of agendas are being pursued, some having little to do with election integrity.

The 'internationalization' of national elections has inevitably meant that domestic politics have become more obviously and openly the concern of outsiders. 'Observation' has extended the opportunities and temptations to 'play from the inside', and for internal actors to devise and shape their strategies to exploit this fact.

In such mixed circumstances, the central issue of the integrity of electoral democracy has frequently been sidelined. A notable aspect of the Zimbabwean case is the fact that states interested in Zimbabwe's democracy were acting at several different levels. This, rather than the selective myopia or paranoia may account for their very different conclusions. Nigeria's report found no fault and indeed felt Nigerians could learn from Zimbabwe: yet the Commonwealth mission was chaired, in his personal capacity, by General Abdusalami Abubakar, a former Nigerian Head of State. South Africa's varying involvement in the Commonwealth, the SADC Forums and bilaterally revealed that very different scripts were in use to describe the same event.

The Zimbabwean Presidential election reminds us that while election observation remains an important form of international support for democracy, continued serious analysis and thought is needed if it is to become an effective tool for promoting the integrity of electoral democracy in a democratizing world.

Professor Reginald Austin is Programme Manager for Elections at International IDEA.

CALENDAR

JUNE 2002

DATE: 8-9 June

EVENT: National Conference 'Georgia and the South Caucasus: Challenges Towards Sustainable Democracy'

VENUE: Tbilisi, Georgia

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA and local networks

CONTACT: Armineh Arakelian, Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA

DATE: 10 June

EVENT: Round Table with the Commission on Human Security (Ogata-Sen Commission)

VENUE: Stockholm, Sweden

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Izumi Nakamitsu-Lennartsson, Head of Planning, International IDEA

DATE: 11 and 18 June

EVENT: Seminars on Political Reform

VENUE: Buenos Aires, Argentina

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, Cámara Nacional Electoral de Argentina, Asociación Argentina de Derecho Constitucional

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

DATE: 14-15 June

EVENT: Seminar 'Equality, Affirmative Action and Constitutional Reform'

VENUE: Peru

ORGANIZERS: Peruvian Ministry of Women and Human Development (PROMUDEH), Congressional Commission for Women and Development, Manuela Ramos NGO and International IDEA

CONTACT: Myriam Mendez-Montalvo, Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA

DATE: 17-19 June

EVENT: International IDEA Board and Council Meetings

VENUE: Stockholm, Sweden

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Katarina Jörgensen, Assistant to the Secretary-General

DATE: June-August

EVENT: A series of seminars on 'Democracy at the Local Level' in Nigeria

VENUE: Across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, starting in Port Harcourt, Abeokuta and Kaduna

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Muyiwa Adekeye, International IDEA (Lagos, Nigeria)

DATE: June-August

EVENT: A series of civil society workshops on the political party system in Peru

VENUE: Iquitos, Ica, Arequipa, Trujillo, Puno, and Lima, Peru

ORGANIZERS: Transparencia Perú, International IDEA

CONTACT: Myriam Mendez-Montalvo, Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA

JULY 2002

DATE: 3-6 July

EVENT: Nigeria Constitutional Review Workshop

VENUE: Nigeria

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, Citizens' Forum for Constitutional Review (CFCR)

CONTACT: Muyiwa Adekeye, International IDEA (Lagos, Nigeria)

DATE: 10 July

EVENT: Book Launch: *Politics Matters: Democratic Reform and*

the Quest for Development, produced by International IDEA and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)

VENUE: Salamanca, Spain

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, IDB, Universidad de Salamanca

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

DATE: (to be confirmed)

EVENT: Book Launch: *Politics Matters: Democratic Reform and the Quest for Development*, produced by International IDEA and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)

VENUE: Washington D.C., USA

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, IDB

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

AUGUST 2002

DATE: 14-16 August

EVENT: Conference on 'Political Culture and Participation'

VENUE: Mexico

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, Secretaría de Gobernación México

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

DATE: 14-17 August

EVENT: Workshop: Report on the 'State of Democracy' in Latin America

VENUE: New York, USA

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, UNDP/LAC (Latin America and the Caribbean)

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

DATE: August/September

EVENT: 3-day workshop for Southern African mayors. First in a series of 'Leadership for Democracy' events

VENUE: Cape Town, South Africa

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, Africa section of the International Union of Local Authorities – the Africa Union of Local Authorities (IULA/AULA)

CONTACT: Igor Koryakov, Programme Officer, International IDEA

DATE: 31 August-7 September

EVENT: Study visit by Indonesian women political activists to India, Philippines and Thailand

VENUE: India, Philippines, Thailand

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Cecilia Bylesjo, Project Consultant, International IDEA

SEPTEMBER 2002

DATE: 14-17 September

EVENT: Workshop: 'Toward the Development of Standards of Law and Practice to Promote Electoral Access for Citizens with Disabilities'

VENUE: Stockholm, Sweden

ORGANIZERS: The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), International IDEA, Swedish International Development Cooperation Assistance (SIDA)

CONTACT: Kate Sullivan, Assistant Programme Officer, International IDEA

DATE: 24 September

EVENT: National Conference: 'Strengthening Women's Political Participation' and Launch of International IDEA's Handbook

Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers in Bahasa Indonesian

VENUE: Indonesia

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Cecilia Bylesjo, Project Consultant, International IDEA

DATE: *25 September*

EVENT: Workshop on Quota Systems

VENUE: Jakarta, Indonesia

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Julie Ballington, Assistant Programme Officer, International IDEA

DATE: *30 September*

EVENT: Provincial Workshop constructing action plans for increasing the participation of women in DPRD's (Indonesia's regional parliament) and lower elected bodies.

VENUE: Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Cecilia Bylesjo, Project Consultant, International IDEA

DATE: *Late September*EVENT: Launch of the Election Process Information Collection (EPIC) public site (www.epicproject.org) at the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO)'s Annual Conference.

VENUE: Moscow, Russia

ORGANIZERS: ACEEEO, IFES, and the Central Election Commission of Russia

CONTACT: Anna Fogelmarck, Assistant Project Officer, International IDEA

OCTOBER 2002

DATE: *2 October*

EVENT: Provincial Workshop constructing action plans for inc-

reasing the participation of women in DPRD's (Indonesia's regional parliament) and lower elected bodies.

VENUE: Medan, Sumatra, Indonesia

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

CONTACT: Cecilia Bylesjo, Project Consultant, International IDEA

DATE: *22-25 October*

EVENT: Conference: Global Electoral Organization (GEO) Network

VENUE: México

ORGANIZERS: International IDEA, IFE, Elections Canada, IFES, UNDP

CONTACT: Daniel Zovatto, Senior Executive, International IDEA

Please check International IDEA's website: www.idea.int for more upcoming events

Handbook of Electoral System Design

The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design has been translated into French (*La Conception des Systèmes Électoraux – Un manuel de International IDEA*) and will be published mid-2002.



Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers

Since its release in 1998, there has been an overwhelming interest and demand for International IDEA's Handbook, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, from those advocating for change around the world. International IDEA has now embarked upon a series of regional editions.

The Handbook has been translated into Spanish, French and Bahasa Indonesian. The three new editions build on the original text, which has been updated and revised, with the addition of country case studies from the regions for which the Handbooks are intended: Latin America, Francophone Africa and Asia. Thus, it is not just a translation but a regionalization of the Handbook to address and bring attention to the experiences of women in legislatures in selected regions.

The new editions are scheduled to be completed in late 2002.



Politics Matters in Latin America

International IDEA has undertaken a regional research project with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The outcome of this joint endeavour is a book titled *Politics Matters: Democratic Reform and the Quest for Development*, to be launched in Spain in July 2002 and later in the year in Washington D.C., USA.

The book examines how different rules and institutional features of democratic systems affect their functioning as well as prospects for their consolidation. It systematically reviews and analyzes Latin America's experience with democratic reform over the past two decades in order to identify prevailing trends and to glean lessons about the types of reforms that may or may not hold promise for strengthening democracy. For more information contact the IDB (www.iadb.org).

idea on the web

www.idea.int

Launch of Election Information

The Electoral Process Information Collection (EPIC) project, a partnership of International IDEA, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), will launch a public website (www.epicproject.org) late September 2002 at the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO)'s Annual Conference in Moscow. The EPIC site will offer reliable, consistent comparative data on electoral systems, laws management and administration, which can be viewed either by country or comparatively by topic.

Voter Turnout

A revised Voter Turnout area of the International IDEA website will be launched in late June. The site area includes a complete database of Voter Turnout information from 1945 to date. Information can be accessed by country, region, globally or using user-defined queries, and is viewable as tabular information or as dynamically generated graphs. The entire database can be downloaded by visitors wishing to conduct their own research.

Electoral System Design

A similar site area covering Electoral System Design, based on the International IDEA Handbook of the same name, will also be launched in late June. This site area includes a database of current electoral systems used by over 200 countries and territories worldwide, viewable by country, regionally or globally, and fully integrated with the Voter Turnout site area.

South East Europe

In March 2002 International IDEA launched a democracy information portal titled **South East Europe: New Means for Regional Analysis** (www.idea.int/balkans). This site presents, among other things, the results of the South East Europe Public Agenda Survey.

OFF THE PRESS

Voter Turnout

Published in March this year, *Voter Turnout since 1945 – A Global Report* is the definitive statistical analysis of more than 1400 parliamentary and presidential elections held in over 170 countries.

Political participation in different regions is analysed and corresponding information is presented on the impact of literacy, the relationship between turnout and a country's wealth, and the link between civil liberties and turnout. In addition to the voter turnout statistics and analyses this publication contains a thematic focus on voter registration.

International IDEA has also published a study titled *Voter Turnout – The Western European Experience*, which presents election information and voter turnout statistics for both national and European Parliamentary elections from 1945 – 2001 for all the EU member states. More regional studies will be conducted during the course of 2002.



Both reports are available at:
www.idea.int/ideas_work/14a_electoral_voter.htm

Constitutional Change in Indonesia

International IDEA has published a conference report *Continuing Dialogues Towards Constitutional Change In Indonesia*. This report, from a conference held in Jakarta in October 2001, is available in English and Bahasa Indonesian. It will shortly be available at www.idea.int