International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

A record of actions 2008

Annual Report

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Democracy at a time of crisis

DEMOCRACY REMAINS A POTENT FORCE of political change, yet the current global situation does not signal an inevitable trend of democratic consolidation. Broadly speaking, democracy continues to be equated with freedom and equality: values aspired to and pursued by people around the world.

All but one country in Latin America are ruled by democratically elected governments. A number of elections were held in 2007 and 2008, most of them without significant hitches, and another series of important polls will take place in 2009–2011. Democracy has made a critical but fragile breakthrough in Nepal; it has taken root in Indonesia; and has been making headway in several African countries such as Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone. On the African continent as a whole, and following the adoption of the *African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance* in January 2007, democracy is also on the way to becoming a key component of the regional cooperation framework. Several events in the recent year nevertheless point to the fragility of democratic gains.

In these and other parts of the world, democracy is experiencing a series of significant, yet highly diverse, challenges. In some countries democratic aspirations have been engaged in a grim struggle with authoritarian rulers who were resisting popular demands for genuine change. In some countries democracy is faltering under the pressure of populism, and in others it appears to be yielding to nationalist sentiment and nostalgia for the past.

If we try to draw lessons from a longer time frame, we are bound to conclude that democracy is imperfect, vulnerable and ultimately reversible everywhere. In some countries of the North where democracy is well established, it has not yet been able to significantly reduce gender inequality, or to eradicate racism, xenophobia and similar undemocratic social behaviours. And in both the North and the global South, a major discrepancy persists between the high value attributed to the idea of democracy and popular distrust in democratic institutions such as political parties and parliaments, which all too often are seen as alienated from the people – lacking inclusiveness and representativeness, most conspicuously with regard to gender – ineffective and unresponsive.

The global financial crisis and the onset of economic recession have provoked reassessments about the role of the state, and a reopening of the debate on the appropriate balance between the public and private sectors.

and opportunity

What is clear is that current seismic shifts in the world economy will need to be factored in by national and international democracy building actors when assessing their future strategies.

In an environment characterized by high levels of uncertainty and volatility, distrust, polarization and the meltdown of global frameworks of economic governance, democracy building efforts cannot remain static and conditioned by old assumptions. Rather, they are increasingly in need of fresh questioning and testing.

Yet, with an uncertain international environment, there is increasing recognition that democracy building is a long term process that can only be led from within, and which benefits from the experiences of others. International IDEA's democracy building efforts have proved to be credible at a time when other means of promoting democracy have been discredited. This has resulted in greater demands being placed on us because we are seen increasingly as an attractive partner. Not only are the resources and expertise of the organization in higher demand, but our credibility has ensured an ongoing role in various parts of the globe as a convenor or honest broker between opposing political forces on issues such as political parties, electoral law reform and constitution building.

As a small intergovernmental organization, International IDEA has more impact when working with partners, both national and regional. To this end, our New York office maintains key relationships, especially engaging with UN agencies on the role of democracy assistance. The UN Development Fund requested our continued participation in the UNDEF Group of Friends meetings on key issues while in Latin America, we collaborated with the Organization of American States and the Carter Centre in the provision of knowledge resources to assist them in their work implementing the Inter-American Charter. In Africa, the *Joint Activity Plan* with the African Union was launched in September, marking a new phase for our involvement in Africa. In Europe, we commenced a multi-regional assessment of EU democracy assistance to be presented to the EU Presidency in June 2009; and we have re-established a presence in Brussels as the lead organization in the EU funded Network for Enhanced Electoral and Democracy Support (NEEDS) project.

Vidar Helgesen
SECRETARY-GENERAL, *International IDEA*

IDEA's approach to democracy

OUR MEMBER STATES have given us the mission to support sustainable democratic change by providing comparative knowledge, assisting in reform, and by influencing policies and politics. The mission guides how we work: we derive knowledge from practical experience; our knowledge is put to use in supporting reform; and we influence policies and politics through our knowledge resources as well as engagement in reform.

Democracy cannot be imported or exported, but it can be supported. Those seeking to strengthen democracy in their own countries can be inspired by what others are doing elsewhere around the world. International IDEA plays an instrumental role in supporting their initiatives by providing comparative knowledge and experience in the field of elections, constitution building, political parties, women's political empowerment and democracy self-assessments.

Democracy grows from within societies. It evolves constantly and never reaches a state of final consolidation. Our work reflects this: we engage with partners in the democratic process and support their own particular role whether it be an election official, member of parliament, political party official, candidate for political office or a representative of civil society.

We bring experience and options to the table but do not prescribe solutions – true to the principle that the decision makers in a democracy are the citizens and their representatives. We also play a special role by bringing together a wide range of political actors, providing the opportunity for them to exchange views and experience at seminars, conferences and other capacity building activities.

Table of contents

Democracy at a time of crisis and opportunity
By Vidar Helgesen, Secretary-General, International IDEA

I Scan of New Initiatives in 2008 7
A Joint Activity Plan for democracy in Africa 7
Democracy and development 8
Assessing the EU's role in democracy building 9
Shaping election assistance programmes 10

II Making Elections Work Better 13
Forming electoral management networks and institutions 13
Elections – not one-off events 14
Enhancing the management of elections 16
Knowledge sharing 17
eLearning 18
Direct democracy 19
Reforming elections in Latin America 20

III Political Parties and Representation 23
Supporting political parties in Sudan 23
Political reform in Colombia 24
Peru, politics and congress 24
Women's representation 25

IV State of Democracy 29
The Philippines assessment 30
Local democracy in the Arab world 31

V Constitution Building: a Compact with Society 33
Political dialogue and local ownership 33
Nepal – meeting the constitutional challenge 34
Political division and a new constitution in Bolivia 37
Inclusive processes in Ecuador 38
Constitution building in Africa 39

Publications 2008: Highlights 41

International IDEA's Databases and Networks 43

About International IDEA 44

International IDEA's Board of Advisers 45

Financial Overview 46

Constituent Assembly elections in Nepal in April 2008.

I Scan of New Initiatives in 2008

A Joint Activity Plan for democracy in Africa

Politics matters to the lives of ordinary people. This is why democracy needs to become more responsive to development, peace and security. To do so though, means strengthening political institutions and processes. This applies to Africa where democracy has taken root to differing degrees, and where it remains vulnerable as a result of public disillusionment generated by processes that have failed to deliver what people demanded or expected.

In 2007, in what amounted to a significant step forward for democracy on the continent, the African Union (AU) adopted the *African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance.* In looking for credible partners with the right balance of expertise and an effective methodology for providing substance to the principles enshrined in the Charter, the African Union (AU) turned to International IDEA to assist them embark on the promotion of the Charter and to implement programmes designed to build democracy in the continent.

In September 2008, this new partnership for democracy building in Africa received a significant boost with the launch of the African Union-International IDEA *Joint Activity Plan*. It is the single largest undertaking International IDEA has ever embarked on, involving a commitment of more than €15 million euros over five years to support the development of a democratic culture and the associated institutions.

As partners for democracy, the AU and International IDEA are focusing on:

- Promoting democratic elections through support to the AU electoral assistance programme, including election observation and monitoring, and improving the capacity of African electoral management bodies.
- Strengthening political parties by helping them to become more representative and effective agents of democratic consolidation that win the trust of voters.
- Ensuring that constitutional development in AU Member States works to assist democracy, elections and good governance.
- Sharing African experience of effective electoral reform.
- Mainstreaming gender in democracy, development and governance programmes.
- Using IDEA's knowledge to support conflict management and peace building processes.
- Using IDEA's self-assessment methodologies as a means of assessing the state of democracy at local and national levels.

> The work envisaged in the Joint Activity Plan and other efforts of the African Union Commission should leave no doubt of the commitment of Africans and others towards ensuring that practical efforts are being established to further create the possibility of a developed and prosperous Africa whose citizens are empowered with the ability to pursue lives of quality and meaning.
>
> MRS JULIA DOLLY JOINER, *Commissioner for Political Affairs, African Union, Addis Ababa, September 2008*

Building this type of capacity for political action can help prevent conflict in Africa instead of continuing the all too familiar scenario of reacting to conflict once it breaks out. It can also help put in place democratic processes that not only better meet economic and social development needs but also enjoy public confidence.

Democracy and development

A paradox exists between popular support for democracy yet, at the same time, distrust for the key institutions of democracy. This is due to the failure to deliver higher standards of living, the elimination of poverty or reductions in income gaps within the general population. This is a worrying situation for those working to build democracy in developing countries, particularly when examples can be seen of economic growth and increased living standards without democratic development or increased freedom of expression.

International IDEA believes that this issue cannot be ignored by anyone involved in providing democracy assistance; to do so risks undermining the achievements of the past 30 years. IDEA is committed therefore, to promote global policy discussions on how to strengthen:

- the ability of political institutions to deliver on development; and
- democracy building and governance in international development cooperation.

Policy engagement on democracy and development

A Democracy Roundtable on the subject of *Democracy and Development*, organized by International IDEA in New Delhi in June 2008, provided a high level international forum to discuss this increasingly important issue. The event brought together eminent policymakers, academics, researchers and social activists from across the globe to discuss democracy from the perspective of what it delivers, question the meaning of the concepts of national ownership and accountability, and debate whether globalization is a positive or negative force for democracy.

The outcomes of these deliberations seeded a second Roundtable on *Democracy and Development* held in September in New York, jointly organized with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the UN Department of Political Affairs. The key outcomes of this event were fed into the 63rd session of the UN General Assembly.

Democracy and Development in a Globalized World - International IDEA Democracy Round Table in partnership with CSDS

Democracy and development are deeply intertwined in spite of the difficulty of identifying a direct, causal and quantifiable relationship between them. These issues were discussed at the Democracy and Development Roundtable held in New Delhi from 17 to 18 June 2008.

Much of International IDEA's experience in this area stems from Latin America where, for several years, the Institute has been closely engaged with the Inter-American Development Bank on the issue of democracy and development, with a particular spotlight on the Andean region. In 2008, this collaboration resulted in the organization of a conference for donors in London in June – co-hosted with the UK Department for International Development and the Overseas Development Institute – which distilled the lessons emerging from Latin America as a means to better inform those with similar interests in other regions of the world.

Assessing the EU's role in democracy building

The European Union (EU) is a significant player on the world stage with much to offer from the diverse history of democratic development of its twenty-seven Member States. As the single largest provider of development assistance in the world, its policies and activities have considerable impact on democracy building.

Democracy building is one of three priorities during the Swedish EU-presidency in 2009 for the Minister for International Development Cooperation, Gunilla Carlsson. International IDEA is exploring the possibilities of developing a more coherent and consistent agenda for democracy building, building on existing policies, and creating synergies by reinforcing the strong elements in each. By undertaking a series of multi-regional consultations with EU "opposite numbers" – mainly other regional organizations but including civil society and think tanks – IDEA

will map how the EU is perceived in the area of democracy building, identifying what works and what doesn't. Intention and perceptions might differ, and in the gap between them policy changes can be made. Key partners include the African Union, the Association of South East Asian Nations, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States, and think tanks like the South Asia Center for Policy Studies (SACEPS) in South Asia and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in South East Asia.

By comparing the EU's intentions with the perceptions of how those policies are working in practice, the assessment intends to develop recommendations for how the EU can improve its democracy building operations. These will be provided to the Swedish Government while it holds the EU Presidency in 2009. The project will run until mid 2010.

Shaping election assistance programmes

Electoral observation missions play an increasingly important role in European Union foreign policy and electoral assistance – not only as potential fraud and conflict prevention mechanisms – but because they are able to draw conclusions on the state of democratic progress, and make recommendations for future electoral assistance and political reform. Electoral observation missions need to be able to make assessments about priority areas for political reform or electoral support and use them to shape future assistance programmes. For example, technical deficiencies in voting procedures or election management detected by observer missions should be analysed so that appropriate assistance can be targeted to overcome such problems in later polls through training, support for election management bodies or legislative reform.

The NEEDS Project (Network for Enhanced Electoral and Democratic Support) is about developing the capacity of election observers and finding synergy with democracy assistance. In October 2008, International IDEA began work as the lead organization of NEEDS together with the International Organization for Migration, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), IIDH-CAPEL (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights-Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance) and Internews Europe. Funded by the European Commission, the major focus of NEEDS is:

- developing a consistent methodology for EU electoral observation missions in line with international and regional standards of democratic elections;
- improving the capability of EU observers through the development of a common EU approach to recruitment and training; and
- promoting democratic progress in countries through targeted support to domestic observer groups and civil society organizations; and, in this context, develop strategies for building local capacity.

This dynamic project has the potential to sow the seeds for the next wave of democracy assistance.

European referendum in France in 2005.

II Making Elections Work Better

ELECTIONS ALONE DO NOT MAKE DEMOCRACY but they lie at the heart of the democratic process. Without credible and effectively managed electoral processes, there can be no genuine democracy. Electoral processes need to be transparent, effectively managed, and facilitate a level playing field for political contestants if public support and credibility are to be retained. Without this, a democratic system based on free and fair elections, with equal voting rights for all, is unlikely to become entrenched.

International IDEA works to improve elections management and electoral processes through a variety of means: through capacity building resources such as the ACE (Administration and the Cost of Elections) Electoral Knowledge Network and BRIDGE (Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections); through support to the formation of regional networks of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs); through the provision of expertise and knowledge when requested on electoral reform; and through the further development of knowledge resources.

Forming electoral management networks and institutions

The establishment of the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit (DEAU) in the African Union Commission is a major step in the support of electoral processes in Africa. IDEA and DEAU are working closely together as part of the *Joint Activity Plan* (see page 7), providing capacity building for Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and supporting the development of the AU's elections observation capacity.

In West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been concerned at the lack of capacity of EMBs among its Member States. Individual EMBs lack professionalism because their staff have insufficient knowledge of electoral processes. This is compounded because many electoral commissions are not permanent and electoral officials are generally brought in on a casual basis to run elections. ECOWAS also believes that electoral observation in its region needs to be more professional in its approach.

ECOWAS approached the Gorée Institute, one of ACE's regional centres for West Africa, to help overcome these problems. In February 2008, they brought together the Chairs and Vice Chairs of West African electoral commissions in Conakry, Guinea to formalize electoral cooperation in the region. This involved the formation and launch of a regional network, the ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commissions (ECONEC), comprising the EMBs of all 15 ECOWAS countries. At the meeting, the Gorée Institute used the opportunity to present International IDEA's

key capacity building resources on elections – ACE and BRIDGE – to the group.

In the Arab world there are limited resources available to support electoral systems and democratic development, and there is no network of EMBs. At the same time there are increasing signs of democratic progress, such as the increased stability in Iraq. For several years, International IDEA has been working to increase the knowledge and capacity of Electoral Management Bodies in the region. One of the notable needs identified by IDEA is indeed, the absence of a network of EMBs.

The League of Arab States (LAS) is our key partner in the region with whom we share our project proposals. In April 2008, we organized a seminar in Cairo at LAS headquarters to share the concept of a regional EMB network as a means of generating momentum for the formal launch of an Arab Forum for Electoral Management. Once established, this network could strengthen electoral processes by promoting cooperation between election administrators. The proposal was favourably received as it reinforced the importance of home grown democracy and locally appropriate structures to support democratic reforms; the added value of the proposed network being its role in promoting knowledge sharing and lessons learnt among the EMBs in the region.

Elections – not one-off events

The alignment of training and planning to the electoral cycle draws attention to the long term and process driven nature of electoral processes. It also makes electoral assistance more effective by shifting the focus of development agencies, electoral assistance providers and electoral officials from the Election Day towards continuous electoral processes and longer term electoral support.

The electoral cycle approach – developed jointly by International IDEA, the European Commission and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) – is divided into three phases: the pre-election, election and post election periods (see diagram, page 15).

The focus on the pre-election and post-election periods allows for timely and adequate planning that result in cost saving measures and the continuity and sustainability of the electoral process. Recruitment and training of electoral officials, updates of voter registration lists, redistricting of boundaries, technological updates, civic and voter education initiatives and consultation with political parties and others can all be dealt with

The Electoral Cycle

properly in the pre-election period instead of the lead up to the election. The election period itself is intensive, involving many activities that cannot be done at other times: for example, the nomination of candidates, printing of ballot papers, and addressing operational needs that impact on voting. The post election period is an ideal time for taking stock and reviewing the previous cycle: it provides, for example, time to evaluate the need for electoral reforms and to make any changes – be they legislative, procedural or to the EMB.

International IDEA holds workshops and training on effective electoral assistance for development agencies, donors, electoral assistance providers and EMBs as a means of entrenching the electoral cycle approach more widely. These sessions focus on the potential offered in the pre and post-election periods, particularly for planning and evaluation.

In 2008 some 250 participants, mainly from African countries, benefited from training sessions held in Milan in February, in Maputo in June and in Brussels in December. The course participants drawn from EMBs were particularly enthusiastic about the opportunity to learn from the experience of other countries. IDEA's knowledge resources – particularly ACE and BRIDGE – provide an excellent source of material for developing the capacity to manage the electoral cycle approach.

Elections in Nepal, April 2008.

Enhancing the management of elections

There were limited formal opportunities available for professional development in election administration until the first Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections (BRIDGE) course was developed by International IDEA and its partners in 1999. BRIDGE is the leading global professional development curriculum for election administrators. It improves the management skills, knowledge and confidence of election officials and others involved in the electoral process such as the media, political parties and election observers.

Since its inception, BRIDGE training courses have been conducted around the world in many different languages. One of the key features of BRIDGE is the ability to select modules to address specific needs of election administrators, for example on party funding or dispute resolution.

Partners in BRIDGE
The Partners comprising BRIDGE include the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), International IDEA, the United Nations Election Assistance Division (UNEAD), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

BRIDGE has been used to address a range of electoral capacity building needs in the countries or regions where the training has been provided. This has generated a demand for material tailored for different regions of the world, and resulted in the launch of the *BRIDGE Programme (Version 2)* in March 2008. This revised package significantly expanded the scope of the curriculum from 10 modules to 23 and includes information drawn from Latin America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East and the Asia Pacific. In 2008 resources were directed to translating a significant amount of BRIDGE material into Arabic to overcome the lack of material on elections management in the language. These were subsequently used in various training programmes across the region. BRIDGE now exists in English, Spanish and French, with specific course adaptations existing in other languages targeted to the local situation.

Other customized BRIDGE training was targeted at election management bodies in Africa and Nepal. In Africa – where IDEA has had a significant regional programme of BRIDGE training since 2004 – the *Train the Facilitator* programme has yielded good results with more than half of the participating institutions reporting that they have since organized their own BRIDGE training programmes using the facilitators trained by IDEA.

The ability to select relevant course modules from BRIDGE to meet specific training needs makes it popular. For example, 22 Moldovan officials from the Central Elections Commission and 36 regional councils received customized BRIDGE training in July 2008, concentrating on the administration of elections, conflict management and the handling of complaints.

Knowledge sharing

Election administrators today face enormous financial, logistical and political challenges as they support electoral processes and elections in a professional and credible way. They need support, both in terms of access to information on the management of elections and access to information sharing with their peers. The ACE Electoral Knowledge network does just this.

The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network is an online collection of material on election management brought together under one portal (www.aceproject.org). It features information on nearly every aspect of elections. It also provides a means for practitioners to share material on elections management and to support the professionalism of those engaged in electoral activities through the capacity building opportunities it offers.

Partners in ACE

The Partners in ACE include Elections Canada, EISA, Instituto Federal Electoral - Mexico (IFE), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), and the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division (UNEAD).

Elections in Azerbaijan 2008.

ACE is supported by a network of electoral experts from across the globe that provides professional advisory services to online users. Nine Regional Electoral Resource Centres located strategically around the world are the 'knowledge hubs' of ACE. These are all electoral institutions or organizations active in the area of democracy promotion. The Regional Resource Centres perform a dual role as centres of electoral expertise in their own regions, while also feeding their own perspectives into the ACE network for others around the world to share.

Both ACE and BRIDGE are closely connected: with the former providing much of the material needed to undertake BRIDGE training courses.

eLearning

The popularity of courses run by IDEA on effective electoral assistance and the electoral cycle approach by development agencies, electoral assistance providers and EMBs, prompted IDEA to develop – together with the European Commission and UNDP – an eLearning course on electoral assistance as a means of widening access to such training. The course material and methodology was completed towards the end of the year and will be published in 2009 on CD-ROM.

Together with the European Space Agency (ESA), IDEA is involved in a pilot project, SatElections, which will test the delivery of the eLearning course modules to remote areas by satellite transmission. ESA's satellite system supports audio, video and data transmission which provides the scope to train electoral officials in the field on the entire electoral cycle to the same level offered by face-to-face training.

The Democratic Republic of Congo has been selected for the first pilot training in view of the challenges posed by the lack of proper communications structures and the extraordinarily high costs associated with the 2006 presidential elections. If successful, the ESA-IDEA partnership could increasingly offer the possibility of training via satellite to elections officials operating in remote locations.

The use of satellite and CD-ROM technology could also provide a means of data transmission and knowledge exchange among Electoral Management Bodies.

Direct democracy

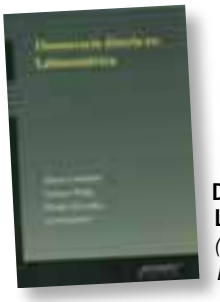
Examples of direct democracy can be found all over the world with the most common being:

- Referendums – which give a single direct vote on a constitutional, political or legislative matter;
- Citizens' initiatives – which allow people to force a vote on an issue;
- Agenda initiatives – that allow citizens to put an issue on the government's agenda; and
- Recall votes – used to revoke the appointment of an office holder.

In recent years, there has been increased interest in the use of direct voting to resolving political issues. At the same time, as countries examine their own electoral processes and ask themselves how to become more truly democratic, the question of direct democracy is often raised. Yet, to date, there has only been limited resource material available about the operation and implications of direct democracy mechanisms. For this reason, International IDEA has published a comprehensive handbook on Direct Democracy during 2008 and a regional publication on Direct Democracy in Latin America (see Boxes).

Direct Democracy: The International IDEA Handbook

A comparative look at direct democracy mechanisms, including referendums, citizens' initiatives, agenda initiatives and recall, to assist practitioners with the implementation of the mechanisms of their choice. It includes a survey of the direct democracy provisions in 214 countries and territories.



Democracia directa en Latinoamérica
(Direct Democracy in Latin America)

Co-published with the Center for Research on Direct Democracy, the Universidad Nacional de San Martín and International IDEA. The report addresses the renewed interest in Latin America in the use of direct democracy mechanisms, and explores other forms of participation available to citizens through decentralization processes and the use of information technology.

Reforming elections in Latin America

Many countries are in the process of implementing electoral reform or improvements to their electoral system. Issues emerge during election campaigns that subsequently need to be addressed such as rules governing the funding of political parties, the need to find better dispute resolution mechanisms or how to ensure greater integrity of voter registration. In 2008, as Bolivia and Mexico worked through processes to reform their electoral systems, they turned to International IDEA to provide expertise and advice.

Bolivia has been undergoing a process of constitutional development which includes some significant reform to the electoral system. IDEA's involvement in the constitution building process has inevitably brought the Institute into contact with political and electoral reform. The National Electoral Court (NEC) solicited our support in three areas:

- the development of a National Registry of Voters – one with integrity that will offer greater security to the outcome of elections;
- support for comprehensive reform to the Bolivian electoral code – covering a broad range of matters including the conduct of election campaigns and campaigning, and institutional strengthening of the NEC itself; and
- voting from abroad – provision of comparative information on how such arrangements could work after NEC was tasked with implementing overseas voting procedures by Congress.

Over the last few years Mexico has been seeking ways to sort out the complex party funding arrangements, and to prevent the proceeds of organized crime being directed towards propping up political parties and – adversely – tainting the political process. To assist it through the process the Federal Electoral Institute of Mexico drew on IDEA's knowledge of good practice for the funding of political parties to sort out its complex party funding arrangements. As a result, Mexico introduced new regulations to control funding and campaign expenditure and advertising. More broadly, a group of Mexican legislators, electoral administrators, government employees and academics participated in an IDEA sponsored seminar in August dealing with wider electoral reform processes in the country.

In November IDEA sponsored a seminar for politicians, political parties, academics and elections management officials in Mexico, this time focusing on the sharing of Latin American experiences in the areas of voter registration, financing of political parties and election campaigns and promoting voter participation.

The presidential system is the preferred option for most countries in Latin America. In February 2008, International IDEA and the Institute for Judicial Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico arranged a seminar on the challenges facing presidential structures and the prospects for such a system to deliver stable and effective governments that are likely to address issues of poverty. The discussions linked directly to the reform of political institutions underway in Mexico. More broadly, they will feed into a constitution building handbook and a web based resource network – *ConstitutionNet* - being developed by IDEA and Interpeace, Geneva. The book, *Political and Electoral Reform in Latin America 1978–2007* was launched at the seminar.

Reforma política y electoral en América Latina 1978–2007

(Political and Electoral Reform in Latin America 1978–2007)

Co-published with Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, this volume provides an overview, as well as a country-by-country analysis of progress, setbacks and differences in the development of democratic institutions throughout Latin America.

A poster at a polling station in Sierra Leone, August 2007.

III Political Parties and Representation

ANYONE CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE of democracy should place the health of political parties high on the political agenda because democracy cannot function properly without them. Yet, political parties are invariably democracy's weakest link. In Africa, polling indicates that few people expect political parties to deliver on their election promises; and in Europe and Latin America, parties rank as one of the least trusted institutions. They also suffer from institutional problems. Any review of political parties usually finds that women are heavily under-represented either as party office holders or as political candidates and elected members. Taken together, these factors represent a challenge to democracy itself which is why International IDEA has identified political parties as a key priority in our programming.

Political Parties in Conflict-Prone Societies: Regulation, Engineering and Democratic Development

Publisher: United Nations University Press
Launched in New York in September, this volume examines political parties in developing countries that are often weak and revolve around personal, ethnic or regional ties. Ironically, it is in these countries, rather than the West, that the greatest efforts are under way to promote stable and inclusive political parties through regulation and engineering.

Supporting political parties in Sudan

In Sudan the political situation remains turbulent with the situation in Darfur still a humanitarian crisis. In 2005, the Government from the largely Moslem north and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army from the Christian and Animist south, signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement after 21 years of civil war. The Agreement included provisions for multi-party elections in 2009, yet it was immediately apparent that political parties, the bodies needed to contest such an election, were debilitated and ill equipped for dynamic political life.

International IDEA was invited to participate in a major capacity building project aimed at political parties in Sudan, the *Strengthening of Political Parties Programme*. The project partners include the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), the Canadian Parliamentary Centre, and Partners in Development in Sudan. IDEA is conducting a series of training seminars for political party representatives on key topics such as elections, the media, internal democracy, policy platform development and gender. One notable feature of this training is the ability to bring together opposing parties to work through issues constructively and harmoniously.

The Sudan programme targets the six main political parties, and aims at developing their capacity or reforming their internal structures. It also emphasizes the need for them to develop proper policy manifestos that respond to the varying aspirations of the population rather than remaining divided on non policy lines. In 2008, the six parties involved in the project undertook training in election campaigning and the development of party manifestos. More broadly, other Sudanese political parties, civil society and academia sought out IDEA's publications and knowledge resources.

We anticipate that the IDEA programme in Sudan will evolve to provide more practical assistance to a larger number of parties in the future.

Political reform in Colombia

Colombia has been grappling with how to protect its democracy from threats posed by drug cartels and armed insurrection for several decades. To help address this concern the Congress has initiated a process towards political reform. In the ensuing discussions, the joint United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)-International IDEA project on strengthening democracy is helping by providing knowledge on reform processes distilled from other country experiences.

In promoting consensus among political parties and movements, International IDEA – in partnership with the national universities – organizes seminars, forums and workshops with civil society and the media to discuss the most controversial topics, and pinpointing areas of agreement. Through an interparty roundtable for instance, the Women Caucus in the National Congress has been strengthened, and the implementation of a law to improve the functioning of political parties within collegiate corporations at the local level has been facilitated.

As part of the overall process, 15 congress members from different parties took part in a mission to Madrid to learn how Spanish political parties function and are regulated. This initiative resulted in the signing of an agreement, the *Madrid Agreement*, where the congress members made the commitment to review the law governing political parties in Colombia, for which IDEA has been asked to provide technical support.

Peru, politics and congress

In Peru political parties face problems developing their capacity due in part to the lack of public funding to support them. As a result, IDEA's operations in Peru have supported capacity building for political parties since 2004. This strategy continued throughout 2008 when more than 300 political leaders drawn from 14 regions embarked on a training programme to assist the development of political parties. Participants considered the many problems facing Peruvian political parties and identified the need for more transparent and democratic party structures as key priorities. In October 2008, International IDEA organized the seminar *Which Congress do we want?* that examined ways to improve the organization and functioning of the Peruvian Congress to make it more responsive, representative and effective.

Women's representation

After three decades of democratization, Latin American countries are assessing their progress, particularly in terms of social inclusion in the political process. Vibrant political debates are taking place across the continent on how to increase women's participation, despite some conspicuous cases of women in positions of power such as Chile and Argentina, both of which have female heads of state.

International IDEA's work towards strengthening political parties in the region during 2008 concentrated on gender issues. In this sense, IDEA is about effecting institutional transformation of political parties: ensuring that they include gender perspectives both in their policies and practices. Once they are in congress as elected representatives, women need support to assist them to be effective.

Drawing on the body of knowledge accumulated through the Institute's work over several years, IDEA published a report during the year on women's political participation, which shows that women are still under-represented in political life despite concerted efforts. The book, *30 años de democracia: ¿en la cresta de la ola? Participación política de la mujer en América Latina* (30 Years of Democracy: Riding the Wave? Women's Political Participation in Latin America) debunks a number

30 años de democracia: ¿en la cresta de la ola? Participación política de la mujer en América Latina

(30 Years of Democracy: Riding the Wave? Women's Political Participation in Latin America)

Drawing on data from 18 countries, this report examines the progress made at all levels of public and party decision making since the start of the third wave of democratization in Latin America. The study goes beyond the numbers, analysing why progress has been greater in some countries than in others.

MYTHS REALITIES AND CONCLUSIONS

1. **There aren't enough women available to stand for political office.**
   Given that women generally account for between 40–50% of party membership, this claim looks highly dubious.
2. **Electoral quotas alone will rectify the under-representation of women.**
   This will only occur if three conditions are met: the quota system must fit the electoral system; the language specifying quotas must be unambiguous; and there must be sanctions for non- compliance.
3. **Men and women compete on equal terms.**
   While in theory this might be the case, International IDEA's research shows that this is definitely not the case. Women candidates, for example, often attract less media coverage and less funding.
4. **Change will come; just be patient.**
   Change will only come if legislatures adopt measures to promote inclusion; if party leaders ensure that more women are selected for political office and supported; and if civil society pressures for more women in politics and provides a means to support them.

From the publication ***30 años de democracia: ¿en la cresta de la ola? Participación política de la mujer en América Latina*** (30 Years of Democracy: Riding the Wave? Women's Political Participation after America in Latin America).

of misconceptions about why women are under-represented in politics and makes recommendations on the design of electoral systems and the use of quotas. It challenges political parties, the media, legislatures and civil society to work towards overcoming this significant democratic deficit. The lessons contained in this review are relevant, not just in Latin America, but throughout the world (see Box, page 25).

Advancing gender equity

Quotas were seen to be a 'starting point for increasing women's participation, rather than an end in themselves' said the 21 representatives of political organizations in the Andean region who met to discuss the book, *Del dicho al hecho: Manual de buenas prácticas para la participación de mujeres en los partidos políticos latinoamericanos* (From Rhetoric to Practice: Best Practices for Women's Participation in Political Parties in Latin America), in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, in May 2008. The book, published in Spanish by International IDEA, is now being used by political parties throughout the region as a valuable source of comparative material for increasing women's participation (see Box). The meeting in Cartagena resolved to complement quotas by also engaging with political parties to ensure that they are committed to promoting women's participation at all levels.

The need to increase women's representation has also been high on the agenda of Peruvian political organizations for a number of years. In 2008, Peruvian regional movements agreed on proposals to reform regulations and laws governing political parties – including applying gender quotas to elections for party positions – a consensus that emerged after International IDEA organized a series of roundtable meetings and forums throughout the year. IDEA also provided technical assistance to political parties on gender equity regulations and practices. A notable achievement in this area was the adaptation of *Somos Peru* party regulations on parity principles: the first political party in Peru to do so.

Supporting women's caucuses

Getting women elected to parliament or to senior party positions is one thing. Getting women's concerns onto the political agenda is another. In March 2008, 40 women parliamentarians and academics from 13 countries in Latin America came together at a seminar sponsored by International IDEA, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Uruguayan Congress in Montevideo to determine just how to do this. The group called for parties to implement meaningful quota systems and for obstacles to women's participation to be overcome through legislation and regulation. They also encouraged the

formation of cross party women's caucuses within national legislatures as a means to support women members of parliament. Support to the congressional women's caucus in Colombia was also provided by IDEA.

In Bolivia in June 2008, a group of women from the different political parties discovered how much the ideology of their agendas united, rather than divided them. With the divisive political situation at the time, this proved to be a surprise to some. Nonetheless, 60 women – from the national legislature, Constitutional Assembly delegates, mayors, council women and leaders from the main political parties – came together for the first time to share their political experiences and discuss their priorities. International IDEA was asked to convene the event and provide information that contributed towards the deliberations. Their discussions centred mainly on discrimination, affirmative action, shared democratic values and to better support women in leadership positions. The event provided a valuable forum for women of different political parties to exchange their experiences.

Del dicho al hecho: Manual de buenas prácticas para la participación de mujeres en los partidos políticos latinoamericanos

(From Rhetoric to Practice: Best Practices for Women's Participation in Political Parties in Latin America)

This manual provides political parties with the means to implement strategies for achieving equality for women in party organizations and in access to positions of power and representation. The manual analyses the progress and challenges of women in politics in 18 countries in Latin America.

Ranking gender performance

As part of the overall reform process, Colombia is also examining how women's participation and representation in political life can be increased. The discussion received further impetus as the International IDEA-UNDP project for *Strengthening Democracy* progressed. The project, together with UNIFEM, reactivated the *More Women, More politics* campaign, targeting in particular female legislators and political parties.

The work programme made a systematic assessment of the importance individual parties place on women's representation and what opportunities existed for women to run for political office. As a result, a ranking system of political parties was developed on this issue. The next step involved training for political parties on gender equality together with a general forum on gender equality which took place in September 2008, generating wide media coverage on the need for gender quotas in Colombia.

People gather outside Laica Universidad to cast their vote in a referendum on changes to the constitution in Guayaquil, Ecuador, 28 September, 2008.

IV State of Democracy

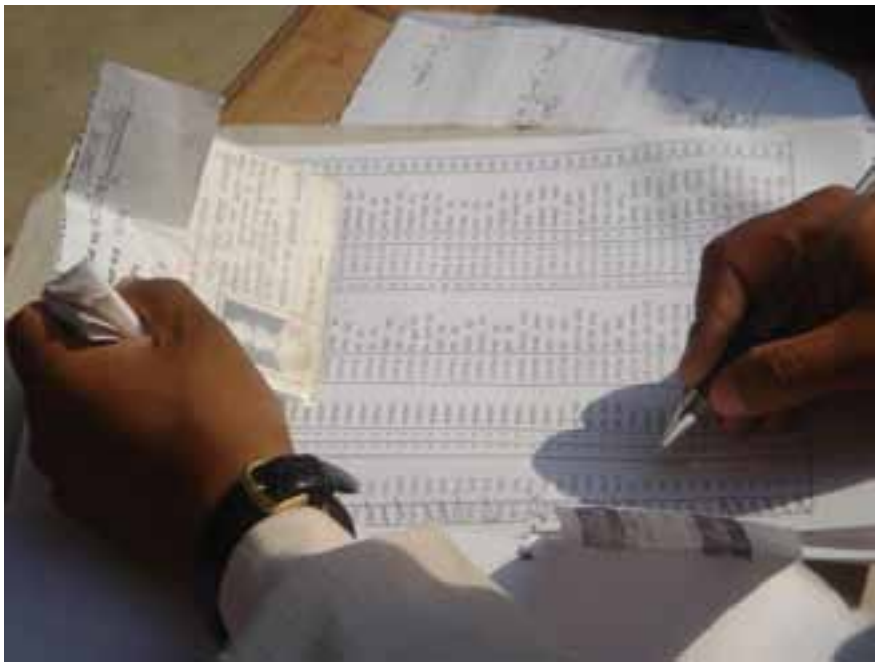
Democracy grows from within a society and the true owners are its citizens who are in the best position to make judgements about it. International IDEA's *State of Democracy* empowers citizens to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their democracy, and to mount the case for any reform on the basis of their own conclusions. Developed jointly with the UK Democracy Audit, the methodology provides a means of supporting home grown democracy building. After eight years in operation, with experience drawn from some 20 countries, IDEA published an improved and revised methodology *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide* and its corresponding Overview (see Box, page 31).

Released in November 2008 at IDEA's office in New York, this methodology is supported by a newly launched interactive website (www.idea.int/sod) that allows anyone interested in undertaking an assessment to communicate with those who have experienced it already.

The Mongolian Permanent Representative to the UN, Ms Ochir Enkhtsetseg, spoke enthusiastically at the launch of her country's democracy assessment experience. In particular, she referred to the power of the state of democracy assessment to bring a wide range of people on board and understand that they had a vested interest in the shaping of democracy in their own country (see panel).

MONGOLIA: DEMOCRACY ASSESSMENT EQUALS INCLUSIVENESS

Mongolia faced a seismic shift in the 1990s towards becoming both a market economy and a democracy. The *State of Democracy* methodology was seen by the Mongolian Government as a key means of supporting the transition, allowing Mongols to look at the quality of their own institutions and identify priorities for reform. The process, led by Government, set out to be as inclusive as possible: engaging ordinary people such as herders – who constitute some 40 per cent of the population – asking questions such as 'What does democracy mean to you?' The result: a far greater awareness at all levels of society of democratic values and an understanding of how democracy should operate. In addition to identifying a reform agenda out of this process, the Government of Mongolia created its own Millennium Development Goal "9" focusing on democracy, human rights and anti-corruption. (From the New York launch in November 2008)



Checking the voters' register, April elections in Nepal 2008.

The Philippines assessment

The Philippines has also used International IDEA's State of Democracy methodology in 2007. In this case, the methodology was adapted to fit the limited resources available to conduct the assessment. As Dr Edna Co Estifania, leader of the Philippines Democracy Assessment Team, explained, "We didn't have enough financial resources to cover everything, but the strength of the methodology was in its adaptability and capacity for adjustment and customization."

In 2008 the Filipino democracy assessment team focused on the rule of law, having previously examined social and economic rights, minimizing corruption and the role of political parties and free and fair elections.

In Nepal, the *Nepal in Transition: A Study on the State of Democracy* was also published, providing a diagnosis of strengths and areas for reform as Nepal establishes its own democratic processes.

Local democracy in the Arab world

Associated with the *State of Democracy* methodology is the *State of Local Democracy* methodology which allows people to assess democracy and governance at the local level. As democracy assessment is a new phenomenon in the Arabic speaking world, International IDEA has been hard at work supporting initiatives that have arisen in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Yemen. The Institute is supporting the Parliamentary Think Tank Centre in Cairo, the New Jordan Research Centre in Amman, the Moroccan Association for Solidarity and Development in Rabat and the Human Rights Information and Training Centre in Yemen, all of which are conducting assessments of the state of local democracy in their own countries.

Throughout the year IDEA provided the local assessment teams with the *State of Democracy* material in Arabic. As a consequence of this close collaboration, IDEA provided training on the assessment methodology and guidance as they conducted their work. The country reports compiled on these assessments will form the basis of a regional publication dealing with the state of local democracy in the Arab region. This publication will be used to generate wider discussion on democracy in the Arab world at a regional conference scheduled in 2009.

Nepal in Transition: A Study on the State of Democracy

This study presents the major findings of two surveys on the state of democracy in Nepal complemented by interviews with representatives of the Nepali elites.

Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide & Overview

Presents International IDEA's State of Democracy assessment framework, which has been developed to facilitate the conduct of comprehensive democracy assessments that are led and owned by local actors. The guide sets out: the elements of the assessment framework and the linkages between the democratic principles on which it is based; the mediating values; and the structure and range of search questions, which seek to establish the formal existence of democratic institutions and the way in which such institutions perform in practice.

State of democracy network website
www.idea.int/sod

Voters in Bolivia went to the polls in January 2009 to decide on whether to change the country's constitution in a referendum.

V Constitution Building: a Compact with Society

SINCE 1990, MORE THAN a half of the Member States of the United Nations have framed new constitutions or fundamentally altered existing ones. Bolivia, Ecuador and Nepal spent 2008 reframing their constitutions while Kenya and Zimbabwe moved forward with planning for fundamental constitutional reform.

Constitution building is an emerging field: it is becoming an increasingly important process for generating a wider range of alternatives for building political institutions and processes that enhance democracy and managing conflict. This is important as current trends indicate that the majority of conflicts will continue to occur within the state's borders, particularly as the political consciousness of different groups rises.

Constitution building can catalyse the transition from conflict to peace by stabilizing political competition. And it can support the development of governance frameworks that regulate access to power and resources, thereby addressing conditions that may have contributed to long running conflict. In the long term it can improve the quality of democracy, expanding the space in political processes and institutions for excluded individuals and groups, including diverse minorities and women.

Political dialogue and local ownership

The process through which a constitution is built is equally as important as its content. The aim of those involved in driving the process forward is to develop one that will strengthen national ownership of emerging constitutional arrangements, particularly in societies at high risk of conflict. The resulting constitutional choices enjoy broader and longer lasting support.

Where invited and where there can be added value, International IDEA crafts programmatic partnerships to support those driving the national processes of constitution building. The key to this support are jointly implemented projects in alignment with national priorities, and the provision of comparative knowledge resources and the tools for use by the constitution builders, particularly those located in democratizing and post conflict contexts.

Nepal – meeting the constitutional challenge

Nepal provides an example of how to work through the seemingly intractable obstacles facing transition to democracy and constitution building after coming through a decade of civil war, popular protest and constitutional stalemate. In April 2008, the Nepalese people successfully elected members of their 601 member Constituent Assembly which is charged with developing a new constitution. It will also act as the legislature until the new constitution is adopted. There was considerable apprehension in the lead up to the election that insufficient progress had been made bridging the political divide in Nepal between Maoist insurgents and more moderate political forces to prevent a slip back into violence. The outcome of the elections – a government headed by the Maoists who were locked in bloody conflict with the Nepalese Army until recently – is a powerful illustration of the ability of democracy to act as an instrument of conflict management in deeply divided societies – in this instance by providing an arena into which longstanding grievances and political differences can be channelled and managed effectively.

With the election out of the way, its results collated and accepted, the challenge had moved on: making the new Constituent Assembly work is now the priority.

For several years now International IDEA has been responding to the political developments in Nepal by providing advice and knowledge resources on political and electoral processes, the features of a more inclusive political system and how to go about constitutional development. IDEA has also played a role in promoting dialogue between opposing political groups.

Supporting the Constituent Assembly

After the Constituent Assembly (CA) elections, IDEA's efforts were directed at assisting constitution building in Nepal by providing support to those involved in the process. IDEA also saw the need to help bring the public on board the crucial political transformation taking place. The CA, together with support from IDEA, assessed the likely major needs on the path towards developing an agreed constitution.

The Chair of the CA, Subash Chandra Nemwang, identified a need to increase the knowledge and capacity of CA staff and called on International IDEA to run a training programme in October for Assembly officials on how a constituent assembly works. The programme content drew on a comparison of two case studies, one from South Africa, the other from Kenya. By the end of the programme the officials had reviewed their crucial role in supporting the constitutional development process – coming away with a fuller understanding

> Around one third of the members of the Bolivian Constituent Assembly are women … getting the "Gender Agenda" up in the CA commissions was a very interesting process. We realized the importance of making alliances and fostering relationships if we were to be effective. These alliances incorporated men from different political forces, together with the technical and consulting teams which provided assistance to each commission.
>
> ANA MARIA RUIZ ANTELO, *Member of the Bolivian Constituent Assembly, after visiting Nepal in September 2008*

of how staff play a coordinating role between political parties, CA members, security forces, government, the judiciary and others; how to serve the needs of committees; how to identify advisors and experts when needed; and how to write reports and document the process.

A lack of understanding in the media about how the CA process works was also identified. Working with the CA, IDEA arranged a tailor made programme for media representatives that covered Assembly proceedings, including which sessions are open to the public and which are closed, and how the media can usefully report on the activities of the Assembly.

Assembly members further sought IDEA's advice on how to promote public participation in the constitutional development process and how to generate a broader community understanding on the function of a constitution.

During the year, politicians and government officials regularly approached IDEA asking for information on a wide range of topics including how constituent assembly committees work in other parts of the world and procedural rules.

Drawing on these experiences, International IDEA synthesized a practical guide on constitution building *Creating the New Constitution – A Guide for Nepali citizens* that was published in 2008 (see Box).

Creating the New Constitution: A Guide for Nepali Citizens

This book presents a brief history of past constitutions in Nepal from the perspective of constitution making with a more detailed examination of the substance of the 1990 constitution. It identifies some of the proposals and controversies surrounding political reform and details the relevant experience of other countries.

Women and constitution building in Nepal

In the lead up to the elections in Nepal in April, International IDEA conducted a needs assessment by interviewing politically active women to find out what type of support they would welcome from our programme. Based on that report, a National Expert Group was formed to provide IDEA with ongoing ideas and advice.

The elections themselves resulted in a large number of women being elected to the Constituent Assembly after which, IDEA was approached by an informal women's caucus of the CA members. This provided IDEA with two challenges: The first was how to support these women in their task of designing a new constitution and, the second, how to ensure that women's perspectives and gender friendly provisions are included in the constitution so that they become an entrenched feature of the ongoing political process.

In June 2008, IDEA launched the *Women and Constitution Building* initiative to provide the support identified in the consultation processes with women.

The launch came only days after the CA members were sworn in and provided an immediate forum for women CA members to raise issues, which included facilities for women members (including those with infants) during CA meetings, and the need for women members to take an active part in the work of the CA's committees. It also became apparent to the women that they needed to quickly transform into a more formal group if their agenda for change is to be successful in the long run.

A major part of this initiative involves the provision of technical information and other material requested during the constitutional development process. Interested CA members will receive the *Gender Folder – Toolkit for Members of the Constituent Assembly* which is being prepared as a series of nine papers. The first of these, *Constituent Assembly of Nepal: Agenda Setting for Women*, specifically focuses on the role of women in the constitution building process.

Continuing discussions with the National Expert Group have enabled for instance, IDEA to identify eight of the priority topic areas that are to be included in the *Toolkit* mentioned above, including agenda setting, rules of procedure, and how to achieve public participation.

The National Expert Group also convenes seminars dealing with topical issues as they emerge and have recently requested IDEA to conduct a workshop for women CA members on how to work from a gender perspective and federalism.

As the work of the CA progressed throughout 2008, women members saw the need to work together across party lines to advance their agenda. In September, some 170 people from the Constituent Assembly, political parties and civil society attended an IDEA sponsored conference in Kathmandu on *Women and Constitution Building* where they examined experiences on constitution building in Latin America, Africa and Asia. During the proceedings it became clear there was a requirement for further training and workshops in the different regions of Nepal as a means of involving a wider group of people in the constitution building process. IDEA was asked to be involved in this training.

Nepal also underlined the importance of the people having ownership of their constitution and their constitutional reform process. For this reason, the CA must be taken everywhere: to the countryside, to little towns, to big cities, to wherever there's a Nepali.

ANA MARIA RUIZ ANTELO,
Member of the Bolivian Constituent Assembly on the experience of local ownership of a constitution after visiting Nepal in September 2008

Political division and a new constitution in Bolivia

International IDEA first opened its office in La Paz in 2007, a point when the President and Vice President opened up discussions on Bolivia's constitutional development process. In the difficult political environment prevailing at the time, IDEA navigated through the opposing political forces responding to opportunities to be constructive to all parties.

In 2008, Bolivian politics was heavily focused on the development of its new constitution. Although the final text was widely approved by 61.43 per cent of voters, a number of issues were controversial and promoted further conflict. These included the control of natural resources, the rights of the regions, and greater rights for Bolivia's indigenous population.

The political divisions in Bolivia and the stalemate in reaching consensus on the constitution throughout the year generated a need, highlighted by International IDEA, for a detailed analysis of the meaning of the proposed constitution. As a non partisan player in this process, International IDEA brought together a group of experts who analysed the draft constitution text from both a legal and political perspective. The book title *Comentarios a la propuesta constitucional aprobada por la Asamblea Constituyente boliviana* (Comments on the constitutional proposal approved by the Bolivian Constituent Assembly) prepared by this group was ultimately used in the Bolivian Congress and by those involved in negotiations to move towards a final text.

The material generated was turned into a series of 16 radio programmes *Footprints for the Future* that were broadcast across the country. The series highlighted the main issues in the proposed constitution and looked at past constitutions in Bolivia.

The political map in Bolivia divided itself into two camps with the resource rich departments strongly opposing the proposed constitution and political reform. By sensing this division as a potential impediment to further democratic progress, International IDEA published a book *Configuraciones políticas en los departamentos de Bolivia: La construcción plural del nuevo campo politico* (Building a New, Pluralistic Political Landscape: Shaping Politics in Bolivia's Departments) which looked at the shape of the political landscape across Bolivia's departments (see Box). The feedback received suggested that this work contributed to a better understanding of the current political system, and was used to help redefine IDEA's work programme.

Configuraciones políticas en los departamentos de Bolivia : La construcción plural del nuevo campo político

(Building a New, Pluralistic Political Landscape: Shaping Politics in Bolivia's Departments)

The Bolivian political landscape is changing and new territorial scenarios are being shaped by the events transforming the country. Bolivia has experienced significant social and political unrest in recent years over the use of natural resources; the marginalization of large sectors of the Bolivian electorate; and the political autonomy of Bolivia's departments. This study maps the political and social arrangements in eight departments in Bolivia.

International IDEA contributed significantly to greater awareness about voting and democracy through the production and broadcast of the program Footprints for the Future … the program reached a broad audience and enabled listeners to understand the constitution from a historical and legal standpoint in a much deeper way than the approach usually taken by the media. It helped them understand what the constitution is and what must be done with it in future.

LUCIA SAUMA, *President of ERBOL radio school network and Director of Radio Pachamama, 2008*

In the lead up to the referendum on the constitution in January 2009, the National Electoral Court (NEC) asked IDEA for assistance with the policy and legal issues related to the referendum process. IDEA responded by engaging consultants who worked with NEC on drafting a transitional electoral law.

With the adoption of a new constitution, the Congress of Bolivia faces the mammoth and complex task of developing laws to implement it. Both the Constitution and Decentralization Committees of Congress turned to IDEA to assist in this process. After holding discussions with the committees, IDEA arranged a workshop to provide them with the experiences of Colombia and Ecuador, both of which had found themselves in a similar situation. Follow up workshops are being planned in the future to carry this initiative forward and aid implementation of the constitution.

Timely, efficient cooperation and technical assistance provided by International IDEA has been crucial, not only to help ensure the validity of Bolivia's electoral institutions amid polarization and change, but also to promote an agenda that includes strengthening the electoral body and, in future, ensuring the legitimacy of the transition in a high intensity democracy like Bolivia.

DR JOSE LUIS EXENI R., *President, Electoral Management Body of Bolivia, 2008*

Inclusive processes in Ecuador

In Ecuador, under the name Agora Democratica, International IDEA operates together in partnership with the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD).

When Rafael Correa was elected President in November 2006, one of his key campaign pledges was to call a National Constituent Assembly (NCA) to rewrite the constitution. Throughout 2008, NCA members requested Agora Democratica to provide specific information supporting that process, encourage cross-party dialogue and facilitate public involvement with broadcasts on community radio stations about the process.

The implementation of a 'Democracy Code' (political parties and electoral law), was a fundamental component of the constitutional reform. Agora Democratica was asked by the Ministry of Policy Coordination to play a supporting role by providing access to knowledge resources to those involved drafting a new electoral law: the Legislative Commission, National Electoral Council, National Electoral Court, National Secretary for Planning and Development and the Ministries of Justice and Policy Coordination. In January and February, while the Democracy Code was being debated, IDEA and the Legislative Commission organized a series of seminars to discuss its content with representatives of the civil society and political parties.

International IDEA responded to a request from the ruling political movement "Alianza País" to conduct a seminar on the comparative experience of internal democracy. Participants from Uruguay, Colombia and Chile were invited to share their experiences. The seminar was addressed to the board and members of Alianza País and, later on the same day, was opened up to representatives of all the major political parties.

The NCA also asked Agora Democratica for support on a number of matters including the lessons learned from the Constituent Assembly processes in Colombia and Bolivia; the use of direct democracy mechanisms; social inclusion; and communication policies. Shortly before the National Constituent Assembly started, a group of nine delegates participated in an International IDEA sponsored visit to Spain, The Netherlands and Norway to examine various issues including decentralization and autonomies, cross party dialogue, management of natural resources, and more.

Agora Democratica was also requested to provide support to the Technical Secretary of the NCA (located within the office of the Second Vice President), with a special focus on gender and establishing women's rights in the drafting of the new constitution. Support to the Technical Secretary included legal drafting, providing analysis of constitutional proposals, and providing material on gender issues for NCA members as and when required. A number of meetings were convened by IDEA on behalf of NCA members, putting them together with international experts on gender issues.

Constitution building in Africa

In efforts to spread and deepen understanding of constitution building, International IDEA seeks to develop strategic partnerships with key partners, institutions and networks, especially those that promote South to South dialogue. This allows in-country experiences to be put to wider use, fostering the practice of inclusive and participatory processes while facilitating the emergence of regional and international consensus on norms, values and principles of constitution building.

This approach made it possible for experience in constitution building from South America and Asia to be brought to an audience of 150 African constitution builders in a conference on *Constitution Building in Africa* held in Benin in November – marking the kick-off of activities identified under the five year *Joint Activity Plan* between the African Union and International IDEA (See Chapter I) to support the *African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance*. The Charter, adopted by the AU in 2007, proscribes unconstitutional assumption and holding of political power. Today, the sub regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East Africa Community (EAC) not only have respect for constitutionalism and related democratic norms, values and principles as they are now more diffused across the continent, but also recognize its pivotal role in integration and cooperation between states.

> Legal protection of African constitutions has to become a reality across the continent and will be achieved via the respect for constitutional norms by political actors, civil society, national armies, jurisdictions and the whole of African citizens to avoid, as much as possible, anti-constitutional changes on the continent.
>
> DÉSIRÉ ADADJA, *Minister for Communications of Benin, November 2008*

One of the key challenges discussed at the Benin conference was how to implement the new constitutional goals and values required to realize stable democracies that will spur economic improvement in the lives of men and women. The conference also recognized that implementing the fruits of constitution building is about dealing with other problems too, including vast ethnic diversity, underdevelopment, gender equity and the greater inclusion of women and other marginalized groups in African political life.

The need for African constitutions to ensure a more balanced distribution of power based on multi-party elections was identified as an area needing further attention. By drawing on the experiences of other countries the conference underlined the importance of the South-South approach to democracy building and constitutional development – an approach that mirrors IDEA's constitution building and democracy assistance efforts.

It is a very original idea from IDEA to dig deep through the African roots to find right there ways of solving major problems arising in Africa. With this approach, justice will no longer appear as a foreign organ badly transplanted to a rejecting body. Rather, it will appear as the product of Africa's own genius.

ADAMA DIENG *Assistant Secretary-General/Registrar International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), 2008*

TRADITIONAL JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

Countries emerging from civil conflict face the question of how best to deal with the perpetrators of past – and in many cases recent – violence, while at the same time maintaining the fragile social harmony that often characterizes post-conflict societies. In Africa in particular, one potential conflict management resource lies in the sphere of traditional social mechanisms. In Rwanda, for example, a modernised version of the traditional community-based concept of conflict resolution embodied in the institution of 'gacaca' has been used by the Rwandan authorities as a means of judging the thousands of ordinary people implicated in the 1994 genocide.

In 2008, International IDEA concluded the first phase of its project *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences* through the publication of a report of the same name. The project examined the role played by local/traditional justice mechanisms (TJMs) in addressing the legacy of large-scale, violent conflict in countries across the African continent. A core component of project is a set of case studies on the role and functioning of TJMs in six specific post conflict countries located across the African continent– Burundi, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda.

The project and book reflect IDEA's unique approach to developing knowledge resources: first, by taking a leading edge subject and presenting comparative experiences of different countries; and then by applying analysis to this material and preparing a report that helps to shape international thinking. A follow up project phase involving the production of a French translation of the ATJM report, as well as Africa-focused dissemination activities within the framework of the IDEA-African Union *Joint Activity Plan*, is being implemented during 2009–2010.

Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences

This book is based on the findings of a comparative study examining the role played by traditional justice mechanisms in dealing with the legacy of violent conflict in Africa.

Publications Released in 2008: Highlights

All are in electronic format at www.idea.int and can be downloaded from the website free of charge.

E English
S Spanish
N Nepali

Electoral Processes

Direct Democracy: The International IDEA Handbook

2008, 242 pp
ISBN 978-91-85724-50-5 E

Democracia directa en Latinoamérica
(Direct Democracy in Latin America)

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Co-publisher: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

2008, 1106 pp
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Political Parties in Conflict-Prone Societies: Regulation, Engineering and Democratic Development

Publisher: United Nations University Press

2008, 326 pp
ISBN 978-92-808-1157-5 E

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Creating the New Constitution: A Guide for Nepali Citizens

2008, 270 pp
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Democracy and Conflict

Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning From African Experiences

2008, 204pp
ISBN 978-91-85724-28-4 E

Democracy and Gender

Del dicho al hecho - Manual de buenas prácticas para la participación de mujeres en los partidos políticos latinoamericanos
(From Rhetoric to Practice: Best Practices for Women's Participation in Political Parties in Latin America)

2008, 64 pp (includes CD-ROM)
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30 años de democracia: ¿en la cresta de la ola? Participación política de la mujer en América Latina
(30 Years of Democracy: Riding the Wave? Women's Political Participation in Latin America)

2008, 58 pp
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Configuraciones políticas en los departamentos de Bolivia – La construcción plural del nuevo campo político
(Building a New, Pluralistic Political Landscape: Shaping Politics in Bolivia's Departments)

Co-publisher: UNDP, Bolivia

2008, 240 pp
ISBN 978-91-85724-45-1
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International IDEA's Databases and Networks

ACE Electoral Knowledge Network www.aceproject.org
The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network provides comprehensive and authoritative information on elections. It promotes networking among election-related professionals and offers capacity development services. ACE is a joint endeavour between International IDEA, Elections Canada, EISA, Instituto Federal Electoral, IFES, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division.

Electoral System Design www.idea.int/esd
The material on this website is a compilation of International IDEA's knowledge on electoral system design.

iKNOW Politics www.iknowpolitics.org
An on-line workspace designed to serve the needs of politicians, practitioners and researchers in the field of women in politics. The Network is a joint project of International IDEA, UNDP, the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

Political Finance Laws and Regulations
www.idea.int/parties/finance/db
The largest collection of information on political finance laws and regulations on the funding of political parties in the world.

Quotas for Women www.quotaproject.org
International IDEA and Stockholm University have compiled comparative information on the use and impact of quotas for women in politics including the different quota systems in existence today, the percentage of women represented and representation targets in countries where these exist.

Reconciliation Resource Network www.idea.int/rrn
Comprehensive material for the global community interested in reconciliation.

State of Democracy Network www.idea.int/sod
The State of Democracy assessment methodology (SoD) is a tool intended for use by citizens to assess the quality of their democracy, and define priority areas for policy and democratic reform. The network website includes an interactive version of the Democracy Assessment Framework, a collection of Assessments conducted around the world, the home of the Expert Network, as well as interviews, related publications, links and an Ask the Expert feature.

Voter Turnout www.idea.int/vt
The most comprehensive global collection of political participation statistics available. It contains voter turnout figures on a country basis for national presidential and parliamentary elections since 1945.

About International IDEA

Member States

International IDEA is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide. International IDEA's Member States are all democracies and provide both political and financial support to the work of the institute. The Member States include Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ghana (joined 2008), India, Mauritius, Mexico, Namibia, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay. Japan has observer status.

Governance

International IDEA is governed by a Council composed of its Member States and assisted by a Board of Advisors.

Four new Board members were elected in June 2008: Dr Annie Chikwanha (Zimbabwe), Professor Adebayo Olukoshi (Nigeria), Professor Cheryl Saunders (Australia), and Professor Lourdes Sola (Brazil).

Board members Andrés Rozental (Mexico), Cassam Uteem (Mauritius), and Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner (Spain) completed their term in June 2008.

Mr Vidar Helgesen, Norway's former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the Secretary-General.

International IDEA's Board of Advisers

MS LENA HJELM-WALLÉN, *Chairperson (Sweden), former Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister for Foreign Affairs*

AMBASSADOR ANDRÉS ROZENTAL, *Vice Chairperson (Mexico), Senior Nonresident Fellow at The Brookings Institution, former Deputy Minister of Mexico**

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MR JERMYN BROOKS *(United Kingdom), member of the Board of Directors of Transparency International, former Global Managing Partner at PricewaterhouseCoopers*

DR ANNIE CHIKWANHA *(Zimbabwe), Senior Research Fellow, heading the Africa Human Security Initiative (AHSI) project at the Institute for Security Studies in Nairobi***

DR RICARDO DÍEZ-HOCHLEITNER *(Spain), Honorary President of the Club of Rome**

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MR ANDREAS GROSS *(Switzerland), Member of Parliament*

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PROFESSOR ADEBAYO OLUKOSHI *(Nigeria), Executive Director of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)***

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PROFESSOR CHERYL SAUNDERS *(Australia), Director at the Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies, University of Melbourne***

MR HUGH SEGAL *(Canada), Member of the Senate, former President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy, former Associate Secretary of Cabinet and Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister of Canada*

PROFESSOR LOURDES SOLA *(Brazil), President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA)***

MR CASSAM UTEEM *(Mauritius), former President of the Republic of Mauritius**

Honorary Board Member:

MS AUNG SAN SUU KYI (Burma), *General Secretary of the National League for Democracy in Burma and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate*

* to June 2008
** from June 2008

Financial Overview

2008 Financial Statements

A summary of the 2008 Balance Sheet and Income Statement for International IDEA is set out in Table 1.

Total revenues for 2008 amounted to EUR17.49 Million (2007 EUR13.07M). Total reserves as at the end of 2008 amounted to EUR6.76 Million (2007 EUR5.67M).

Table 1

BALANCE SHEET

As at 31 December 2008 and 2007
(In thousands of Euros)

Euro	2008	2007
ASSETS		
Cash and Bank	13 594	11 401
Receivables		
Contributions	660	70
Prepaid Expenses/Accrued Income	98	83
	758	153
Other Receivables		
Value Added Tax	71	60
Field Office Advances	350	378
Personnel Advances	25	42
Claims on Suppliers	27	128
	473	608
TOTAL ASSETS	14 825	12 162
LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL		
Accounts Payable		
Trade Creditors and Accruals	1 369	1 258
Personnel Liabilities	1 168	1 001
Contributions	5 527	4 230
	8 064	6 489
Capital and Reserves		
Reserves	6 761	5 673
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL	14 825	12 162

INCOME STATEMENT

For the years ended 31 December, 2008 and 2007
(In thousands of Euros)

Euro	2008	2007
Revenues and Gains		
Contributions	16 687	12 364
Other revenues and gains	807	706
Total revenues and gain	17 494	13 070
Expenses		
Operations	11 673	9 626
Management and Administration	4 644	3 094
Total expenses	16 317	12 720
NET SURPLUS	1 177	350

Vidar Helgesen
Secretary-General

Martin Van Weerdenburg
Director of Finance & Administration

2008 Funding Overview

Total funding for 2008 amounted to EUR17.49 Million and was comprised of;

* Member State Core Funding EUR10.52M (2007EUR8.17M);
* Restricted Project Funding EUR6.16M (2007 EUR4.19M);
* Other Income EUR0.8M (2007 EUR0.7M).

Details of Core and Project funding by Member State or other Donor is set out in Table 2.

Table 2
SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS
For the years ended 31 December, 2008 and 2007 (In thousands of Euros)

DONORS	2008	2007
CORE CONTRIBUTIONS	**10 524**	**8 170**
Barbados	0	7
Botswana	16	15
Canada	646	323
Chile	63	52
Costa Rica	4	4
Denmark	412	405
Finland	345	345
Germany	400	400
India	40	45
Mauritius	8	7
Mexico	35	36
Namibia	2	1
Netherlands	1 500	700
Norway	908	571
South Africa	20	10
Spain	250	150
Sweden	5 236	4 495
Switzerland	635	604
Uruguay	4	0

RESTRICTED PROJECT CONTRIBUTIONS	6 163	4 194
Australia		
Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)	57	152
Belgium		
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs	44	67
Canada		
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)	46	53
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)	-	73
International Development Research Centre (IDRC)	43	-
Chile		
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs	-	50
European Union		
The European Commission	293	24
The European Parliament	55	-
Germany		
Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technishe Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)	387	-
Inter American Development Bank	1	35
Italy		
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs	430	578
Japan		
Hiroshima University	5	4
The Netherlands		
The Netherlands Ministry for Development Cooperation	10	226
The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy	26	166
Norway		
The Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2 994	1 680
Spain		
The Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI)	348	21
Sweden		
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs	441	59
Swedish International Development Agency	-	13
Switzerland		
The Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs	65	79
The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation	6	86
UK		
Department for International Development (DFID)	65	56
Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)	268	357
United Nations		
The United Nations Development Fund (UNDEF)	-	-
The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	579	415
TOTAL CORE AND EARMARKED CONTRIBUTIONS	**16 687**	**12 364**

INTERNATIONAL IDEA AT A GLANCE

What is International IDEA?

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide.

International IDEA's mission is to support sustainable democratic change through providing comparative knowledge, and assisting in democratic reform, and influencing policies and politics.

What does International IDEA do?

In the field of elections, constitution building, political parties, women's political empowerment, and democracy self-assessments, we undertake our work through three activity areas:

- providing comparative knowledge and experience derived from practical experience on democracy building processes from diverse contexts around the world;
- assisting political actors in reforming democratic institutions and processes, and engaging in political processes when invited to do so; and
- influencing democracy building policies through the provision of our comparative knowledge resources and assistance to political actors.

Where does International IDEA work?

International IDEA works worldwide. Based in Stockholm, Sweden, it has offices in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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