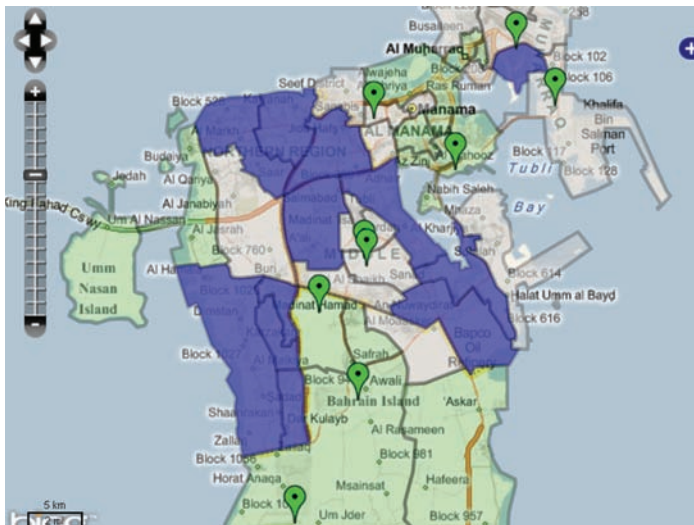


Spring 2011

## ■ ELECTION STORIES UNFOLD ON A MAP

A map of Bahrain showing population density and polling center locations for last October's parliamentary elections appears to have something incongruous. So-called super polling centers – established to relieve pressure on overcrowded polling stations and offer voters a conveniently located alternative – are not in any of the most populated districts.

Green pins representing the 10 super centers are all located outside the map's blue-shaded areas where most people live, raising questions about the centers' use.



Map of Bahrain shows that the most populous areas (in blue) and super polling centers (green pins) do not overlap.

NDI and the Bahrain Transparency Society, a local civic group, used this map powered by the Ushahidi platform – an organization that got its start mapping reports of violence after Kenya's 2007 elections – to illustrate a point that might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

Bahrain is just one location where NDI and its partner organizations use digital mapping to enhance transparency and provide information on elections and other events. The type of information conveyed is not new to election observing, but how it's conveyed – powerfully and visually – provides a snapshot that could be lost in a statistical report.

*continued on page 4*

## WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION GAINS GROUND, FACES HIGH HURDLES

Where women have gained a political voice around the world, there have been tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace.

In places as diverse as Timor-Leste, Croatia, Morocco, Rwanda and South Africa, an increase in the number of female lawmakers has led to legislation dealing with discrimination, domestic violence, family codes, inheritance, and child support and protection. In Rwanda,

*continued on page 5*



Afghan women candidates speak at a pre-election rally in Kabul.

## GLOBAL DOMESTIC ELECTION MONITORING NETWORK SEEKS TO SHARE EXPERIENCE



Sierra Leone domestic monitors watch vote counting during 2007 elections.

Millions of people around the world who have organized to monitor elections in their own countries often must brave difficult conditions and personal risk in a quest for responsive and transparent governance. While they share many goals and practices, they have not had a way, on their own, to connect with one another and benefit from the knowledge of their counterparts. Instead, they have relied on organizations such as NDI to help them share lessons and experiences.

Enter the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors, or GNDEM, born in 2009 and now connecting 140 member organizations from more than 60 countries. NDI spearheaded the effort to create GNDEM and currently manages the [GNDEM.org](http://GNDEM.org) website.

Launched last summer, the site provides easy access to more than 1,000 documents grouped into 39 priority topics identified by members. The topics range from how to maintain credibility and impartiality during observations to media strategies and the nuts and bolts of how to monitor various processes before, during and after elections.

The site also includes the Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations, which was written and agreed upon by GNDEM member organizations. The effort to

create and maintain global standards for domestic monitoring is similar to standards developed for international election observation adopted in 2005 and endorsed by 36 nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations.

The Global Principles set standards for citizen observers. They are a tool for advocating for more rights for observers and for observers to be able to exercise those rights, said Darko Aleksov, secretary general of the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO), which includes 22 monitoring groups from 16 countries in the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe.

“Citizen observation has become a movement. It’s not just a concept anymore,” Aleksov said. “Around eight million people in the world so far have been recruited, trained and deployed to be domestic observers on a voluntary basis. This [Global Principles] document is a product of what we have learned.”

Networks of monitoring groups from different regions in the world – including ENEMO, also a GNDEM member – have existed for some time to share experiences. But GNDEM is the first effort to bring these regional networks and individual groups together to share knowledge on a global scale.

“NDI has helped foster regional networks and connections among groups over its 25 years of assisting citizen election monitors in more than 75 countries,” said Pat Merloe, NDI’s director of electoral programs, and part of the idea behind GNDEM is to encourage greater direct peer-to-peer exchanges.

“Traditionally, NDI has been in the best position to share global developments in citizen election monitoring,” Merloe said. “For example, if monitoring election violence becomes important in a given country, we know that efforts in Sri Lanka, Guatemala and Zimbabwe provide useful models. We bring that knowledge to bear, often bringing activists together to share experiences or otherwise helping people make connections.”

These types of linkages are now beginning to happen





Domestic monitors audit a voter list in Indonesia in 2008.

through GNDEM. The Election Monitoring and Democracy Studies Center in Azerbaijan and the Egyptian Association for the Support of Democracy, for example, have sought the network's help in distributing reports and press releases, while a coalition of groups in Liberia has asked for feedback on its preparations for general elections next October. Organizations like the DEMGroup in Uganda and the Bahrainian Transparency Association have featured their online mapping tools with the GNDEM community, sharing how they have incorporated new technologies into their monitoring methodologies.

Regional networking is also enhanced through GNDEM. The Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) in Ghana, for example, which monitors issues from economic reform to conflict mitigation and plays a leading role in nonpartisan election monitoring, has worked with help from NDI over the last year to launch the West Africa Election Observation Network (WAEON), representing citizen election monitors from 11 countries. CDD-Ghana recently hosted a study mission from the Central African Republic's coalition of election monitors, which was preparing to observe that country's 2011 general elections.

Another GNDEM member, the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), aims to improve the Lebanese electoral system and reinforce democratic electoral practices. It is working with other organizations in the Middle East and North Africa to launch a citizen election monitoring network to enhance the impact of election integrity efforts in that region. Like CDD-Ghana, LADE participated in developing the Declaration of Global Principles.

## BUILDING DEMOCRACY COMMUNITIES ONLINE

As Internet access continues to spread, NDI is teaming with partner organizations around the world to create online communities that connect people working to strengthen democracy. Here are some examples:

**AGORA** encourages collaboration on efforts to strengthen parliaments. The site, in English and French, houses a library of resources and other tools related to parliamentary development. Members of AGORA's implementing board are NDI, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank International and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA). ([www.agora-parl.org](http://www.agora-parl.org))

**Aswat**, an online space for activists and reformers from across the Middle East, allows members to access information, engage in dialogue, share ideas and learn from each other. The site is available in Arabic, English, Farsi and French. ([www.aswat.com](http://www.aswat.com))

**GNDEM** compiles thousands of documents, manuals and best practices for domestic election monitors from around the world. Users can exchange information, form relationships and learn from others' experiences. (<http://gndem.org>)

**iKNOW Politics**, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, is aimed at elected officials, candidates and political party leaders interested in increasing women's political participation globally. It offers members access to resources, experts, discussion forums and information exchanges. The site is available in Arabic, English, French and Spanish. It is a joint project of NDI, the UNDP, UN Women, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and International IDEA. ([www.iknowpolitics.org](http://www.iknowpolitics.org))

**Red de Partidos Politicos**, a Spanish-language site, provides access to political party training materials and other documents for its membership – those interested in political party reform in Latin America. Members collaborate on and share innovative party renewal ideas and experiences. ([www.ndipartidos.org](http://www.ndipartidos.org))

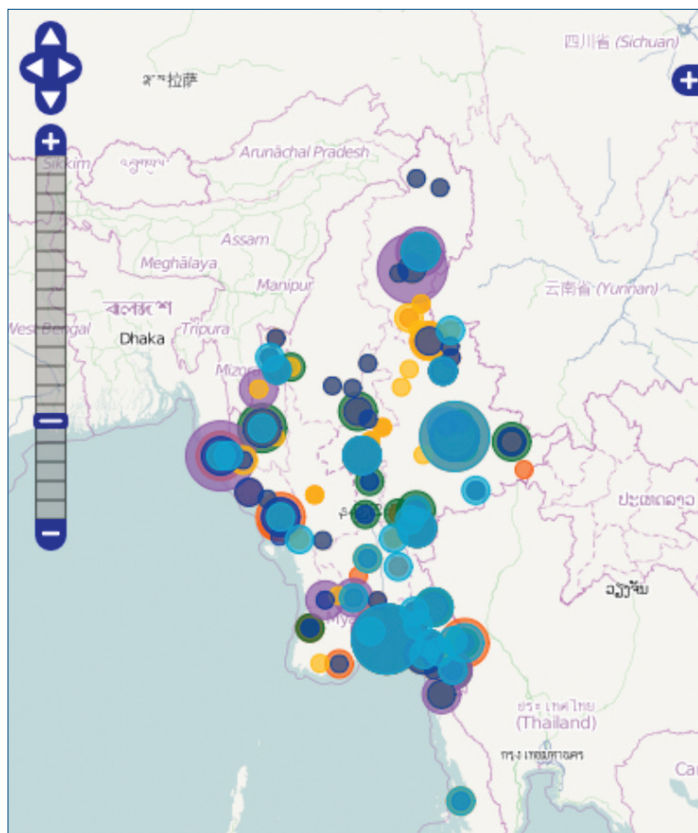
“International observation has long been effective in bringing global attention to a particular election,” Merloe noted, “but it cannot provide the deeper political understanding that citizen monitors bring, nor can it leave the lasting, substantial impact that so many citizen groups have created. After all, elections are about citizens' rights to participate in public affairs and to establish accountable, representative governance.” ■

## *Election Stories... continued from page 1*

At [www.afghanistanelectiondata.org](http://www.afghanistanelectiondata.org), a site NDI launched after the 2009 presidential election, visitors can find layers of demographic, ethnographic, topographic and security information that can be applied to Afghanistan election data from 2004, 2005, 2009 and 2010. Visitors can run customized queries with the results displayed as lists, charts and maps that can show, for example, which candidates had more votes in areas where fraud was identified or numbers of reported security incidents were higher.

Because trying to understand such extensive and diverse data sets can be difficult, the mapping tools present them visually, making it much easier for election officials, political parties, civic groups, journalists and others to “see” what took place in an election.

“Maps and other visualization tools provide a powerful way for complex data to tell a story,” said Chris Spence, NDI’s chief technology officer. “They give our partners and others the chance to identify trends and make



Map of Burma with colored circles showing the nature of campaign violations and circle sizes indicating the number of reports

correlations by overlaying political, demographic and other data with geographical information to identify possible political or administrative problems. For example, if election monitors report voting material shortages in polling stations, we can quickly establish whether these problems are unique to a specific area so that election officials can be alerted and take corrective action. It’s much more difficult to make this kind of rapid assessment if you’re looking at the data in a spreadsheet or report.”

The Burma Election Tracker website, <http://www.burmaelectiontracker.org>, was launched, with NDI assistance, by dozens of Burmese groups based on the Thai border. It mapped hundreds of reports from Burma’s November elections coming in from a network of trained reporters across the country. The reports were color-coded based on the nature of the abuse, so the color and size of dots on the map made it clear where there were, for example, the most incidents of violence and intimidation, limits on polling station access or campaign restrictions.

But the power of maps with political information isn’t just about “putting dots on a map on election day,” Spence said. “An important component includes providing as much supporting information about the electoral or political environment as possible so that the reports can be interpreted effectively. It’s also important to have plans in place to use the reports for additional political activity or otherwise respond to the situation.” For the Burmese activists, this included a series of outreach activities to focus regional and international attention on the situation during the moment of opportunity created by the first general election in the country since 1990.

Maps are just one approach to visualizing complex data sets. There are a number of new and evolving visualization tools that are promising for conveying information and telling stories that political parties, civic groups and other actors in emerging democracies will use to increase their voice, create political space and hold governments accountable.

Visit [http://www.ndi.org/democracy\\_and\\_technology](http://www.ndi.org/democracy_and_technology) for more information on NDI’s work with information communication technologies. ■

## DEMOCRACY ADVOCATES HONORED AT NDI 25<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY DINNER



Zimbabwe Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai accepts the Harriman Award at NDI's 25th Anniversary dinner.

NDI celebrated its 25th anniversary on May 10, 2010, by honoring two champions of democracy, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai of Zimbabwe and the Network of Chocó Women of Colombia. NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright hosted the gala event attended by more than 800 people at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in Washington, DC.

Albright described Tsvangirai as "a courageous democratic leader of our time" as she presented him with NDI's W. Averell Harriman Award, which recognizes individuals and organizations that have exhibited a sustained commitment to democracy and human rights. The award also recognized the democratic aspirations of the Zimbabwean people. Past recipients of the award have included Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the eight political party leaders who negotiated the Northern Ireland peace agreement, Varela

Project leader Oswaldo Payá of Cuba, Burmese democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi, Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel, East Timor President Xanana Gusmão, Chile's 1988 Free Election Movement, Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Philippine President Corazon Aquino.

The Network of Chocó Women, an umbrella group representing 52 civil society organizations from 18 municipalities, received the \$25,000 Madeleine K. Albright Grant to continue its work providing leadership training and advocacy for women's rights. Chocó, a primarily Afro-Colombian region in the western part of Colombia, has the nation's highest levels of poverty and illiteracy. Former Albright Grant awardees have included the Women's League of Burma, the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia, the Mostar Women's Citizen Initiative of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the 50/50 Group of Sierra Leone.

At the May event, the Institute also recognized Nepalese staff member Sushmita Subba Manandhar with the Andi Parhamovich Fellowship, which was established in honor of NDI staff member Andi Parhamovich, who was killed on January 17, 2007, while riding in a convoy that was attacked in Baghdad.

To mark its 25th anniversary, the Institute also created a film, *NDI's First Quarter Century: Working for Democracy and Making Democracy Work*, which had its debut at the awards event. Narrated by ABC's Christiane Amanpour, it highlighted the Institute's history of supporting political parties, civic groups, parliaments, elections and women's groups in more than 100 countries.

### *Women's Participation... continued from page 1*

for example, since assuming 56 percent of the seats in parliament in 2008, women have been responsible for forming the first cross-party caucus to work on controversial issues, such as land rights and food security.

"There is a growing recognition of the untapped capacity and talents of women and women's leadership," NDI President Kenneth Wollack said in congressional testimony last June. In the last 10 years, the rate of women's

representation in national parliaments globally has grown from 13.9 percent in 2000 to 19.1 percent in 2010.

This move toward more women's participation was evident in several elections in 2010. The number of Lebanese women elected to municipal offices increased from 201 in 2004 to 530 in 2010. The increase was particularly noteworthy because it came without the help of a quota law, a technique used in a number of countries in the Middle East and elsewhere to ensure a specified number of seats for women.

*continued on page 6*



In Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan and Jordan women won parliamentary seats with the help of new quota laws; but in Afghanistan and Jordan two additional women were elected in their own right outside the quota. In Afghanistan, more than 60 percent of the 406 women candidates, including more than a third of the 69 women who won, attended campaign schools that NDI organized with a curriculum tailored to address challenges particular to Afghan women. In Jordan, 12 of the 13 women who won participated in NDI's candidate training program.



NDI leadership training session for women activists in Kyrgyzstan

Though quotas continue to be the most effective means for jumpstarting women's representation, studies conducted by NDI indicate that quotas by themselves have not removed the obstacles that many women confront. Getting a quota law passed is an important step, but ensuring that it is carried out is sometimes the real hurdle.

“What does it matter if there is a quota in so many countries if we're not reaching that number?” said Susan Markham, NDI's director of women's political participation. “In many countries, it's on the books, it's a law, but the number of women nominated by their political parties does not reach the quota level or we would have a much higher percentage of women in office.”

In Kenya, where a newly-passed constitution stipulates that 30 percent of all government leadership – not just elected officials – must be women, the first board that was created to help implement the constitution did not meet the 30 percent mark.

The legislature in the West African country of Burkina Faso passed a gender quota law in 2009 requiring that 30 percent of the candidates on political party lists be women. It held the promise of new opportunities for Burkinabe women, traditionally marginalized politically. But since the law was enacted, there has been little progress on implementing it in time for local and legislative elections to be held in 2011 and 2012, respectively. NDI helped establish the Coalition for the Implementation of the Quota Law – a group composed of eight Burkinabe civil society organizations and three political parties – which has evaluated the technical challenges of applying the quota law in the upcoming elections and produced recommendations on how to address them.

Helping parties understand the benefits of including women is one key to implementation, Markham said. “If your party gets more votes, and thus more seats, with women, then male members of the party don't have to lose their seats,” she said.

Political parties' reluctance to include women, coupled with the opportunities parties afford women when they do embrace equity, leads Markham to characterize parties simultaneously as “the greatest entry point and barrier to women in politics.”

NDI's political party programs focus on building the skills and knowledge of women party activists, as well as working with party leaders to recognize the value of women as voters, party leaders and candidates. NDI's Win with Women Global Initiative, convened in 2003 by NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright, has focused exclusively on internal political party reforms that strengthen women's roles.

The Institute also continues to work with women once they've gained office. NDI supports the creation and development of parliamentary caucuses that have helped harness the power of women legislators to increase their influence, add a gender perspective to policy development and address priority issues for gender equality through legislation. These groups often present a unique opportunity within legislatures for multi-party debate, giving women's caucuses the ability to have a larger role in legislative, civic and political processes.

## NDI AT THE NEWSSTAND: THE DEBATE OVER DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE

### *Harvard International Review*

In recent years, some critics of democracy assistance programs have viewed those efforts as too soft and idealistic while others have viewed them as too bellicose, conflated with regime change and the use of military force in Iraq or Afghanistan. But the real issue, NDI President Kenneth Wollack writes in the fall 2010 issue of the *Harvard International Review*, "is not whether democracy promotion is 'hard' or 'soft' or whether it fits neatly into either 'realism' or 'idealism' paradigms. Instead, the issue is simply whether democracy assistance continues to advance U.S. interests in pursuit of a more peaceful, prosperous, and humane world."

Wollack argues that there is an important place for democracy assistance within U.S. foreign policy. Supporting local democracy movements contributes to a more peaceful and stable world, minimizing terrorism and maximizing trade opportunities — all of which support foreign policy goals. "Foreign policy is often at its best when it finds itself on the right side of history; a robust democracy assistance policy better positions U.S. policy in this regard," he said.

Read the full article on NDI's website at [http://www.ndi.org/Assisting\\_Democracy\\_Abroad](http://www.ndi.org/Assisting_Democracy_Abroad).

### *Journal of Democracy*

The linkages between democracy assistance and development aid are explored in depth in an article by Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a commentary by Wollack and K. Scott Hubli, NDI's director of governance programs, that appeared in the October issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

In "The Elusive Synthesis," Carothers, vice president for studies at Carnegie, takes a historical view and looks at some of the reasons democracy promoters and developmentalists have eyed each other with suspicion. Over time, Carothers argues, the two sides have begun to bridge the divide. Development workers have begun to take politics into account and are devoting time and resources to governance programs in the recognition that inefficient or corrupt political establishments will impact socio-economic conditions. And democracy workers have begun to emphasize the need for democracy to deliver socio-economic gains to avoid backsliding into authoritarianism. But he concludes by noting: "Bridges have been built between the two domains, but they are only partial and shaky."

The second piece, "Getting Convergence Right," by Wollack and Hubli largely agrees with Carothers' assessment, but notes that the "...bridge metaphor might seem to imply that the desired outcome is that the development and democracy communities should meet in the middle, thereby achieving a state of 'integration.'" Wollack and Hubli contend that integration may not be a desirable goal or the best lens through which to view developments within the two communities. "If instead the evolution within the two communities is seen within the framework of increased complementarity or mutual reinforcement (rather than integration)," they write, "the future trajectory of the two communities may also become clearer."

Read the full article on NDI's website at [http://www.ndi.org/Getting\\_Convergence\\_Right](http://www.ndi.org/Getting_Convergence_Right).

Many parliamentary caucuses also work to make women better legislators and political leaders by conducting training programs and other activities that help round out their knowledge and skills. Some caucuses include women's branches or wings within political parties that can impact how parties operate and the policies they advocate. Other broader caucuses include party activists, elected women and leaders from civil society organizations who work together to advocate for change. ■



NDI organized training programs on communication and political strategy for potential women candidates in Guatemala.



2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor  
 Washington, DC 20036-3306  
 Tel: 202 728 5500  
 Fax: 202 728 5520  
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## THE LATEST IN NDI PUBLICATIONS

NDI produces a wide range of training materials, manuals and reports that aid in the exchange of information and expertise.

Two of the newest are guides published by NDI's women's political participation and citizen participation teams. They are:

- *Democracy and the Challenge of Change: A Guide to Increasing Women's Political Participation*
- *Political-Process Monitoring: Activist Tools and Techniques*

Others include reports of public opinion research compiled using polling or focus groups in Iraq, Kosovo, Somalia and Sudan. They are:

- *Iraq's Democracy at a Crossroad*
- *Looking Toward the Future: Citizen Attitudes about Peace, Governance and the Future in Somalia*
- *Southern Sudan at the Crossroads*
- *Public Opinion in Kosovo: Baseline Survey Results*

A full repository of NDI publications including those above may be found at [www.ndi.org/publications](http://www.ndi.org/publications).



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