

By The Name of Allah

**An Evaluation of the SNTV Electoral System in
Afghanistan**

Oct-2011



Contents

Acknowledgement 3

Overview 4

Research Method 4

Research Findings 5

Suggestions 6

Overall Introduction 7

Research Goals 8

Methodology 8

Types of Electoral Systems: 9

A.Majority System 9

B.Proportional System 9

C.Semi-Proportional (Mixed System) 10

Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) 10

Required standards for selecting an election system in a country 10

Evaluation of the Efficiency of SNTV System Based on Lessons Learned in 2005 & 2010 Elections in Afghanistan 11

The Consequence of SNTV System on Effective Functioning of Legislature 13

The Consequence of SNTV System on the Principle of Elected Representatives’ Responsiveness towards the Electorate 15

The Consequence of SNTV System on Development of Political Parties and the Culture of Intra-Party Democracy 16

The Consequence of SNTV System on Strengthening the Role of an Effective Political Opposition in the Country 18

The Consequence of SNTV System on Women and Minorities representation quotas in Elective Bodies 19

The Consequence of SNTV System on the Level of Transparency in Campaign Finance Affairs 21

The Role of SNTV System in Preventing Local Powerful Figures Entering the Elective Bodies 22

Conclusion: 23

Suggestions: 25

References 28

Annexes: 29



Acknowledgement

I would like to thank individuals, organizations, representatives of political parties, and field experts who assisted Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA) in completion of this study. It is especially grateful to those from university lecturers, representatives of civil society and political parties who shared their experience through interviews or focus group and provided us with their valuable views on the SNTV system.

FEFA would also like to express its sincere gratitude and appreciation to International Federation of Election Systems (IFES) and USAID for financially assisting this research project.

FEFA, as a civil society organization is committed to work for consolidation of the democracy in the country through active participation and advocacy for an inclusive, more democratic and participatory processes in Afghanistan.

This research on electoral system is an important step in strengthening the democratic process and will make critical contribution to the reform of the electoral process in the country.

Now FEFA provide this report that contains the result of research on SNTV system in Afghanistan. If the readers of the report want to explicit or criticize some issues discussed in the report, please share their suggestions and critiques with FEFA and help us in institutionalizing the democratic process of the country.

Nader Nadery

Chairman

Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan



Overview

In democratic countries particular focus has been given to voting method or election systems. Because, electoral systems have consistently affected the overall political development process, and have had direct and reciprocal effects on the structure of the political and economical system and power structure. An election system can also have a decisive role in the method of electing country's political leaders.

It is clear that reforms of election system, considering political development priorities, is a sustainable process and has always been in the focus of political leaders, due to the fact that, the type and effectiveness of a system is an important motive for stability and development in a country.

In recent years reforming the election system in Afghanistan has been the subject of debates by local and international organizations, but no practical steps have been taken so far. Therefore, it is necessary to take concrete steps in addressing the irregularities identified in the past elections and to enhance debates on substantial issues related to the electoral processes in order for the reform to succeed.

Research Method

FEFA, as a civil society organization, having experience in the field of election observation in national and international levels¹ has extensive experience and expertise in election and is best suited to conduct studies on different aspects of the elections in Afghanistan. Therefore, it conducted a study on how the SNTV system in Afghanistan worked in the last four elections and examines best alternative options for Afghanistan's future electoral systems reform.

This study as a first step will enable Afghan civil society and parliamentarian to generate a national debate on current electoral system reform in Afghanistan. Findings of the study will be presented to civil society, academic political parties, members of parliament, and other election stakeholders. FEFA will also use the findings to conduct an extensive lobbying and advocacy for the electoral reform to begin.

To conduct this research a team of FEFA analysts was formed to first review all existing literatures on electoral systems. They carefully examined Afghanistan's current constitutional and other bodies of law on elections. They also analyzed almost all reports published by reliable national and international institutions about elections in Afghanistan. These documents included but not limited to reports 2004, 2005 and 2010 OSCE

¹ FEFA's core team has been regularly part of the electoral monitoring in Asia and Pacific since 2005. As a member of ANFREL (Asian Election Observation network) FEFA contributed long term and short term observers in more than 10 elections.



report, 2005 Joint Electoral Management Body Report, European Union's election observation missions' Report of 2009 Election, report released by the Office of Special Inspection for Rehabilitation of Afghanistan about 2010 Election, FEFA's own Report on 2010 Parliamentary Election, 2009 Asia Foundation Report, 2011 International Crisis Group Election Report and NAMFREL Report about 2005 Election.

A special standard questionnaire was used to review and study above mentioned documents and reports. The findings and information provided in the questionnaire were later analyzed by the researcher, and the result of researcher's analysis was attached with the questionnaire. At the end, all the questionnaires containing findings and information were collected, evaluated and analyzed.

FEFA used "field research" method too (holding individual interviews and focus group discussions) in order to gather information on SNTV system.

A team of FEFA analysts have evaluated and analyzed all information received from individual and group interviews and prepared it in the form of a research report.

Research Findings

Results of the research on SNTV electoral system in Afghanistan clearly demonstrate a number of both advantages and disadvantages of the system. This research clearly shows how this system has affected the political development of Afghanistan in the past six years since 2004 presidential elections.

This system is applied in very few fledgling democracies, because this is considered to be simple for implementation and education of voters. But, if we review SNTV's impact over principles and values necessary for political development during two rounds of parliamentary elections (2005, 2010) in Afghanistan, it gets clear that SNTV has been an obstacle to development of democracy through promotion of political parties.

Research also shows that this system comparing with proportional representative and semi-proportional representative has not been able to ensure financial campaign transparency of candidates.

The SNTV system does not have necessary efficiency for strengthening an effective political opposition, as it hindered development of political parties by reducing the role of parties in parliamentary elections.

Lack of an active and effective opposition has caused civil society to not actively engage in electoral system. Our research showed majority of those who talked did not support the SNTV electoral system for future elections in Afghanistan. This lack of support for this system was higher among civil society organizations.



The system has specially been criticized for not ensuring seats for minorities, such as, Hindus. In addition, we found that there is a broad agreement among political activists, civil society groups and those who studied the past two elections of Afghanistan that the principle of broad representation of majority of the population was undermined broadly because in this system votes are immensely being wasted.

Our study shows that the SNTV facilitated election of warlords and powerful figures in Wolesi Jirga. The SNTV electoral system has also undermined the core principles of free and fair elections by exposing voters to risk of countering so many powerful independent candidates who engaged in acts of intimidation in a much broader ways in the past two elections.

Suggestions

- Election system reforms must become the top priority of IEC, Ministry of Justice, and the current parliament.
- The IEC shall determine the alternative system and present it to the legislature after broad consultations with political parties, civil society, and field experts.
- The IEC, in order to introduce the alternative system, shall launch a country-wide public outreach program in cooperation with political parties and civil society organizations.
- The civil society organizations, in order to identify an effective alternative election system, must launch professional and impartial research and share their proposals with legislative and election organizations.
- Civil society organizations, political parties, and independent media organizations shall conduct far-reaching media debate to attract political leaders', legislative organizations', and people's support for the necessity to change the electoral system.
- The IEC shall practically and technically consult with experts about the status of political parties' share, specify the most successful methods and put them into practice.
- In the alternative system, in order to encourage women's political participation, besides considering gender quotas, a series of affirmative actions shall be taken into consideration for women.
- The new system shall be implemented in a way that could ensure the formation of all-inclusive and national political parties and prevent ineffective pluralism.



Overall Introduction

In democratic countries particular focus has been given to voting method or electoral systems. Because election systems have consistently affected the overall political development process, and have had direct and reciprocal effects on the structure of the political and economical system and power structure. An election system can also have a decisive role in the method of electing country's political leaders.

The simplest definition can be offered is this: The election system is a mechanism which translates votes into seats in a transparent and fair election process. The seat could be a presidential, parliamentary, provincial or local council seat.

As mentioned, the type of election system can sometime have intangible but important impacts over political development process in a country. It is therefore that countries which have recently stepped towards democracy constantly try to reform Electoral Laws and regulations and determine the type of the electoral system in accordance with their political development, and social and cultural structure requirements.

Afghanistan after decades of turmoil finally stepped towards democracy following Bonn conference on 2002, since then it has experienced two parliamentary elections each in 2005 and 2010 applying single non-transferable voting system (SNTV).

World experience on SNTV shows that this system was applied for the first time in Japan from 1900 up to 1994. In Japan this system was aimed to prevent the formation of coalitions and powerful parliamentary groups, which was the top priority for political development of Japan of that time; whereas, we cannot compare the ethnic makeup, political situation, and other circumstances of Japan at that time to the current situation and requirements of Afghanistan.

It is clear that election system reforms, considering political development priorities, is a sustainable process and has always been in the focus of political leaders, due to the fact that, the type and effectiveness of a system is an important motive for stability and development in a country.

In recent years reforming the election system in Afghanistan has been the subject of debates by local and international organizations, but no practical steps have been taken so far. Therefore, it is necessary to standardize and professionalize these debates in order to reform the current election system in our country.



Research Goals

Since Afghanistan has just been moving forward towards democracy and political development, it is necessary to do research on efficiency and inefficiency of the SNTV system, experienced twice in Afghanistan, and to reform or change the relevant system in the light of the information received.

FEFA, as a civil society organization, having experience in the field of election observation in national and international level, has launched research on the efficiency and inefficiency of the SNTV system in Afghanistan.

Detailed study of present documents on efficiency and inefficiency of SNTV in Afghanistan is the first step in this research. Findings of the study, after completion, will be shared with civil society, political parties, parliament, and election organizations representatives, scholars, university lecturers, women rights activists, and other groups through conducting interviews and meetings. Their views would be used to enrich this research.

Methodology

In order to complete the first phase of the research (detailed study); FEFA in addition to the Constitution and Electoral Law, has studied documents and reports published by reliable national and international institutions about electoral system in Afghanistan. These documents include 2004, 2005 and 2010 OSCE report, 2005 JEMB Report, European Union's Report on Observation of 2009 Election, report released by the Office of Special Inspection for Rehabilitation of Afghanistan about 2010 Election, FEFA's Report on 2010 Parliamentary Election, 2009 Asian Foundation Report, 2011 International Crisis Group Report and NAMFREL Report about 2005 Election. These reports have been studied deeply by the program team consisting of five members from Program, Media, Reporting, Women and Provincial Affairs Sections.

A special standard questionnaire was used to review and study above mentioned documents and reports. The findings and information provided in the questionnaire were later on analyzed by the researcher, and the result of researcher's analysis was attached with the questionnaire. At the end, all the questionnaires containing findings and information were collected, evaluated and analyzed using special methods.

FEFA used "field research" method (holding individual and group interviews) in order to gather information on SNTV system.

In the first step, two separate lists of statistical samples of respondents were prepared, in one of those lists individual respondents were listed and in the other list group respondents were determined.



In the next step, based on detailed study's findings, the program staff prepared the standard interview questions through group work.

During group work, questions were divided into general and specific sections and were evaluated and analyzed from linguistic point of view (open, close and semi-open questions) and at the end the questions were classified and prepared in interview formats. Two separate interview formats were prepared, the individual interview format and the group interview format.

Target groups in these interviews included election organizations, parliament, political parties, and civil society organizations representatives and experts. Special questionnaires and audio recording system were used to interview each category.

Two-member teams were assigned to carry out the interviews. After a short training these teams were capable of doing interviews with certain individuals.

A team of FEFA analysts, using effective methods, have evaluated and analyzed all information received from individual and group interviews and prepared it in the form of a research report.

Types of Electoral Systems:

Overall the election systems in the world are divided into two families, majoritarian and proportional. But, considering their incoherence with the situation in some countries, the third type which is a combination of the two major families and is called mixed or semi-proportional electoral system has been created.

It should be noticed that these three types of electoral systems are divided into several sub-types as well:

A. Majoritarian System

Majority system is a system where the winner is elected with majority of votes, whether simple or absolute. Of course, the standard for absolute or simple majority is set by the law.

B. Proportional System

The reason for calling this system proportional is that there is a direct, logical and convincing proportion between the percentages of the votes used and the seats occupied in the parliament while this system is applied.

In this system, most often political parties are the candidates not individuals. Meanwhile, the votes received by these parties are counted at national level not at constituency level. For instance, if the political party A receives 15% of the votes at national level, the relevant party gets 15% of the seats in the parliament.



C. Semi-Proportional (Mixed System)

In fact, this system is a combination of aforesaid systems. This system is applied in countries where neither majority nor proportional system is compatible. This system in one hand serves such Countries considering ground and social realities and on the other hand this system meets political development process requirements.

Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV)

In general, SNTV is considered one of the Majority Systems, but it could be proportional as well if implemented in small constituencies. This system is implemented in constituencies with two or more than two seats in the parliament and each voter is only allowed to once vote for one of the candidates. Regardless of receiving absolute majority, candidates who receive most of the votes are declared winners considering the number of seats allocated for the relevant constituency.

Required standards for selecting an election system in a country

Countries have been using different systems taking into consideration their needs and requirements. But, there are some internationally accepted principles which are required to be taken into account in all systems:

1. Ensuring vast representation of different public and politically concerned groups
2. Generality and political participation of all key personalities
3. Ensuring political accountability
4. Ensuring the process and the legitimate and transparent results of elections
5. Institutionalizing the culture of intra-party democracy

Besides mentioned principles, there are a series of values in democratic countries that should be taken into consideration while determining the system:

1. Fairness
2. Easy to implement
3. Effective Legislature
4. Accountability of representatives towards voters
5. Strengthening effective political opposition groups
6. Geographical/regional representation
7. Equal right to all the voters to vote
8. Stable government



9. Administration (Expenditures and Management)

10. Facility in voter education

Evaluation of the Efficiency of SNTV System Based on Lessons Learned in 2005 & 2010 Elections in Afghanistan

During the research, initially efforts were made to study all reports and documents published by national and international organizations with regard to the Afghan elections. Secondly, individual and group interviews, using standard questionnaires, were carried out with political and election experts which were classified into four categories (parliament members, university lecturers, political parties, civil society and election staff). These experts were asked to express their views about the efficiency of SNTV system and what they propose as alternative system. Internationally accepted principles and values, necessary for political development in a country, was the criterion for evaluating the SNTV system.

Hereby, we would describe the achieved outcomes in light of aforesaid principles and values.

Studies on compatibility of SNTV in Afghanistan shows that, “the 2003 Afghan Constitution, besides supporting democratic values, has provided clarifications on election process, election organizations, and the right to elect and be elected”.

The Constitution anticipates the Absolute Majority system for presidential election.

Article 61 of the Constitution says: “The President shall be elected by receiving more than 50 percent of votes casted by voters through free, general, secret and direct voting”.

In accordance with this article, if in the first round none of the candidates gets more than 50 percent of the votes, a runoff election is held between the two candidates received the highest number of votes in the first round and the candidate receiving most of the votes in the runoff election shall be declared as the president. But, there is no explicit indication, neither in the Constitution nor in the Electoral Law, about the SNTV system.

The article 21st of the Electoral Law approved in year 2010 says “Seats shall be awarded to the candidates who receive the most votes”



Despite the lack of clarification in the laws about type of electoral system, the SNTV was applied in 2005 Parliamentary Election which was later criticized greatly. As a result of these criticisms, the IEC in 2007 after consultation with civil institutions and political parties suggested a change of the system

in draft Electoral Law sent to the parliament. But due to the problems raised in the parliament about amendment of the Electoral Law in 2008, the proposal was not taken into consideration.

Meanwhile, the study of above mentioned reports in total shows that SNTV system in Afghanistan has some advantages and disadvantages, as disadvantages of the system are more than its advantages.

After studying the documents and reports, no information was provided about what institution or group of people and based on what political and social considerations has introduced and implemented the SNTV system for the first time in Afghanistan.

As noticed, these reports have not deeply concentrated on a specific system as well as the advantages and disadvantages of the SNTV which directly affect the political process in Afghanistan and also the positive and negative aspects of the SNTV have not been compared considering accepted international values and principles.

Additionally, in some reports direct and specific information hasn't been provided regarding the issue, while we can see information stated indirectly about the SNTV system.

The study shows that one of the main criticisms about the SNTV is that this system prevents the formation national and all-inclusive political parties, as mentioned in 2005, 2010 OSCE report, 2009 EU report, 2010 FEFA report, 2010 SEGAR report, 2005 JEMB report, 2009 Asian Foundation Report, and 2005 NAMFREL report.

This system creates problems for political parties in introducing their candidates in constituencies. If a political party introduces many candidates in a constituency, it lowers its chances of getting seats in proportion to the votes because the votes get scattered. Less number of candidates also creates similar problem for the parties since the votes would go to limited number of candidates.

According to 2009 EU report and 2011 DI report, wasting of votes gone to losing candidates is another criticism introducing the SNTV as a deficient and weak system in the country because according to this system, the candidates getting most of the votes occupy the seats allocated for relevant constituencies, and the votes gone for losing candidates are wasted.



According to 2009 NAMFREL report, the reason why this system has been chosen to use in Afghanistan was its simple implementation, illiteracy and lack of public trust on political parties.

This happened while the 2009 EU Report, 2010 FEFA and SEGAR Reports, and 2005 JEMB Report point out the administrative, technical and logistical problems of this system.

According to 2010 Democracy International report which was endorsed by SEGAR in 2011 as well, this system has been encouraging for threats and electoral frauds.

As pointed out in 2011 International Crisis Group, 2009 European Union, 2011 Democracy International and SEGAR reports, winner candidates with different and imbalanced number of votes is another disadvantage of this system.

The Consequence of SNTV System on Effective Functioning of Legislature

National and international organizations' reports on Afghan elections have directly and indirectly pointed out the negative effects of SNTV system on legislature's performance. EU's August, 2009² Report says: "The lack of political parties has had a serious impact on the functioning of the Wolesi Jirga, which is governed by the same electoral system. It has limited the opportunities for developing democratic practices within the Parliament and by the same token has limited checks and balances in Afghan politics".

In addition, according to the interviewees from all four categories, the election system has a crucial role in functioning of the legislature especially the Wolosi Jirga. The SNTV, which has strengthened individual representation in two rounds of parliamentary elections (2005, 2010) and failed to offer incentive for the development of political parties inside the parliament, is a major factor behind the ineffective functioning of the legislature in Afghanistan. The interviewees have also unanimously declared the multiplicity of views and individual tastes and preferences following as a result of individual representation a major obstacle before taking collective decisions in the parliament.

Members of parliament have also had similar views, according to them; the issue of government and business and mafia groups being able to interfere in the affairs of the parliament is largely related with individual representation happened as a result of SNTV system.

² -Report of European union mission for Afghan Election Page (12) 20-Aug-2009



Whereas, majority of interviewees from the category of experts stated that creating an environment of cooperation between members of parliament has a direct connection with the structure of the parliament. In a unified and coherent parliament decisions are taken quickly and you would see effective cooperation, coordination and agreements among member. According to this category, efforts by foreign experts to ensure joint decision makings _through creating parliamentary groups in the first round of parliament were ineffective. Strengthening political parties' role inside the parliament through replacing SNTV system is a realistic solution.

The civil society group has seen the issue from a technical point of view; disunity in the parliament has always been an obstacle before civil society's lobbying and advocacy programs, because in absence of intra-parliamentary groups and coalitions it is difficult to attract well-timed support for a proposal. That is why, civil society's lobbying and advocacy programs are rambling in the parliament and cannot achieved required results.

The political parties group has generally stated that the current electoral system has a serious impact over parliament's unity, because this system diminishes the presence of political parties in the parliament and in absence of political parties formation of powerful parliamentary coalitions is impossible, members of parliament are going to be divided into smaller groups which paves the way for imposing undue influence and disrupts parliament's major duty to oversee the performances of the executive government.

This group generally believes that parliament's unity directly impacts the performances of executive branch. This unity cannot be achieved unless powerful coalitions are formed in the parliament and powerful coalitions can only be formed in presence of political parties. Unfortunately, this system fails to introduce incentives for political parties in this specific area.

Women activists have also mentioned the negative effects of disunity in the parliament with regard to female members of parliament. According to these activists, the current electoral system has prevented unity among female members of parliament; as a result these MPs could hardly reach consent on gender issues. Women can form strong and effective coalitions if enter parliament thru women political and social organizations.



The Consequence of SNTV System on the Principle of Elected Representatives' Responsiveness towards the Electorate

Due to detailed study on national and international reports on Afghanistan's election, EU's August 2009³, Report on Afghan election besides mentioning a number of SNTV's advantages has criticized the system for weakening the principle of representatives' responsiveness towards the electorate.

The report says: "representatives feel less accountable before the electorate, because candidates cannot identify those who have voted for them and voters cannot substantiate that they have voted for their representatives. The principle of responsiveness towards the electorate gets weaker when representatives feel less accountable before the electorate".

According to the interviewees from all categories, the principle of elected representatives' responsiveness towards the electorate is very crucial in institutionalizing democracy in the country. They had also common views on SNTV system, they said a system which supports personal representation and is an obstacle to presence of political parties in the parliament, cannot act effectively insuring the principle of elected representatives being responsive towards the electorate. You cannot expect representatives who personally enter the parliament feel themselves accountable before the electorate and the people. But unlike personal representation, political parties, as permanent organizations with plans and programs, always need votes to reach their goals and logically feel themselves accountable before the people. Therefore, with SNTV system it is impossible to ensure mentioned principle.

In a group interview the civil society group said, representatives would feel themselves more responsible before the people if they launch their campaigns based on a political agenda and pre-prepared plan and program, and this can only happen when candidates enter the competition thru political parties.

A number of people in this category pointed out the issue of civil society to oversee the performances of the parliament and declared it crucial in ensuring the principles of transparency and accountability before the people. This category also expressed concerns over personal representation as a potential obstacle before the civil society to oversee the performances of the parliament.

According to majority of interviewees from political parties' category, building a sense of accountability is crucial to representativeness, in no way individual representatives feel themselves responsible to fulfill the

³ - Report of European union mission for Afghan Election Page (12) 20-Aug-2009



commitments they promised, and right now there is no organization to supervise their performances. Elected official can only feel accountable towards people if nominated by a political party, and accountability of a political party is more effective than an individual.

Although, 20% of interviewees from the category of university lecturers and experts believe that the principle of representatives' responsiveness towards people is not much related to the electoral system, this problem can be settled thru creating comprehensive and practical procedures.

The Consequence of SNTV System on Development of Political Parties and the Culture of Intra-Party Democracy

Study of reports published by national and international organizations, particularly the OSCE⁴⁵⁶, shows the negative impact of SNTV system on development of political parties in the country. The DI⁷ 2011 report says: the current electoral system is an obstacle towards the development of political parties and community representation and constitutes the basis of electoral fraud and intimidations.

A large number of national and international organizations have directly and indirectly pointed out the negative impacts of SNTV system on development of political parties.

However, there was a common view among all four categories on the importance of strengthening the development of standard, national and all-inclusive political parties. According to the interviewees from all categories, without political parties it is imposable for the current democratic process to move forward, because when political parties which are considered major players in a democratic system are kept weak, it is likely that the current democratic process in Afghanistan is deviated and moves towards despotism and anarchism. Therefore, it is necessary to seek opportunities for reinforcing the political parties' development process, and replacing the SNTV system with a system that gives political parties a greater role in country's political processes is considered a good opportunity.

The interviewees from civil society group said: since democracy cannot be practiced without political parties; therefore, political parties would have an ineffective role if not being involved in the election process. The SNTV system which does not support political parties must be replaced with a more effective system.

⁴ -Report of OSCE October 12-2004 Page (9)

⁵ - Report of OSCE November 2010 Pages (16-17)

⁶ -Report of OSCE 2005 Pages (3-6-7)

⁷ - Report of DI June 2011 Page (46)



In democratic systems this is political parties which help civil society act as a bridge between people and the government, and also this is the civil society which helps political parties reform the political system through imposing influence on government.

According to majority of interviewees from the categories of university lecturers and experts, the inactive role of political parties in the election process is the major reason behind political parties not being able to build their internal capacities. Parties do not legally and politically feel responsible and do not express interest in modernizing and democratizing their internal structures. Because they don't see any motive to encourage them promote intra-party democracy. Two factors can prove effective in such circumstances, financial support for political parties by government and giving an active role to political parties through the electoral system.

Whereas, 20% of interviewees from the category of experts believe that weak performance by political parties is the reason behind their inactive role in the political process and the electoral system cannot be blamed for. If parties are national and all-inclusive with modern structure, they can attract people's support and assist their representatives individually to occupy seats.

The political parties group, besides confirming majority of views, added that the electoral system directly impacts political parties' development process, this is the electoral system which determines the method to occupy presidential and parliamentary seats. Political parties major aim is to bring reforms, present alternative policies to the government and gain political power through election. Parties would not develop and get democratized, if Afghanistan's laws especially the Electoral Law does not provide lawful arrangements for political parties to perform their role.

Electoral organizations' staffs were optimistic with regard to strengthening political parties' role in the election process because parties as political organizations can prove to be very effective in public

outreach programs. Parties can also have an active role in ensuring transparency in the election through active observation of the process. Political parties' role in presenting proposals to reform election procedures and instructions can also be fruitful. Therefore, it is very necessary to activate political parties' role in a manner that could positively affect the election operation process as well.



According to women activists, the SNTV system is not the only factor behind political parties' inactive role in the election process, lack of attention to gender policies in parties' structures has also reduced the level of support by people. Therefore, in addition to replacing the electoral system, it is necessary for political parties to strengthen women's position in political parties, because parties cannot turn into all-inclusive and national parties by only changing the electoral system.

The Consequence of SNTV System on Strengthening the Role of an Effective Political Opposition in the Country

The importance of an effective political opposition in a democratic system, which has dragged a lot of attention as an international principle in determining and choosing the electoral system, was another subject of discussion with interviewees from all four categories. According to 2011⁸ International Crisis Group report and 2005⁹ OSCE report, the SNTV does very little in establishing and strengthening a political opposition, this system hinders the development of political parties and as a result from both political and legal points of views it prevents the establishment of an active and effective political opposition.

Interviewees from all four categories stated different reasons in confirming the importance of an active and effective opposition in a democratic system and insisted on strengthening the position of political opposition in current Afghan society. They also considered the lack of an effective opposition, which could sustain reforms through civil pressure, a major problem of our country's political system.

More than 50% of interviewees from all categories stated the ineffectivity of SNTV system effective in weakening the position of an effective political opposition and asked for an efficient substitute. Whereas, less than 50% of interviewees believe that lack of capacity in political parties and lack of international community's attention towards political parties has resulted in an ineffective political opposition.

According to interviewees from civil society group, besides other factors, the electoral system is also crucial to establishment of an active political opposition. A powerful political opposition can only emerge in form of political parties.

The establishment of a powerful opposition is crucial to the current situation in Afghanistan. Lack of a powerful opposition is a major problem in our country, since in absence of an active opposition democracy loses its concept. Lack of an efficient opposition has caused the government to act without feeling responsible towards the nation. No observation over executive government's performances would exist and no reforms can

⁸ - Report of ICG 23-Feb-2011 Page (5)

⁹ - Report of OSCE 6-Oct-2005 Pages (3-6-7)



be brought if the problem persists. A powerful and active opposition can better develop in form of political parties, this opposition can be a good partner to civil society organizations, because both in cooperation with each other can effectively observe government's performances and pave the ground for reforms.

According to majority of interviewees from the civil society group, creating effective mechanisms to oversee government's performances requires a powerful opposition, since civil society organizations can not exclusively perform an effective observation role.

Whereas, according to majority of interviewees from political parties group, a powerful and active opposition cannot emerge, unless the electoral system does not guarantee political parties' role in the election process, because in democracies this is the political parties which forms powerful and effective opposition by creating coalitions.

Majority of interviewees from university lecturers and experts group, besides supporting the creation of a strong opposition, which could impose pressure on government and be able to bring political reforms, have expressed their concerns over a compromising opposition that would make concessions in order to gain privileges rather than reforms.

The political parties can better act cohesively and enter the parliament, establish powerful coalitions and observe the government, if the electoral system guarantees their share in the election process.

The women activists group asserted that if we want an active opposition we must ensure an active role for women in its structure, so that it could represent various community segments.

The Consequence of SNTV System on Women and Minorities representation quotas in Elective Bodies

Ensuring an active role for women and minorities representation in elective bodies (parliament, provincial councils, district councils and etc.) Besides institutionalizing the issue of respect for women and minorities, could also be a step forward to ensure national unity. Observing this principle is considered an important value in developing communities; therefore, the electoral system shall take it into account.

The UN Election Observation Mission Sep, 9th 2010 report has pointed out both SNTV's strong and weak points. In this report the SNTV has been praised for setting quotas for women and minorities representation in elective bodies.

Majority of interviewees from civil society and women groups considered the quota system effective in women's active representation in elective bodies. They insisted that besides maintaining the quota system, the



system replacing SNTV shall ensure minorities representation and hold political parties legally bound to consider such issues.

Majority of interviewees from civil society group blamed SNTV for being inefficient in ensuring representation for small minorities such as, the Hindus and Sikhs. They asserted that while having SNTV enforced it seems impossible to naturally ensure representation for mentioned minorities; therefore, it is necessary to reform the electoral system.

The experts group stated: however the electoral system has a direct impact on minorities' representation, but using quota system a change in electoral system cannot affect women representation in elective bodies. Although it is clear that with current system small minorities, such as, Hindus and Sikhs cannot enter the parliament.

According to a member of political parties group, if parties are awarded an active role in the election, this would lead parties democratize their structures and pave the way for minorities represent themselves in elective bodies based on merit. They also expressed optimism about the quota system and stated political parties are the most committed structures in observing women representation quotas.



The Consequence of SNTV System on the Level of Transparency in Campaign Finance Affairs

Campaign finance control mechanism is a technical issue which enhances public confidence in the electoral process if observed. Hence, this issue has always been in the focus of political leaders, legislative organizations and officials of democratic countries while determining the electoral system.

According to June 2011 DI¹⁰ report, the SNTV paves the way for electoral fraud. This report has indirectly insisted that the SNTV has not been able to ensure transparency in campaign finance affairs.

According to interviewees from all categories, the consequence of the electoral system on campaign finance control mechanism is crucial to revival of public confidence on the election process in Afghanistan. The interviewees from election staff category, based on their experience in previous elections, said: in comparison to individual candidates it is easy to deal with campaign finance affairs of party candidates, in this particular area the SNTV fails to act efficiently.

Majority of interviewees from women activists group believe that, transparency in campaign finance is directly connected with transparency in the election process; therefore, it is necessary to establish mechanisms for controlling candidates' financial resources and expenditures. Because female candidates, having limited resources to ensure their campaign expenses than male candidates, cannot easily contest with those using vague resources to launch their campaign.

Majority of interviewees from experts' category and all interviewees from political parties' category insisted that, the type of electoral system has a very important effect on level of transparency in candidates' financial affairs, since it is very difficult to identify individual candidates' financial resources. In case the SNTV system is replaced with proportional system, tracking candidates' campaign expenditures thru political parties which own particular bank accounts in accordance with Assets Law are easily controllable.

Whereas, 15% of interviewees from experts group believed that the electoral system does not have much impact on campaign finance transparency, this problem would exist with every election system. Therefore, it is important to introduce new procedures and closely oversee the process.

Majority of individuals from civil society group believed that transparency in election is a very important issue; efforts shall be made to impose spending limits on candidates; white money must be differentiated from black money so that candidates could not use all legal and illegal resources to reach the parliament. As seen,

¹⁰ - Report of DI June-2011 Page (46)



the current electoral system imposes little control; unknown individuals can nominate themselves; this particular problem can reduce by replacing the electoral system with proportional or mixed system.

The Role of SNTV System in Preventing Local Powerful Figures Entering the Elective Bodies

Preventing local powerful figures from entering the elective bodies is among priorities in fledgling democracies, because there are concerns that in post war countries local powerful figures using unlawful resources inherited from the war would try to make people's representation exclusive thru corrupting and intimidating voters. Some reports published by national and international organizations have pointed out the entrance of local powerful figures in elective bodies and blamed the SNTV for it. This system has also been criticized in FEFA 2010 ¹¹Observation Report calling the politics in Afghanistan personality-based rather than program-based.

As a result of this system, constituencies have gradually turned into the area of influence for local powerful figures, other candidate feel concerned or frightened to attend these areas during the election campaign period. In discussion with interviewees from all four categories, besides disagreements on using expressions such as "warlords" being used against Mujahedeen, the interviewees had a common view on restraining undue influence during the election process, especially at the local level.

Whereas, majority of interviewees from civil society and women category stated that, the SNTV provides the opportunity for local powerful figures to impose their undue influence over the election process; they asserted that the presence of local powerful figures is a major obstacle towards institutionalizing democracy in the country, if this problem exists the civil society may not be able to attract their support, because these people enters the parliament individually, hence they are not only interested in reforms, but impose undue influence over other MPs following their personal interests.

According to interviewees from political parties category, the local powerful figures entering the parliament is a major problem towards ensuring democracy in the country, since these people individually enter the parliament; therefore, they are not committed to principles of democracy and reforms. The only way to prevent these figures entering the elective bodies, besides ensuring security and justice, we must replace the SNTV system with proportional system. An active presence of political parties in the parliament is the only and effective way to reduce the presence of local powerful figures in elective bodies.

¹¹ - Report of FEFA June-2011 Page (20)



Although, 20% of interviewees from civil society and experts categories expressed concerns that changing the electoral system won't prevent local powerful figures entering the parliament, because these people can enter the parliament by imposing influence over political parties as some of them already get the membership of some political parties.

Conclusion:

Research results on SNTV system's efficiency in Afghanistan indicate a series of efficiencies and deficiencies of this system; its impacts on political development process are completely apparent.

Notwithstanding, it was observed that considering voter education and implementation, the SNTV system is reasonable; therefore, this system is applied in fledgling democracies, but when we evaluate the efficiency of SNTV system in two rounds of elections (2005, 2010) in terms of political development of Afghanistan, which is a priority, it can be seen that SNTV system has not been that effective.

If we observe the efficiency of SNTV system concerning the principle of political representatives' (Member of Parliament's) accountability before the people, it can be seen that SNTV, by deterring political parties role in the election has acted contrary to strengthen this principle.

However, whenever we consider the effectiveness of this system in ensuring campaign finance transparency during the election process, it can be observed that this system, in comparison to other systems such as proportional and mixed, has not been able to ensure transparency in candidates campaign finance issues. Electoral system's efficiency in strengthening political parties and an efficient political opposition's role is among major values considered in selecting an electoral system for a country. But, as observed, in two rounds of election in Afghanistan, the SNTV system has not been effective in creating an efficient political opposition in the country. This system is strongly criticized for creating obstacles before the development of an influential political opposition.

The institutionalization of intra- party democracy is another principle, necessary to political parties' growth, which must be strengthened by the electoral system in a country, but as observed, this principle hasn't been considered while choosing the SNTV system for Afghanistan's elections. That is why political parties in Afghanistan, considering the open political atmosphere and existence of legal guarantees for political activities; haven't been able to decrease their dependency on leaders and turn into national and all-inclusive democratic structures.



Facilitating democratic process thru indirect observation of the government, which must be supported by political parties in the frame of a political opposition, is one of civil society's duties; therefore, in absence of an active opposition, the civil society cannot effectively function. Taking this into account, the electoral system shall be reformed in a way that political parties or the opposition could shape up in an effective manner.

Therefore, we can say that democracy in absence of active and all-inclusive political parties in a democratic system would be meaningless. Thus, Afghanistan, which suffers from lack of all-inclusive and standard political parties, would not be able to take effective steps in terms of political development process within the SNTV system.

Afghanistan having a presidential system and committed to observe the separation of powers, requires an electoral system to truly support this balance. However, it is obvious that the SNTV system, strengthening individual representation in the parliament, has caused the legislature act uncoordinated, be scattered and under government influence, and do not act efficiently to legislate laws and supervise government actions.

Another important deficiency of this system is that; minorities such as Hindus are not able to send representatives to elective bodies; a vast number of casted votes are wasted in this electoral system; and the principle of representing majority in elective bodies comes under question.

Recent election experience reveals that, the SNTV system, considering the situation in suburban areas, has paved the way for regional warlords to enter the parliament and had indirectly negative impacts on people's representation. This system, by supporting individual representation in election, has gradually strengthened individualism in the society, in long term, It would have harsh impacts on Afghanistan's fledgling democracy; therefore, it is necessary that leaders and relevant stakeholders should pay drastic attention to reform the system.

There are also concerns regarding the potential alternative system. The quota system for women, which is an important issue and a big achievement, shouldn't be subverted by introducing a new system. As well as the issue of political parties development and omission of small and minor political parties which cannot be merged with big parties should be taken into consideration, in order to prevent the multiplicity of substandard parties.

The above explanations reveal that, the SNTV system is not compatible in Afghanistan, based on our country's requirement; this system should be replaced and reformed with an effective and appropriate system. These reforms should be performed thru counseling with civil societies, political parties, and country's well known



personalities; in order to have required efficiency. Therefore, efforts made by national and international institutions are considered important. FEFA hopes that this research and investigation prove to be effective and provide following suggestions.

Suggestions:

As we see, the current SNTV system has not been efficient enough to strengthen the political development process, which is a necessity for Afghanistan's political system. Therefore, it is necessary that political leaders and the legislature should pay drastic attention in this field and replace it with an effective system.

Considering the slippery experiences in recent elections, all Afghans have reached a conclusion that reforming laws and electoral administration is a necessity and priority; therefore, it is essential that political leaders, electoral and legislative administrations, considering their responsibilities, should pave the ground for the establishment of effective policies to reform laws and electoral mechanisms.

- 1- It is suggested that political leaders, electoral administration and legislative institutions, should pay drastic attention and give electoral reforms priority, including the electoral system reform.
- 2- The Independent Election Commission is the first lawful institution for drafting the Electoral Law. It is necessary for the Independent Election Commission to hold extensive consulting meeting with civil society institutions, political parties and relevant field experts on electoral replacement system; the Independent Election Commission should arrange its proposals in light of those information, and specify the replacement system, annexed with Electoral Law modification and send it to legislative institution for approval.
- 3- Independent Election Commission should take necessary preparation for drafting and designing public outreach programs on the new system thru consulting with civil society institutions, political parties and relevant field experts.

Due to problems ahead of legal reforms in the electoral process, it is quite difficult to reach expected results without cooperation and coordination; therefore, it is necessary that civil society institutions, political parties, independent media, and political activists should establish particular mechanisms for consolidating coordination thru holding joint meetings, and using these mechanisms they should centralize and coordinate their efforts.



- 1- In order to replace the SNTV with an effective system, it is necessary that a series of technical and impartial research and evaluation should be conducted by civil institution in different levels. Specific proposed draft should be provided in light of these researches and evaluations and should be shared with electoral administrations and legislative organs.
- 2- In order to drag political parties and legislative administrations' attention on the importance of the issue, it is necessary that media discussions be held on national level about replacement of SNTV system with a system that could act efficiently on political development process in the country, these discussions should be held by civil institution, parties, and independent media.
- 3- Advocacy thru meetings and gatherings in order to gain political parties and legislative administrations' support, their support for electoral system reforms proposed drafts could be another effective step that civil institution, parties and independent media could take.

As observed, there is a tendency among political activist towards mixed system; therefore, if the SNTV system is replaced by mixed system, it is necessary that following suggestion should be take into consideration:

- 1- In case, the SNTV system is replaced with mixed system, it is necessary to conduct broad discussions with relevant field experts, civil institutions and political parties on seat allocations in the parliament, prominence and responsibility of parties who benefits from these allocations and other practical methods regarding implementation of the mixed system.
- 2- In the alternative system drastic attention should be paid to the quota system for women, besides preservation of pervious allocations new supportive opportunities should be provided, in order to encourage women's participation in the election process.
- 3- Based on observations, if mixed system is the best option in the current situation to replace the SNTV system, it is necessary that this system should pave the ground for the presence of all-inclusive and national parties and also prevent the multiplicity of parties in the country. Besides providing the privilege of allocations to parties thru mixed system, it is necessary to determine their legal responsibilities as well, and by implementation of these responsibilities,



4- the culture of intra-party democracy in the structure of the political parties should be strengthened.

Changing the election system in the country is a political and technical issue; therefore, friend countries and international organizations' technical and financial support in this regard will be important and valuable. It is necessary that donor countries, international organizations, civil institutions and the media with their support of electoral administration should perform their role in supporting the electoral reform process in Afghanistan.



References

1. Organization for Security and Co- Operation in Europe report, 6th October, 2005 pages # (3-6-7) website www.osce.org
۲. Organization for Security and Co- Operation in Europe report, 26th November, 2010 pages # (16-17) website www.osce.org
۳. European Union Observation Mission for Afghanistan Election, 20th August 2009, Page# (13) website www.osce.org
۴. Free& Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan, June 2011, Page# (20) website www.fefa.org.af
۵. Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan, September, 9 2010, page # (9) Website www.sigar.mil/fraud
۶. Democracy International, June 2011, Page# (46) Website www.democracyinternational.com
۷. Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, 12 October, 2004, Page# (9) Website www.osce.org
۸. **International Crisis Group Report, 23, February, 2011, Page (5) website www.crisisgroup.org**
۹. **Joint Election Management Body report 9, December, ۲۰۰۵**
۱۰. Election Complaint Commission Report, March, 2006
۱۱. Election Complaint Commission Report, April, 2010
۱۲. AMFREI Report form Presidential Election, 2009
۱۳. **NAMFREL Report, 2005**



Annexes:

List of group and individual interview participants

	Name & Surname	Category	Institution/ Organization	Position
١	Assadullah Salehi	Political Parties	Afghanistan Republican Party (Hizb-e Jamhuri Khwahan Afghanistan)	High Council Leaders Member
٢	Abdul Wali Fayez		Afghanistan's National Islamic Party (Hizb-e-Melli Islami Afghanistan)	Party's Head of administration and invitation
٣	Aziz Ahmad		Afghan Social Democratic Party (Afghan Mellat)	Council's executive member
٤	Leyaqat Ali Framerz		United Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e-Mutahed Islami Afghanistan)	Youth Foundation In charge
٥	Abdul Salaam		Comprehensive Movement Party (Hizb-e-Nahzat Faragir)	Organizational structure In charge
٦	Ali Amiri		Islamic Unity of the Nation of Afghanistan Party (Hizb-e Wahdat-e-Islami Millat-e-Afghanistan)	Deputy of Politics Committee
٧	Abdulullah Kamawal		Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e-Islami Afghanistan)	Cultural In charge
٨	Sayed Zia Trabi		National Sovereignty Party (Hizb-e-Iqtedar Melli)	Communication In charge
٩	Babrak Shirzad		National Unity Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e Wahdat-e Melli-ye	Kabul West zone in charge



			Afghanistan	
١٠	Ghulam Hazrat		United National Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e-Mutahed Mili Afghanistan)	Kabul city council presidency in charge
١١	NoorulHaq Holomi		United national Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e-Mutahed Mili Afghanistan)	Party's executive Director
١٢	Bashir Bezhan		National Congress Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e Kongra-ye Melli-ye Afghanistan)	leadership Member
١٣	Satana Shirzad		Afghan Social Democratic Party (Afghan Mellat)	Afghan Social Democratic party, Executive director
١٤	Abdul Saboor Ramzjo		National Solidarity Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-e Paiwand-e Melli-ye Afghanistan)	Deputy of National Solidarity party
١٥	Haji Mohmmad Mohqqeq		Islamic Unity Party of the People of Afghanistan (Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islami-ye Mardum-e Afghanistan)	Leader of Islamic unity party of the people of Afghanistan
١٦	Sediqullah Tawhidi	Experts	Nai Media watch association	Media watch in charge
١٧	Zabiullah Barezai		International Foundation for electoral systems	Civic Education Advisor
١٨	Rahimullah Rameh		Human Rights Commission	Transitional justice in charge
١٩	Abdul Ghafoor Asheq		Asia Foundation	Program in charge
٢٠	Fahim Dashti		Kabul Weekly	Editor In chief
٢١	Yopusef Rashid		National Democratic Institute	Election program in charge



۲۲	Zafar Shah		Hashte Sobh newspaper	News Coordinating in charge
۲۳	Saleh Mohammad Registani		Political issue expert	Parliament ex-legislation commission head
۲۴	Haroon Mir		Strategic studies center	Head of Afghanistan strategic studies center
۲۵	Fazel Rahman Oria		Political issue expert	
۲۶	Amena Ma yar	Women rights activist	Kaleed Group	Mursal Magazine in charge
۲۷	Wida Latif		Afghan Women network	Legal department Manager
۲۸	Lima Anwari		Afghan Women network	
۲۹	Sheela Shams		Independent Election Commission	Ex-Employee
۳۰	Naim Ayobzada		National Democratic Institute	Women in politics and governing program manager
۳۱	Farkhunda Zahra Naderi		Parliament	Civil society, human rights and women commission's Member
۳۲	Semeen Wahdat		International Democracy	
۳۳	Humaira Haqmal		Kabul University	Kabul University Instructor
۳۴	Farida Nikzad		Wakht News Agency	Director
۳۵	Parween Nooristani		MP	Member of health Commission
۳۶	Khalida Faizy		Election Commission regional office	Gender In charge
3۷	Khalid Pashton			MP



				first deputy
38	Fawzia Kofi	Parliament MPs	MP	Head of Civil Society, human rights and women commission
39	Basher Dost		MP	Member of Disables and martyred commission
40	Hafiz Mansoor		MP	Member of legislation commission
41	Eshaq Gelani		MP	Internation al Affairs commission member
42	Shukria Barekzai		MP	Head of defensive affairs commission
43	Nader Khan Katawazi		MP	Internation al Affairs commission member
44	Nasrullah Stanekzai	Kabul University Instructors	Kabul University	University Instructor
45	Taher Hashimi		Kabul University	University Instructor
46	Ismail Leon		Kabul University	University Instructor
47	Jafar Kohestani		Kabul University	University Instructor
48	Wadeer Safi		Kabul University	University Instructor



٤٩	Bakht Mohammad Bakhtyar	Science Academy	Science Academy	Science Academy member
٥٠	Ab. Samad Azizi		Science Academy	Science Academy Member
٥١	Farid Hamidi	Civil Society & Human Rights Activist	Independent Human Right Commission	Afghanistan Human Right commission er
٥٢	Fahim Hakim		Afghanistan Human Right Commission	Deputy of Human Right Commission
٥٣	Aziz Rafi		Civil Society association	Civil Society association Director
٥٤	Sayed Neyazi		Civil Society development center	Civil Society development center Director
٥٥	Hashem Samim	Government Officials	Independent Election Commission	Independent Election Commission deputy executive
٥٦	Sayed yousef Halim		Ministry of Justice	Deputy Minister of Justice
٥٧	Sayed Muzhgan Mustafawi		Women Affairs Ministry	Women Affairs Ministry , vocational deputy minister
٥٨	Abdul Ghafor Leywal		Afghanistan regional studies center	Afghanistan regional studies center Director



Election observer institutions report analysis check list on (SNTV)

Name:

Publisher:

Publish date:

Web address:

Research Topic: Single Non Transferable Vote system (SNTV):

1. What issues are included in the report that you study?
 2. What Information about SNTV has been directly and specifically included in the report or document?
(Title, page)
- What is your analysis on this issue? Write:

Since this is the first report about election; therefore, it hasn't directly pointed out the SNTV system.

- What is your analysis on this issue? Write:

This proposal indirectly indicates that SNTV system will neither be efficient enough in mobilizing people nor will avoid warlords and ethnocentrism enter elective bodies, because this system will act as an obstacle before small and big political parties' development.

Prepared by:



Individual interview questionnaire with political parties on SNTV system

Interviewee identification:

Name: ----- Education: ----- Occupation: -----

Sex: ----- Telephone Number: ----- Email: ----- Interview topic: -
----- Interviewer Name: ----- Date & time -----

1. Do you support an integrated legislative power exerting influence on government performances?
Yes No
2. Is it necessary that MPs should be accountable before people thru a transparent and specific mechanism?
Yes No
3. Is the presence of women in the parliament for the benefit of the country and the democratic system, or not?
Yes No
4. Do you think political parties' development is considered necessary yin Afghanistan?
Yes No
5. In a democratic system, how important is the role of all-inclusive and active political parties?
Very Much Much Average Less
6. Is the institutionalization of intra- party democracy necessary in creation of national and all-inclusive political parties, or not?
Yes No
7. To what extent campaign finance transparency affects transparency in an election?
Very Much Much Average Less
8. Do you support a powerful political opposition that oversees government's performances?
Yes No
9. Is it necessary for minorities such as Hindus to enjoy rights to legal representation in the parliament?
Yes No
10. Do you think it is necessary to prevent local powerful people entering the Afghan parliament?
Yes No
11. How do you evaluate SNTV system, considering last two elections results?



12. What is your point of view, does the SNTV system strengthen or weaken political parties' role in the election?

13. In your point of view, who can attract people's more support in the election process, political parties or independent candidates?

Political Parties Independent Candidates Both None

14. Whose presence can make candidates finance campaign control easy, party candidates or independent candidates?

Party candidates independent candidates Both None

15. Is the institutionalization of intra-party democracy important for political parties or not? Give explanation:

Yes No

16. Is the existence of influential and active political opposition important in strengthening democracy in the country?

Yes No

17. Considering last election experience, how positive the SNTV system has been on political opposition's role?

Very Much Much Average weak

18. In your point of view, would MPs individually or in political parties' frame be more accountable before the people?

Individually in political party frame

19. Will SNTV system pave the way for local warlords enter the parliament or will create obstacles before them? Give explanation:

20. By applying the SNTV system, can we establish an effective and efficient parliament?

Yes No



21. In your point of view, which kind of representation can be more efficient in creating an effective legislature?

Party representation Independent representation Both None

22. In order to strengthen political parties' development process and to strengthen the intra-party democracy, which system do you think would be effective in Afghanistan?

Proportional SNTV Mixed I don't know



Individual interview questionnaire with Members of Parliament on SNTV system

Interviewee identification:

Name: -----Education level: -----Occupation: -----Sex: -----
-----Telephone Number: -----Email Add: ----- Interview topic: -----
-----Interviewer Name: -----Date& time -----

1. Do you support an integrated legislative power exerting influence on government performances?
Yes No
2. Is it necessary that MPs should be accountable before people thru a transparent and specific mechanism?
Yes No
3. Is the presence of women in the parliament for the benefit of the country and the democratic system, or not?
Yes No
4. Do you think political parties' development is considered necessary in Afghanistan?
Yes No
5. In a democratic system, how important is the role of all-inclusive and active political parties?
Very Much Much Average Less
6. Is the institutionalization of intra- party democracy necessary in creation of national and all-inclusive political parties, or not?
Yes No
7. To what extent campaign finance transparency affects transparency in an election?
Very Much Much Average Less
8. Do you support a powerful political opposition that oversees government's performances?
Yes No
9. Is it necessary for minorities such as Hindus to enjoy rights to legal representation in the parliament?
Yes No
10. Do you think it is necessary to prevent local powerful people entering the Afghan parliament?
Yes No
11. How do you evaluate SNTV system, considering last two elections results?

12. Who can play more effective role in inviting people to participate in election, parties or independent candidates?



**An Evaluation of the SNTV Electoral System in
Afghanistan**

2011

Political party Independent Candidates Both None

13. If in a constituency more votes are wasted and minimum casted votes are decisive, what would be the outcomes?

14. Considering last two elections' experience, will the SNTV system pave the way for local warlords inter the parliament or will create obstacles before them? Give explanation:

15. Using what method, the local powerful individuals can easily enter the parliament, party or independent candidacy?

Political parties independent candidate Both None

16. In your point of view, would MPs individually or in political parties' frame be more accountable before the people?

Individually in political party frame Both None

17. SNTV which widely focuses on independent and individual representation in parliament, will it secure MPs accountability to people?

Yes No

18. In order to have an efficient and effective legislative power, which systems do you propose?

SNTV Proportional Mixed I don't know



Individual interview questionnaire with members of the IEC on SNTV system

Interviewee identification:

Name: ----- Education level: ----- Occupation: -----

Sex: ----- Telephone Number: ----- Email Add: -----

Interview topic: ----- Interviewer Name: ----- Date& time -----

1. Do you support an integrated legislative power exerting influence on government performances?
Yes No
2. Is it necessary that MPs should be accountable before people thru a transparent and specific mechanism?
Yes No
3. Is the presence of women in the parliament for the benefit of the country and the democratic system, or not?
Yes No
4. Do you think political parties' development is considered necessary in Afghanistan?
Yes No
5. In a democratic system, how important is the role of all-inclusive and active political parties?
Very Much Much Average Less
6. Is the institutionalization of intra- party democracy necessary in creation of national and all-inclusive political parties, or not?
Yes No
7. To what extent campaign finance transparency affects transparency in an election?
Very Much Much Average Less
8. Do you support a powerful political opposition that oversees government's performances?
Yes No
9. Is it necessary for minorities such as Hindus to enjoy rights to legal representation in the parliament?
Yes No
10. Do you think it is necessary to prevent local powerful people entering the Afghan parliament?
Yes No
11. How do you evaluate SNTV system, considering last two elections results?



12. According to some people, easy implementation was the reason that the SNTV system was chosen for 2005 presidential election, do you really think this system is easy to implement?

Yes No

If yes, how? Please give explanation:

13. If in a constituency more votes are wasted and minimum casted votes are decisive, what would be the outcomes?

14. Considering last two elections' experience, will the SNTV system pave the way for local warlords inter the parliament or will create obstacles before them? Give explanation:

15. In your opinion, whose presence will cause more campaign finance transparency, party candidates or independent candidates?

Party candidates Independent Candidates Both None

16. In the current system, what is the level of control imposed on candidates' campaign finance?

Very good Good fair Weak

17. How do you evaluate the implementation of financial affairs control regulation in SNTV system comparing to other systems?

18. Does SNTV system encourage the presence of local powerful individuals in the parliament?

Yes No

If YES, please Explain:



**An Evaluation of the SNTV Electoral System in
Afghanistan**

2011

19. Will SNTV system pave the ground for minorities' equal representation rights, such as Hindus?

Yes No

If Yes, Please give explanation:

20. In order to ensure transparency in candidates' financial affairs, which systems do you propose?

SNTV Proportional Mixed I don't know



Individual interview questionnaire with experts on SNTV system

Interviewee identification:

Name: -----Education level: -----Occupation: -----Sex: -----
-----Telephone Number: -----Email Add: ----- Interview topic: -----
-----Interviewer Name: -----Date& time -----

1. Do you support an integrated legislative power exerting influence on government performances?
Yes No
2. Is it necessary that MPs should be accountable before people thru a transparent and specific mechanism?
Yes No
3. Is the presence of women in the parliament for the benefit of the country and the democratic system, or not?
Yes No
4. Do you think political parties' development is considered necessary in Afghanistan?
Yes No
5. In a democratic system, how important is the role of all-inclusive and active political parties?
Very Much Much Average Less
6. Is the institutionalization of intra- party democracy necessary in creation of national and all-inclusive political parties, or not?
Yes No
7. To what extent campaign finance transparency affects transparency in an election?
Very Much Much Average Less
8. Do you support a powerful political opposition that oversees government's performances?
Yes No
9. Is it necessary for minorities such as Hindus to enjoy rights to legal representation in the parliament?
Yes No
10. Do you think it is necessary to prevent local powerful people entering the Afghan parliament?
Yes No
11. How do you evaluate SNTV system, considering last two elections results?



12. According to some people, easy implementation was the reason that the SNTV system was chosen for 2005 presidential election, do you really think this system is easy to implement?

Yes No

If yes, how? Please give explanation:

13. In your opinion, whose presence will cause more campaign finance transparency, party candidates or independent candidates?

Party candidates Independent Candidates Both None

14. Considering recent elections experiences, to what extent the SNTV has been beneficial in strengthening the intra-party democracy?

Very Much Much Average Less

15. How positive the SNTV system has been on political opposition's role?

Very Much Much Average Weak

16. Will people support political parties, if political parties enjoyed more active role in election by changing the election system?

Yes No

17. How much the SNTV system has been effective on integrity and coordination of the parliament?

Very beneficial Beneficial Average Not beneficial

18. What kind of representation can pave the way for undue influence over the Parliament? Party or independent?

Party Independent Both None

19. In SNTV system, can minority such as Hindus enjoy representation in the parliament?

Yes No



20. In establishment of a strong political opposition, who can have a bigger role, the independent candidates or political parties?

21. Can we enhance people's trust on political parties by changing the election system?

Yes

No

22. Using what method, the local powerful individuals can easily enter the parliament, party or independent candidacy?

Political parties independent candidate Both None

23. Which systems do you propose in order prevent the presence of warlords?

SNTV Proportional Mixed I don't know