

## PRO-DEMOCRACY PROTESTS CODING DETAILS

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**Definition:** Pro-democracy protests are defined as mass public demonstrations in which the participants demand countries install or uphold democratic elections. Democracy is defined here in a minimal sense of open and competitive elections in which there are no significant legal or non-legal barriers preventing political parties, candidates, or voters from participating in elections. Under this definition, pro-democracy protests include protests in which the participants demand that countries hold democratic elections where elections are not held; that countries make existing elections more open and competitive and also eliminate electoral fraud since fraud undermines the openness and competitiveness of elections; and that countries respect the outcome of the democratic elections that are held. This may take the form of recognizing the outcome of elections, protests against coups d'état, or suspending elected national legislative bodies (auto-golpes). It excludes protests regarding human rights or political and civil rights (e.g., release of political prisoners, freedom of media and freedom of assembly), which are not directly about the electoral process, but which are related to a more maximal definition of democracy. It also excludes anti-governments protests, including those that demand the resignation of government, for reasons unrelated to the openness and competitiveness of the elections, including public policy or corruption.

**Coding Criteria:** Major protests are defined as protests in which the largest protest in a year had at least 1,000 or more participants. Minor protests in which the largest protest in a year had less than 1,000 participants. All protests (major or minor) must take place in relation to national elections and occur in the country targeted.

**Sample:** Gleditsch and Ward (1999)'s list of independent states is used to identify the sample of countries included in the analysis.

**Sources:** Each country/year is coded using the following resources: U.S. State Department's *Human Rights Reports* (1999-2011), the International Federation for Human Rights's *Steadfast in Protest* reports (2006-2011), Freedom House's *Freedom in the World* reports (2002-2012), and the International Crisis Group's *Crisis Watch Database* (2003-2012), as well as the primary news sources and secondary resources listed below. Only the cases of protests, as well as any borderline or ambiguous cases, denoted as "[Borderline/Ambiguous]", are summarized below.

**Individual Country Notes:** See below

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## **AFGHANISTAN**

### Minor Protests (2010)

Protests occurred against the 18 September 2010 parliamentary elections results. The protests were organized by the losing candidates, who said that the elections were fraudulent. International observers noted problems with the electoral process, including the insecure environment, vote and candidate intimidation, election day irregularities, and the handling of the post-election complain process, though the process was improved over the previous year. USA Report and the Press TV Youtube video showing the protests indicate that the protesters were only in the hundreds.

- “Afghans Protest Problems with Parliament elections,” *USA Today*, 2 November 2010.
- “Afghanistan Protesters Slam Parliamentary Elections,” Press TV <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=drX6dtN9yRc>
- “Afghans Protest Election Problems,” *Associated Press*, 3 November 2010.

## **ALBANIA**

### Major Protests (2010):

Protests against the results of the June 28, 2009 election results, which the protesters claimed were fraudulent. Protesters demanded a recount. International election observers report that the elections did not meet international standards. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands. I find no evidence of protests taking place in 2009, the year that the election took place. NELDA does not record any protests in 2009 either.

- Mark Lowen, “Tens of Thousands Attend Albania Election Protest,” *BBC News*, 14 May 2010.

### Major Protests (2011) [Borderline/Ambiguous]:

Protests, numbering in the tens of thousands, against the 2009 election results continued in 2011. The protests also addressed the issue of government corruption in general and were sparked by a deputy PM video appearing to show him lobbying for favors. The case is coded as borderline because electoral fraud was arguably not as important an issue as corruption in these protests.

- “Three Dead as Albania Protest Turns Violent,” *Reuters*, 22 January 2011.

## **ARMENIA**

### Major Protests (2008):

Protests against perceived fraud in the February 2008 presidential elections, involving double voting, ballot stuffing and physical intimidation. Prime Minister Serzh Sargsyan won the election. The protesters, led by opposition leader, Levon Ter-Petrosian, demanded that the elections be annulled, that those who rigged the elections being punished, and that the country’s political prisoners be freed. Observers said that the elections were in line with international electoral standards for the most part but did note irregularities. Protests numbered in the thousands.

- “Armenia: Eight Killed After Clashes Between Police, Protesters,” *RFE/RL*, March 2, 2008.
- “Protests Continued: Armenia is Still Teetering, and War Clouds are Gathering,” *The Economist*, March 27, 2008.

- “Thousands in Armenia Protest Results of Presidential Election,” February 21, 2008

## **BAHRAIN**

### Major Protest (2006)

Protest held on 24 November 2006 in the capital, Manama, held prior to the parliamentary elections in which participants, mostly Shiites, demanded that the elections be held democratically. Protesters also demanded that the country’s prime minister resign, who was implicated in scandals accusing the government of rigging the vote. The scandal involved an alleged government scheme to weaken the country's Shiites by bringing in Saudi voters from the pro-government al-Dosari clan to vote inside neighboring Bahrain, and extending Bahraini citizenship to foreign Sunnis from countries including Pakistan to tilt the country's demographic makeup. International observers were not permitted to observe the elections. Protesters numbered around 1,500-2,000.

- “Demonstration in Manama, “ *Reuters*, 24 November 2006.
- “Bahrain holds elections after tense campaign”, *Associated Press*, 25 November 2006.

### Major Protests (2011):

Initially, protestors only called for political reforms and an end to systematic discrimination against Shias. However, following police brutality, protestors began calling for an end to the regime and the establishment of democracy. Protests numbered in the thousands. Protests in the previous year were about social and economic discrimination against Shiite majority, not about discrimination in electoral participation or democracy.

- 'The Regime Must Fall, and We Will Make Sure it Does,' *The Guardian*, 18 February 2011.

## **BANGLADESH**

### Major Protests (2006):

Protesters, supporters of the Awami League, demanded electoral reforms ahead of the elections scheduled for January. The protesters demanded the resignation of the country election commission, accusing the commission of bias and of the government of preparing to rig the elections. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Thousands March in Dhaka Protest,” *BBC News* 25 July 2006.
- “Dozens Hurt in Bangladesh Rally,” *BBC News*, 21 September 2006.

### Major Protests (2007):

Protesters, supporters of the Awami League, demanded that general elections, scheduled for 22 January, be postponed until reforms, which include a revised voter list, were made because the caretaker government, led by President Iajuddin Ahmed, was biased and rigged in favor of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party they charged. Under Bangladesh’s electoral system, the elected government must resign 90 days before elections, and hand over to a non-partisan caretaker government – which in this case was headed by President Ahmed. Protesters numbered in the

thousands.

- “Bangladesh gripped by rioting as political rivalry threatens election,” *The Independent*, 8 July 2007.
- “Riot Police, Protesters Clash in Bangladesh Ahead of Election,” New Delhi, 7 January 2007

## **BELARUS**

### Major Protests (2006):

Protests against the presidential elections, which protesters claimed were not open and competitive. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands. International observers confirm that the elections did not meet international standards.

- “Belarus: Is This The End Of The Election Protests?” *RFE/RL* 24 March 2006.
- “Minsk Riot Police End Demonstration, Detain Some 250,” *RFE/RL* 24 March 2006.

### Major Protests (2010):

Protests on December 19, 2010 against the results of the presidential elections won Alexander Lukashenko, which the protesters claimed were undemocratic and fraudulent. OSCE electoral monitors confirm that the elections were fraudulent. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Hundreds of protesters arrested' in Belarus,” BBC News 20 December 2010.

## **BENIN**

### Minor Protests (2011)

Following the elections, protests, organized by the opposition, claimed that the presidential elections, which resulted in the re-election of President Boni Yayi, were fraudulent. International observers said the elections were credible despite some failings. The protesters were in the hundreds. Prior to the elections, thousands protested in the streets because the country new computerized registration system excluded thousands of voters. These pre-elections protests are not pro-democracy protests, because the failure to include the voters in the registration lists was an administrative error, and the protests did not accuse the government of intentionally tried to exclude voters from the list to bias the results.

- “Benin Post-Poll Protests Raises Tensions,” *Voice of America*, 24 March 2011.
- “Benin Opposition Supporters, Unions, Protest Boni Yayi Election Victory,” *Bloomberg*, 24 March 2011.
- “Benin Opposition Denounces Election Fraud,” *AFROL News* 15 March 2011.
- “Fear of Post-election Violence in Benin,” *AFROL News* 28 March 2011.

## **CAMBODIA**

### Minor Protests (2008)

Protests led by the opposition, accusing the parliamentary elections of being undemocratic. Protests claimed that the government denied people the right to vote by intentionally and strategically

removing their name from the ballots, among other things. International observers from the EU said that the election failed to meet a number of key international standards, despite a lower level of political violence than in previous years. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “Opposition Rejects Results of Cambodian Election,” *ABC Radio Australia*, July 31, 2008.

## **CAMEROON**

### Minor Protests (2011) [Borderline/Ambiguous]

Protests prior to the election in February 2011, demanding that President Paul Biya step down and according to some accounts demanding free elections. Protesters only numbered in hundreds and were repressed by the police. A handful of armed men dressed as soldiers in Sept 2011 fired into the air and stopped traffic in south Cameroon, demanding the departure of long-serving President Paul Biya ahead of a controversial poll. This action is not coded as pro-democracy, because the demands of the men are not known, other than the ousting of Biya, which cannot necessarily be interpreted as a demand for democracy. The protests are coded as borderline/ambiguous because the protests had multiple motivations – the protests were pro-democracy, with protesters demanding free and fair elections and also anti-Biya, with protesters criticizing the government’s performance and demanding Biya’s resignation.

- “Police Easily Cracks Down on Cameroon Protests,” *Afrol News*, 23 February 2011.
- “Is Cameroon Next After Libya?,” TPMDC, 24 February 2011.

## **CHINA**

### Minor Protests (2011) [borderline/ambiguous]

On 20 February, hundreds of people gathered despite heavy police surveillance in Beijing and other major Chinese cities in response to a pro-democracy call posted on the Internet. Internet post suggested that people in these protests call for democracy, an end to one-party rule, freedom of the press, political reform, including an independent judiciary, fairness, justice, as well as food, work and housing. These protests are coded a borderline because democracy was only one of a number of reasons for the protests. In other, protests participants “walked-by” a designated street without carrying posters or shouting slogans in favor of democracy as a form of protest. Fear of police repression forced the protests to adopt subtle techniques of protests like these.

- “State Stamps Out Small 'Jasmine' Protests in China,” *Time*, 21 February 2011
- “Calls for protests in China met with brutality,” *BBC News*, 27 February 2011
- “Hundreds Rally in Chinese Cities after Online Call for ‘Jasmine Revolution,’” *BBC News*, 20 February 2011

## **CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF**

### Major Protests (2006):

Violent protests in which the protesters, supporters of opposition candidate Jean-Pierre Bemba, accused the presidential elections of being fraudulent. President Joseph Kabila won the elections. Ahead of the elections, protesters demanded that elections be delayed so they could be more

inclusive and transparent. In November 2006, Bemba accepted defeat after his legal challenge to the election results was thrown out by the country's Supreme Court. According to the Carter Center, instances of disruption or attempted manipulation of the electoral process, while serious in a few cases, appeared isolated and unlikely to affect the overall success of the vote.

- "Congo Court Burnt in Poll Protest," *BBC News* 21 November 2006.
- "German Soldiers Caught in Middle of Congo Protest," *DW*, 26 July 2006.

## **CÔTE D'IVOIRE/IVORY COAST**

### Major Protests (2010):

Protests against President Gbagbo's unwillingness to recognize the results of the country's presidential elections in which Alassane Ouattara won power. The International community condemned Gbagbo's actions and recognized Ouattara as the winner. Protests began in 2010 and extended to 2011, ending in civil war.

- "Ivory Coast Protests Turn Deadly," VOA, 15 December 2010.
- "Cote d'Ivoire: Milestones on the road of crisis." IRIN, 3 March 2010

### Minor Protests (2011):

Continuing protests against President Gbagbo's unwillingness to recognize the results of the country's presidential elections. Protests organized by women. Participants numbered in the hundreds.

- "Women Said to Be Killed at Ivory Coast Protest" NY Times, 3 March 2011

## **EGYPT**

### Minor Protests (2010)

Protests against the parliamentary elections, which the protesters said were fraudulent. There were no international observers present for these elections. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- "Egyptians Protest Against 'Rigged' Elections," *ABC News*, 13 December 2010.
- "Egypt's Opposition Protests, Challenging Legislative Vote," NYT, 12 December 2010

### Major Protests (2011)

Protests, demanding an end to the rule of Hosni Mubarak and the holding of truly democratic elections, began January 25, 2011 and lasted through 2012. Protesters at their height were estimated to be a million people in Cairo alone. The 2011 pro-democracy protests in Egypt took place over three distinct periods or phases. In the first, protesters demanded the resignation of President Mubarak, and the establishment of democratic governance, as well as some non-democratic concerns, such as an end to corruption, poor economic policies. In the second, protesters demanded faster political reforms from the interim military government. In the third, protesters responded to violence against pro-democracy protesters and demanded a commitment and timetable for the military to turn political control over to a democratically-elected civilian government. Other political demands, like lifting the emergency rule, and economic demands, like lifting the minimal wages, were also voiced in the protests.

- "Egypt's Opposition Pushes Demands as Protests Continue," BBC News 1 February 2011.

### Phase I

At the outset in January 2011, protesters demanded the resignation of President Mubarak and the establishment of democratic governance. Democracy was not the only issue raised in the protests, however. Corruption, torture, poverty, and unemployment, were also important issues.

- “Energized by Tunisia, Egypt protesters surge onto streets in 'Day of Wrath’” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 25 January 2011.
- “Across Egypt, Protests Direct Fury at Leader,” *The New York Times*, 26 January 2011.
- “Protest Movements Swelling in Mideast,” *The Washington Post*, 28 January 2011.
- “Mubarak’s Grip Tested,” *The Washington Post*, 30 January 2011.

### Phase II

In April, pro-democracy protesters reignited protests putting pressure on the military and to proceed faster with democratic reforms. These protests continued throughout the summer, despite military repression.

- “Tensions high as Egypt protesters accuse Army of turning on them” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10 April 2011.
- “Protesters Defy Military Rulers, Return to Cairo’s Main Square,” *The Washington Post*, 10 April 2011.
- “New dawn, same old problems: Egypt wakes up to fresh uprising” *The Independent*, 28 May 2011.
- “Egypt: New Clashes as Protesters Demand Faster Reforms,” *Africa News*, 24 July 2011.

### Phase III

In late November, clashes between riot police and pro-democracy protesters left more than thirty dead and nearly 2,000 injured. This violence prompted the resignation of the civilian transitional government and sparked further protests demanding the military commit to a plan for a full transition to a democratic civilian government. The protests eventually pressured the military into setting a distinct time table for transition to a civilian government.

- “How Egyptian Army Turned Rapidly from Friend to Foe,” *The Times*, 22 November 2011.
- “20,000 Occupy Tahrir Square as Mass Rally Called,” *The Times*, 22 November 2011.
- “Cairo Crisis Deepens as Mass Rally Planned,” *The Times*, 22 November 2011.
- “Pressure Rises on Egypt’s Military,” *The Washington Post*, 22 November 2011.
- “Egypt faces surge of protesters as military faces 'Friday of the last chance',” *The Telegraph*, 25 November 2011.

## **GABON**

### Major Protests (2009):

Protests accuse Ben Bongo, who won the presidential elections, of rigging the vote. International observers characterized the elections as generally free and fair although irregularities occurred. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Unrest in Gabon as Bongo Poll Win Disputed,” *Reuters*, 3 September 2009.
- “Police, Poll Protesters Clash in Gabon's Oil Hub,” *Reuters*, 6 September 2009.

### Minor Protests (2011):

Continuing protests related to the undemocratic nature of the 2009 presidential election. Mr Obame, the opposition leader who claims to have won the 2009 election, declared himself to be the true president of Gabon, and named a parallel cabinet of 19 ministers. He sought protection from the UN. Outside the UN, protesters supporting Obame, demanded that the government recognize the rightful winner of the 2009 elections. Protesters numbered only in the hundreds.

- “Gabon Opposition Leader Andre Mba Obame Seeks UN refuge,” *BBC News*, 27 January 2011.
- “Gabon Police Tear Gas Protesters, Tensions Rise,” *Reuters*, 27 January 2011.

## **GEORGIA**

### Major Protests (2008):

Protests against the parliamentary elections, which protesters claimed were fraudulent. Protesters demanded that the elections be cancelled. The United National Movement (head by Mikhail Saakashvili) won the election by a landslide. International monitors reported the poll had not fully met international standards. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Protesters Decry Georgia Election,” *BBC News*, May 26, 2008

### Major Protests (2011) [Borderline]:

Protests demand the resignation of President Mikhail Saakashvili and the holding of democratic presidential and parliamentary elections. This is an ambiguous case: Protests seem to fit minimal definition of democracy: Protesters held signs of “We support free elections” and demanded early and democratic elections. Protests definitely fit democracy in the maximal sense. The protesters accuse Saakashvili of abusing his position to maintain his grip on power, including limiting media freedom. Protesters numbered in the thousands. Major protests also occurred in 2007, demanded the resignation of President Saakashvil, but these protests were in response to corruption involved Saakashvili, not democracy

- “On Rustaveli Avenue”, *The Economist*, 2 June 2011.
- “Protesters Call for the Resignation of Georgia’s President,” *New York Times*, 22 May 2011.
- “Opposition Rally Aims to Prevent Georgia Independence Parade,” *RT*, 25 May 2011.
- “Huge protests in Tbilisi demand election after corruption claims,” *The Independent*, 29 September 2007.

## **GUINEA**

### Minor Protests (2010):

Protest against alleged electoral fraud committed in the country’s first presidential elections, which was won by Alpha Conde. The opposition candidate, Cellou Dion, said that voting totals in the second round were greater than registered voters in some polling stations, and observers were denied access to polling stations where fraud was likely to occur on behalf of Conde. International observers noted significant irregularities in the elections, particularly in the first round. Reuters estimate the protests included dozens of people; the pictures suggest hundreds. One

report by an African news source estimated the protests at 3,000.

- “Guinea Security Forces Break March with Tear Gas,” *Reuters*, 5 July 2010.
- “Guinea elections: Enraged Party to Dispute Results in Court,” *Afrik News* 6 July 2010.

#### Major Protests (2011):

Protests, organized by opposition leaders, to protest the government's handling of parliamentary elections to be held in December, which opposition leaders worried were going to be fraudulent. The protests coincided with the announcement of the election date in December. The elections did not take place. The president postponed them indefinitely. No figures provided in the news reports, but photos suggest that protesters numbered in the hundreds, even thousands.

- “Deadly Crackdown on Protests in Guinea,” *Al Jazeera*, 28 September 2011.
- “Guinea: 4 Protesters Are Killed,” *NYT*, 27 September 2011.
- “Guinea elections: Three die as police break up protest,” *BBC*, 27 Sept. 2011
- “Guinea Police Clash With Protesters, 2 Dead,” *Voice of America*, 26 Sept. 2011

### **GUINEA-BISSAU**

#### Minor Protests (2010):

Protests opposed to the attempted military coup d’etat against Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Junior. Protesters were estimated in the hundreds. Gomes was held captive by troops for several hours. The army declared it was not a coup, but an internal military issue.

- “Guinea-Bissau Leaders Held in Apparent Coup,” *BBC*, 1 April 2010
- “Guinea-Bissau's PM Says He Will Not Resign After Mutiny,” *AFP*, 2 April 2010

### **GUYANA**

#### Minor Protests (2011):

Protests, organized by an opposition party, demanding a “statement of poll” and claiming that the December 2011 general elections were fraudulent – involving the manipulation of votes, missing statements of polls, multiple voting, and so forth. The OAS said that the elections were generally free and fair, although there were irregularities on election day, and an long delay in the reporting of the results. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “APNU protest GECOM, Regional Administration in Berbice,” *Kaeiteur News*, 19 November 2012.
- “APNU pickets GECOM; Red Thread targets Home Affairs over march break-up,” [demerarawaves.com](http://demerarawaves.com), 7 December 2011.

### **HAITI**

#### Major Protests (2006)

Violent protests occurred after revised election results showed that presidential candidate Rene Preval did not win enough votes to avoid a run-off election in March as was initially predicted. Protesters accused the government of electoral fraud. United Nations said there is no evidence of fraud in these elections. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Haitian protesters Allege Election Fraud,” *New York Times*, 14 February 2006.
- “Riots Follow Contentious Election in Haiti,” *PBS Newshour*, 14 February 2006.

#### Major Protests (2009)

Protests were against the exclusion of Jean-Bertrand Aristide’s Fanmi Lavalas party from the elections, accusing the government of holding undemocratic and fraudulent elections in 2009, and planning the same in 2010. Protesters numbered in the thousands. In 2009, Senate candidates from Lavalas were disqualified because they did not have the signature of the party’s head – Aristide, who was exiled, having been ousted in coup d’etat in 2004. Lavalas was excluded in 2010 because, although Aristide had signed the candidate list, he had not signed it in person, a new requirement engineered by the government, according to the opposition, to prevent them from competing in the elections.

- “Aristide supporters protest election ban in Haiti,” *Reuters*, 16 December 2009.
- “Thousands March in Haiti Demanding Return of Aristide,” *Haitian Action.net*, 2 March 2009.

#### Major Protests (2010)

Protest against fraud in the presidential elections, which resulted in the election of Michel Martelly (Respons Peyizan). International observers confirmed that there were many irregularities in the elections. No figures provided as to the size of protests, but images suggest that the protesters numbered around a thousand.

- “Haiti vote chaos continues Frustrated voters protest amid calls by major presidential candidates to scrap the 'fraudulent' elections.” *Al Jazeera*, 29 November 2010.
- “Protests Over Haiti Poll Turn Violent,” [Video], 2 December 2010.

#### Major Protests (2011)

Protests in March-April 2011 demanding that the fraud, which occurred during the 2010/2011 presidential elections, be rectified. No figures provided in news reports about the size of the protests, but images suggest that the protesters, numbered in the hundreds, even a thousand. Earlier in the year, in February, protests occurred demanding Preval step down, whose term expired in February but was permitted to stay in office until the elections, which had been delayed, were completed. The February protests are not an example of pro-democracy protests. However, the March/April protests over fraud are.

- “Haiti's presidential election results delayed by fraud,” *CNN*, 30 March 2011
- “Protests demonstrated over Haiti election results,” *CCTV*, 27 April 2011.

## **HONDURAS**

#### Major Protests (2009):

Protests were in opposition to the military coup against President Manuel Zelaya. These protests qualify as pro-democracy protests because they were about respecting the results of democratic elections. Zelaya was elected president of Honduras in 2005.

- “Protests erupt, gunshots heard after Honduras Coup,” *Reuters*, 29 June 2009
- “Police fire tear gas on Honduras poll protesters,” *Agence France Presse*, 29 November 29, 2009.
- “Protests mount in Honduras after military coup,” *LA Times*, 30 June 2009.

## **IRAN**

### Major Protests (2009):

Protests against the June 2009 presidential elections, won by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who the protesters accused of rigging the elections. No independent electoral observers were present during the elections, but post-election analyses by experts of the demographic and regional support of Ahmadinejad suggest that the results were fraudulent. The protesters numbered in the hundreds of thousands.

- Robert F. Worth and Nazila Fathi, “Protests Flare in Tehran as Opposition Disputes Vote,” *New York Times*, 14 June 2009.

## **IRAQ**

### Minor Protests (2010)

Protesters, supporters of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, protested against the fraud perpetrated during national parliamentary elections held in May 2010. International observers reported that the elections were generally free and fair, but that there were irregularities related to voter intimidation, voter registration issues, and so forth. Protesters numbered in the hundreds. There were also protests in favor of the banning of Baathist Party candidates from the election, which were not pro-democracy protests, as they were in favor of the ban and the limiting of electoral competition.

- “Iraq Vote Results Near, Maliki Backers Urge Recount,” *Reuters*, 26 March 2010.
- “Protesters held in Iraq Amid Election Row,” *USA Today*, 7 February 2010

## **JORDAN**

### Minor Protests (2010) [borderline/ambiguous]

Protests and sit-ins, which evolved into riots, occurred after parliamentary elections held in November 2010. The protests were both about the outcome of the election, which was boycotted by the largest opposition party because of a new electoral law they claimed is biased against urban areas and fair rural, tribal areas, as well as the integrity of the electoral process, with protesters accusing the government of having rigged the elections. NDI observers reported that the voting process was consistent with international standards, but there were significant structural shortcomings in the electoral process – widely unequal districts, lack of an independent election body and limited press freedom. No figures provided.

- “Jordanian official says calm restored in areas witnessing post-poll violence,” *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, 12 November 2010.
- “TV reporter says post-election protests in Jordan ‘unprecedented’,” *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, 12 November 2010.
- “ ‘Extreme dangerous’ situation in southern Jordan after election,” *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, 13 November 2010.

## **KENYA**

### Major Protests (2007):

Protesters, supporters of opposition candidate, Raila Odinga, protested against the results of the presidential elections won by Mwai Kibaki. The opposition candidate has refused to accept the results arguing that the elections were rigged. EU reported that the election did not meet international standards. Protests evolved into riots and looting.

- “130 killed in Kenyan election violence,” *The Guardian*, 2 December 2007.
- “Odinga rejects Kenya poll result,” BBC 25 October 2012.
- “Protesters Dispute Kibaki Victory in Kenya Election,” NPR, 31 December 2007.

### Minor Protests (2008):

Protests over the presidential elections in 2007 continued into 2008. Protests evolved into wide scale violence. The number of participants in the protests seems to have decreased to the hundreds in 2008, though, the violence in this period was persistent.

- “Opposition plans rally in Nairobi,” *CNN*, 4 January 2008 [size not reported]
- “Kenyan police shoot dead protesters,” *Al Jazeera*, 16 January 2008. [hundreds]
- “Kenya’s Opposition Switches Its Tactics From Street Protests to Business Boycotts,” *NY Times*, 19 January 2008.

## **KYRGYZSTAN**

### Minor Protests (2007):

Protests against electoral fraud, which occurred in the December 2007 parliamentary elections that resulted in a landslide victory for the Ak Zhol party. International election observers from the OSCE confirm that the elections did not meet international standards. Protests appear to number in the hundreds at most.

- “Kyrgyzstan: Authorities Counter Vote Protests With Detentions,” *RFE/RL* 21 December 2007.
- “ ‘I don’t believe’ Protest: Everyone is Arrested,” *Eurasianet*, 18 December 2007.

### Minor Protests (2009):

Protests against electoral fraud and unfair competition in the presidential election resulting in the re-election of Kurmanbek Bakiyev. International electoral monitors reported serious violations during the voting process and pre-election candidate and voter intimidation. Protesters numbered in the

hundreds.

- “Kyrgyzstan Cracks Down on Election Protests,” Channelnewsasia.com, 29 July 2009.
- “At least 142 Arrested' in Kyrgyzstan Protests,” AFP 29 July 2009
- “Kyrgyz opposition’s protests stopped by police,” *BBC News*, 29 July 2009.

#### Minor Protests (2010):

Protests regarding the democratic quality of the October 10 parliamentary elections. The protesters were supporters of United Kyrgyzstan party. United Kyrgyzstan leaders complained that election officials changed the total number of eligible voters in order to prevent United Kyrgyzstan winning enough votes to enter parliament. International observers reported that there were no major violations on election day, though, there were frequent cases of fraud (no account of pre-election period). The protesters numbered less than 100 people. Other protests during the year were about anti-government protests regarding corruption and increased living expense, not about democracy.

- “United Kyrgyzstan Members Picket Court In Bishkek,” *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* 6 November 2010.

#### Minor Protests (2011):

Protests against electoral fraud and unfair competition in the presidential elections, resulting in the election of Almazbek Atambayev. OSCE monitors said that candidate registration was inclusive during the elections, and the electoral campaign was open, but that there were significant irregularities on election day, especially during the counting and tabulation of votes. Protests only in the hundreds. Protests took place in the South, stronghold of the opposition support.

- “Kyrgyzstan: Protest Over Presidential Poll Results,” *AFP*, 01 November 2011.
- “Kyrgyz PM claims election victory as rivals protest,” *Reuters*, 31 October 2011.

## **LIBERIA**

#### Minor Protests (2011)

Protests opposed to electoral fraud alleged to occur in the second round of the presidential elections. Opposition demonstrators took to the streets on Monday after Winston Tubman, the opposition candidate, said he would boycott the runoff and called on his supporters to do likewise over fears of fraud favoring the incumbent president. Protesters numbered in the hundreds. International and domestic election observers report that there were not major irregularities in the voting process in the first of second round of the presidential elections.

- “Liberia Election: CDC Monrovia Protest Turns Deadly,” *BBC*, 7 November 2011.
- “Deadly Clashes Ahead of Liberian Runoff Vote,” *Al Jazeera*, 9 November 2011.

**LIBYA** [See Addendum]

## **MADAGASCAR**

#### Major Protests (2009):

Protests were against the coup d'état, which deposed Marc Ravalomanana and brought Andry Rajoelina to power. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Madagascar Protests Spark Clashes,” *BBC News*, 23 April 2009

## **MALAYSIA**

### Major Protests (2007)

Protesters, organized by Berish (“The Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections”) calling for clean and fair elections and an end to corruption. In November, Berish held protests demanding electoral reforms – including a review of the electoral roll, use of indelible ink to prevent multiple voting, the abolition of postal voting for police and military voting, which Berish said was used to bias the results, as well as equal access to state media for all competing parties -- ahead of the elections. Participants numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Anger at Malaysian police crackdown,” *The Australian*, 12 November 2007.
- Berish People’s Gathering, 10 November 2007,” *Berish Press Release 22 October 2007*.

### Major Protests (2011):

Protests organized by Berish 2.0 demanding free and fair elections. See above. Protesters estimated to be in the thousands.

- “Malaysian authorities crack down on protesters,” CNN, 12 July 2011.
- “Over 1,400 Arrested, Tear Gas Fired in Malaysia Protest,” *Reuters*, 9 July 2011.

## **MAURITANIA**

### Minor Protests (2008)

Protests against the military coup ousting Mauritania’s president Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi. On 7 August, 200 to 300 supporters of the president protested the military coup that ousted him. The police dispersed the protesters with teargas. Several hundred supporters again participated in protests against the military coup the following day, and police dispersed them using teargas. Protests on 20 August were allowed to continue peacefully, but later protests on 5 October were again dispersed with teargas. On 7 October, protesters responded to the police’s attempts to disperse them with teargas by throwing rocks.

- “Mauritania police break up anti-coup rally,” *AFP*, 7 August 2008.
- “Hundreds attend anti-coup rally in Mauritania,” *AFP*, 8 August 2008.
- “Mauritania parliament opens special session,” *AFP*, 20 August 2008.
- “Mauritanian police use tear gas to disperse anti-coup protesters,” *AFP*, 5 October 2008.
- “Anti-coup protesters clash with police in Mauritania,” *AFP*, 7 October 2008.

### Major Protests (2009):

Protests against the coup d'état, ousting the country's first democratically elected leader, Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi, in August 2008. The April 2009 protests, in particular, were against election

timetable, which protesters saw as an attempt to legitimize the military coup and authoritarianism. one of the major opposition candidates were to participate in the election.

- “Repression of Peaceful Protests in Mauritania,” *Amnesty International*, 23 April 2009
- “Mauritania junta leader flags presidential bid,” AFP, 8 April 2009

## **MEXICO**

### Major Protests (2006):

Protests against electoral fraud in the presidential elections won by Felipe Calderon. Protesters, supporters of opposition candidate Lopez Obrador, demanded a recount. EU monitors said that the elections were free and fair, as was the decision of the Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación (TEPJF) ordering a recount of the vote in some places and then declaring Calderon the president. Global Exchange, a coalition of international monitors found significant examples of voter coercion and vote buying. Protesters numbered in the hundreds of thousands.

- “Nearly 1 Million Protest Mexico Election,” *Associated Press*, 16 July 2006.

## **MOLDOVA**

### Major Protests (2009):

Protests, comprised largely of young people, were against the results of the April 7, 2009 elections, in which the Communists won 50 percent of the vote. International monitors did not observe the elections because the conditions set by the authorities of the country made it impossible for the monitors to perform a comprehensive monitoring mission. Although the Communists were expected to win, their showing was stronger than expected, and opposition leaders accused the government of vote rigging. Protesters were estimated to be ~10,000.

- Ellen Barry, “Protests in Moldova Explode, With Help of Twitter,” *NY Times*, 8 April 2009.
- “Moldova students raid parliament,” *BBC* 7 April 2009.

## **MONGOLIA**

### Major Protests (2008)

Violent protests and riots in which participants claimed that the parliamentary elections were rigged. Emergency rule was imposed in the country as a result of the violence. International observers say that overall the election was free and fair, but new election rules that changed the first-past-the-post system to one of multi-member constituencies have led to procedural problems and confusion. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Crackdown on Mongolia protests,” *Al Jazeera*, 3 July 2008.
- “In Election Dispute, a Challenge for Mongolia’s Democracy,” *NY Times*, 8 July 2008.

## **MOROCCO** [Borderline/Ambiguous]

### Major Protests (2011)

Protesters demanded the reduction of the powers of the king and the establishment of a parliamentary democracy. Elections were already held in the country. However, the king selected the prime minister (not elected by major of parliament), dissolved parliament and so forth. Demands for a democratically elected prime minister fit the minimal definition of democracy. The protests include other demands that fit a maximal definition of democracy, including increasing freedoms, particularly the press, as well as demands unrelated to democracy, including reducing unemployment, corruption, release of political prisoners, and so forth. Protests numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Protests Called Against Morocco Reform Plan,” *Al Jazeera*, 18 June 2011.

## **MYANMAR** [Borderline/Ambiguous]

### Major Protests (2007):

Protests, led by Buddhist monks, occurred in September in which the protesters demanded the installation of a democratic regime in Myanmar/Burma and better economic management. The September protests, which included an estimated 100,000 people, prompted a severe military crackdown. The protests began in August after the government suddenly imposed drastic fuel prices. Protests are coded as borderline/ambiguous because demands focused significantly on non-democracy issues. The monks unsuccessfully tried to resuscitate protests in October.

- “Monks’ Protest is Challenging Burmese Junta,” *The New York Times*, 24 September 2007
- “Myanmar Anti-Government Protests Turn Deadly,” *NPR*, 26 September 2007
- “On the Brink” *The Economist*, 27 September 2007
- “Soldiers Back on Rangoon Streets,” *BBC News*, 26 October 2007
- “Burmese monks stage first protest since Uprising,” *The Guardian*, 30 October 2FTahi007

## **NEPAL**

### Major Protests (2006)

Protests occurred in the capital city of Katmandu against King Gyanendra, who suspended the parliament the previous year. Protesters demanded the creation of a multiparty democracy with curtailed powers for the king; the reinstatement of the Nepalese Parliament; and the creation of a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution. Tens of thousands of people attended the protests.

- “Nepal Protests Draw 8,000 and Police Wrath,” *The New York Times* 16 April 2006.
- “Three Killed in Nepal Protests,” *The Guardian* 20 April 2006.

## NICARAGUA

### Minor Protests (2008)

Protests held in support of democracy and the hunger strike of Dora Maria Tellez, former Minister of Health and prominent Sandinista commander. Tellez held the strike to protest and halt steps by President Daniel Ortega to rescind the legal status of the political party she co-founded, the MRS (Movimiento Renovación Sandinista) party, along with a number of other political parties (including the Conservative Party and two parties from the Atlantic Coast, the Coastal Unity Movement Party and the Multi-Ethnic Indigenous Party). In June 2008, the Supreme Electoral Council of Nicaragua stripped the MRS party of its legal status on the grounds that it had failed to comply with various requirements of the electoral law. Many viewed this as an attempt by the FSLN-led government to limit electoral competition and restrict democracy in the country. Pictures suggest that the protesters were in the hundreds. There were also widespread protests this year against electoral fraud committed in the local elections, but because these elections were local, not national, these protests are not coded as pro-democracy protests.

- “Thousands march in Nicaragua against Ortega,” *Reuters*, 17 July 2008.
- “Hunger Strike for Democracy in Nicaragua,” *Radio Internacional Feminista*, Junio 2008.
- “Democracy in Nicaragua In Peril, Ortega Critics Say”, *Washington Post*, 20 November 2008.
- “Hunger strike spawns growing anti-Ortega protest in Nicaragua,” *TicoTimes.Net* 6 June 2008.

### Minor Protests (2011)

Protests alleging that the presidential elections won by incumbent Daniel Ortega were fraudulent. The OAS reported, irregularities during elections included problems providing identification card to vote, problems in the accreditation of observers and imbalances in political parties present at polling stations, but that the vote count matched their parallel vote count. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “Opponents dispute Nicaraguan election results,” CNN 16 November 2012.
- “Protests Erupt Over Ortega Victory in Nicaragua,” Euronews, 9 November 2011.

## NIGER

### Major Protests (2009) [Borderline/Ambiguous]

Protests opposed the lifting of presidential term limits as well as the way in which the president of Niger, Mamadou Tandja, removed them. Protests urged boycott of referendum on the new constitution, abolishing the term limits. President Tandja refused to accept decision that cannot remove term limits and dissolved parliament and abolished the Constitutional Court after both institutions opposed his proposed referendum. The president dissolved the parliament by executive decree ostensibly to avoid being brought in front of a special court in the national assembly on charges of high treason for lifting term limits in the country unconstitutionally. It is coded as a pro-democracy protest because dissolving the parliament by decree is a form of not respecting the outcome of the democratic elections, and the protests were not just against the lifting of term limits

but the dissolving of the countries institutions to do so, one of which the parliament was democratically elected. Were they only about lifting term limits, this would not have been coded a pro-democracy protest.

- Adam Nossiter, “Niger Senses a Threat to Its Scrap of Democracy,” 14 July 2009.
- “Tear Gas Disperses Niger Protest,” BBC, 15 July 2009.
- Boureima Hama, Niger President Dissolves Parliament,” AFP, 26 May 2009.

#### Major Protests (2010)

Protests, organized by opposition parties, urging the president who came to power in a coup the previous year to hold democratic elections. Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands.

- “Niger opposition urges junta to hold elections,” Reuters, 20 February 2010

### **NIGERIA**

#### Major Protests (2007):

Protests occurred in April and May against fraud alleged to have happened during presidential elections won by Umaru Yar'Adua. Protesters demanded that the election be annulled. International election observers substantiated claims of electoral fraud. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Nigerians protest elections amid tight security,” *Reuters*, 1 May 2007.
- “Violent Protests in Nigeria Over Election Results,” *New York Times*, 16 April 2007.
- “Street protests over Nigeria poll,” *BBC News*, 15 April 2007.
- “Nigeria poll mired in controversy,” *BBC News*, 4 April 2007.

#### Major Protests (2009):

Protests in May and June 2009, organized by Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), a labor union, in conjunction with a coalition of 10 civil society groups, which demanded that the government uphold the Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee Report, which were about the openness and competitiveness of the elections. Other demands related to the minimum wage and deregulation of oil. The NLC conducted a number of protests this year, which included, but were not exclusively about democracy. Protesters estimated to be in the thousands

- “Nigeria: Electoral Reforms - NLC Plans Protest March in Seven Cities,” All Africa, 5 May 2009.
- “On-Going Protests By The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Civil Society Organisations,” Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, 18 May 2009.
- “Labour Body Slams Nigeria Government at Protest March,” *AFP* May 13 2009.

#### Major Protests (2011):

Protests alleged that the 2011 presidential elections, resulting in the election of Goodluck Jonathan over Muhammadu Buhari, were fraudulent. The irregularities they alleged included suspiciously high voter turnout in strongholds of Jonathan. The protests degenerated into violent riots or sectarian killings in the northern states. While the international community praised the elections for being a

significant improvement over the 2007 elections, they still noted that elections were significantly flawed. The presidential elections divided the country along ethnic and religious lines – Jonathan (South) and Buhari (North).

- “Nigeria’s President Wins Election,” *New York Times*, 18 April 2011
- “Election Protests Set Northern Nigeria Ablaze,” *Reuters*, 18 April 2011.

## **PAKISTAN**

### Major Protests (2007):

Protests against the suspension of the country’s constitution and the imposition of emergency rule. President Pervez Musharraf imposed emergency rule on the country, according to Musharraf, due to attacks on the country’s infrastructure and law enforcement agencies by extremists and terrorists, and judges overstepping their legal bounds. These protests qualify as pro-democracy protests because they were for the purpose of compelling the government to respect the country’s democratically elected institutions, which were suspended as part of the emergency rule. Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Pakistan Attempts to Crush Protests by Lawyers,” *New York Times*, 6 November 2007
- “Thousands of Police Block Pakistan Rally,” *New York Times*, 9 November 2007

## **REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

### Minor Protests (2009) [Borderline/Ambiguous]

Protests organized by the opposition against the outcome of the country’s presidential elections won by incumbent President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The opposition claimed the elections were fraudulent and had boycotted, leading to very low voter turnout. Cases coded as borderline/ambiguous because it is not completely clear from reports whether the protests were in response to Sassou-Nguesso’s victory or fraud. NELDA codes as a case of post-election protests involving accusations of electoral fraud. Protesters numbered in the thousands. Observers from the African Union and the Economic Community of Central African States said the election was free and transparent, but the Congolese Human Rights Observatory, a human rights group, said the vote was tainted by fraud. The European Union noted significant irregularities and problems with the integrity of the electoral process. In June, there were protests over the rejection of some candidates applications, but these are not considered pro-democracy, as protesters did not in the reports accuse the government of rejecting their application due to closed competition or a desire to bias the results.

- “Low Turnout May Mar Congo Republic Election,” *NY Times*, 13 July 2009.
- “Brazzaville: foreign journalists not harassed,” *Agence France-Presse*, 18 July 2009.
- “Congo Opposition Calls Rejecting Candidates Threat to Peace,” *Agence France-Presse*, 20 June 2009.
- “Congo Leader Wins Disputed Poll,” *BBC News* 15 July 2009.

## **RUSSIA**

### Major Protests (2011):

Protests against electoral fraud believed to have been committed in the first round of presidential elections and in parliamentary elections on behalf of Vladimir Putin and the ruling United Russia Party. Protesters demanded the annulment of the election results; the resignation of the head of the election commission; an official investigation into vote fraud; new democratic and open elections and the registration of opposition parties. OSCE reported that the elections were slanted in favor of United Russia, noting apparent manipulations such as the stuffing of ballot boxes. Protests extended into 2012 prior to the second of the presidential elections and the inauguration of Putin in May. There was also an element of anti-Putinism, not just democracy, to the protests. Protesters were estimated to be in the tens of thousands in the December 2011 protests.

- “Russian election protests – Saturday 10 December 2011,” *The Guardian*, 10 Dec. 2011
- “Russian anti-Putin protests draw thousands to Moscow again,” *The Guardian*, 24 December 2011.
- “Russians Rally as Putin Hints Reforms, Warns of Regime Change,” RIA Novosti, 4 February 2011.
- “Arrests and Violence at Overflowing Rally in Moscow,” *The New York Times*, 6 May 2012

## **SRI LANKA**

### Major Protests (2010)

Protests for annulment of the presidential election, which protesters claimed were fraudulent, involving intimidation and ballot stuffing. International observers said that there were no major violations in the election day voting or counting process, but the pre-election period was biased in favor of the government. These protesters numbered in the thousands. The losing candidate was arrested by the government, which resulted in protests as well, on charges of plotting to overthrow the government while Army Chief, harboring army deserters, and corruption.

- “Sri Lanka Opposition Protests ‘Rigged’ Election,” *BBC News*, 3 February 2010.
- “Mass Protest Blocks Roads in Sri Lanka Capital,” *BBC News*, 3 February 2010.
- “Sri Lanka Poll Protest,” *The Advertiser*, 5, February 2010.
- “Sri Lankan opposition parties protest over election results,” *World Socialist Web Site*, 5 February 2010.

## **SUDAN**

### Minor Protests (2009)

On December 7 and 14, protests held in Khartoum and other northern cities organized by the SPLM and other political parties against the NCP's failure to enact democratic reforms ahead of the elections to favor Al-Bashir's party, accusing the government even of electoral fraud. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “Tensions soar in Sudan with violent clashes and political arrests,” BBC, 07 December 2009
- “Sudan: Abuses Undermine Impending Elections,” *Human Rights Watch*, 24 January 2010.

### Minor Protests (2010)

Protests held in March, ahead of the April parliamentary elections, in front of the Electoral Commission accusing it of being biased towards the ruling party, the National Congress Party, and accusing the government on conspiring to rig the upcoming elections. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “Sudan: Fears of Election Fraud,” *The POMED Wire*, 4 March 2010.
- “Protesters March Against Sudan Vote 'Clampdown',” *Angola Press Agency*, 5 March 2010.

## **SWAZILAND**

### Major Protests (2008)

Protest ahead of parliamentary elections demanding multi-party democratic elections. Political parties are banned in Swaziland. Protesters numbered in the thousands. International observers catalogued numerous electoral infractions.

- “Swaziland: Protests Turn Violent,” *Reuters*, 4 September 2008.
- “Police hold Swazi poll protesters” *BBC News*, 18 September 2008

### Minor Protests (2010)

Protests demanding that the country hold democratic elections. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- Loyiso Langeni, “Swaziland: Government Arrests Pro-Democracy Leader,” *All Africa*, 9 September 2010.
- “Swazi activists march amid heavy police presence,” *Mail and Guardian Online*, 8 September 2010.

### Major Protests (2011):

Protests held in April and September demanded an end to the country’s monarchy, an end to the ban on political parties, and the establishment of a multiparty democracy. They also included economic demands: “There has long been a measure of opposition to the lack of political freedoms, but the pro-democracy movement has gained momentum due to recent financial difficulties, as well as the uprisings in North Africa.” (Guardian, 12 April 2011). Protesters numbered in the thousands.

- “Swaziland pro-democracy protests met by teargas and water cannon,” *The Guardian*, 12 April 2011
- “Swaziland Unions Protest for a Fifth Day to Demand End to Monarchy, Change,” *Bloomberg*, 9 September 2011.

## **SYRIA [See Addendum]**

## **TANZANIA**

### Minor Protests (2009)

Protests, comprised of opposition party Civic United Front (CUF) supporters, opposed the electoral registration process, which they said was corrupted in order to disenfranchise their supports, at

registration facilities on Pemba on August 4, 2009. The Tanzania Electoral Commission (TEMCO) described the voter registration process in the Pemba region of Tanzania as “marred by chaos and civil unrest that culminated in the suspension of the exercise on August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2009.” However, TEMCO was not able to observe this part of the registration process, and observation only began in October in the Unguja North and Pemba North regions. No reports of the size of the protests. They have, therefore, been coded as minor.

- U.S. State Department, “2009 Human Rights Report: Tanzania,” March 11, 2010.
- Beatus Kagashe, "CUF Disputes Registration Data," *Citizen*, August 21, 2009
- “Voter Registration and Updating of the Permanent Voters’ Register in Zanzibar,” *TEMCO Newsletter (Issued by Tanzania Electoral Monitoring Commission)*, November 2009.

## **THAILAND**

### Minor Protests (2006)

Small protests, numbering in the hundreds or less, against the military coup, which occurred on September 19, 2006. Protesters demanded that the military step down, the constitution be reinstated and rights, such as freedom of speech be restored.

- “Thai Protesters Defy Martial Law,” *The Guardian*, 22 September 2006.
- “Anti-coup Rally: Protesters Call on the Junta to Leave,” *The Nation*, 15 October 2006.

### Major Protests (2007)

In July, around 10,000 protesters called for the resignation of the prime minister, who they accused of being behind the military coup the previous year, and reinstatement of the 1997 constitution. The coup d’etat took place September 19 2006, when the army overthrew the elected caretaker government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The protesters belonged to the Democratic Alliance Against Dictatorship (DAAD). The protests resulted in counter protests by the government.

- “Anti-coup Protesters Clash with Thai police,” *BBC*, July 23, 2007.
- “Protest at Prem's Residence Turns Violent; Pro-democracy Supporters Denounce Thai Privy Council Chief,” *Strait Times*, July 23, 2007.

## **TOGO**

### Major Protests (2010)

Protests against the results of the presidential elections won by incumbent Faure Gnassingbe. Protesters, supporters of the opposition candidate, Jean-Pierre Fabre, claim the elections were fraudulent. EU observers said that the elections were satisfactory although not without its problems. Images suggest that the protests might be in the thousands.

- “Protests over Togo election results,” *Al Jazeera* 6 March 2010.
- *BBC World News: Togo election protests continue, BBC News* 10 March 2010.

## **TUNISIA [See Addendum]**

### Minor Protests (2011)

The major “Arab Spring” protests in this year are not coded as pro-democracy protests (see Addendum). However, smaller protests held on April, against a plan that would have barred officials who served at any point during Ben Ali's 23-year rule from voting, are coded as pro-democracy protests because the protests were about restrictions on enfranchisement. Protesters numbered in the hundreds.

- “Tunisia Revises Voting Ban on Former Ruling Party,” *Voice of America*, 25 April 2011.

## **TURKEY**

### Minor Protests (2009)

Protests against a ruling by a Turkish court to outlaw the Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) because of alleged ties to the PKK. Considered a pro-democracy protest because the banning of a political party reduces the openness and competitiveness of elections. Some reports put over 1,000-3,000, but mostly seem to have been in the hundreds.

- “Violence follows DTP ban in Turkey,” *Al Jazeera*, 13 Dec 2009.
- “Kurds clash with Turkish nationalists in Istanbul,” France.24 14 December 2009.

## **UGANDA**

### Minor Protests (2011):

Protesters, supporters of the opposition candidates, protested against the outcome of the elections, won by President Yoweri Museveni. International electoral monitors reported that the elections were not fully open and competitive. The protesters numbered only in the hundreds.

- “Ugandan police fire teargas at poll protesters,” *Reuters*, 9 March 2011
- “Uganda opposition calls protests against disputed poll,” *Reuters*, 24 February 2011

## **YEMEN**

### Major Protests (2008):

Protests against the lack of democracy expected in the upcoming parliamentary elections in April. Protests demanding that the parliamentary elections be postponed. Protests claimed that the balloting would not be fair because the 9-member electoral body overseeing the vote is all-appointed by the country's president and its members are closely linked to the ruling party. Protests also occurred across Yemen to protest the government's rejection of amendments to the country's electoral law proposed by the opposition and meant to curb vote-rigging.

- “Yemeni police clash with protesters,” Fox News, 27 November 2008.
- US State Department. “2008 Human Rights Report: Yemen,” February 25, 2009

### Major Protests (2011): [Borderline/Ambiguous]

The protests were aimed initially at non-democratic goals and issues, including economic and social issues, such as unemployment and corruption, as well as political issues, such as attempts by the government to amend the constitution to revoke presidential term limits and perceived plans to hand for President Saleh's son to take over the government, but evolved quickly into demands for

President Saleh to step down, regime change and democracy. The protests are coded as borderline because the protests included multiple demands of which democracy was an important one, but not the goal of all involved (al-Karoui 2011). Protesters numbered in the tens of thousands even as much as by 100,000 by some accounts.

- “Yemen Protests: 20,000 call for President Saleh to Go,” *BBC* 3 February 2011.
- “Protests Erupt in Yemen, President Offers Reform,” *Reuters*, 20 January 2011.
- Hichem al-Karoui , “The Yemeni Revolution: replacing Ali Abdullah Saleh, or replacing obsolete institutions?”, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 29 May 2011.
- “Yemeni opposition renews call for regime change,” CNN 9 October 2011.

## **ZAMBIA**

### Minor Protests (2006):

Violent protests in the capital of Lusaka against electoral fraud by opposition supporters in respect to the presidential elections. International observers said that the elections were significantly cleaner than the last elections but noted a number of deficiencies in the wider democratic process. A group of local nongovernmental organizations that observed the voting, led by the Foundation for Democratic Process, identified fraud in the elections. Protesters were in the hundreds.

- “Zambia vote count sparks violence,” *BBC News*, 01 October 2006.
- “Protests Continue After Zambia Vote,” *Los Angeles Times*, 03 October 2006.

## **ZIMBABWE**

### Minor Protests (2006):

Tiny protests, numbering around 100 protesters or less, which led by the National Congress Assembly (NCA) in July and by Morgan Tsvangirai, opposition leader of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), in September. The protesters in both events demanded broad political reforms, including the writing of a new democratic constitution and fresh elections under international supervision. Tsvangirai had called for massive protests in March, but these never emerged. Much more massive protests occurred this year, organized by the country’s trade union, the *Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions*. These protests are not included because their demands were purely economic.

- “Zimbabwe Opposition, Civil Groups to Confront Mugabe” *Zim Online*, 31 July 2006.
- “Zimbabwean Opposition Launches Long-Awaited Protest Campaign,” *VOA*, 1 September 2006.
- “State Drops Charges Against Zimbabwe Protesters,” *Zim Online* 6 August 2006
- “Tsvangirai Rallies Zimbabweans for Protests,” *Zim Oline*, 13 September 2006

## PRO-DEMOCRACY PROTESTS CODING DETAILS

### ADDENDUM

*The following protests were not coded as pro-democracy protests upon extensive research of the cases, although the press might have described them as pro-democracy, or NELDA coded them as protests against electoral fraud, or they might have seemed like cases of pro-democracy because they protested the results of an elections, demanded the national leader step down, and so forth.*

#### **ALGERIA (2009)**

There were large protests, reportedly involving thousands of participants, in the lead-up to the election. These protests were apparently against elections, but it is not clear that they were pro-democracy democracy protests. Following the election, Although NELDA codes as a protest, the Carnegie Foundation says that demonstrations planned by the opposition were prevented by the Ministry of Interior and did not resonate with the people either.

- “Algerian Paper Comments on Ant-Election Rallies in Berber Region,” BBC News, 7 April 2009.
- “Algerian Opposition Leader Tabou Forms Election Monitoring Group,” BBC News, 8 April 2009.
- “Berber-Dominated Party Cries Foul Over Algeria’s Presidential Poll,” BBC News, 10 April 2009.
- “Lessons from Algeria’s 2009 Presidential Election,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2009.

#### **BAHRAIN (2009)**

Starting 9 April 2009 and continuing through much of the summer, supporters of Georgia’s opposition protested against the government, demanding the resignation of President Saakashvili and elections for a new government. Although opposition protesters invoked democracy as a motivation for the protests, the protests did not seem to be aimed at making elections more open or competitive, nor did they challenge the validity of previous elections. Complaints about his record on democracy were mostly due to his attempts to consolidate power and limitations on the media (The New York Times, 10 April 2009). The Economist (9 April 2009) describes the protests as mostly arising from economic grievances. Other sources, like The Guardian (9 April 2009), attribute discontent to the president’s handling of the 2008 conflict with Russia over South Ossetia. No matter the motivation, the protests seemed primarily anti-government and *not* pro-democracy.

- “Massive Protests Target Georgia’s Saakashvili,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 9 April 2009.
- “Georgia’s Protests,” *The Economist*, 9 April 2009.
- “Thousands Gather for Street Protests against Georgian President,” *The Guardian*, 9 April 2009.
- “Georgians Plan Big Protest of President,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 9 April 2009.

- “Georgians Rally Against President,” *BBC News*, 9 April 2009.
- “Opponents Vow Protests Will Last ‘As Long As Needed’ to Oust Georgian President,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Library*, 8 April 2009.
- “Thousands Demonstrate Against Georgian President,” *The New York Times*, 10 April 2009.
- “Georgia Braced for New Protests,” *BBC News*, 10 April 2009.
- “Protests in Moldova and Georgia: Streets Scenes,” *The Economist*, 16 April 2009.
- “Georgia Protesters Step Up Drive to Oust President,” *Reuters*, 13 April 2009.
- “Thousands Attend Georgia Protest,” *BBC News*, 26 May 2009.
- “Violence Mars Georgian Protests,” *BBC News*, 29 May 2009.
- “Georgian Opposition Clash with Police in Tblisi,” *Reuters*, 6 May 2009.
- “Police Beat Protesters in Georgian Capital,” *Reuters*, 15 June 2009.

## **BAHRAIN (2010)**

NELDA identifies post-protests and/or riots in 2010 regarding electoral fraud. I cannot confirm these protests. The only evidence I could find of protests was a report from *The Advertiser*, an Australian paper, that Shi’ite protesters had tires ablaze in protest over reports that hundreds of Shi’ites had been blocked from voting.

- “Bahrain vote rig claims,” *The Advertiser*, 25 October 2010.
- “Tensions rise after disputed election,” *The Times*, 25 October 2010.

## **BELARUS**

2007-2011

Annual protest (March 25) held on the anniversary of the country's declaration of independence. Largely catch-all protests, which include democracy among their demands, but democracy is not the main thrust of them. Other demands include: removal President Lukashenko, freedom, release of political prisoners, and Belarus joining the European Union.

2007

- “Belarus: Protesters Clash with Police,” RFE/RL, 25 March 2007.
- “Belarus Opposition Leader Says Authorities Showed Fear on Freedom Day,” *BBC News*, 26 March 2007.
- “Thousands Rally for Change in Belarus,” *Washington Post*, 26 March 2007.

2008

- “Over 100 Protesters Said Detained in Belarus,” *BBC News*, 25 March 2008.
- “Belarussian police break up rally,” *BBC News*, 26 March 2008.
- “Belarusian Opposition Urges International Reaction to Crackdown on Demonstrators,” *BBC News*, 28 March 2008.

2009

- “Nationwide Protests Against Authoritarian Regime of Belarus,” *International Business Times*, 25 March 2009.

- ““Freedom Day”: Activists Intimidated, Fined and Imprisoned,” *Human Rights Network*, 25 March 2009.
- “Belarussian Opposition Rally Ends Peacefully,” *BBC News*, 25 March, 2009.

2010:

- “No detentions reported at large opposition rally in Belarus,” *BBC News*, 25 March 2010.

2011:

- “Over 50 Belarus opposition activists, backers detained ahead of, during rally,” *BBC News*, 27 March 2011.
- “Belarus: Opposition protests violently blocked,” *BBC News*, 26 March 2011.

### **BURUNDI (2010)**

Opposition parties boycotted the presidential elections in response to alleged fraud during municipal elections. The president ran unopposed. International election observers claimed the elections were free and fair, despite political violence in the run up to the election. Although the opposition boycotted in “protest” to “fraud”, it does not appear that there were mass demonstrations in response to fraud.

Opposition parties did threaten to lead demonstrations against electoral fraud in the municipal elections that would have coincided with a visit from UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon. Municipal elections are not coded (only national election), Moreover, there were no reports of such a protest actually occurring, and East African Business Week reported that by early afternoon the day the protest was to occur, there was no sign of it. NELDA coded Burundi 2010 as a case of a post-election protest against fraud.

- U.S. State Department, “2010 Human Rights Report: Burundi,” 8 April 2011.
- “Burundi Sole Candidate,” *The Advertiser*, 2 July 2010.
- “Ban Urges Burundi Leaders to Settle Differences,” *East African Business Week*, June 2010.
- “On the Ground: Election Raises Risk of Return to War,” *Business Monitor Online*, 7 July 2010.
- “Burundi: Violence, Rights Violations Mar Elections,” *Africa News*, 1 July 2010.

### **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (2010)**

NELDA reports that post-election protests occurred, but there do not seem to be any. There were no claims that election outcomes were rigged, but there were allegations as well as evidence of vote-buying. There was some violence during elections, but no sign of protest.

- U.S. State Department, “2010 Human Rights Report: Dominican Republic,” 8 April 2011.
- “In stunning defeat, opposition leader says his party ‘advanced remarkably’,” *Dominican Today*, 18 May 2010.
- “Shooting unveils Dominican Government’s electoral corruption,” *Dominican Today*, 11 May 2010.

## **GUINEA**

Protests in Guinea in September 2009 seemed to be targeted at the possible candidacy of the leader of military junta in up-coming democratic elections. There is no mention of protesters demanding open and competitive, or of any concern regarding fraud or that the results of the election would not be respected.

- “Guinea: Conakry Residents Protest Against Junta Leader’s Presidential Candidacy,” *BBC News*, 28 September 2009.
- “Guinea-Conakry: Junta Bans Today’s Opposition Rally,” *BBC News*, 28 September 2009.
- “Fifty eight said dead as Guinean army fires to break up demo,” *BBC News*, 28 September 2009.
- “Security Forces Kill 58 During Protest,” *Business Monitor Online*, 29 September 2009.
- “Q & A: How did Guinea erupt into violence?; Troops loyal to military junta leader Moussa Dadis Camara fired live rounds into a crowd of protesters Monday in clashes that killed more than 150. Why?” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 29 September 2009.

## **LIBYA (2011)**

Initially, the protests were for human rights (not democracy) and against corruption, but they eventually evolved into demands for the ousting of Muammar Gaddafi and democratic freedoms, but not open and competitive elections, as defined in this analysis. While most reports describe the protests as “anti-regime” with no mention of them being “pro-democratic,” BBC News describes the protests in Libya as being organized by pro-democracy activists, and also provides statements by those activists calling for democracy among other concerns, including human rights, social justice, and an end to corruption. Here, democracy is mostly referred to more generally and in the context of other democratic “ideals,” like political freedoms and liberties, and there is no specific mention of open and competitive elections. The only such reference comes from Bloomberg, which describes the demonstrators as “calling for the creation of a constitutional democracy and an end to a ban on political parties.”

- “Deadly 'day of rage' in Libya,” *Al Jazeera*, 18 February 2011.
- “Libyan opposition groups call for Al-Qadhafi to step down,” *BBC News*, 16 February 2011.
- “Libyan opposition statement urges A-Qadhafi to step down,” *BBC News*, 16 February 2011.
- “Libya’s pro-democracy protests will spread to other cities,” *BBC News*, 17 February 2011.
- “Libyan Opposition Warns of ‘Bloodbath’, Calls for Intervention,” Bloomberg, 19 February 2011.

## **MADAGASCAR (2010)**

Throughout the year there were multiple protests, sometimes involving thousands of demonstrators, against President Rajoelina, who came to power in a coup d’etat last year, and many of his decisions,

including a referendum over a new constitution to take place in December. Since then he had gone back on a number of peace and power-sharing agreements with the opposition. Opposition leaders complained that without an agreement from all sides, there was no way of guaranteeing free or transparent elections that were inclusive of all sides. None of the protests are coded as pro-democracy protests. The protests that were most like pro-democracy protests were about the power-sharing system, which is more of an issue of representativeness, than about the openness and competitiveness of the elections,

- “Madagascar; The Truth as Madagascar Goes Downhill,” *Africa News*, 4 April 2010.
- “Madagascar Security Forces Fire Teargas at Protest,” *Reuters*, 10 November 2010.

### **PHILIPPINES (2010)**

Protests called for but they do not seem to have emerged. There were some threats of mass demonstrations early on, but most parties chose to submit official “protests” to the electoral commission. One report commented on the lack of mass demonstrations as something unprecedented in the history of elections in the Philippines. Most reports say that the elections were relatively free and fair, and that there was not evidence of “massive” electoral fraud.

- “Philippine polls’ other big winner; Fast, reliable, automated voting system a big step forward for cleaner polls,” *The Straits Times*, 16 May 2010.
- “Election return discrepancies noted; massive fraud ruled out,” *Business World*, 20 May 2010.
- “Philippines poll officials say received more election protests than expected,” *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, 26 May 2010.

### **RWANDA (2010)**

Protest against exclusions of certain political parties ahead of elections by opposition on June 24, 2010, demanding that the election be postponed so that the opposition can meet technical requirement. It appears that they might be accusing the government of excluding them undemocratically to bias the elections, but this was not the main thrust of the protests. International observers said that election day was generally free of fraud but that the elections were not open. Hundreds were reportedly arrested, suggesting that the protesters were only in the hundreds.

- “Rwandan opposition party FDU-Inkingi protests against undemocratic Rwandan elections.,” UDF/FDU-Inkingi, Press Release, 24 June 2010.
- “Rwandan police arrest dozens of opposition protesters,” *Reuters*, 24 June 2010.
- “Rwanda; Police Breaks Up Unlawful Protest,” *Africa News*, 25 June 2010.
- “Rwanda; Opposition Leader Held, Journalist Shot,” *Africa News*, 25 June 2010.
- “Rwandan Police Halt “Unlawful Assembly” by Opposition, Make Arrests,” *BBC News*, 25 June 2010.
- “Police Arrest Opposition Leaders,” *Business Monitor Online*, 25 June 2010.
- “Police Breaks Up Unlawful Protest,” *New York Times*, 25 June 2010.

### **SOLOMON ISLANDS**

## Major Protests (2006)

Riots occurring April 18-19, 2006 following elections in which rioters claimed that lawmakers were bribed to elect the new prime minister. The riots were directed almost exclusively against Chinese business interests” because those who allegedly provided bribes did so in the interest of Chinese businesses. They are not coded as pro-democracy protests because the elections are in regards to indirect elections of the prime minister, and are more about corruption than democracy, since the protesters did not accuse the parliamentary elections as being fraudulent.

- “8 AFP Officers Injured in Solomon Islands Protest,” *ABC News*, 29 April 2006.

## **SYRIA**

### Major Protests (2011)

Protesters demanded an end to the regime of president Bashar al-Assad. While the protesters, were often described as pro-democracy, their demands did not include open and competitive elections and, thus, not coded as pro-democracy. The demands include political freedoms, the lifting of emergency rule, the release of political prisoners, judicial independence an end to corruption and so forth. Protesters numbered in the hundreds of thousands across the country.

- “Syria protests: Troops renew attacks on pro-democracy demonstrators,” *The Guardian*, 9 March 2011.
- “Middle East: Syria uses deadly force on protesters demanding freedom: Reports of many killed as marchers take to streets Confrontations in Jordan, Yemen and Bahrain,” *The Guardian*, 26 March 2011.
- “Syrian Forces Fire into Air as Protesters Call for Assad’s Exit,” *The Washington Post*, 29 March 2011.
- “Q&A: Syrian Opposition Alliance,” *BBC News*, 16 November 2011.

## **SWAZILAND**

### Minor Protest (2006)

Protests against King Sobhuza II, demanding political reform. However, this protest is not coded as a pro-democracy protests because it took place in border posts in South Africa.

- “Arrests at Swazi Border Protests,” *BBC News* 13 April 2006.

### Minor Protest (2007)

In April, there was a tiny protest (~50 people) demanding democracy, held on the anniversary of the day King Sobhuza II declared absolute monarchy for Swaziland in 1973, repealing the country's 1968 Constitution. In July, there were mass stay-aways. While the need for democracy was mentioned by some of the activists as a solution to the failure of the government to provide social provisions, the stay-aways were largely about social issues – healthcare, education, and employment,

and changes in the taxation system, and are not coded as a pro-democracy protest. The main (in fact only) objective of the April protest was democracy. However, this protest is not coded as a pro-democracy protests because it took place in 5 border posts that were on the South African side of the border.

- “Swaziland: Sixteen political activists arrested near South African border,” *BBC Monitoring*, April 12, 2007.
- “Swaziland trade unions call for anti-government mass action on 25-26 July,” *BBC* July 24, 2007.

## **THAILAND (2007-2011)**

Protests between “red shirts” and “yellow shirts” are not as pro-democracy protests. The red-shirts are supporters of deposed former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who was ousted by a military coup in September 2006, and his party, the Pheu Thai party. The yellow shirts are opposed to Shinawatra. The protests are in reaction a multitude of different demands, which include the resignation of the government, but the protests are more for political reasons, than democracy.

### Examples:

2008: Yellow-shirts protests, arguing that the government was merely a proxy for Mr Thaksin Shinawatra, which resulted in the pro-Thaksin governing party being banned for alleged electoral misdemeanours and a new Democrat Party government under Abhisit Vejjajiva taking office.

- “Thailand's prime minister ousted after weeks of protests,” *Daily Telegraph*, 8 December 2008.

2009: Protesters demanding new elections, claiming that Prime Minister Abhisit came to power unfairly. Abhisit was appointed Prime Minister of Thailand on 17 December 2008, after the Constitutional Court of Thailand removed Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat from office. Mr Somchai’s People’s Power Party, the Machima Thipatai party and the Chart Thai party were found guilty of committing fraud in the Dec 2007 elections that brought the coalition to power. Under Thailand’s constitution, any party convicted of election fraud must be dissolved and all its executive members banned from politics for five years.

- “Pro-Thaksin protesters demand Thai elections,” *CNN*, 24 February 2009.

2010: Red-shirt protesters claimed that the government was controlled by a few elite and want a greater share of the country’s economic success and political power, demanded PR Abhisit resign.

- “Demonstrations in Thailand: Red Tide,” *The Economist*, 15 March 2010.
- “Q&A: Thailand Protests,” *BBC News*, 24 May 2010.

2011:

Red-shirt protest Commemorate the deaths of anti-government protesters killed in clashes with troops in Bangkok last May 2010. Protests demanding the release of more than 100 demonstrators held in jails across the country and a transparent investigation into the deaths of protesters last year. Yellow-shirt protest against his government, accusing him of failing to safeguard Thai sovereignty in a border dispute with Cambodia.

## **TUNISIA (2011)**

Protests began in December 2010, but at this time the protests were about unemployment, poor living conditions, food inflation, corruption, and so forth. Eventually these demands escalated into a broad-based call for honest, accountable government, which included the ousting of Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. There are no real reports of protesters demanding democratic reforms. Discussion of democratic reforms seems to be mostly among elites (lawyers and opposition leaders) following Ben Ali's announcement that he would step down. Protesters were in the tens of thousands

- “Al-Jazeera.net: Hackers hit Tunisian websites,” *BBC News*, 3 January 2011.
- “Front: Tunisia: 'The fear has gone ... I've been waiting 20 years for today': Angelique Chrisafis in Tunis sees the protests that have forced out a dictator who ruled through fear and repression for two decades,” *The Guardian*, 15 January 2011.
- “Revolt Sweeps Tunisia's President from Power; Prime Minister Takes Charge after Street Clashes over Corrupt Rule,” *The Times*, 15 January 2011.

## **ZAMBIA (2008)**

Protests over electoral fraud banned after riots occurred. Riots occurred because Frank Bwalya , while he was on air for the Roman Catholic church-owned Radio Icengelo, was arrested over charges of inciting possible hostility by alleging the elections were fraudulent. The riots were by hundreds of people supporting Father Bwalye. This event was not coded as pro-democracy protests, since the actions were more like riots, not protests, and were in defense of Bwalya, not demanding the elections were fraudulent themselves. The opposition Patriotic Front (PF) has reportedly lodged an official challenge to the results of last month's poll. The official results gave ruling party candidate Rupiah Banda a narrow victory and he was immediately sworn in. African regional election observers declared the poll free and fair.

- “Zambia bans poll 'fraud' protest,” *BBC* 14 November 2008.

## **ZIMBABWE (2008)**

Pro-democracy protests did not occur although the elections were fraudulent. Protests did occur over a delay in the reporting of the results. The opposition had threatened protests/strikes, but none appeared to have emerged. The opposition urged people not to protests because President Mugabe launched a brutal violent crackdown on the population prior to the protests, telling people that the protests would be an excuse to declare a state of emergency. Prior to the second round of the presidential election, the opposition candidates, Mr Tsvangirai withdrew from the election, saying

that he could no longer ask Zimbabweans to cast their vote “when that vote could cost them their lives”. (Economist, 2008)Protests regarding the economy occurred this year.

- “Mugabe warned of Kenya-style revolt” *The Guardian*, 27 March 2008.
- “An Election with Only One Candidate; Zimbabwe,” *The Economist*, June 28, 2008.
- “Zimbabwe: “Protests Will be an Excuse to Declare a State of Emergency” Interview With a Zimbabwean Journalist on the Tense Situation After the March 29 Elections, 9 April 2008.