

Second Edition of the Thematic Workshop on Elections, Violence and Conflict Prevention

Pre-Election Phase - Conflict Triggers and Inhibitors *left Fischer*



Pre-Election Phase

- Policy decisions concerning critical elements of the electoral legal architecture
- Policy decisions may trigger or inhibit electoral conflict in this and subsequent Phases of the Electoral Cycle
- ☐ Issues which fall outside of the mandates of Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and electoral assistance initiatives
- **□** HOWEVER...

EMBs and the assistance community must understand the conflict impact to be prevented or managed



Planning Principles for Electoral Conflict Prevention

Defined by a Set of Strategic Objectives Integrated among Electoral Conflict Stakeholders Stakeholders - Agents of Change to Change Identify the Gender Dimension to the Conflict Integrated into Broader Electoral Assistance and Conflict Prevention **Programming Coordinate with Security Sector Reform**

Compliance with International Standards and Practice Norms



Electoral Calendars and Conflict Prevention

☐ Technical Calendars

 Operational in nature and concern the administrative steps required to organize an election

Political Calendars

- Negotiation on electoral legislation, electoral official appointments, qualifying candidates, and resolving disputes
- Political agreements on electoral timing and sequencing and other aspects of the electoral process

Peacebuilding Calendars

 Prosecution of war criminals; Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration; demining



Electoral Security Framework

□ Electoral Conflict Assessment

State Electoral Security Stakeholders

■ Non-State Electoral Security Stakeholders

Electoral Legal Architecture



Electoral Conflict Assessment

■ Conflict Dynamics

- Drivers or Perpetrators of Conflict
- Motives
- Tactics
- Targets or Victims of Conflict

■ Environmental Factors

- Locations of Previous Conflict
- Anticipated Conflict by Electoral Phase
- Historical Intensity of Conflict

Conflict Profile



Electoral Security Stakeholders

☐ State Stakeholders

- Regulatory
- Security
- Judicial

- •
- •
- •

Non-State Stakeholders

Political Parties
Civil Society Organizations
Media Organizations
Traditional Leaders



Electoral Legal Architecture

- □ Constitutional Framework
- **☐** Electoral Systems
- □ Political Party Systems
- Defining the Electorate
- Election Management Body (EMB)



Electoral Rules and Conflict Basic Principles

- □ Rules can affect whether violence takes place, but also nature, form and location of violence
- Constitutional, electoral and informal rules can influence stakes
- □ Inclusion is an important basic principle (Atwood)



Electoral Rules and Conflict Basic Principles

- Broad trust, consultation and buy-in for rules from political contenders as well as other stakeholders – are as important as rules themselves.
- Disagreement about rules can be a sign of troubles ahead
- Predictability is also important (certain rules, uncertain outcomes)
- □ Politicians, not electoral experts, make rules. EMBs and advisers often should identify how existing rules may shape violence, rather than advise on rules themselves. (Atwood)



Electoral Rules and Conflict Constitutional or Informal Rules

- How are power and resources managed and distributed predictability of rules
- Basic rules of the game can be formal or informal
- ☐ How much power do election institutions enjoy? What are the benefits of office? How is power shared or decentralized (Atwood)?



Triggers and Inhibitors

■ Static or Evolving Legal Environment

■ Static

- Historical Impact and Conflict
- Political Eligibility
- Electoral Stakes
- Type, Timing, and Sequencing of Elections



Triggers and Inhibitors

☐ Evolving Legal Environment

- Potential for conflict in reform process or as a result of reforms
- Constitution "drafting" and constitution "making"
- Drafting is the legal responsibility of putting the rights, ideals, and guarantees which are agreed upon into language
- Constitution making is the broadly collaborative and inclusive process of identifying the priorities and scope of the constitution to ensure broad acceptance of its terms and ideals (IDEA)
- □ Reducing Stakes? Sharing Power? Type, Timing, and Sequencing of Elections? Opposition's Roles?



Electoral Systems

- □ Impact on behavior creating incentives for conflict
- Repressiveness and Representativeness
- Majoritarian
 - Winner-Take-All
 - Promotes officeholder accountability
 - Electoral engineering minority representation
- □ Proportional (PR)
 - Inclusive of small parties
 - Reserved seats for women and minorities
 - Political fragmentation
- Mixed Mixed Member Proportional and Parallel



Delimitation

- Potential for conflict during the delimitation process and in the Post-Election Phase when representation is perceived to be inequitable
 - India (2007)
 - Nigeria (2003) Niger Delta
- UN Peacebuilding Commission Priority in Sierra Leone (2007)
- Delimitation Conflict Prevention
 - Impartial delimitation authority
 - Develop and publicize the standards for delimitation policy decisions
 - Transparent delimitation process
 - Channels for public comment
 - Appeal Mechanisms



Political Party Systems

Political Party Law – eligibility, prohibitions, regulation, and revocations
"Electoralist"
 Interest Articulation Structured channels of communication between citizens and government
 Aggregation A spectrum of issues and beliefs can be assembled and brokered
Party Primaries and Selection of Candidates
Opportunities for Women in Political Party Leadership



Political Party Vote Seeking Strategies

■ Bridging Strategies

 Create a broad coalition across diverse social and ideological groups in the electorate

Bonding Strategies

 Focus upon gaining votes from a narrower home base among particular segmented sectors of the electorate (Norris)



Electoral and Political Party Systems

□ Bridging strategies in majoritarian systems

- Threshold for victory is higher
- Parties must reach out to diverse groups for support
- Centripetal

☐ Bonding strategies for PR systems

- Threshold for electability is lower
- Political appeals can be limited to a particular ethnic, linguistic, religious, regional or other segment of society
- Identity politics
- Centrifugal



Defining the Electorate

- □ Age
- Residency Internally Displaced Persons
- Disability
- Refugees and Asylum Seekers
- Diaspora
- Military and Other Security Forces
- Lustration



Regulating Political Behavior and Conflict

- Democracy requires participation for legitimacy
- Participation competition can transform into conflict
- Institutions that regulate political behavior
 - Election Management Bodies
 - Media Commissions
 - Land and Boundary Commissions
 - Anti-Corruption Commissions
 - Political Finance Regulators



Election Management Body

- Perceptions of EMB impartiality influences potential conflict through the Electoral Cycle
- ☐ Key Policy Decisions
 - Relationship to Government
 - Appointment and Confirmation Process
 - Appointment Authority
 - Eligibility for Appointment/Composition of EMB
 - Number of Members (Lopez-Pintor)
- Structural Independence and Behavioral Independence



Electoral Administration Code of Ethics

- Development of a profession versus professional development
 - Respect for the law
 - Non-partisan and neutral
 - Transparent
 - Accurate
 - Designed to serve voters (IDEA)



Role of New Media – Trigger or Inhibitor or Both?

- Internet Electoral Web Sites
- ☐ SMS
 - Indonesia (2005) coordinating 750 domestic observers
- Ushahidi Crowdsource Crisis Information
- "Facebook Revolutions"
 - Tunisia (2011)
 - Egypt (2011)
- **☐** Documentation or Abetting Electoral Crimes
 - Russia (2011) Aroz
 - Electronic "chain voting"
- ☐ Globalizing Electoral Violence
 - Iran (2009)
- Demonstration of Electoral Violence
 - Haiti (2010)



Pre-Election Phase - Conflict Triggers and Inhibitors

Thank you...

Questions?