Adoption cost / Template for Coding

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Objective:

To provide structured narratives which contain detailed information / assessment of adoption costs for elites in postwar / peacebuilding cases. The cases to be examined are:

- Cambodia 1992
- Rwanda 1993
- Haiti 1994
- Angola 1995
- Croatia 1996
- Central African Republic 1998
- DR Congo 2001
- Sierra Leone 1999
- Macedonia 2001
- Cote d’Ivoire 2003
- Liberia 2003
- Burundi 2004

Coding guidelines:

1. Assess adoption costs for ruling party (assume unitary actor)
   1.1. Assess threats democracy poses to physical security of these actors at onset of the peace and explain in a brief narrative (high, medium, low)
   1.2. Assess threats democracy poses to the actor’s primary goal at onset of the peace (explain in narrative, high, med, low).
   1.3. Assess threats democracy poses to the prospect of actors losing political power at onset of the peace (explain in narrative). (high, med, low).
   1.4. Assess dependence on international community for legitimation, resources, other (these are the cost for not adopting democracy). Explain in a brief narrative (high, medium, low)
   1.5. Were there other significant factors that had an impact on atypically high/low adoption costs?
2. Assess adoption costs for national level opposition who are potential veto players (ie have the capacity to derail the peace settlement). Briefly describe who these actors are and the nature of their power (how they could potentially derail the settlement).

2.1. Determine how to weight ruling and opposition elite preferences if they differ. Whose preferences are likely to prevail and why? Who is, relatively speaking, the more powerful actor?

2.2. Assess threats democracy poses to physical security of these actors at onset of the peace and explain in a brief narrative (high, medium, low)

2.3. Assess threats democracy poses to the actor’s primary goal at onset of the peace (explain in narrative, high, med, low)

2.4. Assess threats democracy poses to the prospect of actors losing political power at onset of the peace (explain in narrative, high, med, low)

2.5. Assess dependence on international community for legitimation, resources, other (these are the cost for not adopting democracy). Explain in a brief narrative (high, medium, low)

2.6. Were there other significant factors that had an impact on untypically high/low adoption costs?

3. Briefly describe the “good governance package” that the international community prescribed. How important was democracy, elections, rule of law? Take into account the peace accord (if there is one), the mandate of the mission, and the activities of bilateral donors.

4. Make sure to include all sources and references in the report!

In order to code and justify these findings for your cases, go into the country’s history (characteristics of the war, the nature of the primary goal of dominant political actors, prior experience with democracy, etc.) as necessary. Also, explain as necessary the balance of political forces within the country in order to determine who are the relevant opposition elites and how to weight their interests/preferences vis a vis those of the ruling elite.

Physical security: Refers to real or perceived threat of renewed organized violence (civil war). Examples: In Tajikistan and Rwanda, elites blamed the civil wars on democratization efforts that led to ethnic and regional cleavages

Primary goal: Refers to the most important political goal of the ruling or opposition power (other than staying in power). For example, in East Timor and Kosovo and Namibia, this was independence, which could only be achieved by embracing the good governance package that the international community prescribed

Prospect of actors losing political power: Refers to the probability that elites may be voted out of power if they adopt (fair) democracy. Examples. In Namibia, elite was sure to win elections, hence adoption costs were low.
**Dependence on international community:** Refers to any of dependence on the international community, for example: aid money, protection and security, legitimization. Note: Independence is already covered.

**Good governance package:** Refers to how much the international community promoted, in words and checks, democracy and good governance. Was it an afterthought, as in Tajikistan, or a key component, as in Bosnia? Thus is a judgment call. Take into account the peace agreement, if there was one, the evolution of the mission, bilateral aid, and all other factors that make you think that democracy was or was not high up on the agenda of the peacebuilders.