

## **EDWARD R. MCMAHON**

Department of Community Development and Applied Economics  
Department of Political Science  
University of Vermont  
Burlington, Vermont  
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### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

#### **2022 -2023: Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science, Middlebury College**

- Teach courses on African politics and government.

#### **2014 - Present: Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of Community Development and Applied Economics and Department of Political Science, University of Vermont**

- Teach courses on International Development, Democratic Institution Choices, Non-governmental Organization Management.
- Conduct research on good governance and human rights issues.
- Faculty Member, Graduate College.

#### **2003-2014: Research Associate Professor, Department of Community Development and Applied Economics and Department of Political Science, University of Vermont**

#### **1999-2011: Senior Research Associate, Freedom House**

- Assessed state of democratic development of selected nations for Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties and Countries at the Crossroads publications.

#### **2001-2003: Dean's Professor of Applied Politics, Binghamton University (SUNY) Director, Center on Democratic Performance, Binghamton University (SUNY)**

#### **1999-2001: Research Assistant Professor of Political Science, Binghamton University (SUNY) Director, Center on Democratic Performance (CDP), Binghamton University (SUNY)**

- Directed programming to promote increased understanding of the functioning and performance of democratic political institutions. Established CDP.
- Taught Courses: Democratic Institutions, The Global Democratic Revolution, Diplomacy in a Changing World, Globalization and National Sovereignty.

#### **1999: Senior Advisor for Democracy and Governance, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)**

- Provided M&E input to project design.

- Analyzed methodologies designed to assess the impact of USAID democratic development programs worldwide.

**1997: Adjunct Professor of Political Science**, Trinity College, Washington, D.C.

- Taught course on comparative African politics.

**1989-1998: Senior Program Officer, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)**

- Established, implemented and evaluated programs in support of democratic political institutions overseas.
- Regional Director for West, East and Central Africa, 1994-1998.

**1981- 1991: Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State**

**1989-1991:** Assigned to the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).

**1987-1989: Country Officer for Liberia**

- Worked to re-orient bilateral relations on basis of support for human rights and civil society development.

**1986-1987: Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs**

- Senior Africa bureau staff officer; member of Secretary of State's working team during African travel.
- Briefed Assistant Secretary on key issues and undertook African missions on his behalf.

**1983-1985: Country Officer for the Congo, Assistant Zaire Country Officer**

- Worked to improve relations with the officially Marxist-Leninist but increasingly pragmatic Congolese government.
- Reported on political/military affairs regarding Zaire; reviewed country trends for senior USG officials.

**1984: Deputy Director, U.S. Liaison Office, Windhoek, Namibia (temporary duty)**

- Monitored Angolan-South African military disengagement accord.
- Analyzed regional events, liaised with officials involved in the disengagement process and managed office.

**1981-1983: Vice Consul, U.S. Consulate General, Milan, Italy**

- Exercised responsibility for the welfare of U.S. citizens and adjudicated visa requests.

**1978: Research Associate, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress**

- Provided information on foreign affairs issues to Members of Congress and their staffs.

## EDUCATION

**2011: Ed.D. in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies**, University of Vermont.  
**Dissertation Title:** State Behavior in the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council: Herding Cats and Sheep.

**1985-1986: M.A. in Political Science**, Boston University (African Affairs).

**1985: Mid-Level Training Course for Foreign Service Officers**, Department of State.  
 Graduated with Distinction.

**1979-1981: M.A. in International Relations**, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Bologna Italy and Washington, D.C. (European Studies and International Economics).

**1976-1978: B.S. in Foreign Service**, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Washington, D.C. (U.S. Foreign Policy).

**1974-1976:** American College in Paris, France (Liberal Arts).

**LANGUAGES:** French (excellent), Italian (good)

## GRANTS, AWARDS AND CONSULTANCIES

- Consultant, Zemitek, Inc., USAID Civil Society in Cameroon Assessment, May – September, 2019.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Pre-election Assessment, Mauritania, March, 2019.
- Consultant, Tetra Tech/ARD, Local Governance Pre-proposal Mission, April - May, 2019.
- Consultant, Sheikh Khalifa Governance Excellence Project (SKGEP), Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, October-November, 2018.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Human Rights and Elections Standards Project, March – August 2018.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Democracy and Elections Standards Support Project, Democratic Republic of the Congo, March, 2018.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Democracy Program Evaluation, March-April, 2017.

- Consultant, The Carter Center, Democracy and Elections Standards Support Project, Democratic Republic of the Congo, February – March, 2016.
- Consultant, National Opinion Research Center, USAID Legislative Engagement for Economic and Social Engagement Project, March-October, 2015.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Evaluation of Tunisia Support for a Transparent and Inclusive Democratic Transition Project, March, 2015.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Burundi Pre-election Assessment, January 2015.
- Consultant, The Carter Center, Democracy and Elections Standards Support Project, Democratic Republic of the Congo, June, 2014.
- Consultant, UNDP-BRIDGE Partnership, Evaluation of BRIDGE Partnership, October, 2013 - May, 2014.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Inc. Evaluation of Niger CEPPS Niger Increasing Transparency and Accountability in the Management of Natural Resources Program, December 2013 – February, 2014.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Inc., Liberia Legislative Strengthening Program Evaluation, January - March, 2013.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Inc., Nigeria Monitoring Evaluation and Management Services, December 2012 - January 2013.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Inc., Uganda Monitoring Evaluation and Management Services, March 2010 - February, 2012.
- Consultant, Tetra Tech/Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Guinea Democracy/Governance Assessment Project, 2011.
- Consultant, Tetra Tech/Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Guyana Governance Enhancement Project, 2010-2011.
- U.S. Department of State Speaker’s Program Award, Democratic Political Processes and Institution-Building, (Senegal – September 2011, Guinea – May 2010, Madagascar – May 2010 and September 2006, Rwanda - September 2007 and October 2000, Nepal – August 2005, Haiti - September/October 2003 and September 2001, Eritrea - June 2001, Chad - June 2000, Botswana - April 2000).
- Consultant, American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS). Prepared report on USAID-ACILS relations in East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya (January 2006).

- Consultant, International Foundation for Electoral Systems. Co-wrote “Ethiopia 2005 Pre-Election Assessment” report for USAID Ethiopia Mission (July-August, 2004).
- Lead Consultant and Presenter, Legislative-Civil Society Relations Seminars, Rwandan National Assembly, Kigali, Rwanda (June 2003) (USAID-funded).
- Research Foundation of the State University of New York, Core funding for the Center on Democratic Performance (\$115,000), (2000-2002).
- New York State/United University Professions Development Award, (\$1,000), (December 2002).
- Asian and Asian-American Studies Program Curriculum Development Grant Competition, Binghamton University, (\$5,000) (November, 2002).
- Lead Consultant and Presenter, Legislative Oversight of the Executive Branch Seminars, Rwandan National Assembly, Kigali, Rwanda (June 2002) (USAID-funded).
- Lead Consultant, International Development Group, State University of New York. Prepared “Benin Legislative Project: Evaluation Indicators Report” (January-February 2001).
- Consultant, World Bank Public Sector Management Group. Prepared report for senior management entitled “The World Bank’s Role in Legislative Strengthening: A Review of the Issues and Proposed Options” (February-May 2000).
- Consultant, USAID Democracy and Governance Center project on assessing legislative strengthening programming. Assisted in preparation of report entitled “Legislative Strengthening: Supporting Sustainable Institutions of Representation and Law-Making in Newly Democratic Societies” (1999-2000).
- Consultant, Management Systems International (MSI). Prepared report entitled “Lessons Learned from International Assistance to Democratic Development”, Republic of Benin, (1998).

## **PROJECT DESIGN AND PROPOSAL PREPARATION EXPERIENCE**

- Consultant, Tetra Tech ARD, RGN Niger Proposal, February – March, 2019.
- Consultant, CAMRIS International, ADVISE Proposal, December, 2017.
- Consultant, CAMRIS International, DOS Management and Evaluation Services IDIQ Proposal, August, 2017.

- Consultant, CAMRIS International, USAID DGAS IV Proposal, April-May, 2017.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Cote d'Ivoire JSSP-LSP Proposal Preparation, July-August 2016.
- Consultant, CAMRIS International, Analysis of USAID Democracy and Governance Assessment Methodology, December 2015– March 2016.
- Consultant, The Mitchell Group, Inc., Preparation of Civil Society Concept Paper and Project Approval Documents, USAID Jordan, January-February 2013.
- Consultant, Center for International Development, State University of New York, Preparation of Bosnia Legislative Strengthening Proposal, January 2013.
- Consultant, Tetra Tech/Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Cote d'Ivoire Legislative Strengthening assessment mission and proposal preparation, July 2012 - present.
- Consultant, Tetra Tech/Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Uganda GAPP proposal preparation, March-April, 2012.
- Consultant and Principal Drafter, Center for International Development, State University of New York, Proposal to USAID on Evaluating Political Party Strengthening Assistance Programs, December 2008, January 2009.
- Consultant, Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Guyana assessment mission and proposal preparation, February-May, 2009.

#### **OTHER SELECTED ACTIVITIES AND AFFILIATIONS**

- Vice Chair, Board of Directors, Election Reformers Network, 2018 – present.
- Member, UPR Info Executive Board, April 2017 – present.
- Board of Directors, Vermont Council on World Affairs, 2018 – 2021 (chair, 2018-2021).
- Member, UPR Info Advisory Committee, 2011 – 2017.

- Presenter, The Carter Center and UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Event on Elections and the UPR, Geneva, February 21, 2017 and participant in wrap-up meeting at the Carter Center, December 4-5, 2017.
- Presenter, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and UPR Info, UN Human Rights Council Parallel Session “The Universal Periodic Review: Do Civil Society Organization Recommendations Matter?” Geneva, Switzerland, September, 2013.
- Presenter, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung UN Human Rights Council Parallel Session, “The First Cycle of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council: A Work in Progress”, Geneva, Switzerland, September, 2012.
- Presenter, “Revisiting USAID’s Assistance for Democratic Development: Is it Quantity Versus Quality?”, Center for International Development, State University of New York, November, 2011.
- Presenter, “Assessing the African Spring” Study Group, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, November, 2011. <http://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/ACSS-Special-Report-1.pdf>.
- Keynote Speaker, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Conference, “The Human Rights Council After the Review”, Geneva, Switzerland, October, 2011.
- Invited academic publication reviewer, e.g. Lynne Rienner, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *Journal of Human Rights*, *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Member, Reference Group, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, August 2010 - present.
- Guest Lecturer, American University of Kosovo Peace-building Program, August 2010.
- Senior Research Fellow, UPR-Info, Geneva, Switzerland, June –August, 2009.
- U.S. Department of State Speaker’s Program Award, U.S. Elections and Africa Webcam Presentation, November 5, 2008.
- Review team member, Global Integrity Report 2008.
- Academic Director, Study of United States Institute, University of Vermont (June-August 2008, 2007).
- Interviewed by Voice of America on political trends in Africa, January 2008.

- Review team member, Global Integrity Report 2006 (July-December).
- Member, Program Committee, Vermont Council on World Affairs (2005-current).
- Member, Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) Togo Pre-election Assessment Delegation (March 2005).
- Invited Participant, Measuring Progress in Stabilization and Reconstruction Project, U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) and Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C. (January 2005 – July 2005).
- Invited Participant, Political Party Research Writer’s Project, National Democratic Institute, Washington, D.C. (January 2005 – July 2005).
- Invited Discussant, “Conflict Resolution in Africa: Designing Workable Political Systems”, Department of State, Washington D.C. (December 2004).
- Advisor, Armenia Civil Society Advocacy Program Project Proposal, Institute for Sustainable Communities, Montpelier, VT (February 2004 – August 2004).
- Member, G8-Africa Partnership Working Group, Africa Policy Studies Program, Council on Foreign Relations (February-July 2004).
- Workshop leader, “Civil Society and Legislatures in Emerging Democracies”, World Movement for Democracy Conference, Durban, South Africa (February 1-5, 2004).
- Member, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe International Observer Delegation, Russian State Duma elections (December, 2003).
- Member, Democratic Republic of Congo Advisory Committee, International Foundation of Electoral Systems (April 2003).
- Reviewer, Freedom House Annual Survey of Press Freedom (March, 2003).
- Co-author of opinion piece, “Who Should Lead Our Anti-Terrorism Efforts?”, U.N. Chronicle, Volume XL #1, (March-May 2003).
- Co-organizer, Democratic Reform in Africa: Impact on Governance and Poverty Alleviation conference, Institute for African Development, Cornell University (October 2002).
- Expert reviewer, Open Society Institute Democracy Coalition Project (DCP) Survey on Democracy and Foreign Policy (2002).
- Member, USAID Legislative Strengthening Programs Evaluation Task Force (2002).



- National Democratic Institute Delegation Leader, International Observer Mission to Mali Presidential Elections (May 2002).
- Speaker, U.S. Department of State/National Intelligence Council Conference, “Assessing Democratic Development in Africa” (December 2000).
- Member, Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Award Committee (1994-1997, 1999-2000).
- Interviewed on African issues by the national and international press, for example, NPR’s “All Things Considered” and CNN.
- Senior Research Associate, Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), University of Maryland (1998-1999).
- Invited Participant, European Union Visitor’s Program (September, 1998).
- Member, Advisory Committee, International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design, IDEA, Stockholm (1997).
- Invited Participant, 90<sup>th</sup> American Assembly on “Africa & U.S. National Interests” (1997).
- Member, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Study Group on Democratic Development, (1996-7).
- Member, U.S. Institute of Peace Solicited Grants Award Committee (1997).
- Presented paper, “Institutional Reform in Burundi”, U.S. Institute of Peace (1996).
- Over the past 35 years have lectured, led seminars in English and French and presented papers on democratic development issues in many fora, including: the African Studies Association, Binghamton University, Boston University, Clark Atlanta University, Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, Princeton University, the University of Maryland, Yale University, the State Department Foreign Service Institute and the World Bank.

## UNIVERSITY SERVICE

- Director, Coverdell Peace Corps Fellows Program, University of Vermont (2004 – present).
- Director, Peace Corps Prep Program, University of Vermont (2017 - present).
- Chair, International Initiatives Committee (2006--2009) and Member, Global Outreach Committee (2004 – 2006).
- Member and Chair, Fulbright Scholarship Selection Committee (Binghamton University, 2002-2003).

- Member, Harpur College Academic Standards Committee (Binghamton University 2002-2003).
- Internship Advisor, Political Science Department (Binghamton University (1999-2003).
- Member, Undergraduate Committee, Political Science Department (Binghamton University (2000-2003).
- Member, Experiential Education Action Committee (Binghamton University 1999-2002).

### **NDI PROGRAM RESPONSIBILITY 1989-1998**

Designed, implemented and directed (unless otherwise noted) the following specific NDI international projects:

Francophone Africa - Country specific and regional civic organization development/parliamentary training/political party training/election monitoring and training projects;

Algeria - NDI survey.

Bangladesh - NDI survey, local government elections observation, parliamentary elections observation (with local civic groups).

Cameroon - Multinational assessment of democratization process, training seminar on election monitoring, international election observation of presidential election.

Croatia - Pre-election assessments.

Ethiopia - Supervised a field office with primary programmatic focus of strengthening civil society organizations.

France/UK - Assisted and advised Chairman of the Democratic National Committee on bilateral meetings and participation at Liberal International meeting.

Hungary - Political party campaign training workshop (observer).

Kenya - Supervised two field offices with focus on training women political candidates and supporting civil society programs for greater governmental transparency.

Pakistan - NDI survey.

Poland - Conference on the role of parliament in economic policy formulation (observer).

Senegal - Multinational assessment of electoral code.

Slovenia - Workshops on creating effective electoral environment.

South Africa - Hosted African observers to 1994 national elections.

Togo - Principal advisor to former President Jimmy Carter, presidential election international observation mission.

Former Yugoslav Republic - NDI surveys, seminar on multi-ethnic governance and democracy.

In Washington I also had the following policy and management responsibilities:

- Overall policy and program conceptualization, development, implementation and evaluation;
- Preparation of written material on NDI activities;
- Advisor to NDI President and Board of Directors;
- Development of funding sources, including a \$12 million, 4-year elections assistance grant;
- Negotiation of partnership or consortium agreements;
- Management of junior NDI staff;
- Liaison with State, AID and other governmental and non-governmental agencies.

## **PUBLICATIONS (co-author order by level of contribution)**

### **Books**

Levan, A. Carl., Fashagaba, Joseph, and McMahon, Edward R. (eds). African State Governance: Subnational Politics and National Power. New York: Palgrave Press, 2015.

McMahon, Edward R. and Baker, Scott. Piecing a Democratic Quilt: Universal Norms and Regional Organizations. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2006.

Contributing Editor, Political Handbook of the World 2001-2002. Binghamton: CSA Publications, 2003.

McMahon, Edward R. and Sinclair, Thomas (eds). Democratic Institution Performance: Research and Policy Perspectives. Westport: Praeger, 2002.

### **Web-Based Data Sites**

McMahon, Edward; Hanish, Rachel; Pescatore, Matthew; and Carr, Frances. Civil Society Recommendations in the UPR Process Database.

<http://www.uvm.edu/cdae/?Page=bios/mcmahon.php&SM=bios/biossubmenu.html>

McMahon, Edward and Chauville, Roland. UPR Recommendations Database. UPR-Info.

<http://www.upr-info.org/database/2010>.

McMahon, Edward and Mueller, Thomas. Elections Result Archive, Center on Democratic Performance, Binghamton University, <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era>. 2003.

### **Book Chapters and Articles**

“Searching for the Holy Grail: The Evolution of USAID Legislative Support Programming”, Sociology and Anthropology, 2017 vol. 5 (9), 2017. Peer Reviewed.

<https://www.hrpub.org/download/20170830/SA10-19610030.pdf>

Fashagaba, J, and McMahon, E. “Subnational Politics and National Power”, in Levan, A. Carl., Fashagaba, Joseph, and McMahon, Edward R (eds). African State Governance: Subnational Politics and National Power. New York: Palgrave Press, 2015.

Dominguez Redondo, E. and McMahon, E. “More Honey Than Vinegar: A Peer-Based Approach to Promoting Universal Human Rights Norms”, The Canadian Yearbook of International Law, vol. 51, 2015. Peer reviewed.

McMahon, E., Busia, K. and Ascherio, M. “Comparing Peer Reviews: The Universal Periodic Review of the UN Human Rights Council And the African Peer Review Mechanism”, African and Asian Studies, vol. 12, no.3, 2013. Peer reviewed.

McMahon, E. and Ascherio, M. “A Step Ahead in Promoting Human Rights? The Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations Human Rights Council”, Global Governance, vol. 18, no. 2, 2012. Peer reviewed.

McMahon, E. and Kornheiser, E., “Assessing the Assessments: Correlating Democracy Measurement Methodologies”, Social Indicators Research Journal, vol. 97, no. 2, June 2010. Peer Reviewed.

“International Organizations and Peer Review: Assessing the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council”, African Yearbook of International Law, vol. 17, 2009. Peer reviewed.

Baker, D., Koliba, C., Kolodinsky, J., Liang, K., McMahon, E., Patterson, T., Wang, Q. “Moving Toward a Transdisciplinary Approach in the Land Grant System”, NACTA Journal, vol. 53, no. 2, June 2009. Peer reviewed.

“Democracy and Universal Human Rights: An Example of Social Justice Activism at the International Level”, A 21st Century Approach To Teaching/ /Social Justice: Educating for Both Advocacy & Action, Johnson III, Richard, ed. New York, Peter Lang Press, 2009. Peer reviewed.

“The Evolving Democratic Entitlement Doctrine: Is it Global?”, Globalization and Civilization: Are They Forces in Conflict?, Mazrui, Ali, DiKirr, Patrick M., and Kafrawi, Shalahudin, eds. New York, Global Scholarly Press, 2008. pp. 341-363.

"Regional Organizations, Sustainable Development and Democratic Governance", Development Outreach, World Bank, November, 2007.

"The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance: A Positive Step On A Long Path", African Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project, <http://www.afrimap.org/>. 2007. Peer reviewed.

“Democracy in Kenya”, Countries at the Crossroads: A Survey of Governance, Human Rights and the Rule of Law in 30 States, New York: Freedom House, 2006. pp. 259-279. Peer reviewed.

“Assessing G8 Compliance with the Africa Action Plan: Strengthening Institutions and Governance”, Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: The G8 Partnership with Africa Appendix, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 2005. pp. 49-61

“Catching the ‘Third Wave’ of Democratization? Political Party Effectiveness in Africa Since 1980”, African and Asian Studies, vol. 3 no. 3-4, 2004. pp. 295-320. Peer reviewed.

“Democracy in Kenya”, Countries at the Crossroads: A Survey of Governance, Human Rights and the Rule of Law in 30 States, New York: Freedom House, 2004. pp. 229-246. Peer reviewed.

McMahon, Edward R. and Nussbaum, Brian. “The Paradox of Democracy.” Democratic Institution Performance: Research and Policy Perspectives. McMahon, Edward R. and Sinclair, Thomas (eds). Westport: Praeger, 2002. pp. 3-11.

“Burundi and South Africa: Lessons Learned from Two Democratic Transitions.” The Scholar Between Thought and Experience. Morewedge, Parviz (ed). Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, 2001.

“Assessing USAID’s Assistance for Democratic Development: Is it Quantity Versus Quality?” Evaluation: The International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice v.7 #4. London: Sage, Winter, 2001. pp. 453-467. Peer reviewed.

"The 'New' Civil Society and Democratic Transitions in Africa." SubSaharan Africa in the 1990s: Challenges to Democracy and Development. Siddiqui, Ruhksana A. (ed). Westport: Praeger, 1997. pp. 23-37

"External Assistance for Democratization in Francophone Africa." Retour au Pluralisme Politique et Perspectives de Consolidation de la Democratie en Afrique. Bakary, Tessy (ed). Quebec: Universite Laval, 1995. pp. 126-141.

"Elections in Slovenia." The New Democratic Frontier: A Country-by-Country Report on Elections in Central and Eastern Europe. Washington: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1994. pp. 65-74

### **Published Reports**

Johnson, K., Garber, L., and McMahon, E. Guardrails for the Guardians, Election Reformers Network, 2020. <https://electionreformers.org/guardrails-report/>.

McMahon, Edward R., Framing the Picture: UPR Info Database Action Category, UPR Info, 2020, <https://www.upr-info.org/en/news/framing-the-picture-upr-info-database-action-category>.

McMahon, Edward R., U.S. Election Administration: An Outlier Among Democracies, Election Reformer Network, <https://electionreformers.org/us-election-administration-an-outlier-among-democracies/>, March, 2020.

Election Monitoring and International Human Rights Mechanisms, The Carter Center, 2019.

McMahon, Edward R. and Johnson, Elissa. Evolution Not Revolution: An Analysis of the First and Second Cycles of the U.N. Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Review Mechanism, The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Geneva, October, 2016. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/12806.pdf>

Legislative Support Programming and the Promotion of Economic and Social Goals, US Agency for International Development, Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance, 2015.

McMahon, E., Pescatore, M., Hanish, R., and Carr, F. UPR: Do NGO-Suggested Recommendations Matter? The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Geneva, November, 2013. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/10343.pdf>

McMahon, E. The First Cycle of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council: A Work in Progress. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, September, 2012. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/genf/09297.pdf>.

CSO Operating Environment Best Practices Report. Guyana Governance Enhancement Project, August 2011.

Togo Pre-election Assessment Report, Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) Mission, March 2005.

Legislative Strengthening: Supporting Sustainable Institutions of Representation and Law-Making in Newly Democratic Societies. U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. (2001).

An Assessment of the October 11, 1992 Election in Cameroon. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington D.C. (1993).

Bangladesh Parliamentary Election, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, D.C. (1991).

An Assessment of the Senegalese Electoral Code, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, D.C. (1990).

### **Selected Recent Papers, Presentations and Commentaries**

“U.S. Election Deniers Promoting Democracy Abroad Defies Reason”, The Hill, July 16, 2022. <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/3561319-us-election-deniers-promoting-democracy-abroad-defies-reason/>. Co-authored with Larry Garber.

“US Could Soon Cease to be a Functioning Democracy”, VtDigger, June 1, 2021. <https://vtdigger.org/2021/05/31/edward-mcmahon-u-s-could-soon-cease-to-be-a-functioning-democracy/>.

“Lurking in Basic Math, Not House Districts, is the Best Electoral College Reform”, The Fulcrum, February 3, 2020. <https://thefulcrum.us/voting/electoral-college-wisconsin>.

“To the Victors: It's Incumbent on Us to Avoid the Spoils”, The Fulcrum, November 24, 2020. <https://thefulcrum.us/big-picture/authoritarianism-examples>.

“Non-Profit's facing Existential Crisis”, VtDigger, April 2, 2020. <https://vtdigger.org/2020/04/02/edward-mcmahon-nonprofits-facing-existential-crisis/>

“Does the UPR Give Voice to the Voiceless?”, Universal Rights Group, Geneva, October, 2016. <http://www.universal-rights.org/blog/upr-give-voice-voiceless/>.

“Democracy at the United Nations – An Idea Whose Time Has Come?”, The Interdependent, vol. 2 #3, New York: United Nations Association of the United States, 2004. p. 19.

“Challenges to Peace-building and the New Role of Democracy” A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 58<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations, New York: United Nations Association of America, 2003. pp. 296-298.

“Approaches to Minimizing Corruption.” College Park International. vol.11 #6. University of Maryland, 1999. pp. 2-4.

### **Working Papers**

“The Impact of U.S. Democracy and Governance Assistance in Africa: Benin Case Study”, Center on Democratic Performance Working Paper #118, 2002.

“Assessing Democratic Development in Africa”, Center on Democratic Performance Working Paper # 106, 2000.

McMahon, Edward R., and Clinkenbeard, Stephen. “Democratization and Elections.” State, Law and Society in Africa Project Occasional Paper Series, Emory University, 1998.

"Lessons Learned from African Elections." The Democratic Challenge in Africa. Carter Center of Emory University Working Paper, 1994.

### **Book and Manuscript Reviews (illustrative examples)**

The Politics of Legislative Development in Africa: An Examination of the Autocratic Origins of Democratic Institutions, Manuscript Review for Cambridge Press, 2018.

Theoretical Challenges to Understanding the Potential Impact of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism: Revisiting Theoretical Approaches to State Human Rights Compliance, Manuscript Review for the International Journal of Human Rights, 2018.

The Story of Swahili. Mugane, John. Athens, Ohio; Ohio University Press, 2015. Reviewed for the International Journal of African Historical Studies.

Human Rights and the Universal Periodic Review: Rituals and Ritualism. Charlesworth, Hilary; and Larking, Emma, eds. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Reviewed for Human Rights Quarterly.

Voting and Democratic Citizenship in Africa. Bratton, Michael, ed. Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2012. Manuscript review for Lynne Rienner.

Globalization and Post-Apartheid South Africa. Zegaye, Abebe; Harris, Richard; and Lauderdale, Pat. Toronto, de Sitter, 2006. Review for Africa Today.



Comparative Constitutionalism and Good Governance in the Commonwealth: An Eastern and Southern African Perspective. Hatchard, John, Ndulo, Muna and Slinn, Peter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Review for Review for International Journal of African Historical Studies.

Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures. Leonard, David and Strauss, Scott. Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2003. Manuscript review for Lynne Rienner.

The Road Oft Traveled: Developmental Politics and State Ownership of Industry in Africa Quinn, John J. Westport, Praeger, 2002. Manuscript review for Praeger/Greenwood Press.