

Final Report
JAMAICA: SUPPORTING NATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION WITH
CAFFE
USAID Grant No. 532-G-00-02-00089-00

I. SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) provided technical assistance to the Jamaican civic organization Citizen Action for Free and Fair Elections (CAFFE) to support its domestic election monitoring efforts in the 2002 General Elections. Concerns voiced by Jamaicans before the elections were the prospects for politically motivated violence, widespread lack of participation and that because the election would be so close, a small number of irregularities could affect the results of the elections.

NDI helped CAFFE rebuild its internal capacity to address these challenges and field thousands of observers to deter election irregularities and build confidence among voters. NDI worked with the CAFFE board to define job descriptions to implement its electoral strategy and a timeline to monitor the general election, as well as an organizational structure that would allow CAFFE to effectively manage its monitoring efforts. NDI trained parish coordinators on recruiting and training techniques. NDI also trained new staff on financial management and reporting.

As election day neared, NDI assisted CAFFE with the design of reporting forms and the set up of telephone and computer systems. NDI advisors tested CAFFE's data collection and communication systems, and helped to create a back-up system. On election day, NDI's team provided hands-on assistance at CAFFE's data center and assisted CAFFE with the preparation of three reports on the quality of the election process.

With NDI support, CAFFE conducted a successful observation effort, recruiting and training more than 2,400 observers, and producing two interim and final reports on the quality of the electoral process. CAFFE fielded more than 1,800 volunteers on election-day while an additional 450 worked on logistics and data processing. Through its observation effort, CAFFE helped increase voter confidence in the electoral process and deterred acts of intimidation and fraud. The 2002 national elections marked an electoral watershed as Jamaicans enjoyed a largely peaceful day of voting free from major irregularities.

II. BACKGROUND

Jamaica held general elections on October 16, 2002. The ruling PNP had been in office since 1989, and was seeking an unprecedented fourth-consecutive term. Prime Minister Patterson's third reelection would further consolidate his historic political achievement. The Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) had been out of power for 13 years, and

many believe this would be the last election for its founding leader, Edward Seaga, who wanted to end his political career with a victory. In contrast to past elections, where one party was clearly in the lead, in 2002, public opinion surveys indicated that both parties were essentially tied.

The two main concerns voiced by Jamaicans before the elections were the prospects for politically motivated violence and widespread lack of participation. Both of these concerns affected the increasing challenges of swing and garrison¹ constituencies. One challenge in swing constituencies, areas where either the PNP or JLP could win, was the potential confrontations between party supporters during the campaign period and on election day. An additional concern was that because the election would be so close, a small number of irregularities could affect the results of the elections, both at the constituency and national level. Garrison communities posed other challenges: while election results were predictable in these constituencies, past elections had been marred by allegations of ballot-box stuffing and voter intimidation. Violence, not necessarily attributed to political factors, had also been common.

Despite these concerns, the 2002 national elections marked an electoral watershed as Jamaicans enjoyed a largely peaceful day of voting free from major irregularities. The PNP won its record-breaking fourth term, but Jamaican voters also delivered a call for change. Instead of a landslide, the margin of victory was narrow by Jamaican standards. The PNP received 52 percent of the vote to the Jamaican Labour Party's (JLP) 47 percent. Jamaican voters also gave the country its most politically balanced Parliament since 1962, with the PNP securing 34 seats and the JLP 26. There were calls for recounts, but in all cases, preliminary results were confirmed. While there were isolated incidents of violence in some constituencies, the election was generally peaceful, and according to both CAFFE and the Carter Center it was "mostly free and fair."

On June 19, 2003, Jamaica held local elections. The elections were considered a turning point for Jamaica, as the opposition JLP achieved a decisive victory, winning 11 of the 12 parish councils in addition to the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation. This was only the second time since Jamaica's independence that a governing party lost local elections. Many Jamaican analysts believe that "the most recent verdict of the electorate was not so much an endorsement of the JLP as a condemnation of the PNP."² The JLP hopes to capitalize on this victory, and force early general elections, which the PNP is not required to call until 2007. The JLP, however, has called the recent election results "a powerful message" from the electorate, that will give a better balance in government and provide the opposition with a stronger voice in local government reform.

NDI and CAFFE in 1997 Elections

¹ A garrison constituency is a pocket of housing erected with public funds for carefully screened residents who constitute the core of a politician's supporters. There are now about 15 core garrison constituencies, representing the two main political parties.

² "JLP now thinks it can force early polls," *LA Weekly Report*, July 1, 2003.

With USAID support, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to CAFFE to monitor the December 1997 general elections and the September 1998 local elections. CAFFE's work in those elections received extensive coverage in the national and international press. One of the country's leading newspapers, *The Gleaner*, ran over 170 articles on CAFFE's work, in addition to advertisements to recruit volunteers. As a result of its successful work, CAFFE was presented "The Gleaner Honour Award for 1998." The award recognized CAFFE's "initiative, accomplishment, and courage in improving Jamaica's quality of life." International observers, political party leaders and the international press also lauded CAFFE's work. It is widely held that CAFFE's efforts strengthened voter confidence and helped reduce political tension and violence.

In the weeks leading up to the elections, NDI helped CAFFE to recruit more than 2,000 volunteers and deploy 965 observers on election day. CAFFE's efforts were credited with helping to make the 1997 elections the most peaceful in recent times. As part of NDI's post-election support, the Institute assisted CAFFE in consolidating its volunteer and funding base, evaluating its election program and exploring its future role in strengthening Jamaican democracy. NDI also provided CAFFE with limited technical assistance as it prepared to observe the September 1998 local elections.

CAFFE is a broad-based citizen organization that seeks to strengthen the Jamaican electoral process and democracy by educating voters, encouraging voter registration, developing campaign guidelines and working on a non-partisan basis to support and monitor the electoral process. CAFFE views itself as playing a role to help strengthen representative democracy, which is threatened by electoral malpractice, intimidation and a culture of tacit acceptance of corruption. CAFFE is a publicly registered non-profit corporation with a 15-member Board of Directors, Parish Committees, and a nationwide body of volunteers.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI provided technical assistance to the civic organization CAFFE to support its domestic election monitoring efforts in the 2002 General Elections. Given Jamaica's parliamentary system, the announcement of election day is at the discretion of the Prime Minister. The uncertainty of the election date made observation preparations even more challenging. NDI's technical assistance focused on preparing CAFFE staff, board and volunteers to be ready to observe elections at any given time.

NDI included several renowned election experts as part of its technical support team. Members of the NDI team traveled to Jamaica at least 12 times during the months preceding the elections and for election day. The NDI team was composed of Neil Nevitte, Melissa Estok, Claudia Morales, Matt Dippell, and Fabiola Cordova.³

³ See Appendix I for biographical information on NDI assistance team.

A. Assessment Mission and Election Monitoring Strategy

NDI conducted a political assessment mission to Jamaica in March 2002. The assessment team met with civil society, business, political, religious and international community leaders. The team also met with CAFFE's board, election operations team and parish coordinators. The team's goal was to learn more about the political situation and the pre-electoral context in Jamaica, as well as to assist CAFFE in developing strategies to observe the upcoming general elections.

NDI met with CAFFE's board at length and discussed alternative models for their observation effort, illustrating the different recruitment and training needs that would result from each approach. NDI also presented new observation techniques that have evolved since the 1997 election. These included methods for collecting systematic qualitative and quantitative information on election day that enables monitoring groups to comment authoritatively on the voting and counting process, and project results on election day.

Based on concerns expressed by Jamaicans, NDI recommended that aside from conducting a nationwide observation effort, CAFFE also pay special attention to swing and garrison constituencies. In the case of swing constituencies, NDI suggested that CAFFE carry out "quick counts"⁴ for selected constituencies to have systematic information on the quality of the process and verify election results. CAFFE emphasized that the counting process is not the concern, but rather the quality of the election. Subsequently, CAFFE decided to conduct "quick reports" on the quality of the elections. "Quick counts" involve setting a volunteer telephone and computer information network enabling CAFFE to collect qualitative information on the election. This information would include such issues as opening of polling places, presence of voting materials, or incidents of violence that could affect the outcome of the elections.

B. Organizational Development and Staff Training

Once CAFFE determined its election observation strategy and secured funding for these efforts from a variety of international and local donors, it hired new staff and rented a larger office. NDI worked with the CAFFE board to define job descriptions to implement its electoral strategy and a timeline to monitor the general election, as well as an organizational structure that would allow CAFFE to effectively manage its monitoring efforts. In addition, NDI trained new staff on financial management and reporting.

NDI advisors trained CAFFE staff in their new roles and responsibilities, and shared recruitment and training techniques. They also assisted CAFFE's board in designing a structure that would improve its presence on the ground and allow CAFFE staff to manage their time and efforts more effectively. In response to the NDI training, CAFFE's board decided to delegate the recruiting and training of volunteers from

⁴ A quick count, or parallel vote tabulation, uses principles of statistics to draw a random, stratified sample of polling sites. Volunteer observers collect information from selected sites, which can be used to make a highly accurate and rapid projection of election results.

Kingston to the parishes. It was decided that CAFFE would appoint a general coordinator, as well as a recruiting and a training coordinator in each parish.

CAFFE leaders and staff in Kingston would coordinate parish efforts and make policy decisions. Each board member offered to supervise recruitment and training of volunteers in one or two selected parishes. Similarly, the two staff members divided supervision for parish activities. Additionally, board members began to divide tasks and take on responsibilities for specific aspects of the observation effort, such as external relations with political parties, electoral authorities and the police; relations with the media; information sharing with and reporting to international donors; fundraising; and financial oversight, among other topics.

In addition, the NDI team provided training to CAFFE personnel in the administration and management of the cooperative agreement it received from NDI, as well as other donor agencies. NDI installed Quicken software onto CAFFE's computers and trained staff to use the program. NDI and CAFFE staff jointly reviewed CAFFE's cash management system, and discussed allowable and unallowable costs and compliance with NDI and USAID regulations. NDI also provided CAFFE with an overview of grant management practices for multiple donors, and explained the accountant's responsibility for preparing financial reports. Finally, NDI met with CAFFE's in-house auditor to explain the organization's new accounting system and financial management software.

C. Volunteer Recruitment and Training

NDI met with the CAFFE staff and board to develop a recruiting and training plan for the thousands of observers needed to implement CAFFE's observation strategy. To conduct its comprehensive observation effort, CAFFE needed to more than double the number of volunteers recruited in 1997. After these volunteers were recruited, they needed to be trained on the CAFFE strategy and their roles and responsibilities.

NDI first suggested defining a clear message and developing a media campaign to be coordinated by a staff member, volunteer or board member. CAFFE reached out to several communication companies, and ultimately hired a part-time media consultant. The media campaign had several objectives, including publicizing CAFFE's intention to monitor the General Elections; informing citizens on the role of observers in the electoral process; recruiting volunteer observers; encouraging voter turnout; and educating electors on the voting process. CAFFE was able to secure free and subsidized advertisement in several media outlets, including the Gleaner Company and at least three national television stations. In addition, CAFFE board members were invited regularly to speak on electoral matters and CAFFE's activities on radio talk shows. CAFFE also printed and distributed bumper stickers.

The volunteer recruitment strategy was launched in March 2002. CAFFE contacted former volunteers, as well as civic and church organizations to begin the recruitment drive. Because the election date had not yet been announced, CAFFE encountered little enthusiasm. CAFFE continued to distribute volunteer applications to

numerous organizations, and board members helped identify potential candidates from the Jamaican Bar Association, universities, colleges and teachers' associations. After the announcement of election day, CAFFE received hundreds of calls from potential volunteers. Special efforts were made to ensure that enlisted volunteers satisfied CAFFE's qualifying criteria, and that these were trained in time for the elections.

With regard to volunteer training, NDI suggested a train-the-trainer model. NDI trained the CAFFE staff and board, who then trained parish coordinators. These then recruited and trained CAFFE volunteers in their respective parishes. CAFFE staff monitored parish coordinators' efforts and visited training sessions. NDI Advisor Melissa Estok participated in and facilitated two workshops with parish coordinators. The first workshop took place in Kingston and included 25 individuals, including the CAFFE board, Kingston volunteers and coordinators from St. Thomas and St. Catherine. Estok also assisted in conducting training during another workshop in Mandeville on October 9 that included 30 coordinators and volunteers from the west of the island. At these workshops, Estok helped implement the training agenda designed earlier with the CAFFE board. The agenda included: presentations on CAFFE's objectives, the election system, the roles of volunteers and coordinators, election day activities, role playing exercises on communicating data on election day and a review of the forms that will be used to collect this information. In addition, CAFFE created a *Manual for Observers* to reinforce the information communicated during the training sessions.

D. Reporting Forms and Software

To process and evaluate the information collected by observers on election day, CAFFE needed to design reporting forms and software that volunteers at a Kingston data center could use to enter this information as quickly and accurately as possible. This information then needed to be sorted and presented so that it could provide relevant information for CAFFE's election day statements. NDI assisted CAFFE with the design of reporting forms and with setting up of telephone and computer systems.

Prior to election day, NDI assisted CAFFE with the design of its observation forms, stressing the importance of a clear, simple format. Four forms were created to collect information on the pre-election campaign, the election-day opening of the polling sites, the voting process, and the counting process. The objective of NDI's assistance was to facilitate rapid collection and processing of polling place data from the CAFFE observers. The systems that were developed allowed CAFFE leaders to quickly analyze the reports from observers on election day and provide immediate and meaningful information to the public on the quality of the process.

NDI also helped CAFFE to establish a data collection center and communications systems for election day. NDI worked with CAFFE to find an appropriate physical site that would accommodate dozens of computer stations and volunteers as well as computer hardware, telephones, back-up systems, physical security, and visual aides instructing volunteers how to input data from observers. NDI also advised CAFFE board members,

staff, and volunteers on the software used to process observer reports, and helped train the volunteers who staffed the telephones on election day.

The center was located in Kingston at the University of Technology and continued more than 30 laptop computers with wireless internet connections. With NDI assistance, CAFFE designed a webpage that volunteer telephone operators accessed as they received reports from thousands of volunteers across the island. The webpage featured electronic facsimiles of the forms used by the observers, enabling the operators to enter the data received from each volunteer after verifying individual security codes.

NDI also advised CAFFE on how to organize dry-runs of the data center to verify that the telephone and computer systems functioned and to test the training of observers and telephone operators. To test the data center, observers called in sample information that telephone operators entered into the computer system. The sample information was also used to test CAFFE's ability to sort and analyze the data for use in election day statements.

In addition, NDI advisors trained CAFFE staff and volunteers on setting up emergency and data recovery operations for election day. A telephone bank was set up within the data center to receive emergency calls from the main CAFFE headquarters and parish coordinators, and to investigate reports of serious problems, such as violence. A second telephone bank was used to look for missing information of the elections from a specific area of the country.

Computer expert Claudia Morales traveled to Jamaica in October to review the CAFFE software designed to process election day information from the observers. CAFFE's computer team had been working around-the-clock on designing the software in the weeks before the election and had expressed concern that "bugs" might exist in the software. These problems could have caused the data collection system to "crash" or malfunction on election day, severely limiting CAFFE's ability to comment on the election. Morales' review of the software indicated that it was sound. Recommendations were also made on ways to sort and present information in chart form that would be easy for the media and public to understand on election day.

E. Election Day Operations

With NDI's assistance, CAFFE conducted a successful observation effort, recruiting and training more than 2,400 observers, and producing two interim and final reports on the quality of the electoral process. Though there were unforeseen problems on election day, CAFFE was able to collect and process valuable information from volunteer observers, and made a balanced evaluation of the electoral process.

**CAFFE'S Mid-Day Interim Report
Election Day 2002**

“CAFFE regrets that of the 681 reports received from its volunteers who have been assigned to monitor the elections there have been 10 reports of violent conduct, 34 of disruption of the process, and 7 of the intimidation of voters. CAFFE has also received reports from our CAFFE observers, as well as non-CAFFE observers, of gun shootings, open voting and intimidation.

CAFFE is greatly disturbed at these incidents and appeals to all persons to desist from actions, which may hinder or prevent Jamaican citizens from exercising their right to vote. CAFFE has over 1,000 Observers on duty. By and large the reports have been positive. In over 90% of the polling stations monitored by CAFFE Observers, the polling stations opened on time, had in place the essential materials and equipment, and eligible voters were able to vote.”

On election day, NDI's team provided hands-on assistance at CAFFE's data center. The NDI team helped CAFFE to prepare three reports on the quality of the election process as it unfolded. The first morning report included data on the opening of the polling stations, the presence of voting materials, and the presence of political party pollwatchers. The second report was processed in the evening, and commented on the extent to which proper voting procedures were followed, as well as incidents of voter intimidation, violence or disruption of the election process. And a third report provided an indication of the quality of the counting procedures.

Unfortunately, communication problems hampered information retrieval from volunteer observers. The telephone system used to receive hundreds of calls from volunteers failed twice due to electrical surges. Although the failure did prevent some volunteers from calling the data center directly, NDI and CAFFE quickly developed alternative communications systems. Using data recovery volunteers, CAFFE was able to collect observation information by contacting parish coordinators. Kingston parish coordinators were also instructed to deliver observer forms directly to the data center to reduce the burden on the telephone system and ensure as much data as possible was recovered.

CAFFE Report - October 17, 2002

1. *“CAFFE's mission is the safeguarding of the integrity of the electoral process. To accomplish this task we seek to create an important presence, monitor and report as systematically as possible on the conduct of the elections. CAFFE had approximately 2,000 persons actively participating in the monitoring process, a significant increase from the numbers we had in 1997.*
2. *At this stage we have received reports from approximately 700 of our monitors. From reports received, there was indication of several cases of intimidation, violence and unruly behaviour. There were several constituencies throughout the island where our volunteers reported such misconduct. CAFFE received reports that there was gunfire in the Corporate Area and in the area near Coffee Piece All Age School in Clarendon. Also, there were reports of intimidation in St Catherine North Eastern and Kingston Eastern and Port Royal. In some of these cases, the police were either not present at the appointed time or place or were not operating effectively. Where problems occurred and were brought to the attention of the police, they responded promptly. It certainly cannot be said that the election atmosphere was free from fear.*
3. *Over the next few days, CAFFE will continue to examine the reports submitted by its monitors, to*

determine whether in those reports there is information that should be made available to the Electoral Office of Jamaica, the Electoral Advisory Committee and the Constituted Authority.

4. *We believe that the Electoral Office of Jamaica and the Electoral Advisory Committee are to be commended on the orderly manner in which they implemented an efficient and effective electoral process. The problems of disruption reported to CAFFE were caused, in practically all cases, by political activists and were not the responsibility of the officials of the Electoral Office of Jamaica. Our reports indicate that 98% of polling divisions were opened before 8.00 a.m. and that the voting proceeded in an orderly manner and according to the prescribed procedures in more than 86% of the polling divisions. The only fault reported from a number of locations was that in many cases integrity lamps did not function or were not systematically used before a person was issued with a ballot.*
5. *We believe that CAFFE had a significant impact on the orderly conduct of the elections and indeed that it represented a remarkable effort on the part of civil society to participate in a most constructive way to the enhancement of democracy in Jamaica. We would like to thank all who volunteered as CAFFE workers, for the long hours that they gave to build a better Jamaica. **We urge all CAFFE volunteers to return their completed written reports to their supervisors and Parish Coordinators as soon as possible. These reports are critical in our development of a final report.***
6. *CAFFE wishes to thank those individuals and organizations who generously supported us. It is a long list which includes large donations from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union (EU), and also many significant donations from the Jamaican business community, including hundreds of lunches donated on election day. In addition, we wish to thank those from the international community with whom we collaborated - The National Democratic Institute, President Carter and the team from the Carter Center, as well as a significant number of representatives of foreign embassies who assisted in CAFFE's monitoring."*

F. Post-election Activities

After the October 2002 General Elections, CAFFE organized meetings around the island with volunteers, staff and board members to congratulate observers, evaluate the group's election-monitoring activities, and plan for the 2003 local elections. As a result of the evaluation sessions and following earlier NDI recommendations, CAFFE decided to simplify and improve their volunteer report forms and to establish alternative counting centers to save resources and provide back-up systems for collecting information on election day.

During the 2002 elections, CAFFE's election day efforts were undermined by several failures of the telephone system used to receive information from volunteers at their Kingston data center. Alternative data processing centers will provide a fallback system for election day reports in the event that unforeseen problems occur with the transmission and processing of information from CAFFE's observers. In 2002, CAFFE provided observers with several forms to collect information systematically on election day. While the information gathered with these forms was useful, CAFFE determined that fewer and more precise questions would have improved their ability to comment on the voting and counting processes. Reducing the number of forms to two for future elections - focusing on the opening and the closing of polling sites - will help CAFFE to collect and process information faster.

Based on experience with more than 50 election observer groups around the world, NDI discussed options for post-election work with CAFFE's board of directors, offering comparative information on activities that other organizations in the region have conducted between elections. After considering various ideas, CAFFE's board decided to focus on developing a comprehensive civic education campaign, specifically targeting high schools. In addition, CAFFE decided to observe the local elections that were held in June 2003.

After assessing Prime Minister Patterson's public signals regarding the date of the local elections, CAFFE began mobilizing to observe local government elections. The group hired staff to assist with recruiting and training observers and verified its database of volunteers. CAFFE also worked to make parish-level chapters more independent by recruiting new volunteer coordinators and shifting some recruiting, training, and fundraising responsibilities to the local level.

CAFFE monitored Jamaican local elections on June 19, 2003. Through its observation effort, CAFFE helped increase voter confidence in the electoral process and deterred acts of intimidation and fraud. CAFFE deployed more than 900 observers across the island. In addition, CAFFE issued an interim report and a final report assessing the election day voting and counting process. CAFFE found that as a whole the "elections were conducted with a fair degree of efficiency and in a mostly peaceful atmosphere." While volunteers reported acts of intimidation and irregularities in 10 percent of the voting stations, they also reported 90 to 100 percent compliance regarding election officials' preparedness and conduct of the process.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective 1: Assist CAFFE to recruit and train a nationwide network of volunteers.

- CAFFE identified a clear observation strategy, and established the organizational structure necessary to conduct an island-wide observation effort, which included coverage of all 14 parishes, 56 constituencies and an additional presence in swing or garrison constituencies.
- CAFFE conducted volunteer recruitment activities in all 14 parishes. It recruited and trained more than 2,400 volunteers. It fielded more than 1,800 observers on election day. An additional 450 volunteers worked on logistics, data processing, and other election-related tasks.
- CAFFE volunteers successfully reported on the quality of the elections. Some 957 observers called CAFFE's data center in the morning to report on the opening of the polling stations, the extent to which polling stations were properly equipped, and the presence of party pollwatchers. In the evening, an additional 567 observers reported on proper voting procedures, as well as incidents of voter intimidation, violence, or disruption of the election process. Some 471 observers provided a third report, which included information on the quality of the counting process. The information

provided by volunteer observers formed the basis of subsequent statements made by the CAFFE leadership.

- In preparation for the 2003 local elections, CAFFE recruited and trained more than 900 volunteers. CAFFE has been able to maintain its nationwide network of volunteers active and engaged through a number of activities, which include volunteer appreciation and review sessions and additional trainings for the monitoring of local elections.

Objective 2: Assist CAFFE in conducting an effective election-day observation.

- With NDI's assistance, CAFFE effectively monitored the 2002 General Elections in Jamaica. The group made an independent assessment of the electoral process and provided public reports on the quality of the elections.
- CAFFE established a data entering and processing center that was able to produce timely reports on the quality of the elections. NDI helped train the volunteers that worked in the data center, which ensured that accurate data supported the analysis of the election.
- NDI helped CAFFE organize two dry-runs of the election day data center. These tests allowed CAFFE volunteers and staff to become familiar with the data entry and processing procedure, and laid the foundation for an emergency and data recovery system to retrieve information. These tests enabled CAFFE to ensure the quality and accuracy of its Election Day analysis.
- NDI provided hands-on assistance to CAFFE with the analysis of observer reports. NDI representatives were stationed in CAFFE's data center to help staff and volunteers run the election day operation and help with potential problems, such as the failure of the telephone system.
- NDI also assisted CAFFE leadership with the timing and content of public statements. CAFFE released statements at midday, in the evening, and the morning after election day. CAFFE was the only Jamaican observer organization to speak on election day, providing credible, substantive, and balanced information.
- After the elections, CAFFE reviewed its volunteer report forms, as well as its data processing systems. Based on NDI recommendations and feedback from volunteers, CAFFE simplified its report forms, and established alternative counting centers to improve their ability to make rapid and accurate election day statements.
- With four elections observed, CAFFE has built in-house technical expertise at all levels of the organization, from board members to staff to volunteers, and is now able to conduct an independent, credible, and timely election monitoring effort.

Appendix I

NDI Team in Jamaica

Neil Nevitte is Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto, Canada, and is a specialist on elections. He has also taught political science at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and at the University of Michigan. He has published sixteen books including recently: *Value Change and Governance* (2002); *Unsteady State* (2000); *The Decline of Deference* (1996); and *The Challenge of Direct Democracy*. Over the last fifteen years, Dr. Nevitte has worked for a variety of international organizations on election matters and has provided direct assistance to domestic election observer groups in more than fifteen countries, including Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Senegal and Venezuela. In most of these countries he has served as the primary technical advisor to civic groups conducting “quick counts,” which are independent estimates of election results calculated based on a statistically accurate sample of votes.

Melissa Estok specializes in election monitoring and civil society development. She is co-author of *The Quick Count: A Citizen's Tool for Electoral Accountability*, published by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Ms. Estok has 10 years of experience working on democracy assistance projects as a resident technical advisor to election monitoring groups in Yemen, Bangladesh, Peru and Nicaragua, and providing direct assistance to civic organizations and political parties in countries including Russia, Mexico, Haiti, Venezuela and Jamaica. Ms. Estok also has worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and other organizations to evaluate USAID's election-related assistance and to design programs that promote the political participation of women. Before becoming involved with democracy assistance, Ms. Estok was a trainer for the U.S. Peace Corps and spent four years as a volunteer community organizer in Honduras. Ms. Estok has a M.A. in Psychology and a B.A. in International Relations and Spanish.

Claudia Morales is a system analyst and software expert. Morales has helped domestic monitoring organizations throughout the world develop electronic and data processing systems to efficiently process and analyze election reports collected by observers. This information is instrumental for drafting election statements, and providing an independent check on election results. Morales has collaborated with *Participación Ciudadana (Citizen Participation)* in the Dominican Republic, *Ética y Transparencia (Ethics & Transparency)* in Nicaragua, *Transparencia (Transparency)* in Peru and with CAFFE in Jamaica. She has also worked with NDI in Azerbaijan, where she evaluated the feasibility of a Parallel – Vote – Count (PVT) during 2002 Parliamentary elections.

Matt Dippell is Deputy Director of the Latin America and Caribbean team at NDI. Since 1994, he has organized programs on civil-military relations, political parties, civic organizations and elections in Nicaragua, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Guyana, Haiti, Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. Before joining NDI, Mr. Dippell served as Director of Research at the Shipbuilders Council of America, a trade association. He also worked for more than four years as Legislative Assistant for foreign affairs and health care for Representative Sid Morrison in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. He also served briefly with the U.S. Department of State in the economics section of the U.S. Embassy in Managua, Nicaragua. He received a Master's degree in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University and an undergraduate degree in political science and Latin American studies from California State University, Long Beach. He also studied at the Iberoamerican University in Mexico City, Mexico.

Fabiola Córdova is a Senior Program Assistant at NDI focusing on the Dominican Republic, Peru and Bolivia programs. From June to December 2002, she worked out of NDI's Haiti office and helped coordinate a new political party program. Prior to joining NDI in 2001, Fabiola completed internships at the Andean Pact Business Round Tables and the Eurocenter for Business Cooperation in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. She also worked as coordinator for international activities at the American Red Cross in Massachusetts. Fabiola graduated from Clark University with high honors and degrees in International

Relations and Foreign Languages. She studied abroad in Dijon, France and Trier, Germany. She has lived in Bolivia, France, Germany, Switzerland, Haiti and the United States, and speaks English, Spanish, French and German.