



# Narrative Report on the PDIV Expert Workshop on the Prevention of Election Related Violence



Saanenmöser, 25 to 27 October 2010

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### **Background and Summary**

Democratic elections have become increasingly prominent on the international scene. They allow citizens to participate in politics and hence ensure inclusiveness and are also considered as transition points after a country has been ravaged by violent conflict. By the same token, elections can increase the potential of conflict as they mark per definition periods during which opinions and positions amongst different population groups polarize. In some cases, these societal oppositions can end in violence. Recently, various organizations have thus stressed the need to engage in the prevention of election-related violence, which is one of the objectives of Swiss Peace Policy.

Election-related violence needs to be addressed by different areas of expertise and joint efforts between conflict experts and electoral assistance. As a consequence, one major goal of the course was to foster the cooperation between election experts, peace building advisers, and geographic desks who rely on each other to provide an effective response to election-related violence. The nexus between elections, conflict and violence was to be explored accordingly, and participants were asked to identify specific niches where Switzerland could become more active in the future.

The Political Division IV (PDIV) of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs commissioned swisspeace and the Center for Security Studies / ETH-Zurich to organise and facilitate the workshop including developing role plays and a case study. Two senior experts on election-related violence were invited to share their experience with the participants: Sead Alihodzic, senior researcher at International IDEA, and former election expert for the OSCE field office in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and Professor Timothy Sisk from the Josef Korbel School of International Relations (University of Denver). Anne Gloor, head of the PDIV's Election Support Desk, facilitated the workshop together with Damiano Sguaitamatti (CSS/ETH-Zurich).

The workshop took place from 25 to 27 October 2010 in Saananmöser and brought together 20 persons: 8 PBA, 5 cantonal and communal election experts, 4 election observers from the Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding, and 3 Desks of the PDIV. It thereby provided a unique opportunity to exchange on the topic of election-related violence from different professional angles. The Participants engaged in lively discussions on possible measures to prevent election-related violence and the potential Swiss contribution to it. It was highlighted that Switzerland should engage on this topic and make use of its long-standing experience with power-sharing and electoral systems. The participants rated the workshop with 4.2 out of 5 (see annex for the summary of the evaluation).

In order to allow for synergies to be maximised, the workshop took place just before the PDIV's annual planning meeting. One of the participants presented some of the key messages from the expert workshop to their colleagues at the annual planning meeting. This report only covers the expert workshop that ended on Wednesday at lunchtime.

### **Selected Insights**

From the beginning, the two key note speakers pointed at the duality of causes: those internal to the election process, and those external to the process, i.e. election-related and contextual causes. One of the key insights of the workshop the participants took home was therefore not only the link between election and violence itself, but also the **nexus between internal and external causes**, or as the participants put it: "I will take home a **sharpened focus on election related violence in my future work**" as well as "increased sensitivity for internal AND external factors." <sup>1</sup>

By combining internal and external factors, the workshop broadened the scope for intervention for the prevention of election-related violence. Instead of focusing on the administration of elections, election management bodies, or electoral laws, it suggested to "look at elections through broad conflict prevention lens", as one participant put it. As a consequence, the need for **long-term engagements** in this field was highlighted, as well as **early interventions**, long before the election day.

With regard to peace processes it was suggested that **mediators should take care of detailed provisions with regard to the election process**. Peace negotiations provide a unique opportunity to agree on fair and accepted rules of the game (e.g. district delimitations, electoral system, counting system, etc.). If the definitions of these rules is postponed to the implementation phase, it might well be that the election process will suffer from the beginning due to an ambiguous electoral system.

Interventions may include advice in the drafting of electoral laws, capacity building for election management bodies, training for parties in human rights, campaigning or intra-party democracy, as well as trainings for civil society actors in the peaceful resolution of local election-related disputes. In particular **PBAs should be trained to recognize timely the need for specific programs addressing election-related violence**.

With regard to Swiss activities, it was suggested that Switzerland should:

- Make use of its knowledge in power-sharing and inclusion of minorities, in particular through electoral systems and constitution
- Facilitate Dialogue between, and steer processes with, difficult election stakeholder, in particular due to its policy of talking to all groups
- Use the Swiss experience, e.g. the "laboratoire fédérale" for the comparison and discussion of political institutions
- Improve the network of Swiss election experts and field experts
- Include the topic of election-related violence in the TORs of Peacebuilding Advisers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Citations are based on the written evaluation at the end of the course, see Annex IV for a summary.

### **Workshop Content**

The workshop started on the evening of Monday, 25 October with a welcome address by the Head of the Peace Policy Section, Markus Leitner, and the presentation of the participants and their expectations. Amongst others, the participants mentioned:

- □ Understanding of various causes for conflict during elections
- Answering the question of how to observe elections in violent contexts
- □ Understanding the importance of technical aspects in elections
- ⇒ Knowing more about the role of traditional leaders
- ⇒ Receiving context-specific inputs, e.g. Kosovo or Sudan

### Day 1: Understanding and Addressing Election-related Violence

The first day of the workshop had two aims: first, discuss and deepen the understanding of the various causes for election-related violence; second, explore possible measures to prevent it. After a key note, the participants had the opportunity to test their knowledge in a role play based on a case study.

In his key note, Tim Sisk offered a definition of election-related violence as an extension of political violence:

Acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arise in the context of electoral competition.

- When perpetrated to affect an electoral process, violence may be employed to influence the process of elections, e.g. delay, disrupt, or derail a poll.
- Violence may be employed to influence the outcome of the election or to secure approval or disapproval of referendum questions.
- It is important to distinguish between instrumental and "spontaneous" violence.

He went on describing the different types of acts during all phases of the electoral cycle, beginning with intimidation and replacement of independent judges in a very early phase, clashes between supporters during the campaigns, violence to prevent citizens to vote on election day, or the emergence of armed resistance after elections (to give only some examples). He stressed the fact that violence can target specific persons or the process as a whole, by generating a climate of fear (e.g. in Iraq). Perpetrators of election-related violence may be part of the state apparatus – in particular when the ruling party fears loosing the elections – or opposition groups and militias – e.g. if they have little or no chance to outbid the ruling party and in order to discredit the whole process.

Sisk also introduced a distinction between two different types of causes: external or structural causes of conflicts; and causes which are internal to the electoral process. Sead Alihodzic further elaborated on these two sets of causes. In his presentation he proposed an analytical framework that would take into consideration external factors specific to the context that could lead to the escalation of violence during an electoral process, such as impunity, discrimination against ethnic groups, or kidnapping as well as internal factors, such

as obstacles in the electoral law and lack of experience in the election management bodies. From the perspective of external factors, elections are not causes of conflict per se (since most election processes are peaceful). They are a catalyst of deep rooted tensions within society.

Both Alihodzic and Sisk advocated for long-term interventions to prevent election-related violence. Engagements that would only cover the immediate pre-election period are bound to fail, for they would only address specific internal factors, yet ignore the more fundamental issues that need to be addressed through suitable institutions. Since elections cannot be postponed forever, until the appropriate political culture and institutions are in place, one needs to strike a balance and see how to best protect the electoral process from structural violence with the existing institutions, while trying to improve the overall situation within the electoral cycle. Measures that need to be considered are the revising the constitutional and legal framework; training political parties and educating voters to foster social cohesion; improving election administration; working with the security sector; training monitors and those involved in verification missions, in order to more effectively observe the indicators of possible electoral violence; and finally helping election management bodies and courts identify, investigate, and address election-related violence.

During the rest of the morning, participants went into four groups to prepare an analysis of internal and external causes of violence in a fictional scenario of Guyanese elections in 2011, which was based on real information from past (partly violent) elections. In the presentations, a variety of internal factors, such as lack of transparency within the Guyana Election Commission or controversial voter registration were mentioned. Amongst the many external factors, the most prominent two were the sharp politicization of ethnicity (and subsequent division of the country along ethnic lines), as well as the total lack of trust into national political institutions. These external factors led to the conclusion that election-related violence must be tackled not only in election specific programs. Rather it must be seen as a cross-cutting issue that may be addressed by a variety of long-term peacebuilding and even development programs.

In the afternoon, participants used the same case study to develop five specific measures to prevent the escalation of violence in the upcoming 2001 elections in Guyana. They had to present their conclusions to the GECOM in a fishbowl exercise. Among other measures it was suggested to support the establishment of rapid response teams (based on existing structures), which could e.g. intervene at polling station level in case of election disputes; the establishment of roundtables for political parties to facilitate the discussions on burning issues between difficult election stakeholders; a GECOM communication strategy to increase transparency of the electoral process and to deal more effectively with general concerns; a code of conduct for media and a media monitoring program.

### Day 2: Swiss Experience and Options for Future Engagements

The second day (morning only) focused on Swiss options for engagement in prevention of election-related violence. Anne Gloor, Head of the Election Support Desk, presented the Swiss experience in Mozambique. After violent and flawed elections in 1999, Switzerland started its engagement in 2002, working with the state institutions and civil society organizations to prevent possible conflicts in view of the 2003 local and 2004 national elections. From about 30 different organizations, six were selected to form a network, covering all regions and communities. This network, the "Electoral Observatory", was operational in 2003. It conducted

sensitization for peaceful elections, had election mediators on the ground, and conducted a parallel vote tabulation. As a result, the National Electoral Commission changed results due to the Observatory's quick count. The trust in this non-governmental institution made it possible to diffuse tensions during the 2004 presidential elections. Gloor stressed the importance of three factors in all measures:

- 1. Local ownership
- 2. Selection of trusted partners
- 3. Coordination with other national and international actors

In the subsequent session, the participants discussed the following questions in groups:

- 1. In which domains does Switzerland have a potential comparative advantage in addressing election-related violence?
- 2. For the Peacebuilding Advisers: in which of your respective regions of responsibility could these advantages play a role?
- 3. For the Election Experts: Where do you see your specific strengths in assisting electoral processes in favor of prevention?

The participants produced one flip per question and discussed their results with one other group before presenting to the plenary. After the presentation, the participants were asked to walk around, read the flip charts again, add comments, and vote with colored stickers for the most relevant/important sentence. The following table summarizes the most prominent views of participants regarding Switzerland's comparative advantages.

### Recommendations for Switzerland

Niches for Switzerland in the Prevention of Elec-	Participant's comments and recommendations			
tion-related Violence				
Make use of its knowledge in power-sharing and	Advantage in contexts with complex power-			
inclusion of minorities, in particular through	sharing mechanisms requiring inclusion of mi-			
electoral systems and constitution	norities (12):			
	Multicultural and multilingual background			
	Minority protection mechanisms			
	• Expertise on minority rights (e.g. based on			
	experience with the Jura conflict)			
	• Strong interaction between the three state			
	levels and language regions / cultural regions			
	• Asking "smart" questions, based on our expe-			
	rience in the field of the internal factors and			
	helping find answers with our partners			
Facilitate Dialogue between, and steer processes	Process-oriented work with "difficult actors"			
with difficult election stakeholders	(e.g. political parties) (16)			
	Readiness to talk to "difficult" actors			

	Civil society capacity development
	Transformation of armed groups into political
	parties
Use Swiss experience, e.g. the "laboratoire fédé-	Compare models of democracy / participation at
rale"	different levels (commune, canton, national lev-
	el), from Swiss experience knowing that these
	models are not transferable (laboratoire fédéra-
	liste) (13)
	• Political system, federalism, governance (lim-
	its: Swissness)
	• Comparison possible: about 3000 different
	electoral systems in CH! (2)
Improve the network of Swiss election experts	Improve networks between Swiss experts and
and field experts	field (9)
	Presence in the field that is both sensitive for
	election-specific problems and context aware-
	ness (6)
Include the topic of election-related violence in	Election support (analysis of potential election
the TORs of Peacebuilding Advisers	violence and suggestions for appropriate re-
	sponse) should be part of PBA's TOR (7)

In addition, there was the general feeling that Switzerland (despite the ban on minarets) still enjoys a good reputation as a neutral and credible partner, without colonial past and geopolitical interests. As such, it could influence the agenda setting well beyond the mere financial contributions, mainly through the coordination of initiatives.

Specific initiatives were mentioned that could be intensified, such as working with civil society, in strengthening capacities, knowledge and skills of individuals in participative processes, campaigning, legal knowledge, and conflict resolution. The latter was described more in detail both through the Mozambican and the more recent Guinean experience in establishing networks of local electoral mediators.

### **Evaluation**

In oral and written evaluation<sup>2</sup>, the participants highlighted the importance of bringing together different fields of expertise and exchange experiences between election experts and conflict / regional experts. Due to the lack of time, many participants saw this workshop as a start into a longer-term project aiming at strengthening the links between the experts. The many insights the participants mentioned as take home lessons suggest that the workshop can be regarded as a success in terms of knowledge-transfer and exchange of experiences. The participants indeed were highly satisfied about their personal learning curve and the way the workshop combined theory and practice. Further workshops must provide more time for Q&A and for role plays – essentially more time in general than just 1.5 days. The overall rating of the workshop was 4.2 out of 5 (see annex IV for an overview of the evaluation).

<sup>2</sup> At the end of the workshop, a questionnaire was distributed.

### **Annexes**

### Annex I: Program

### WORKSHOP ON PREVENTION OF ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE

Golfhotel Saanenmöser 25 - 27 October 2010

### **Draft Program**

Monday 25 October: WELCOME

Time	Topic	Method	Lead		
18:00	Arrival of participants in Hotel				
18:30	<ul> <li>Welcome</li> <li>Cocktail</li> <li>"Relevance of the topic for Switzerland"</li> <li>Short round of introductions &amp; expectations</li> <li>Dinner</li> </ul>		M. Leitner D. Sguaitamatti		

Tuesday 26 October: UNDERSTANDING AND ADDRESSING ELECTION-RELATED CONFLICTS AND VIOLENCE

Time	Topic	Method	Lead
08:00	Welcome: Interactive ice-breaker, goal, ground rules and program	Interactive	A. Gloor D. Sguaitamatti
08:30	Session 1: Electoral Processes in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries – Between Voice and Violence  • Analytical Framework (electoral cycle approach), Tools, Methodology; Challenges, Opportunities Comprehensive Approaches to Assessing Vulnerability to Election-Related Violence	Key note & Discussion	T. Sisk S. Alihodzic A. Gloor
10:00	Coffee break		
10:30	Session 2: Analyzing Election-Related conflicts  Exercise "Assess the conflict potential, meet with stakeholders"  Introduction into scenario and Set-Up  Role Play	Group work Role play	T. Sisk D. Sguaitamatti
12:15	Lunch		
13:45	Session 2 continued: Debriefing of Exercise  Presentation of results  Discussion: Bringing together the different perspectives	Presentation & Plenary Discussion	All

Time	Topic	Method	Lead
14:30	Session 3: Addressing election-related conflicts  Exercise "Prepare strategy and measures, advise the National Electoral Commission (NEC)"  Update of scenario and preparation of meeting with NEC INDIVIDUAL COFFEE BREAK	Group work	T. Sisk D. Sguaitamatti
16:00	Advisory meeting with NEC	Role Play	All
17:00	<ul><li>What the NEC decided to do</li><li>Discussion: Cooperation between experts</li></ul>	Presentation & Plenary Discussion	T. Sisk
17:45	Closure Summary and wrap up		A. Gloor
19:30	Dinner		

### Wednesday 27 October: SWISS OPTIONS

Time	Торіс	Method	Lead
08:00	Welcome: Overview of program, warm-up	Interactive	A. Gloor D. Sguaitamatti
08:10	Session 4: Reflection on day 1  Insights of Day1, Important issues	Discussion	Core Team
09:00	<ul> <li>Session 5: Swiss activities and niches in ES</li> <li>Intro: Overview of past and ongoing activities, Strategies, priorities, niches (15')</li> <li>4 groups on CH relevant regions:         <ul> <li>Which tools and methodology can Switzerland best contribute to?</li> <li>In which focus region are these niches and tools relevant?</li> <li>How do PBAs and Election Support best cooperate?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Including coffee break</li> </ul>	Presentation Group work	A. Gloor Core Team
11:00	Session 6: Plenary Debriefing  Appropriate niches and tools for Switzerland  Modes of collaboration  Preparation of presentation to Amb Wild and Section for Peace Policy  Choose 2-3 presenters for afternoon	Group Presentation	All
12:00	Session 7: Closure Summary, evaluation, next steps (end of workshop)		A. Gloor T. Sisk D. Sguaitamatti
12:30	Lunch		

### Annex II: Participants

## WORKSHOP ON PREVENTION OF ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE

Golfhotel Saanenmöser 25 - 27 October 2010

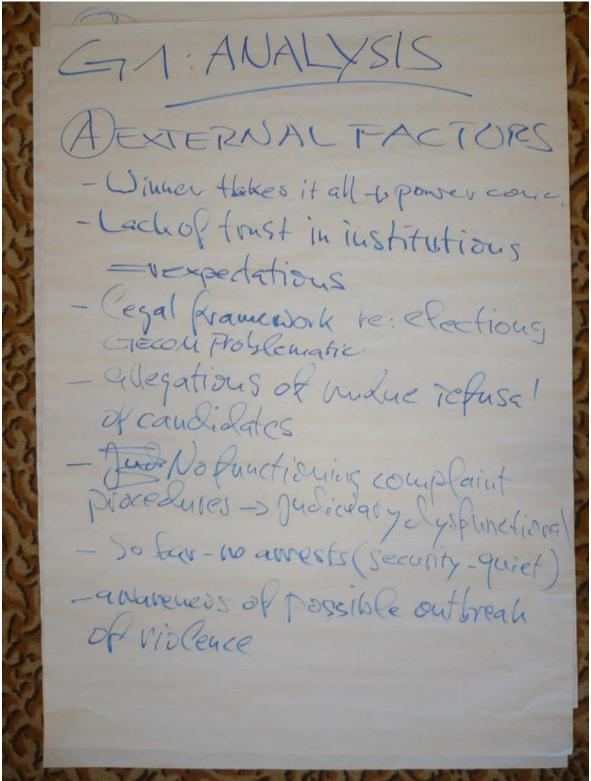
### **List of Participants**

	Name	First Name	Organisation	E-mail
1.	Bernasconi	Gabriella	Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding	gabibw@ticino.com
2.	Conus	Vincent	Swiss FDFA / PBA Chad	vincent.conus@eda.admin.ch
3.	Fasnacht	Daniel	Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding	daniel.fasnacht@eda.admin.ch
4.	Gähwiler	Beat	City of Zurich	beat.gaehwiler@zuerich.ch
5.	Gianinazzi	Pia	Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding	piagianinazzi@bluewin.ch
6.	Herzog	Herbert	Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding	faru@bluemail.ch
7.	Höhne	Oliver	Swiss FDFA / PBA Great Lakes	oliver.hoehne@eda.admin.ch
8.	Humbel	Oliver	Swiss FDFA Horn of Africa Desk	oliver.humbel@eda.admin.ch
9.	Ibscher	Lisa	Swiss FDFA / PBA South Sudan	lisa.ibscher@sdc.net
10.	Michael	Murezi	Swiss FDFA Mediation Support Desk	murezi.michael@eda.admin.ch
11.	Mottet	Carol	Swiss FDFA / PBA West Africa	carol.mottet@eda.admin.ch
12.	Müller	Sascha	Swiss FDFA / PBA Sri Lanka	sascha.mueller@eda.admin.ch
13.	Probst	Lukas	Swiss FDFA / Great Lakes Desk	lukas.probstlopez@eda.admin.ch
14.	Rusch	Marisa	Canton of St Gallen	marisa.rusch@sg.ch
15.	Rütsche	Norbert	Swiss FDFA / PBA Balkan	norbert.ruetsche@eda.admin.ch
16.	Stein	Georg	Swiss FDFA / PBA Indonesia	georg.stein@eda.admin.ch
17.	Stuerzinger	Martin	Swiss FDFA / PBA Nepal	martin.stuerzinger@eda.admin.ch
18.	Trees	Patrick	Canton of Bern	patrick.trees@sta.be.ch
19.	Venanzoni	Reto	City of St Gallen	reto.venanzoni@stadt.sg.ch
20.	Wichtermann	Jürg	City of Bern	juerg.wichtermann@bern.ch

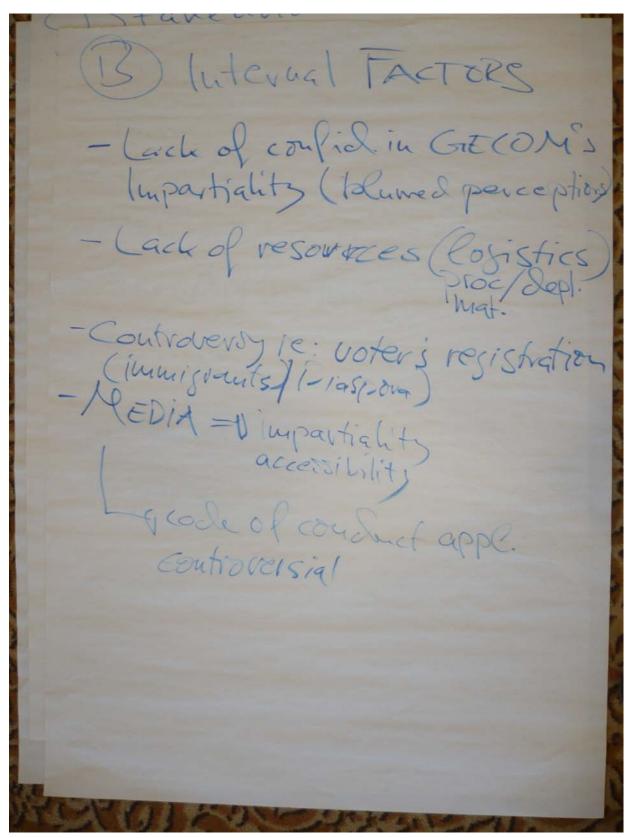
### **List of Resource Persons and Organisers**

#	Name	First Name	Organisation	E-mail
21.	Alihodzic	Sead	IDEA	S.Alihodzic@idea.int
22.	Gloor	Anne	Swiss FDFA	anne.gloor@eda.admin.ch
23.	Sguaitamatti	Damiano	CSS / ETH-Zurich	sguaitamatti@sipo.gess.ethz.ch
24.	Sisk	Tim	University of Denver	timothy.sisk@du.edu

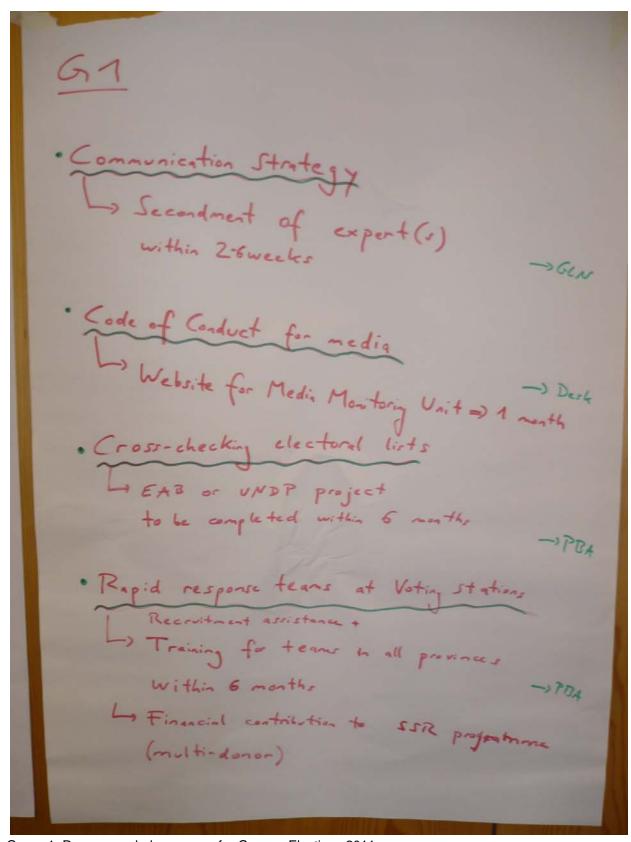
### Annex III: Flip charts with recommendations



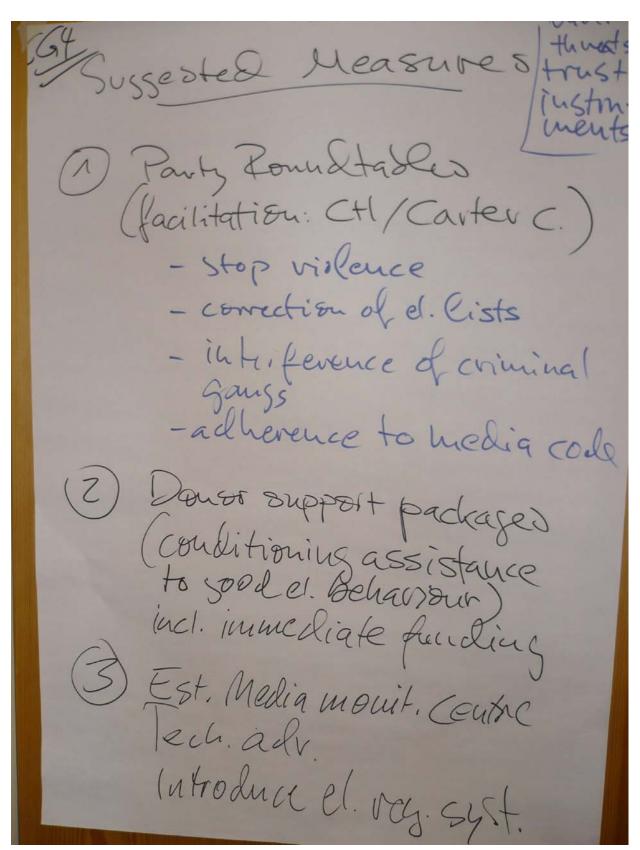
Group 1: External Factors in the Guyana Scenario



Group 1: Internal Factors in the Guyana Scenario



Group 1: Recommended measures for Guyana Elections 2011



Group 4: Recommended measures for Guyana Elections 2011

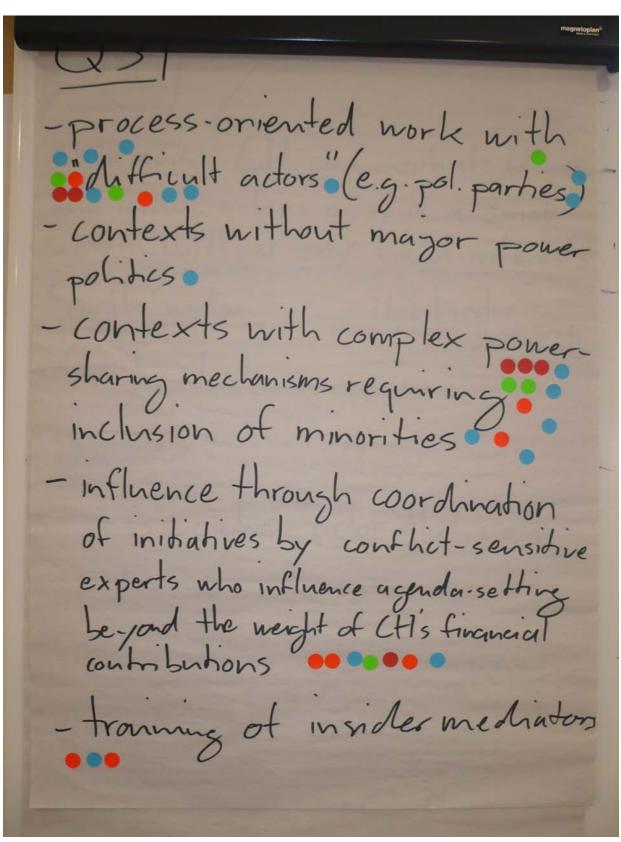
### Groups 1 and 3:

### 1. In which domains does Switzerland have a potential comparative advantage?

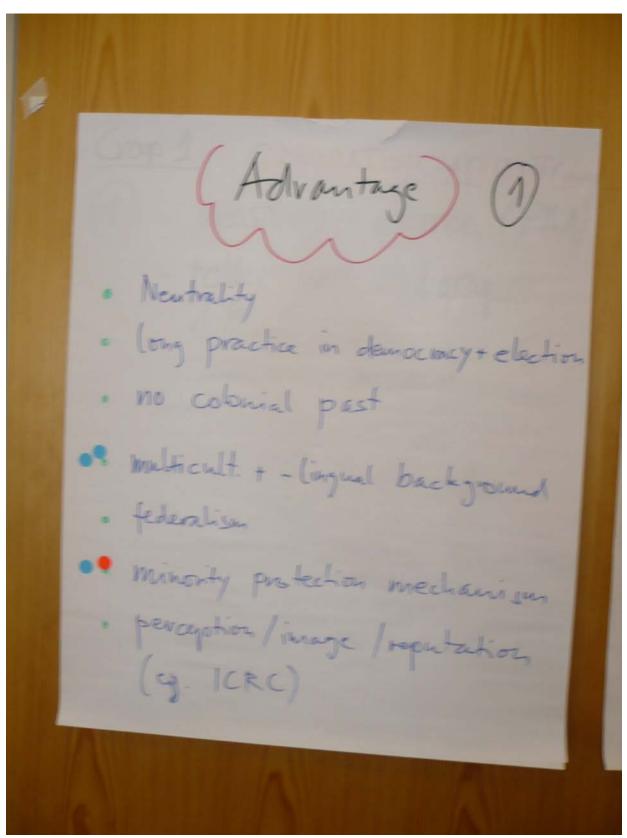
- show working models of democracy / participation at different levels (commune, canton, national level),
   from our experience knowing that these models are not transferable (laboratoire fédéraliste)
- asking "smart" questions, based on our experience in the field of the internal factors and helping find answers with our partners
- strong interaction between the three state levels and language regions / cultural regions
- expertise in finding compromise and dialogue
- presence in the field / sensitivity / context awareness
- readiness to talk to "difficult" actors
- flexibility
- perception of Switzerland by partners (democratic / impartial / credible)

### 2. Where do you see your specific strengths in assisting electoral processes in favour of prevention?

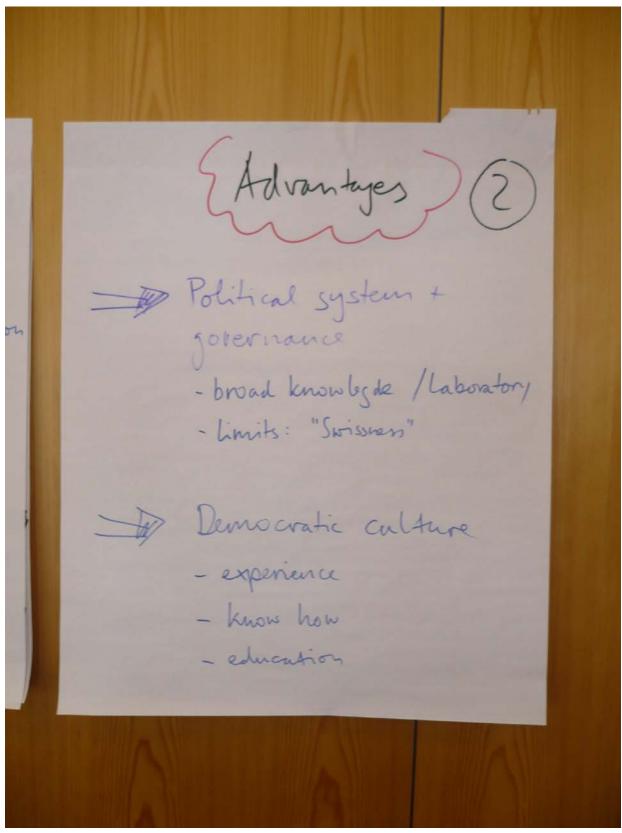
- receiving delegations from abroad
- giving expert advice on demand of the federal level / universities / countries / NGO's etc.
- expertise on minority rights (Jura conflict, Canton of Bern)
- civil society capacity development in the way of coaching
- participative democracy capacity development
- process orientated and/or legal advice in the field of the internal factors
- transformation of armed groups into political parties



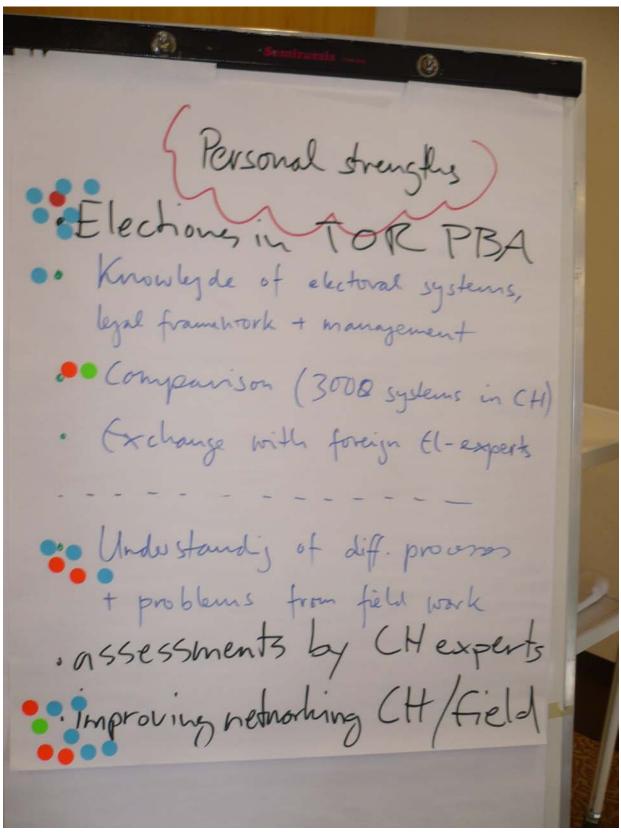
Group 2: Comparative Advantages of Switzerland



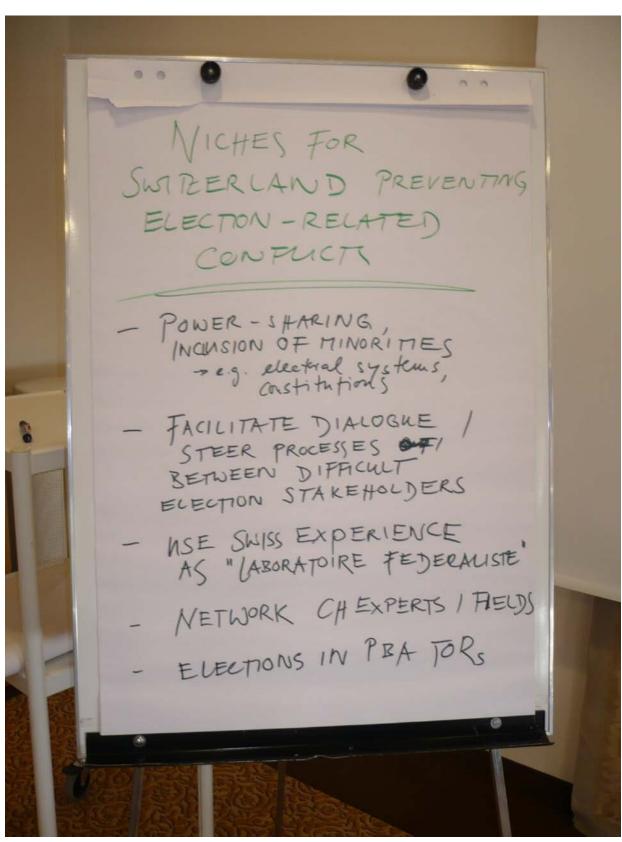
Group 4: Comparative Advantages for Switzerland



Group 4: Comparative Advantages for Switzerland



Group 4: Strengths and Contributions of Experts



Summary of recommendations presented in the annual planning meeting

### Annex IV: Summary of Evaluations

### WORKSHOP ON PREVENTION OF ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE

Golfhotel Saanenmöser 25 - 27 October 2010

#### **Evaluation**

(1) How did I like	1 not at all	2	3	4	5 very much	Aver- age
Workshop as a whole	0	0	3	10	5	4.1
Fulfilment of your personal expectations	0	1	8	5	5	3.7
Informal exchange with participants	0	0	0	8	10	4.6
Methodology / Exercises		0	6	8	5	3.9
Question and Answers / discussions	0	0	6	9	3	3.8
Accommodation / food / working space	0	0	0	3	16	4.8
Relevance	0	1	3	11	3	3.9
Total	0	2	26	54	47	4.2

### (2) What were highlights, what did I learn, what will I take with me?

- Open / informal exchange with other participants (10)
- > Tim's and Sead's Contributions (8)
- > Role Play / Exercise on Guyana Case (5)
- ldeas for future activities / session on comparative advantages (3)
- Quality of the FOUR instructors
- Good balance of process / content aspects of elections

### (3) What did you learn, what will you take with you?

- > Sharpened focus on election related violence in my future work / sensitivity for link between election and violence (3)
- Consideration of internal AND external factors (3)
- It is possible to do better than what I am doing!
- Ideas for future activities
- Intra-party democracy is crucial for successful elections
- Minority rights and elections are closely connected
- Look at elections through broad conflict prevention lens
- Useful tools for the prevention of e-rel violence

### (4) How could the workshop be improved? What other elements should be included?

- > The program was 'pushed' / More time for structured discussions, for exercise, for key note, ... (4)
- More exchange in small groups than in plenary (3)
- More exchange on personal experiences of participants (3)
- Exercise could be a bit shorter
- More theory before going into case study
- More Q&A (3)
- Session on observation
- Human Rights

### (5) Further comments:

- > I have very much appreciated to follow this workshop, very happy to have had the opportunity to meet PBAs and Desks!
- Facilitators: very good! Thank you! (4)
- Reading Material good and reasonable length
- An excellent start! Wish to have continuation! This has to be a long-time project (4)