



The Year in Elections, 2015: The expert survey on perceptions of electoral integrity.

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The year in elections 2015

THE EXPERT SURVEY ON PERCEPTIONS OF
ELECTORAL INTEGRITY (PEI-4.0)

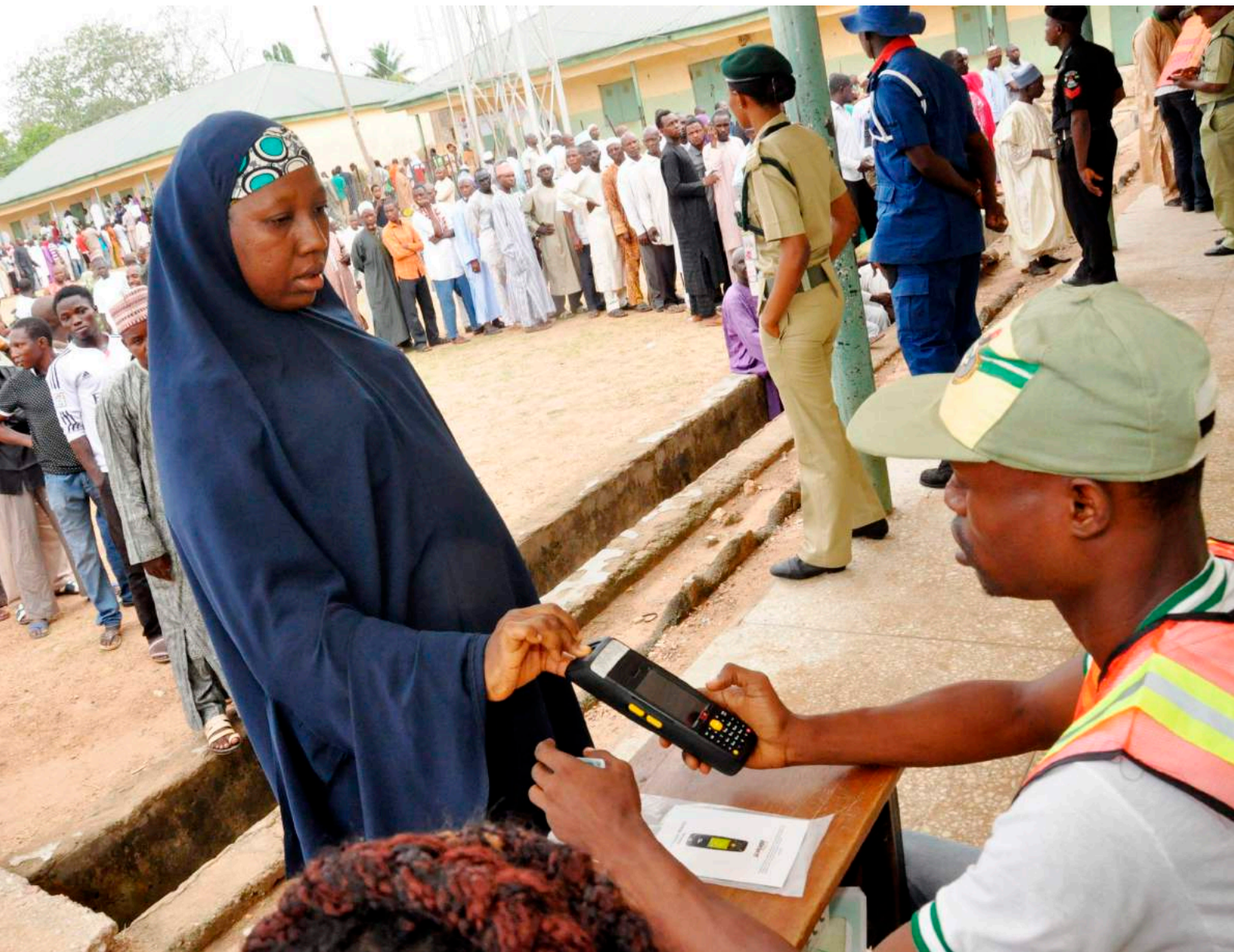
*Pippa Norris, Ferran Martínez i Coma,
Alessandro Nai, and Max Grömping*

February 2016

www.electoralintegrityproject.com



The Electoral Integrity Project
Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It



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THE ELECTORAL INTEGRITY PROJECT

Department of Government and International Relations
Merewether Building, HO4
University of Sydney, Sydney NSW, 2006, Australia

Phone: +61(2) 9351 2147

Email: electoralintegrity@sydney.edu.au

Web: <http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com>

Dataverse: <http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI>

Twitter: twitter.com/ElectIntegrity

Facebook: www.facebook.com/electoralintegrity

Blogger: <http://electoralintegrity.blogspot.com.au/>

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Preface

This report compares the quality of elections around the world. The evidence gathered by the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) compares elections and any problems diagnosed across all eleven components of the electoral cycle. The full dataset allows comparison from mid-2012 to end-2015 in 180 nation-wide parliamentary and presidential contests held in 139 sovereign nations (excluding micro-states with populations below 100,000). Further publications have analyzed the data in more depth, including explaining the conceptual framework, testing the reliability and robustness of the data, and exploring the consequences for political legitimacy, public participation and regime transitions (see the list of suggested further readings, p. 92). This report and the data are designed to provide useful evidence for a wide range of scholars and policymakers, including for academic researchers and students, public officials in Electoral Management Bodies, election watch and human rights organizations, broadcasters and reporters covering elections, and agencies within the international community seeking to strengthen electoral integrity. Further evidence will continue to be gathered to evaluate national parliamentary and presidential elections in 2016 and beyond. Analysis and publications by the EIP team plan to focus on several specific issues, including the role of election management bodies, the impact of observers on electoral transparency, and the ways in which coercion and vote-buying

influence citizen activism and turnout, among other topics. The Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) is an independent non-profit scholarly research project based at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the University of Sydney's Department of Government and International Relations, funded by the Australian Research Council and other bodies. The project is directed by Professor Pippa Norris. Dr. Alessandro Nai is EIP Project Manager, assisted by Lisa Fennis, Project Coordinator. The PEI program is managed by Dr. Ferran Martínez i Coma, with research assistance provided by Max Grömping. EIP is governed by an Advisory Board of distinguished scholars and practitioners. The Electoral Integrity Project is an independent academic body and the evaluations presented in the report are the assessments of the project alone –grounded in the evaluations of election experts surveyed in PEI. Nevertheless in its work, through a series of international workshops and conferences, the project collaborates closely with many professional associations and international agencies, including, the American Political Science Association (APSA), the Australian Political Studies Association (AusPSA), the Carter Center, Democracy International, the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Global Integrity, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the Sunlight Foundation, the Organization of

American States, the OSCE/ODIHR, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Association of Election Bodies, the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), the European Platform for Democratic Elections (EPDE) and the World Values Survey. All details are available on the project website www.electoralintegrityproject.org. Comments and feedback are welcome. Any factual errors brought to our attention will be corrected in future releases of the dataset. In addition, it would be appreciated if copies of any related publications using the datasets could be sent to the project and if the original data source could be clearly acknowledged in citations. This project is an innovative addition to the battery of indicators available to assess problems of electoral integrity and it is hoped that this initiative proves valuable. There are also several opportunities to engage with the project at the University of Sydney through a series of international workshops, and conferences, with details available on the project website. All information is available via: www.electoralintegrityproject.com.

Pippa Norris (Director EIP, Professor of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney, and McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Harvard University)

Dr. Ferran Martínez i Coma (PEI Program Manager and Research Fellow)

Dr. Alessandro Nai (EIP Project Manager and Research Fellow)

Max Grömping (Research Assistant)

Executive summary

PIPPA NORRIS, FERRAN MARTÍNEZ I COMA,
ALESSANDRO NAI AND MAX GRÖMPING

Elections around the world are often flawed by ballot box fraud, intimidation in polling places, and media coverage skewed towards the ruling party. Malpractices in contentious elections damage free and fair party competition, depress civic engagement, and erode faith in democratic procedures. This report by the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) seeks to document the quality of electoral integrity, monitor problems, and highlight successful advances. Based on a rolling survey collecting assessments from over 2,000 election

experts, the report covers 180 presidential and parliamentary national elections held from mid-2012 to end-2015 in 139 independent nation states. The report summarizes the key results overall, illustrated by specific contests held during 2015. Contests are rated using the 100-point Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index. Similar 100-point standardized scales are estimated for each of the eleven stages of the electoral cycle during the pre-election, campaign, and postelection periods.

MAJOR FINDINGS:

- In the global comparison, shown in Figure 4 (see p. 22), states in Sub-Saharan Africa displayed the worst record. In this region, the majority of countries in the survey were flagged as having 'low' levels of electoral integrity.
- The most problematic cases included failed elections in Equatorial Guinea (ranked 138th out of 139 countries worldwide), Burundi (137th), Djibouti (136th) and the Republic of Congo (133rd). Most notably, Ethiopia ranked last out of 139 countries worldwide, as its parliamentary election on 24 May

2015 saw all seats won by the ruling party following harassment of opposition parties, censorship of the media and repression of human rights.

- Other parts of the world where experts reported many problems include in the Middle East, where the majority of countries included in the survey held contests which were also categorized as 'very low' or 'low' integrity. The worst cases of failed elections in this region include Bahrain (ranked 122nd), Afghanistan (131st) and Syria (135th).
- The record of free and fair contests was generally

assessed more positively in the Americas, Central and Eastern Europe, and Asia-Pacific, although there were also some exceptional cases.

- This includes Haiti – the poorest economy in the region, where contests on 25 October 2015 were conducted in an atmosphere of chaos, violence and intimidation, with widespread complaints of fraud by party officials. The outcome has been stalemate and a leadership crisis deepening conflict and the risks of fragility.

- Post-Communist states display a varied record. Elections have been well-rated in several countries, including in Lithuania, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic. These cases illustrate states which have overcome the legacy of living under Communism and rapidly established free and fair elections within recent decades. In the Baltics, for example, Estonia was ranked 7th highest among all 139 countries in the survey for the Parliamentary contests on 1 March 2015 which were well rated by experts.

- At the same time, among post-communist countries, the worst record of malpractices was recorded in Belarus (124th), Tajikistan (125th) and Azerbaijan (128th). In Belarus, for example, the elections on 11 October 2015 saw the return of President Lukashenko for his fifth term of office, despite criticism of the conduct of the elections by international observers.

- By contrast, Scandinavia and Western Europe scored most highly in electoral integrity, with twelve countries rated as ‘very high’ in electoral integrity and the remaining five as ‘high’.

- Although extensive experience of democratic elections usually strengthens electoral integrity, the performance of some long-established democracies was assessed relatively critically by experts. This includes the UK general election on 5

May 2015, which was less well rated than contests held in Scandinavia and Western Europe. The 2012 Presidential election and the 2014 Congressional elections in the United States also suffered from several problems, so that the US PEI score was rated the lowest of any long-established democracy.

- Many factors contribute towards flawed and failed elections, including structural constraints such as deep-rooted poverty and a legacy of conflict, the role of international leverage and linkage, such as development aid and membership of regional organizations, and institutional arrangements, such as the type of electoral system and the capacity of the electoral management body.

- The report highlights several major issues including election-related violence, the role of money in politics, the importance of balanced and fair campaign coverage in the news media, and the role of domestic and international observers.

We hope that this provides insights into the challenges facing electoral integrity around the globe and ways that the international community can respond when seeking to strengthen the quality of elections, human rights, and democratic governance.

The design of the survey

The Electoral Integrity Project
Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It



THE CONCEPT AND EVIDENCE FOR ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

This report focuses upon the concept and measurement of ‘electoral integrity’, which refers to how far the conduct of elections meets international standards and global norms. These standards have been endorsed in a series of authoritative conventions, treaties and guidelines by agencies of the international community, notably by decisions of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly, by regional intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the African Union (AU), and by UN member states.¹ These standards apply universally to all countries throughout all stages of the electoral cycle, including in the pre-election, campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath.²

How do we know when elections meet these standards – or fail to do so? Contentious elections generate heated partisan disputes.³ Sore losers allege unfair practices, fraudulent results and stolen ballots, thereby stirring up peaceful or violent protests among their supporters.⁴ In response, government officials often respond by issuing statements defending fair processes and outcomes, although the credibility of these counter-claims may be in doubt. During the last decade, around 12 percent of all elections worldwide triggered opposition boycotts, 17 percent experienced post-election riots or protests, and 18 percent saw electoral violence involving at least one civilian fatality.⁵

To expand transparency and help adjudicate disputes, observer reports provide one source of invaluable in-depth insights and independent assessments into the quality of each election. The growth of rival monitoring organizations, however, means that observers disagree and reports diverge in their conclusions.⁶

Journalists and broadcasters highlight information about common problems observed on election day, like fraud and violence. But global news coverage remains uneven and slanted towards negative problems. It remains difficult to piece together news media accounts consistently across dozens of elections every year, and eyewitness journalism is restricted in the most repressive regimes like Malaysia and Syria. Moreover local reporters may be in the pocket of the ruling party.

This allows for more technical and illicit malpractices to go unreported. The proliferation of social media expands transparency but also the cacophony of claims. Similar problems are raised through analyzing court cases and legal prosecutions. More scientific tests associated with ‘electoral forensics’ are used to detect anomalies in the precinct-level results, but, although promising, statisticians have not yet reached a consensus on the best technical methods.⁷

THE PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY EXPERT SURVEY

What more systematic and reliable comparative evidence is available to provide comprehensive assessments of where contests around the world meet international standards of electoral integrity – and where they are deeply problematic? To measure the core concept, the Electoral Integrity Project conducts an expert rolling survey monitoring Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI). The cumulative results presented in this report (PEI-4.0) monitor the quality of 180 parliamentary and presidential national elections held in 139 independent nation-states worldwide from 1 July 2012 until 31 December 2015. During 2015, PEI covered 54 elections in 47 nations which held nation-wide parliamentary and presidential elections, excluding six micro-states. To operationalize the core notion, the survey asks experts to evaluate elections using 49 indicators,

grouped into eleven categories or stages reflecting the whole electoral cycle. Using a comprehensive instrument, listed in Table A1, experts assess whether national parliamentary and presidential contests in countries where they have proven expertise, meet international standards during the pre-election period, the campaign, polling day and its aftermath.

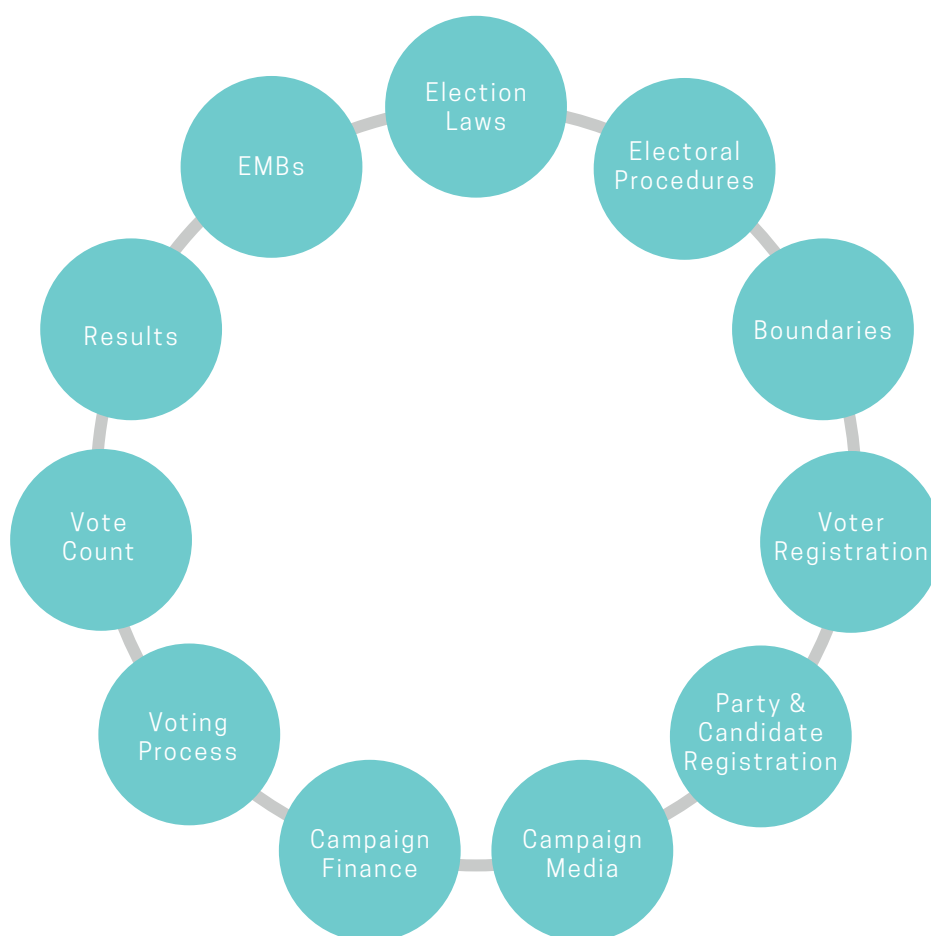
The overall PEI index is constructed by summing the 49 separate indicators for each election and for each country. The PEI Index is standardized to 100-points. Scores are then sub-divided into five categories from very low to very high integrity. Similarly, 100-point standardized indices are constructed for each of the eleven components of the electoral cycle. The technical appendix provides more details about the research design, performance indicators, sampling

methods, and data reliability tests for the study.

ELECTION COVERAGE

This report presents the results of the expert evaluations for all national parliamentary and presidential elections held in independent nation-states (with a population of more than 100,000) from 1 July 2012 to 31 December 2015. We focus the detailed discussion of cases in the report upon elections held during 2015 and those forthcoming in 2016. In cases of simultaneous legislative and executive elections, the survey monitored the latter. In countries using two-round (run-off) majoritarian electoral systems, the survey assessed the final contest. Coverage of PEI-4.0 is mapped in Figure 2. The PEI-4.0 dataset currently covers 80 percent of all independent nation-states worldwide holding direct elections (i.e. 139 out of 173 nation-states).

FIGURE 1: THE ELECTORAL CYCLE



EXPERTS

Election experts are defined as political scientists (or other social scientists in a related discipline) who have demonstrated knowledge of the electoral process in a particular country (such as through publications, membership of a relevant research group or network, or university employment). Around forty domestic and international experts were consulted about each election, with requests to participate sent to a total of 7,101 experts, producing an overall response rate of 29 percent. The rolling survey results presented in this report are drawn from the views of 2,080 election experts.

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS

This release of the dataset (PEI-4.0) includes all the earlier cases and expands the comparison by adding national elections held from 1 January to 31 December 2015 (see Table A3 on p. 82).

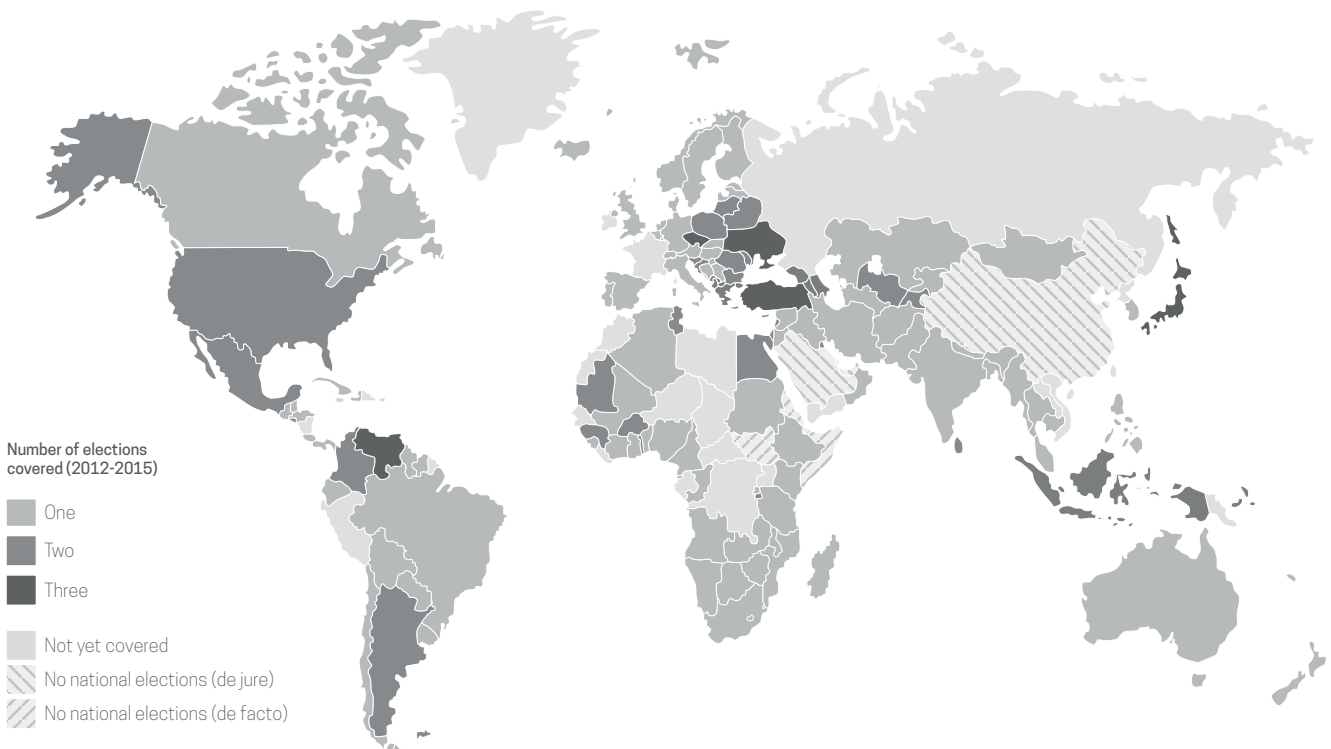
The rolling design of the dataset facilitates

comparisons over time within the same country: PEI-4.0 includes thirty-one countries with two successive elections, and five countries with three successive contests. Successive annual reports and updates of the dataset will include the forthcoming national elections, to broaden worldwide comparison worldwide and move towards global coverage.

TIME-PERIOD

When interpreting the results, it should be noted that modest differences in the PEI index are unlikely to be statistically significant at reasonable confidence intervals. It is more useful to focus on the range of indicators across the cycle and more substantial differences among elections or among countries. Confidence intervals are constructed at the 95 per cent interval for the summary PEI index, based on the number of experts who responded for each election and country. These are documented in Table A2 on p. 78 in the technical appendix.

FIGURE 2: MAP OF PEI COVERAGE



RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY TESTS

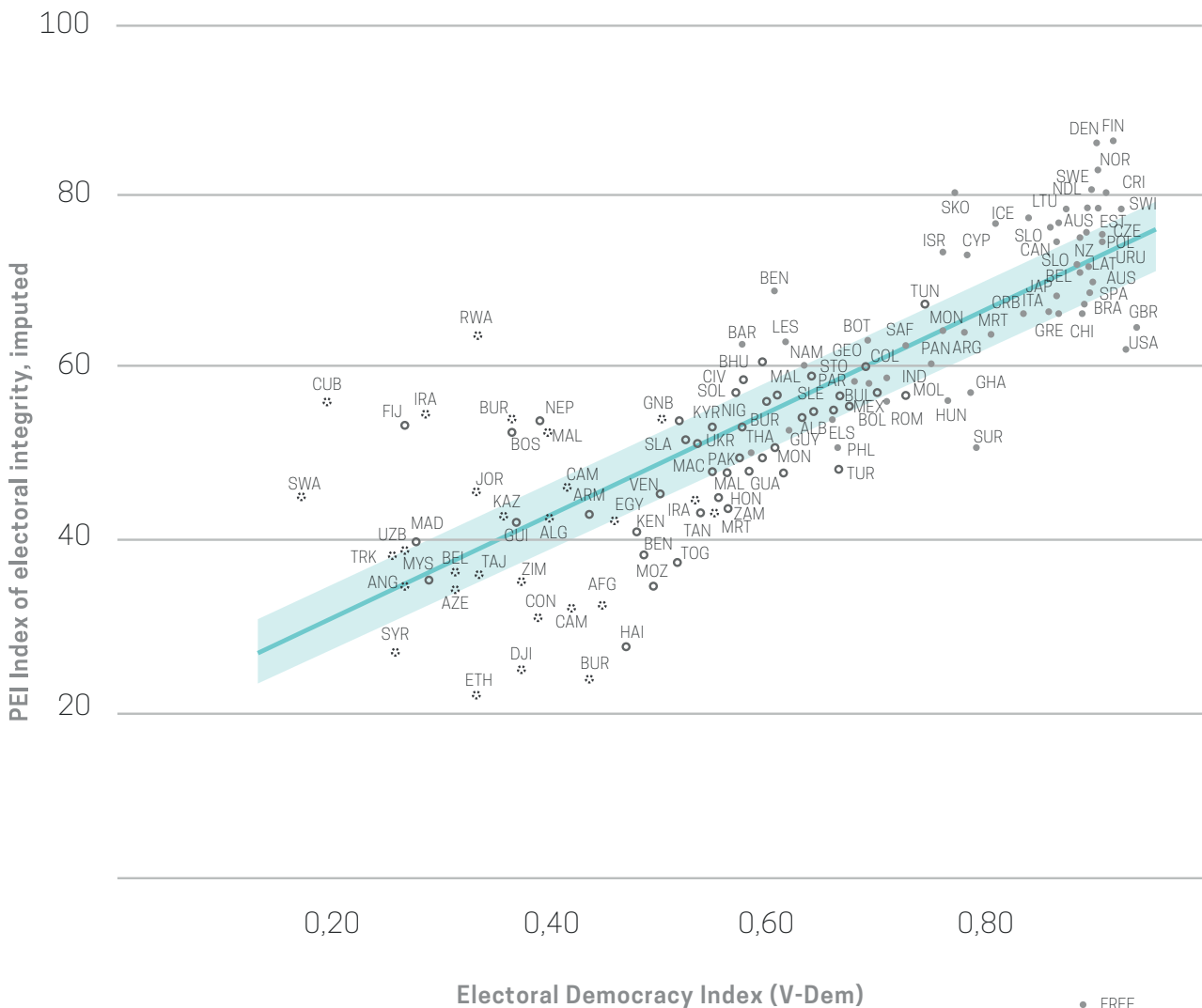
Can assessments by election experts be trusted? The PEI data has been tested and found to demonstrate high levels of internal reliability (consistency among experts), external reliability (when compared with equivalent independent indicators), and legitimacy (when expert judgments are compared with public assessments).⁸

One way to check the estimates is to compare the overall summary PEI Index with other comparable national assessments created by independent scholarly and think-tank research projects.

Correlations are not expected to be perfect, due to the use of different concepts, measures, and time-periods in each study. Nevertheless, the comparisons consistently demonstrate strong relationships at national level, lending confidence in the external reliability of our data, and thus on the validity of our measure of the concept.

Figure 3 compares the PEI-4.0 Index with assessments of the quality of electoral democracy, measured by the Varieties of Democracy project (V-Dem).⁹ The results display a remarkably strong and significant correlation ($R=.83^{***}$, $N127$).

FIGURE 3: COMPARING PEI AND V-DEM



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI-4.0) expert survey, release 4.0; Electoral Democracy Index, V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v5 (www.v-dem.net); Regime type, Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org).

Nor is this an isolated finding. The PEI 4.0 summary Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index is also strongly correlated at national level with most other equivalent measures.¹⁰ This includes Cingranelli and Richards' index of electoral self-determination rights ($R=.63^{***}$, N137), the Economist Intelligence Unit measure of Electoral Processes and Pluralism ($R=.71^{***}$, N129), the Bertelsmann Transformation Index of Free and Fair Elections ($R=.64^{***}$, N98), and the Freedom House measure of Electoral Processes ($R=.75^{***}$, N137).¹¹ Other tests confirm the internal validity of our methods and the consistency of expert assessments.¹²

Therefore, the overall results are comparable with other standard measures. Unlike many other summary indices, however, the results of the PEI survey can also be broken down in far more granular detail to pinpoint specific weaknesses and strengths in each contest. For example, the data can be used to compare how elections rate across eleven stages of the electoral cycle, and across 49 indicators, such as in the processes of district gerrymandering, the opportunities that contests provide for women and minority candidates, the provision of equitable access to political finance, the fairness of electoral officials, and the occurrence of peaceful and violent

protests after the announcement of the results, and so on. This is essential for the correct diagnosis of any problems – and thus identifying the appropriate reforms needed to strengthen integrity.

To look in more detail, Table A4 at the end of the report presents the full results for each of the eleven stages of the electoral cycle for 180 elections from 2012-2015.

DOWNLOAD THE PEI-4.0 DATASET

All data is available for download at: <http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI>. Data can be examined at the level of each country, each election, or for individual experts. Analysis can be conducted for the summary PEI index, the eleven components, or the 49 individual indicators. Those preferring alternative conceptualizations of the quality of elections have opportunities to aggregate the indicators in a different way – e.g. to weight certain aspects more strongly- and thereby create alternative measures. The Dataverse files allow users to generate analysis using the online data, as well as to download files in Stata, SPSS and tab-delimited formats (such as for Excel), and to find further technical details about the research design, code-book and questionnaire. Comments are welcome as feedback to improve the annual report and the PEI datasets.



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Main results

The Electoral Integrity Project
Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It



Direct elections are used today as the pathway to elected office in the lower house of parliament in 95 percent of all sovereign nation-states around the world (185 out of 193 states).¹³ During the late twentieth-century, popular contests have also proliferated for presidential, provincial, municipal and local office. Although potentially strengthening the voice of the people and the accountability of their leaders, challenges remain to strengthen electoral legitimacy and the quality of free and fair contests in all countries. Too often, multiple serious technical flaws and violations of political rights are reported. Laws ban opposition parties. Rival leaders are imprisoned. Voting rights are suppressed. Electoral registers are inaccurate. Ruling parties dominate the airwaves. Free speech is muzzled. Thugs threaten voters. Campaigns are awash with money. Ballot-stuffing fakes the count. Electoral officials favor the government. Dispute resolution mechanisms are broken.

These types of malpractices deepen public mistrust of electoral authorities, political parties and parliaments, which, in turn, affects citizen behavior by depressing voter turnout and catalyzing protest activism.¹⁴ Since elections are the heart of the representative process, flawed contests damage party competition, democratic governance, and fundamental human rights.¹⁵ But how common are these types of problems? Where do they arise?

To summarize the evidence, Figure 4 illustrates the contrasts in the overall 100-point PEI index for all the countries covered in the survey since 2012, divided by global region. The ranking and map (Figure 5) on the centerfold pages of this report offer a worldwide overview.

The comparisons highlight that Scandinavia and Western Europe are rated most highly in overall levels of electoral integrity, not surprisingly given the long history of democracy in the region. The

rankings in PEI worldwide are led by Scandinavian states -- Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden -- which also do well in most standard indices of the quality of democratic governance. At the same time, however, contrasts are observed in PEI-4.0 scores even among similar European Union member states and post-industrial societies; Mediterranean Europe usually performs less well than Northern Europe. The UK also scores exceptionally poorly compared with other European societies, with a PEI Index around 20 points less than the top ranking Scandinavian states, for several reasons discussed later in the report.

In the Americas, even wider disparities can be seen, contrasting the cases of Costa Rica, Uruguay and Canada, all well rated by experts, compared with the low ratings for Guatemala, Venezuela, Honduras and particularly Haiti, as highlighted further in the report. Overall the United States ranks 47 worldwide out of all 139 nations under comparison, based on the 2012 presidential and 2014 Congressional elections, the lowest score for any long-established democracy. In post-Communist Europe, the power-sharing democracies, smaller welfare states, and mid-level income economies in the Baltics and Central Europe often do well in the quality of their elections today, including Estonia, Lithuania, and Slovenia, all scoring higher in the PEI Index than long-established majoritarian democracies such as India, the US, and UK. At the same time, Central Eurasia remains the home of several unreconstructed authoritarian states, which hold multi-party elections to legitimate ruling parties but with limited human rights, exemplified by the poor PEI scores observed in Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Belarus. Asia-Pacific sees similar wide disparities, with the affluent post-industrial societies of Australia, South Korea, New Zealand and Japan heading the ratings, as well as Mongolia, which has made rapid progress in abandoning its Soviet past.

FIGURE 4: CHART COMPARING PEI-4.0 BY COUNTRY AND REGION

| AFRICA | | | C&E EUROPE | | | AMERICAS | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Rank | Country | PEI index | Rank | Country | PEI index | Rank | Country | PEI index |
| 27 | Benin | 69 | 7 | Estonia | 79 | 5 | Costa Rica | 80 |
| 42 | Mauritius | 64 | 11 | Lithuania | 77 | 17 | Uruguay | 75 |
| 43 | Rwanda | 64 | 14 | Slovenia | 77 | 18 | Canada | 75 |
| 44 | South Africa | 63 | 15 | Czech Republic | 76 | 30 | Brazil | 68 |
| 45 | Lesotho | 63 | 19 | Poland | 75 | 35 | Chile | 66 |
| 52 | Namibia | 60 | 20 | Slovakia | 74 | 37 | Grenada | 66 |
| 56 | Cote d'Ivoire | 59 | 24 | Latvia | 72 | 41 | Argentina | 64 |
| 57 | Sao Tome & Princ. | 58 | 34 | Croatia | 66 | 46 | Barbados | 62 |
| 58 | Botswana | 58 | 54 | Georgia | 59 | 47 | United States | 62 |
| 61 | Ghana | 57 | 59 | Serbia | 58 | 51 | Panama | 61 |
| 67 | Sierra Leone | 56 | 63 | Moldova | 57 | 53 | Colombia | 60 |
| 76 | Guinea-Bissau | 54 | 66 | Bulgaria | 56 | 60 | Mexico | 57 |
| 83 | Burkina Faso | 53 | 68 | Hungary | 56 | 69 | Cuba | 56 |
| 84 | Nigeria | 53 | 75 | Albania | 54 | 70 | Bolivia | 56 |
| 87 | Mali | 53 | 78 | Kyrgyzstan | 54 | 71 | Paraguay | 55 |
| 96 | Comoros | 50 | 88 | Bosnia-Herzegovina | 52 | 72 | Ecuador | 55 |
| 100 | Malawi | 48 | 90 | Ukraine | 51 | 79 | El Salvador | 54 |
| 102 | Cameroon | 46 | 93 | Romania | 51 | 82 | Belize | 53 |
| 105 | Swaziland | 45 | 95 | Montenegro | 50 | 85 | Guyana | 53 |
| 108 | Zambia | 44 | 99 | Macedonia | 48 | 92 | Suriname | 51 |
| 109 | Mauritania | 44 | 111 | Armenia | 43 | 98 | Guatemala | 48 |
| 110 | Tanzania | 43 | 113 | Kazakhstan | 43 | 104 | Venezuela | 45 |
| 112 | Sudan | 43 | 119 | Uzbekistan | 39 | 106 | Honduras | 45 |
| 116 | Guinea | 42 | 121 | Turkmenistan | 38 | 134 | Haiti | 28 |
| 117 | Kenya | 41 | 124 | Belarus | 36 | | | |
| 118 | Madagascar | 40 | 125 | Tajikistan | 36 | | | |
| 123 | Togo | 38 | 128 | Azerbaijan | 35 | | | |
| 127 | Zimbabwe | 35 | | | | | | |
| 129 | Angola | 35 | | | | | | |
| 130 | Mozambique | 35 | | | | | | |
| 133 | Congo, Rep. | 31 | | | | | | |
| 136 | Djibouti | 25 | | | | | | |
| 137 | Burundi | 24 | | | | | | |
| 138 | Equatorial Guinea | 23 | | | | | | |
| 139 | Ethiopia | 22 | | | | | | |
| | Regional average | 47 | | Regional average | 56 | | Regional average | 58 |
| ASIA & PACIFIC | | | N&W EUROPE | | | MIDDLE EAST | | |
| Rank | Country | PEI index | Rank | Country | PEI index | Rank | Country | PEI index |
| 13 | Republic of Korea | 77 | 1 | Denmark | 86 | 21 | Israel | 73 |
| 16 | New Zealand | 75 | 2 | Finland | 86 | 32 | Tunisia | 67 |
| 26 | Australia | 70 | 3 | Norway | 83 | 49 | Oman | 61 |
| 29 | Japan | 68 | 4 | Sweden | 81 | 73 | Kuwait | 55 |
| 31 | Tonga | 68 | 6 | Germany | 80 | 74 | Iran | 54 |
| 40 | Mongolia | 64 | 8 | Netherlands | 79 | 101 | Turkey | 48 |
| 48 | Micronesia | 61 | 9 | Switzerland | 79 | 103 | Jordan | 46 |
| 50 | Bhutan | 61 | 10 | Iceland | 78 | 107 | Iraq | 44 |
| 55 | India | 59 | 12 | Austria | 77 | 115 | Egypt | 42 |
| 62 | Solomon Islands | 57 | 22 | Cyprus | 73 | 122 | Bahrain | 38 |
| 64 | Maldives | 57 | 23 | Portugal | 72 | 131 | Afghanistan | 33 |
| 65 | Indonesia | 57 | 25 | Belgium | 71 | 135 | Syria | 27 |
| 77 | Myanmar | 54 | 28 | Spain | 69 | | | |
| 80 | Nepal | 54 | 33 | Italy | 67 | | | |
| 81 | Fiji | 53 | 36 | Greece | 66 | | | |
| 86 | Singapore | 53 | 38 | Malta | 66 | | | |
| 89 | Sri Lanka | 52 | 39 | UK | 65 | | | |
| 91 | Thailand | 51 | | | | | | |
| 94 | Pakistan | 50 | | | | | | |
| 97 | Philippines | 48 | | | | | | |
| 120 | Bangladesh | 38 | | | | | | |
| 126 | Malaysia | 36 | | | | | | |
| 132 | Cambodia | 32 | | | | | | |
| | Regional average | 56 | | Regional average | 75 | | Regional average | 49 |



on 19 October 2015 for the Liberal Party under the leadership of Justin Trudeau. Disputes in the 2011 Canadian federal election had surrounded the misuse of 'robocalls'. The Conservative government of Stephen Harper had passed the controversial 'Fair Elections Act', a measure which sought to strengthen voter identification requirements, despite heated opposition claims that this would lead to voter suppression.¹⁸ The 2015 elections proved to be largely free of any major glitches, despite some room for minor improvements, according to international observers and news reports: "The 2015 parliamentary elections demonstrated the credibility of the election process in Canada....All OSCE/ODIHR EAM interlocutors expressed trust and confidence in the election administration's professional performance, impartiality and transparency.... The competitive and vibrant campaign was conducted with respect for the fundamental freedoms of expression, association and assembly."¹⁹ The Trudeau administration has promised to consider reform of the traditional Canadian majoritarian 'First-Past-the-Post' electoral system inherited from Westminster.

POORLY-RANKED ESTABLISHED DEMOCRACIES: THE US AND UK

At the same time, however, as Figure 4 illustrates, wide disparities in electoral integrity separate long-standing democracies. Thus while Denmark, Switzerland and Canada do well, according to the overall PEI index, the United States and UK have lower levels of electoral integrity.

The **United States**, based on the 2012 and the 2014 elections, ranked 47th among all 139 countries in PEI-4.0, achieving a score worse than all other established democracies. US elections got poor grades because experts expressed concern about the quality of the electoral laws, voter registration, the process of drawing district boundaries, as well as regulation of campaign finance. Voter

registration, in particular, has become increasingly polarized and litigious in the United States ever since the 2000 'Florida' debacle, generating growing controversy in state-houses and the courts.²⁰ New state regulations on voter registration have been implemented in around 30 states.²¹ America also suffers from exceptionally partisan and decentralized arrangements for electoral administration. These problems were addressed by the blue-ribbon bipartisan Presidential Commission on Electoral Administration which issued its report and recommendations in January 2014.²² Following major decisions by the Supreme Court deregulating campaign funding, the PEI evaluations suggest that the role of money in American politics deserves more detailed scrutiny.²³ In addition, the PEI experts singled out endemic problems of gerrymandering and the processes involved in drawing voting district boundaries. This left the US with the second-lowest score out of all countries in this particular PEI subdimension. Only Malaysia scored worst in that regard. It remains to be seen how experts assess the 2016 US presidential contest but the overall country ranking seems unlikely to improve given persistent problems of campaign funding, heated partisan polarization over registration and balloting procedures, claims of fraud in the Iowa GOP primaries, and an early primary campaign season characterized by the politics of personal attacks, dissatisfied voters, and populist appeals.

In the **United Kingdom**, the 7 May 2015 general election scored the worst of all Western European states, ranking only 39th out of all 139 countries worldwide in PEI-4.0. Despite considerable debate over electoral reform in recent decades, the electoral system for Westminster continues to use the plurality 'First-past-the-Post' formula with 650 single member constituencies. The system systematically penalizes geographically dispersed minor parties, with a mechanical 'winner's bonus' for the seats allocated to the party in first place.

As discussed later, majoritarian electoral systems generally score less well than proportional presentation in the PEI index. Polling day generated allegations of several technical problems (see UK, p. 42). Despite expectations of a close result and hung parliament, in fact election night saw the return of a Conservative government with a comfortable parliamentary majority, led by Prime Minister David Cameron. The Liberal Democrats and the Labour party performed poorly, while there were significant gains for the Scottish National Party. The government is in the process of implementing individual voter register, replacing a household-based system. The reform has been justified by ministers as a more secure system guarding against alleged voter fraud, although critics charge that this may discourage participation by several sectors of the electorate, such as students and ethnic minorities.²⁴

SEVERAL THIRD-WAVE DEMOCRACIES ALSO SCORED WELL: ESTONIA, POLAND AND BENIN

At the same time, however, although previous experience of democratic elections strengthens civic cultures and consolidates institutions, the historical legacy of the past does not determine fate. Many countries that only transitioned from autocracy in recent decades also score highly in the contemporary quality of their elections, according to experts. In 2015, this is exemplified by contests in Estonia (ranked 3rd last year), Poland (ranked 6th last year), and Benin (ranked 9th last year).

In the Baltics, Estonia was ranked 7th highest among all 139 countries in PEI-4.0. In 2015, parliamentary contests returned the Estonian Reform Party as the largest party. Like neighboring third wave democracies and smaller welfare states in the Baltics, Estonia has conducted well-ranked elections. Starting in 2005, it is notable that Estonia was also the first state worldwide to offer all eligible voters the possibility to vote via the Internet in all

national and municipal elections. In these elections, almost one third of all ballots (30.5 percent) were cast via the Internet. Estonia has pioneered a series of procedures designed to protect the security of Internet voting and despite some potential vulnerabilities, the OSCE observers expressed a high degree of trust in the overall reliability and security of this process.²⁵

Poland also performed well, according to experts, ranked 19th out of 139 countries in PEI-4.0. After a tight race the election was won on 10 May by President Andrezej Duda for the conservative Law and Justice party. As the observers concluded: “The elections were competitive and pluralistic, conducted with respect of fundamental principles for democratic elections in an atmosphere of freedom to campaign and on the basis of equal and fair treatment of contestants.”²⁶

Even more remarkably, one of the poorest societies on the poorest continent in the world, Benin, ranked 27th highest out of 139 countries in PEI-4.0, despite turbulent instability among neighboring states in Francophone West Africa. After gaining independence from France, Dahomey (renamed ‘Benin’ in 1975) experienced an army coup in 1963, and then saw political instability with half a dozen short-lived military and civilian regimes. Under pressures from the international community and the opposition movement, in 1990 the government agreed to a new power-sharing constitution and multiparty PR elections, with these changes approved in a popular referendum. For more than a decade now Benin has experienced a series of legislative and presidential elections which domestic and international observers have reported as free, peaceful, and fair, including the transition bringing the opposition party into power.²⁷ Today Benin is widely regarded as a successful African democracy with constitutional checks and balances, multiple parties, a high degree of judicial independence

and respect for human rights, and a lively partisan press which is often critical of the government. The country is categorized as 'free' by the 2015 Freedom House index, comparable to Argentina, Mexico, and Romania in its record of civil liberties and political rights.

In 2015, the Benin election was also well regarded by experts in the PEI survey. This assessment echoed the evaluation of civil society observers, who concluded: "Despite these socioeconomic and governance challenges in the country, the electoral environment during the period leading to the elections and the post-election period was largely calm and peaceful. Overall, political parties and candidates were given the opportunity to conduct campaign activities freely. Political parties and candidates exercised restraint and generally exhibited tolerant behavior and respect for one another. Campaigning was generally peaceful and open to political competition with isolated incidents of violence".²⁸

NOTABLE GAINS IN ELECTORAL INTEGRITY: NIGERIA AND MYANMAR

Noteworthy gains last year include the Nigerian elections on 28th March 2015 (see 'Nigeria' p. 48). Nigeria remains a hybrid regime, which has a checked history of veering erratically between autocracy and democracy, currently ranked in 2015 as 'partly free' by Freedom House.²⁹ Many contests have been marred by outbreaks of violent conflict, catalyzed by ongoing tensions between the Muslim north and Christian south. There were technical flaws but nevertheless the 2015 elections were celebrated as a relatively violence-free handover of power via the ballot box, following victory for President Muhammadu Buhari. EU observers considered the overall outcome of the elections as "peaceful and orderly (...) despite frustration and challenges caused by often late opening of polling sites, failing biometric voter verification, some regrettable violent

incidents, and re-polling on Sunday".³⁰ Nevertheless despite marked improvements, problems remain in the quality of Nigerian elections, so that the country was rated as 84th out of 139 countries in PEI-4.0.

Another historic example of important gains comes from Myanmar, where historic parliamentary contests on 8 November 2015 (see 'Myanmar, p. 43) signaled significant progress towards the end of military rule, following genuine competition, substantial seat gains for Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD), and important steps towards the liberalization of the country.³¹ Some major challenges remain, notably in the treatment of the rights of ethnic minorities, and there are many steps to take on the long pathway to reform and civilian control of the military. The election process could be made more transparent. Nevertheless, the contest illustrates the way that, where rulers are committed to reform, elections respecting international standards of integrity can provide an effective and relatively peaceful first step in the transition from authoritarianism. As the EU observer mission concluded: "The poll was well organized and voters had a real choice between different candidates. In the future, constitutional, legal and procedural improvements will be required for truly genuine elections".³² Overall the PEI evaluations echoed these sentiments, with Myanmar rated 77th out of 139 elections in PEI-4.0.

AUTHORITARIAN STATES: ETHIOPIA, BURUNDI, BELARUS AND HAITI

Unfortunately, however, many contests during 2015 were often accompanied by major flaws and procedural failures, especially common in authoritarian states, undermining international standards of human rights. Elections, although essential, are far from sufficient for democracy. Malpractices were widespread in cases exemplified by Ethiopia, Burundi, Haiti, and Belarus.

According to experts, Ethiopia's parliamentary

election on 24 May 2015 was the worst ranked election of all contests held in the 139 countries contained in the PEI-4.0. Ethiopia's ruling party, the People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), has governed Ethiopia for more than two decades. The party and its allies were declared by the government-controlled national election board to have won every single parliamentary seat in May's elections. Article 19, an international non-governmental organization focusing on the right to freedom of expression, reports that there are major restrictions on freedom of the press: Ethiopia is the second biggest jailer of journalists after its neighbor, Eritrea. Its broadcasting and telecommunications sectors are dominated by the state, and the minimal private media sector is heavily regulated and frequently censored.³³ Opposition parties that wanted to organise peaceful protests and rallies were arrested and harassed, their equipment confiscated and permits denied.³⁴ The opposition movement remains fragmented and weak, unable to forge a common platform. No invitation to the Carter Center or to European Union observer missions were sent. The EU noted that "previous reports of Election Observer Missions have not been accepted by Ethiopia, which calls into question the value of a further EOM this year".³⁵ The African Union appraised the electoral process and gave a more positive assessment, however, concluding that the parliamentary elections "were calm, peaceful, and credible as it provided an opportunity for the Ethiopian people to express their choices at the polls".³⁶ The international community has also not pressed strongly on electoral rights due to security concerns in the region arising from the Somalia-based terrorist group al-Shabaab.³⁷ As a result, far from using any aid conditionality, Ethiopia continues to receive more than \$3 billion a year from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Two months after the elections, on 27 July, President Obama rewarded the country with the first-ever state visit to Ethiopia by a serving

US President.

Burundi was ranked the third worst of all 139 countries worldwide, according to experts in the PEI-4.0. The presidential election on 21 July 2015 was marred by weeks of violent protests against President Pierre Nkurunziza's attempt to win a third term in office, despite controversy over whether he was eligible to run again under the constitutional peace-settlement. Disputes reportedly triggered mass demonstrations and hundreds of deaths. On 13 May, a coup attempt was launched by elements in the military opposed to Nkurunziza's third term bid, but loyalist soldiers reasserted control by the next day. The night before polling day, there were reported sporadic blasts and gunshots. The election was boycotted by seventeen opposition parties and condemned by the international community as lacking the conditions to ensure it was fair.³⁸ The European Union suspended its mission because of concerns about the credibility of the electoral process.³⁹ The AU refused to send electoral observers for the first time in the organization's history.⁴⁰ The Catholic Church also stood down their election observer missions before Election Day. The US State Department concluded that the election lacked credibility since the legitimacy of the process "has been tainted by the government's harassment of opposition and civil society members, closing down of media outlets and political space, and intimidation of voters".⁴¹ The Burundi legislative elections on 29 June 2015 were almost as badly rated, ranked 5th worst ever in PEI-4.0

Haiti, the poorest country of the Western Hemisphere, held the first round of presidential elections and the second round of legislative contests on 25 October 2015. The elections were ranked worst in the Americas among all the countries in PEI-4.0. Elections had been delayed for more than three years, the country has not conducted a presidential election since 2010, and the president, Michel Martelly had disbanded parliament in January 2015 and begun governing by executive order.⁴² The former Prime Minister, Laurent Lamothe, resigned after the elections were not held as scheduled. For the first round of parliamentary elections in 9 August 2015, violence and intimidation were widespread before and during Election Day. Men armed with rocks and bottles attacked voters at polling stations in Port-au-Prince and about two dozen voting centers were forced to close.⁴³

There were complaints that hundreds of thousands

of party agents were permitted to vote in any polling station, without adequate accreditation checks against fraud, allowing duplicate voting. A government commission assigned to review the election examined a sample of the tally sheets and found that only 8 percent were free of errors. Thirty percent showed voters who did not appear on voter lists, and nearly half the sheets featured voters who presented an incorrect voter ID number.⁴⁴ For the second-round legislative elections, turnout dropped to only 18 percent.⁴⁵ The aftermath saw widespread claims of fraud and mass demonstrations. On January 18 2016, the second-placed presidential candidate, Jude Celestin, formally announced that he would not run, and opposition parties called for a boycott. The second round for the presidential contest, originally scheduled for December, was postponed in a leadership crisis, threatening political stability and violence. USAID has invested over \$1.5 billion in Haiti since the 2010 earthquake, including over

"MINUSTAH Assists Haiti During Senatorial" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by United Nations Photo



\$33m on the first round elections.⁴⁶

In **Belarus** (see 'Belarus, p. 56), ranked 124th worst among all 139 countries in PEI-4.0, the presidential elections saw the return of President Lukashenko, for his fifth successive term of office. Numerous malpractices undermined political rights and civil liberties and the president exerts absolute control, with appointment powers over all branches of government. International and domestic election observers were highly critical of the conduct of the elections, with the United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights in Belarus, Miklós Haraszti, stating: "The election process was orchestrated, and the result was pre-ordained. It could not be otherwise, given the 20 years of continuous suppression of the rights to freedom of expression, assembly, and association, which are the preconditions for any credible competition".⁴⁷ Over successive contests, Belarus consistently scored poorly in failing to meet international standards of electoral integrity.

POVERTY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

What explains these results? In general, many of the worlds' low-income societies, like Haiti and Burundi, encounter serious problems in holding elections. Poor societies typically lack the resources and public sector capacity to manage peaceful and stable contests. As Figure 6 illustrates, a significant correlation links level of development (measured by per capita GDP in purchasing power parity) and the PEI levels of electoral integrity ($R=.54^{***}$, $N137$).

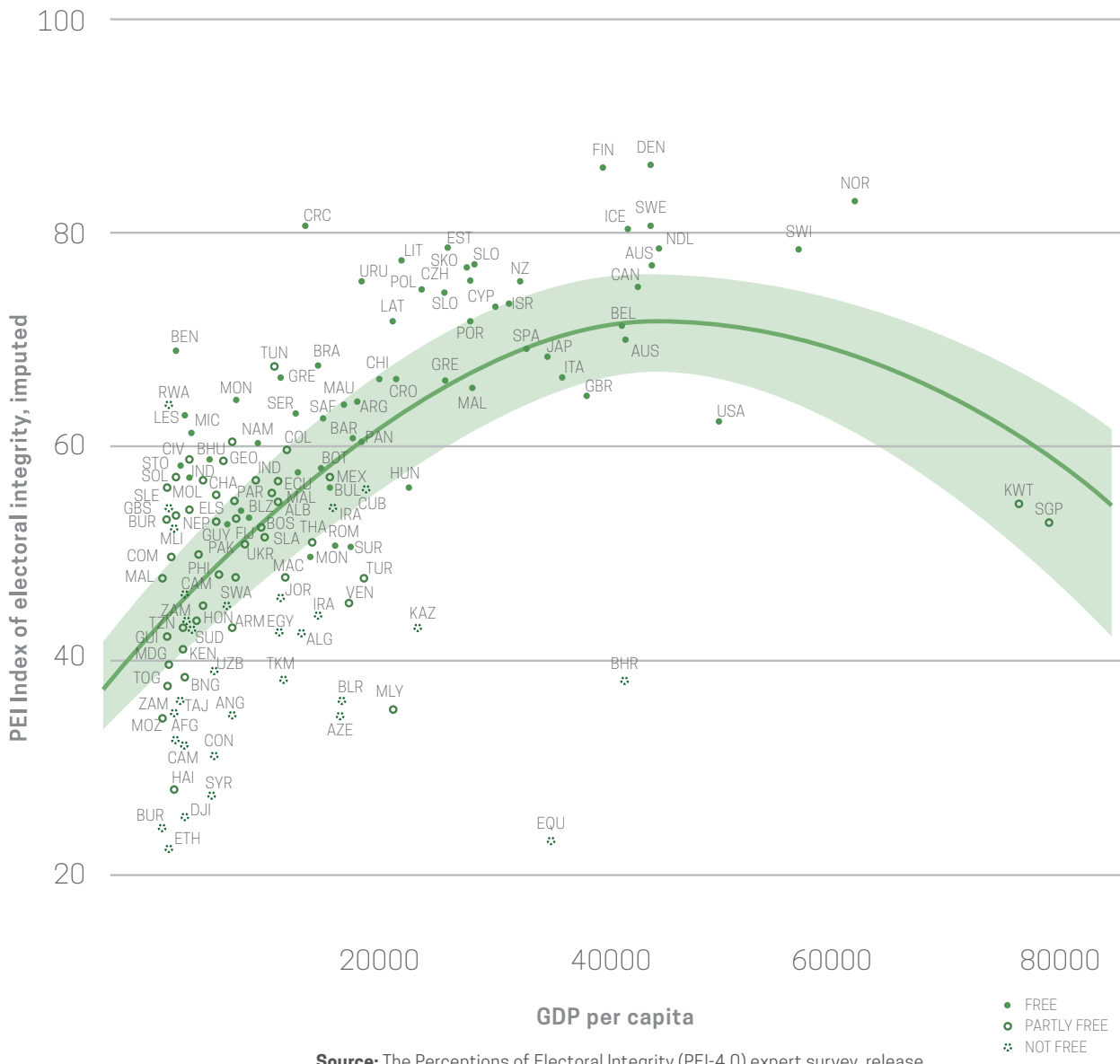
Yet it is also obvious that among the poorest countries, several cases – such as Benin, Lesotho and Micronesia – perform relatively well in the global comparison, according to the PEI Index. By contrast, as already discussed, several other low-income economies perform poorly in this regard – notably Ethiopia, Burundi and Haiti. Moreover, we have already noted how among affluent post-

industrial societies and Western democracies, elections in the United States and the UK are relatively poorly rated. In addition, one of the world's most affluent societies, Singapore, is a clear outlier, scoring only moderately in the PEI Index. Problems in district gerrymandering and rules benefitting the predominance of the ruling party limit the quality of electoral competition in this island-state.⁴⁸ Therefore although levels of economic development are usually significantly associated with the quality of free and fair contests, the relationship is far from deterministic.

POWER-SHARING CONSTITUTIONS AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

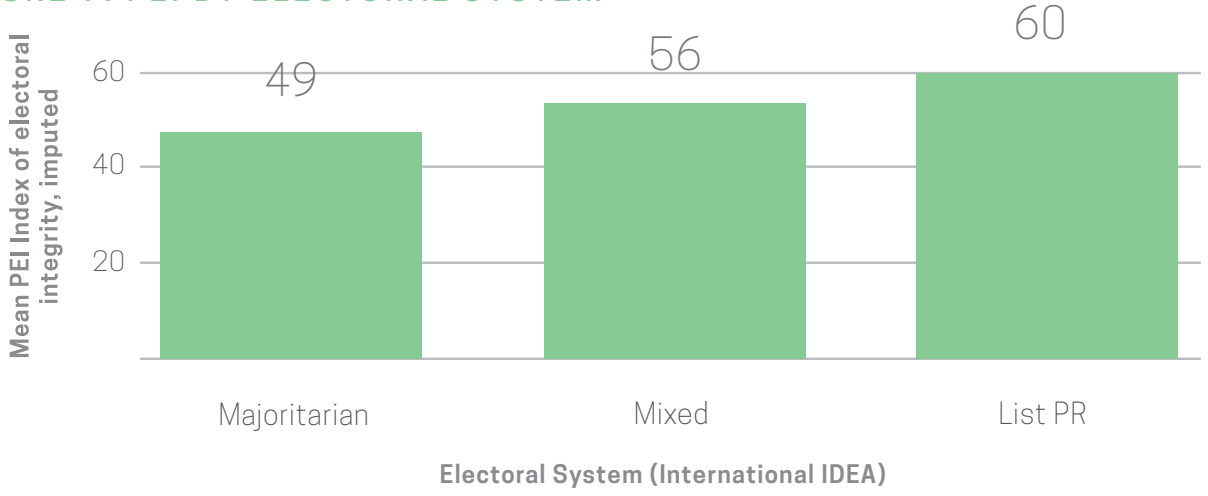
Constitutional arrangements, including the adoption of power-sharing political institutions, also help to explain why some elections have greater integrity compared with others held in similar types of society within global regions. Power-sharing constitutions, with strong parliaments, multi-level governance, and independent judiciaries, provide important checks and balances. This usually prevents the abuse of power by the executive, including the temptation to put a thumb on the scales by amending the rules, by attempting to run for an unconstitutional third term, or by stacking the electoral management body. Power-sharing also builds greater trust in the electoral process amongst multiple stakeholders, including among election losers, avoiding the temptation to boycott the election or mobilize massive protests. By contrast majoritarian constitutions which concentrate power in the hands of the executive are often associated with worse levels of electoral integrity. The design of the electoral rules is particularly important. The evidence can be illustrated by comparing the PEI scores by the type of electoral system. As shown in Figure 7, in general countries using List Proportional Representation for the lower house of the national legislature scored 60 out of 100 on the PEI index, 11 points higher than countries using majoritarian electoral systems.

FIGURE 6: PEI & GDP



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI-4.0) expert survey, release 4.0; GDP per Capita in purchasing power parity, World Bank Development Indicators (<http://databank.worldbank.org/>); Regime type, Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org).

FIGURE 7: PEI BY ELECTORAL SYSTEM



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI-4.0) expert survey, release 4.0; Electoral System, International IDEA (<http://www.idea.int/esd/index.cfm>).

FIGURE 8: PEI DIMENSIONS

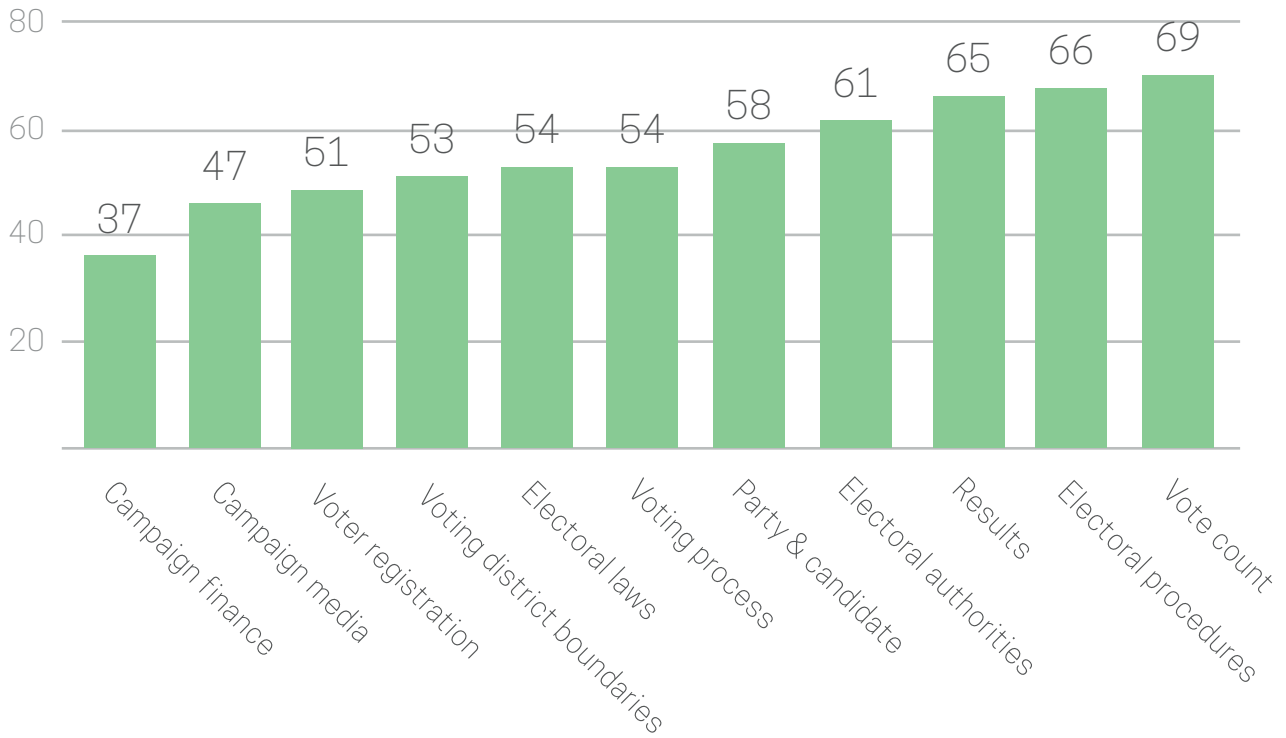
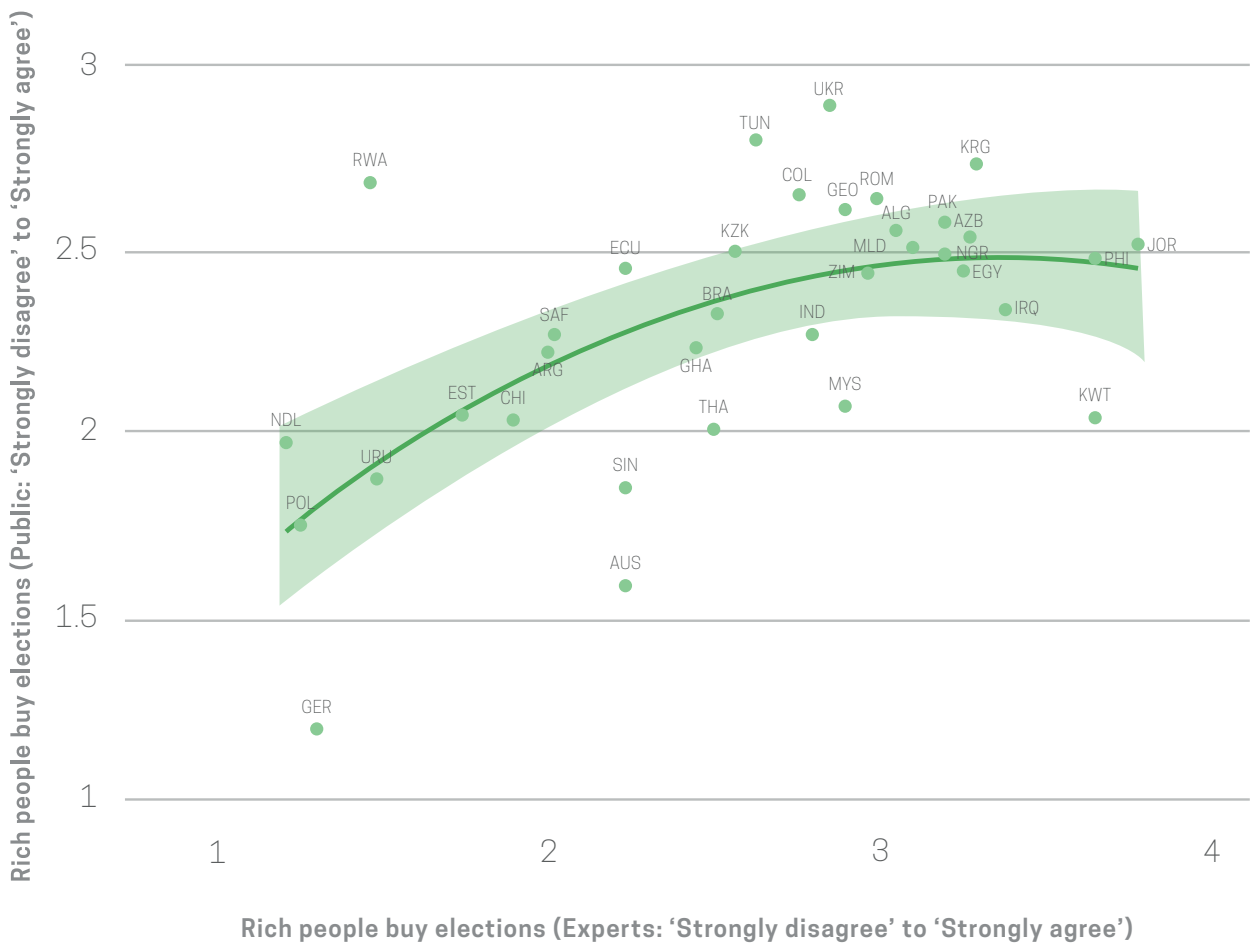


FIGURE 9: POLITICAL FINANCE – PUBLIC-EXPERT AGREEMENT



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI-4.0) expert survey, release 4.0; World Values Survey (WVS), 6th wave (www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

Overall, money is key for politics but its abuse is often clearly perceived as a problem.⁵³ Beyond specific scandals, some other factors may possibly drive these perceptions. One concerns the type of campaign finance regulation –such as the use of public subsidies, spending limits, donor caps and transparency requirements. Do we observe common regulatory frameworks in those countries that perform better (or worse)?⁵⁴ Furthermore, beyond the legal and regulatory provisions, we know little about the cultural norms surrounding clientelism and patronage politics, the acceptability of vote-buying practices, and the political use of bribery. This is important, as laws do not always lead to their expected results.⁵⁵ The level of corruption and economic inequality in a society are other explanations to consider when exploring how money in politics drives the integrity of elections.⁵⁶ To address these critical problems, the Electoral Integrity Project entered into a collaborative project with Global Integrity and the Sunlight Foundation to generate research, analysis and global norms that civic organizations, elected officials, regulators and the media can use to build more effective political financing regulations in any country.⁵⁷ More specifically, EIP focused on the challenges of regulating political finance around the world, including why it matters, why this regulation succeeds or fails, and what can be done to address these problems. EIP brought together a wide range of international scholars and practitioners with expertise in the area of political finance, producing a short executive report (2015) and, with Oxford University Press, an edited volume titled *Checkbook Elections: Political Finance in Comparative Perspective* (2016).

ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE

Another concern associated with the spread of contentious elections is the number of polls held in a pervasive climate of fraud, mistrust, and intolerance

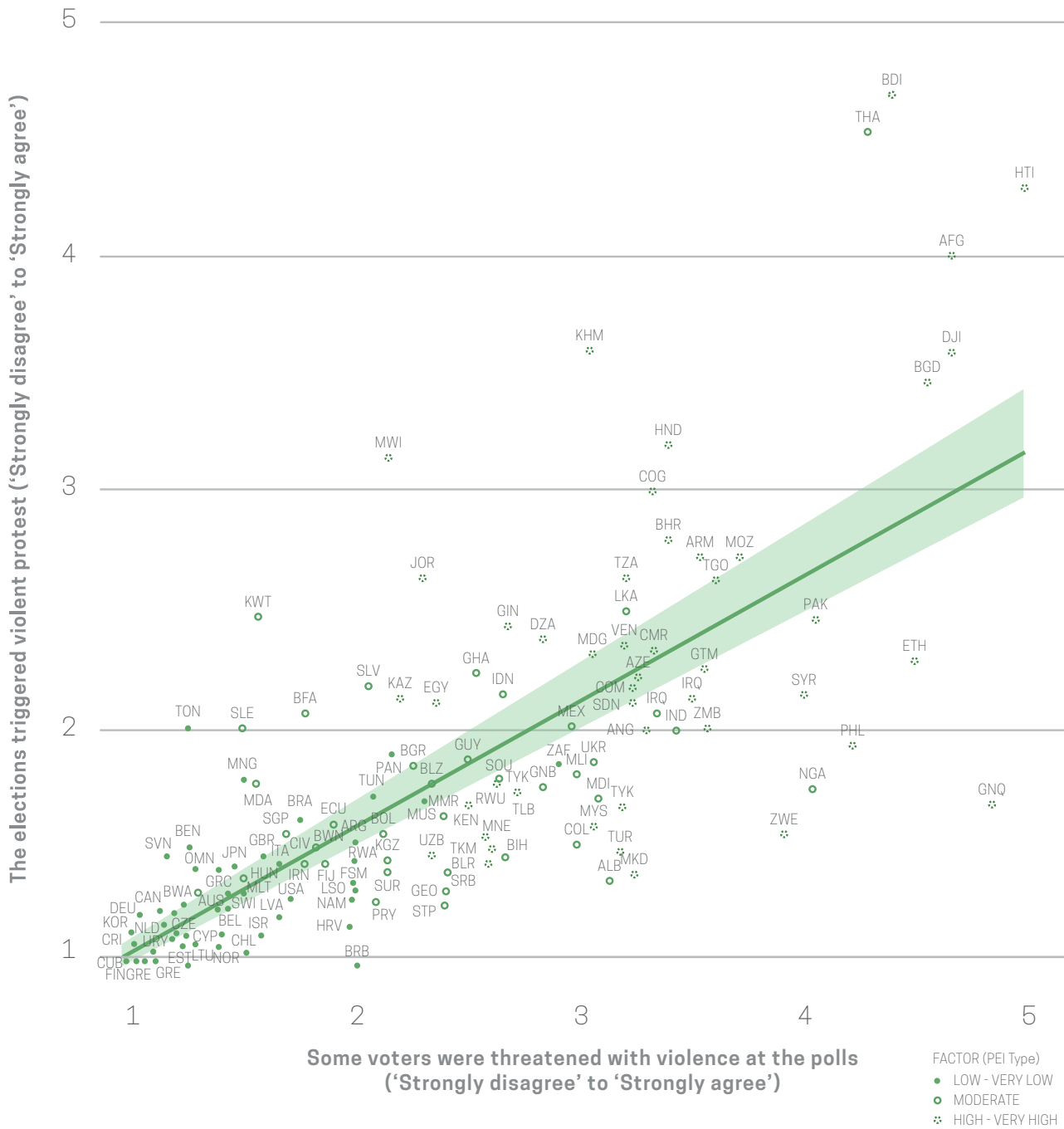
that have ignited massive protests and violence.⁵⁸ Contentious elections raise red flags by potentially undermining democratic transitions in countries emerging from dictatorship, furthering instability and social tensions in fragile states, increasing uncertainty and risks for investors, and jeopardizing growth and development in low-income economies.

To compare some of the evidence more systematically, Figure 10 shows the indicators from PEI-4.0 where experts rated how far how far some voters ‘were threatened with violence at the polls’ (8-1 as an indicator of coercion) and how far elections ‘triggered violent protests’ (10-3 as an indicator of public anger and a backlash against the election).

The results confirm the problems in Burundi and Haiti, already described, were indeed some of the worst cases of conflict in the countries under comparison. Other problematic cases include Afghanistan (where instability and violence remains endemic and the legitimacy of the June 2014 Presidential election were undermined by claims of widespread fraud, vote-buying and ballot-stuffing) and also Thailand (where parliamentary elections in February 2014 saw street battles, some polling places closed, followed by the military coup d’état).

Legislative contests in Djibouti in February 2013 also saw outbreaks of conflict, where the long-standing ruler, President Ismail Omar Guelleh, is reported to repress and harass rights activists, journalists, and opposition leader, including 500 arrests in the elections which triggered an opposition boycott of parliament.⁵⁹ In Bangladesh, the January 2014 parliamentary elections also saw street fighting, low turnout (22 percent), and opposition boycotts protesting the victory for the ruling Awami League. At least 18 people were killed as police fired upon protestors and activists set fire to 100 polling stations. This reflects the tensions

FIGURE 10: ELECTORAL VIOLENCE



which have polarized politics in Bangladesh around the bitterly-divided rival leaders, Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia.⁶⁰

Problems of electoral conflict arise from multiple causes, not least a legacy of deep-rooted violence and ethnic tensions which spills over into the campaign, heightened by partisan polarization and widespread poverty.⁶¹ Much concern has focused in Sub-Saharan Africa but in fact tensions have arisen at the polls in many parts of the world, especially in Asia, as illustrated

by the cases of Cambodia, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Pakistan. Most importantly, there appears to be a curvilinear relationship between levels of autocracy-democracy and violent electoral protests, with the peak of conflict in hybrid regimes which are neither fully democratic (providing legitimate channels of legal redress) nor in the world's most repressive autocracies like Belarus and Iran (which repress opposition demonstrations). Hybrid states typically expand opportunities for protest activism and continue to be characterized by partisan polarization and instability.⁶²

BALANCED AND FAIR NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE

What is the role of news media systems in strengthening electoral integrity and democracy? By 'news media system', we mean all the communication outlets, including television and radio broadcasts, newspapers and magazines, as well as social media. One view suggests that through external diversity, a variety of media outlets presenting alternative viewpoints and perspectives, allows citizens to forge their opinions freely. Internal diversity means that media also present balanced information, such as stop-watch coverage of political parties.⁶³ In this sense, newspapers, television, radio and social media "are expected to provide sufficient and relevant political information so that citizens can hold their representatives to account and make informed choices".⁶⁴ Thus, "a country is democratic only to the extent that the media system, as well as elections, are structurally egalitarian and politically salient".⁶⁵ The diffusion of alternative political information about all candidates and parties within and across media outlets enhances the deliberative function of democracy, thus, this process works if the news media system is selfregulating, independent from political pressures, and inclusive of different opinions and standpoints.⁶⁶

An alternative model, however, suggests that by presenting partisan information and advocacy, the news media can serve to mobilize public opinion and civic engagement. There is still importance for external diversity, but each outlet can be closely aligned with a particular ideological or partisan perspective, such as in the US where Fox News is linked with a more conservative perspective while MSNBC is associated with a more liberal viewpoint. The imperative of pluralistic news media systems is fundamental for electoral integrity and democracy when it comes to campaign coverage – that is, the way traditional news media (TV and newspapers) present and diffuse information which is balanced

in the time or directional coverage of all candidates and parties prior, during and after electoral contests. The reality is often otherwise, however, where ruling parties gain predominant coverage, and the ideal of balanced information and fair coverage of political events is often more akin to a myth build upon stereotypes and wishful thinking.⁶⁷

The concept of balanced coverage is difficult to measure across countries. In the PEI data, however, two variables provide a measure of how experts assessed traditional news media balance in election coverage: 6-1 ('Newspapers provided balanced election news') and 6-2 ('TV news favored the governing party', reversed). Figure 11 plots the relationship between the two variables.

Intuitively, the two indicators of media impartiality should be strongly and positively correlated. This seems to be the case ($R=.54^{***}N139$) overall. Thus some cases in the lower left quadrant, such as Malaysia, perform very poorly in terms of media balance. In Malaysia, Federal elections for the lower house of Parliament were held on April 2013. The winner, the long-standing Barisan Nasional (National Front) had greater access to campaign media.⁶⁸ At the same time, Malaysian opposition parties historically lack access to government-controlled radio and television, official censorship is common, and many newspapers have close ties to the governing coalition, although new social media are challenging this predominance.⁶⁹

Unsurprisingly as well, several countries in the upper right quadrant, especially Western European and Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany and Switzerland, perform well in both dimensions, confirming the importance given in those countries to media independence, news impartiality and a more consensual decision-making culture. Switzerland, for example, experienced a profound change in the public sphere in the early 1970s, during which traditional media loosened

FIGURE 11: MEDIA



their ties to political parties and trade unions, resulting in a more pluralistic and diversified media marked. At the same time, however, media competition has been relatively low in Switzerland, with a few leading media corporations dominating the public sphere (e.g., SRG SSR Idée Suisse).⁷⁰ This creates a media culture characterized by pluralistic and independent outlets, facing a relatively low competition. When it comes to election coverage, our result show that Switzerland performed quite well in the last Federal election of October 2015.

The figure shows however that many countries do not conform to this overall pattern. On the one hand, in the lower right quadrant, in some established democracies such as the UK, Canada, Australia and Brazil, TV coverage of elections is substantially more balanced than newspapers.

On the other hand, several emerging African countries such as Namibia, South Africa, Malawi and Cote d’Ivoire seem to be characterized by more independent newspapers, but more biased TV coverage, as shown in the upper left quadrant.

How can we make sense of such discrepancies? One possible explanation relates to degree of regulation of different media outlets. Regulation of TV and radio content and broadcasting rules are common, on the grounds of spectrum scarcity. In the tradition of public sector broadcasters, television news has a duty to be balanced and fair in its treatment of political parties. Regulation and direct control over state broadcasters in authoritarian states is also often strong, based on the not uncommon perception that TV has the “power to enslave entire nations”.⁷¹ By contrast, newspaper markets are usually far less tightly regulated.

Several states enforce regulations aimed at curbing biases in party and campaigns coverage. In the UK, political broadcasting is heavily regulated by the authorities to ensure 'stop-watch' balance in the news and current affairs programs during election campaigns, but newspapers are highly partisan and largely unregulated. In Brazil, as well, candidates face a complex legal benchmark for political advertising on TV, based on an intricate scheduling system elaborated by the Superior Electoral Court which determines the day and time when advertisements can be shown.⁷² These regulations naturally create a fairer and more balanced TV coverage of elections, as reflected in Figure 11. Political coverage in the newspaper market is largely unregulated.

Secondly, the degree of competition may matter. Highly competitive commercial media market has been shown to decrease the quality of traditional content: when competition is extreme, journalists' commitment to quality news declines, as they are expected to follow low-cost strategies.⁷³

Finally, a third explanation relates to the type of regime in power and experience of democratization. This goes hand in hand with the development of a pluralistic public sphere, in which different views and opinions are represented. Traditionally, given the lower structural costs associated with newspaper than television ownership and publication, the print press been the logical gateway to express such plurality. This may help to explain why newspapers often perform better in terms of independent coverage than TV in authoritarian states.

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authoritarian states.

These patterns matter. Television is often more likely than other media to influence the opinions and attitudes of those who are less interested and engaged in politics.⁷⁴ If so, this effect is particularly malignant when TV coverage is biased. The decline in newspapers' perceived credibility, with the increasing diffusion of TV coverage of news,⁷⁵ provides additional reasons to be cautious about the future of fair, independent and balanced media in some states.

RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ELECTION MONITORS

Since the 1980s, election monitoring by international or domestic organizations has become widespread.⁷⁶ A number of international documents set the standards and code of conduct for both foreign and national election observers and call on governments to guarantee access for these watchdog groups.⁷⁷ Great hopes are placed in the potential of observers to deter election fraud or setting an agenda of electoral reform. Yet, in reality, monitors face restrictions in many places.

Existing research has suggested several reasons for the prevalence and level of access of international monitors. On the one hand, there might be 'top-down' factors driving the supply of election monitors and their degree of access. Governments may aspire to be accepted by their regional peers, and hence, monitors should be less restricted in regions with overall stronger democratic traditions.⁷⁸

At the same time, 'bottom-up' factors may also play an important role in explaining where monitors are restricted. Democratic aspirations among the population may drive the wish for transparent elections, leading to more demand for the creation of watchdog NGOs, or the call for international attention. This may create a heightened engagement of international monitoring groups in a 'boomerang effect'.⁸¹ On the other side of the coin are grievances. If elections work well, or citizens believe that

malpractices will be remedied by existing checks and balances of the courts or parliamentary oversight, the demand for the formation of monitoring NGOs will be low.⁸² Such demand-side factors may be more important for domestic than for international monitors. But even where grievances exist, limitations to associational rights and other civil liberties may limit political opportunities for watchdog NGOs and make their formation less likely or hinder their work.⁸³

Figure 12 plots PEI survey items 9-4 and 9-5 ('International/Domestic election monitors were restricted') on a scale of one to five, and countries are grouped by the overall integrity of their elections (Low; Medium; or High). The distribution shows a strong relationship between overall election quality and the ability of observers to operate there. The general pattern is that where elections have high integrity, domestic and international watchdogs are free to observe and report, while in low-integrity contests they are typically faced with harsh restrictions. Across all elections, the average scores on both survey items is 2.2 (out of five), suggesting that restrictions of election monitors is not among the worst problems of electoral integrity.

Unsurprisingly, PEI experts evaluated restrictions to both type of observers as unproblematic in high integrity contests, mostly concentrated in Western Europe and the OECD democracies in general. These countries are all tightly grouped in the bottom left corner of the graph, suggesting possible regional norm diffusion effects.

In contrast, the variability among countries with medium electoral integrity is much larger. It ranges from almost no restrictions in Albania, Ghana, or Moldova, with scores of about 1.5, to quite adverse environments for observers in Oman, Singapore, or Venezuela, with scores of about 3 on both variables. The latter countries may be less susceptible to the sticks and carrots of international aid, or shaming, since they have independent sources of economic growth and are less dependent on international legitimacy.

The span is even wider for low-integrity contests, with countries such as Malawi or Guatemala allowing observers almost free access despite running generally poor elections, whereas highly repressive countries such as Ethiopia, Belarus, or Equatorial Guinea severely penalize observers. Basically, domestic grievances are strong in all of these countries, due to seriously undermined electoral integrity. But while Malawi and Guatemala guarantee associational rights, the closed autocracies at the upper right corner of Figure 12 severely repress any form of civil society engagement. Domestic observers are routinely jailed, harassed, or denied access to polling places. Thus, grievances and political opportunities both seem to be important drivers of observer access.

An interesting outlier is Iran – a country in the mid-range of electoral integrity - where the PEI experts saw prohibitive restrictions against international monitors, but domestic watchdogs were much freer to operate. Due to its pariah status in the international community, no international aid spending provides supply-side factors for NGOs to monitor elections in the country.⁸⁴ More importantly, the legal framework does not provide for an accreditation process of international observers.⁸⁵ At the same time, while independent citizen groups are not allowed, the General Inspection Organization and the Guardian Council may field observers, providing at least a minimum of domestic oversight.⁸⁶ Given the regime's demonstrated ability to quell even large-scale contention about fraudulent elections in 2009 it might be more willing to grant some access to domestic rather than international observers.⁸⁷

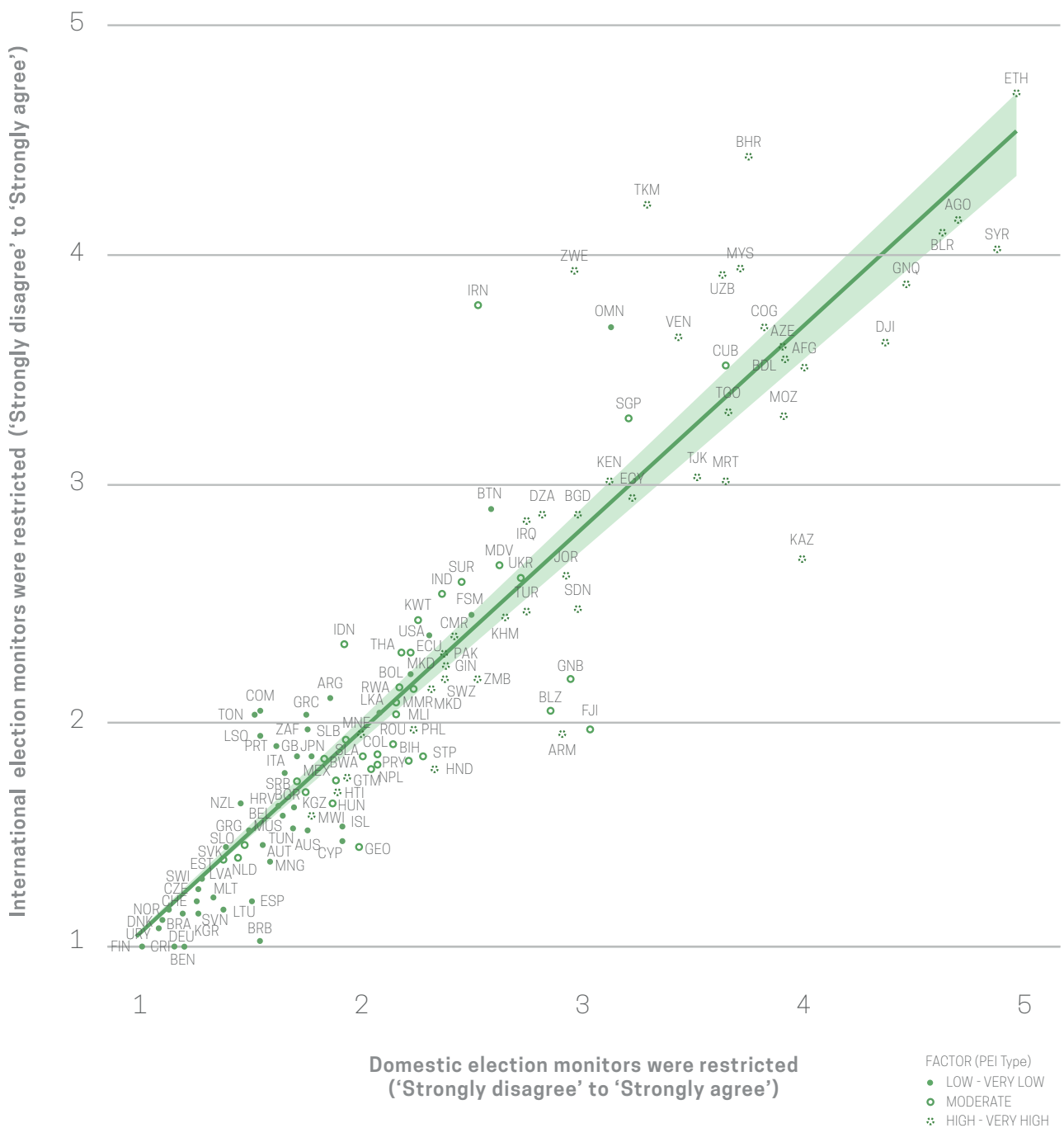
Conversely, Kazakhstan – another outlier - severely represses domestic NGOs while allowing a degree of access to international watchdogs. This country – being part of the former Soviet space and a field of operations of the OSCE – is faced with stronger regional pressures to allow internationals access to the polls. However, by cracking down on domestic NGOs, the regime may try to deprive the foreign observers of their primary

information source and subsequently paint the election in a less critical light. In addition, the OSCE report on the 2015 election questioned the independence of a prominent observer group due to lack of transparency in its funding.⁸⁸ This suggests a strategy of closely managing some domestic observers and restricting independent ones.

Overall, both types of observers face the most adverse environment in countries where electoral contests have low integrity – incidentally the places where their work

may be most needed. On the other hand, observers enjoy a conducive environment in places where elections already have high integrity. Despite such open access, there are much fewer domestic election monitors active in these countries, simply because there are fewer grievances associated with poor electoral integrity.⁸⁹ Once more is known about both – the presence or absence of observers, and whether or not they are restricted – we can begin to unpack their possible impact.

FIGURE 12: MONITORS



Key Elections 2015

The following selected cases illustrate issues that were salient in elections last year.



CANADA – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 19 OCTOBER 2015

The Canadian parliamentary elections of October 2015 ranked 20 out of all 180 elections covered thus far in PEI 4.0., and fifth for elections covered in 2015. It provided an example of a contest generally well administered around the whole electoral cycle.

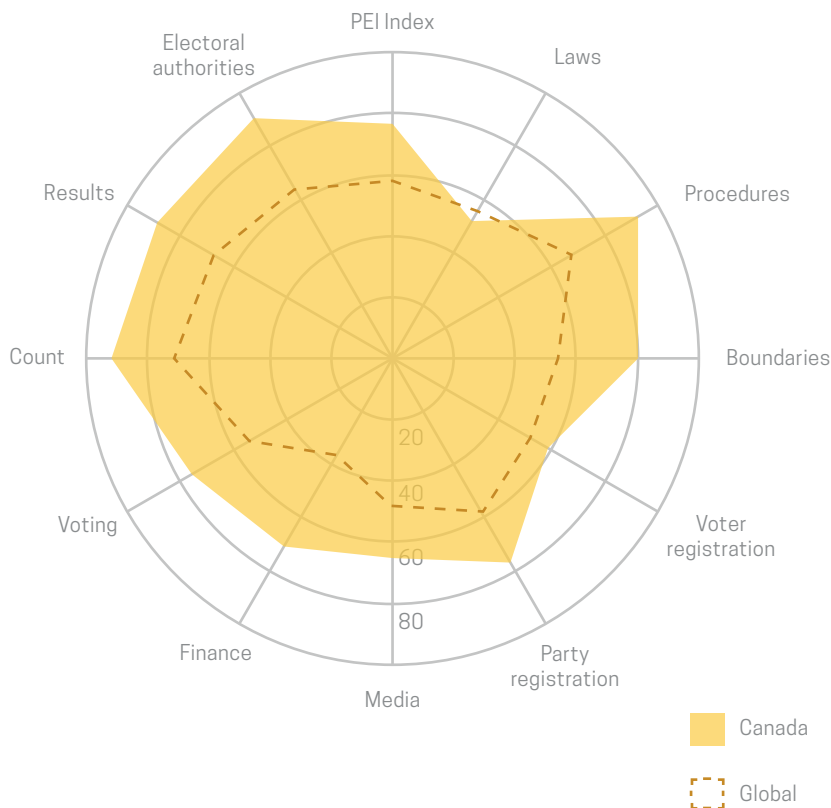
The election produced an unexpected result, with voters putting an end to the Conservative prime ministership of Stephen Harper, in power since 2006. In 2015, Harper’s Conservative Party won only 99 seats in the House of Commons, 67 fewer than their previous electoral showing in 2011. The Liberal Party, under the leadership of Justin Trudeau, surged from third position in pre-election polls to achieve a surprising yet substantial majority on Election Day.⁹⁰ The Liberals gained control of 184 of the 338 seats in the Canadian lower house. The New Democratic Party finished third with 44 seats, followed by Bloc Québécois and The Green Party with 10 seats and one seat respectively. The result

points to a dramatic swing in public sentiment, given that there were only 34 Liberal seats in the previous parliament.

There were no major events in the election campaign; however, immigration and religion became central issues, with the Conservatives stooping to populist tactics such as stoking anti-Muslim sentiment. Harper reaffirmed his opposition to the wearing of the niqab in citizenship ceremonies. His government also promised to prioritize Syria’s religious minorities when processing refugee applications⁹¹ and announced that a police tipoff line would be set up for people to denounce “barbaric cultural practices” such as forced marriage.⁹² Trudeau’s Liberals promised the immediate processing and settlement of an additional 25,000 Syrian refugees, compared to Harper’s promise of 10,000 over four years.⁹³

The experts’ perception of electoral integrity (PEI) index rating was substantially higher than the

FIGURE 13: CANADA



global average. The PEI experts assessed the polls as above average in all but one sub-dimension of the electoral cycle. It received the third highest score out of all surveyed elections in the delimitation of voting district boundaries, surpassed only by Denmark. In addition, the political finance sub-dimension was assessed very favorably in sharp contrast to it being the most problematic aspect of elections in global comparison.

In contrast, as Figure 11 shows electoral laws and the processes related to voter registration were the areas where Canada’s electoral performance shows the greatest room for improvement. Both of these

scores possibly owe to apprehension generated by the Fair Elections Act.⁹⁴ Some observers feared the Act would reduce voter participation and make voting more difficult for students, First Nations Canadians and the homeless, because of new identification requirements.⁹⁵ In the end, most of these fears proved to be unfounded with voter participation jumping to 68.5 percent (a two-decade high) and First Nations voter turnout also increasing.⁹⁶ At least one analyst believed that the apprehension about new voting processes may have spurred Canadians to vote early, consequently increasing overall turnout.⁹⁷

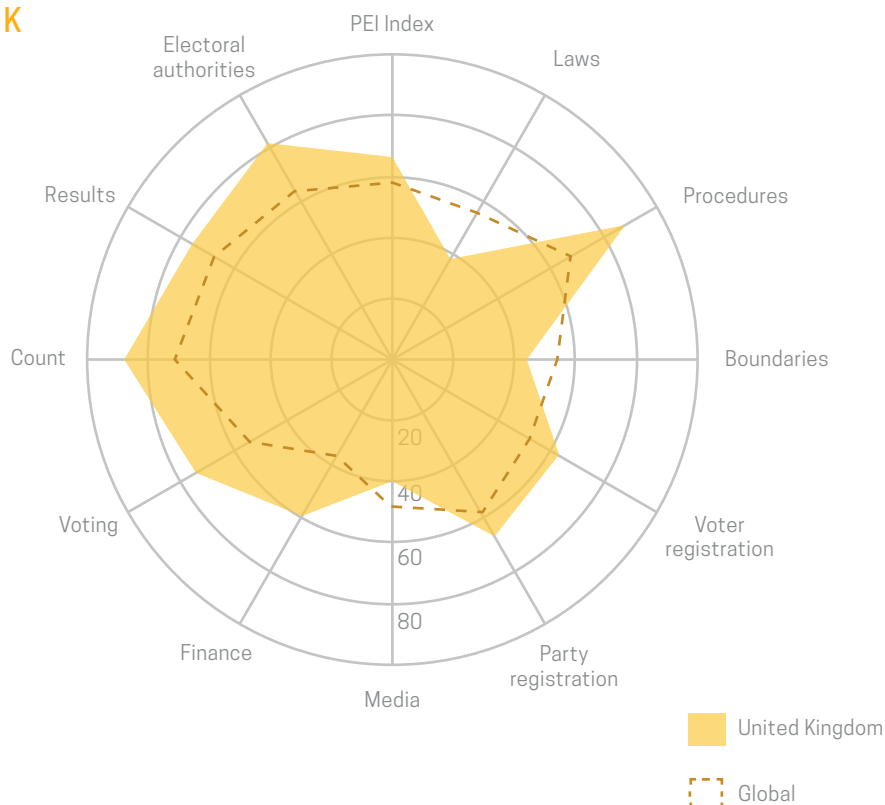
UNITED KINGDOM – GENERAL ELECTION, 7 MAY 2015

In the United Kingdom, the 7 May 2015 general election scored the worst of all Western European states, ranking 39 out of all 139 countries worldwide in PEI-4.0. Despite considerable debate in recent decades over electoral reform, the electoral system for Westminster continues to use the plurality ‘First-

past-the-Post’ system with 650 single member constituencies.

Election day on 7 May 2015 generated allegations of several problems. Technical glitches were reported in Hackney and Dorset following problems with the electoral roll and distribution of cards for the incorrect polling station, blamed by officials

FIGURE 14: UK



on information technology and printing errors. Bournemouth council apologized after 100 people were unable to cast their vote in the local elections because an administrative blunder had led to the wrong ballot papers being issued. Earlier 250,000 ballot papers went missing after a printer's van was stolen in Eastbourne and Hastings. The Electoral Commission is investigated complaints that some overseas voters had not received their voting packs in time. The Guardian reported that Metropolitan police received 18 allegations of electoral fraud in the run up to polling day. In Tower Hamlets, the High Court suspended the Mayor, Lutfur Rahman, after he was found guilty of falsifying postal votes and putting undue pressure on voters at polling stations during the 2014 local and European elections. In Darlington, the BBC reported that the UKIP candidate's name was missing on ballot papers. Finally, the Telegraph reported that the Scottish Tory party leader tweeted claims of voter intimidation in Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale and Tweeddale, with the allegations investigated by local police. None of these were major issues but they may have undermined faith in the electoral

process. When asked beforehand in the British Election Study, the majority of citizens expected that the election would be conducted fairly, but almost one fifth (18 percent) thought that it would be unfairly conducted.

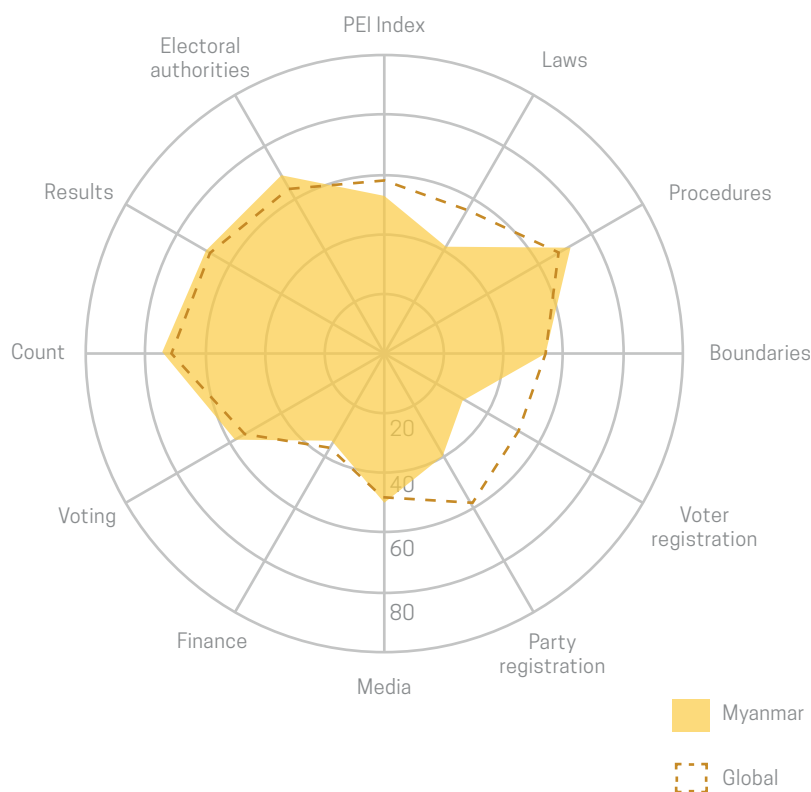
The opinion polls consistently anticipated a close result on election night, fueling media speculation about a second successive coalition government and hung parliament as the most likely outcome. In the end, however, the polls were wrong, and the election saw the return of a Conservative government with 330 seats and a comfortable parliamentary majority, led by Prime Minister David Cameron. The Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party performed poorly, while there were significant gains for the Scottish National Party. The government has introduced individual voter register, replacing household registration, a reform justified by ministers as a more secure system guarding against alleged voter fraud, although critics charge that this may discourage participation by several sectors of the electorate, such as students and ethnic minorities.⁹⁸ The UK lowest ranked dimension is media.

MYANMAR (BURMA) – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 8 NOVEMBER 2015

Myanmar's landmark election – the first broadly competitive in 25 years – took place on the 8th of November 2015. In the country's first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system the House of Nationalities' (Amyotha Hluttaw) 168 members are elected by absolute majority vote in single-member constituencies and 56 members that are appointed by the military. In the House of Representatives (Pyithu Hluttaw), 330 members are elected by absolute majority vote in single-member constituencies and 110 members are appointed by the military to serve 5-year terms.⁹⁹

The country transitioned from a closed military dictatorship to a quasi-democratic form of government after nearly half century of direct military rule. The release of opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi from house confinement in 2010 and her election to parliament in 2012 changed the political status quo in Myanmar.¹⁰⁰ In a landslide, Aung San Suu Kyi's National League of Democracy (NLD) party won 348 of the 664 seats in the two houses of parliament surpassing the two-thirds seats needed for a majority, as constitution guarantees one quarter of all seats to army's nominees.¹⁰¹ Voter turnout was high with almost 70 percent of registered voters.¹⁰² For many – not only in the country's Burmese heartland, but also in its ethnic minority border regions – the polls

FIGURE 15: MYANMAR



a referendum on the decades of authoritarian rule.¹⁰³ Buddhist nationalism – flaming sectarian strife in the country¹⁰⁴ – did not resonate hugely with NLD supporters who instead picked up on Suu Kyi’s promise of change and her chastisement of military rule.¹⁰⁵ Ethnic-based parties performed poorly in most constituencies, with the exception of Shan and Rakhine states. Instead, voters also flocked to the NLD who enters parliament with a strong sense of a mandate to also represent ethnic minority interests.¹⁰⁶

The election marked the first time that outside foreign observers were allowed to monitor election campaigns, voting and the dispute resolution process.¹⁰⁷ More than 11,000 domestic observers and 1,000 international observers from numerous international organizations such as the European

Union, The Carter Center, or the Asian Network for free Elections (ANFREL) or ASEAN assessed the election positively.¹⁰⁸ The EU preliminary statement remarked that “observers reported very positively on the voting process in polling stations, with 95 percent rating the process as ‘good’ or ‘very good’”.¹⁰⁹ The PEI experts also saw Myanmar performing well (above the global average) in regards to procedures, voter registration, counting and results. Given the relative novelty of administering multi-party competitive elections, the favorable assessment of the electoral authorities (Myanmar: 69, global mean: 61) also came as a positive surprise.

Still, international observers had concerns about the abuses of Rohingya Muslims, according to the UN one of the most persecuted people in the world.¹¹⁰ The Carter Center noted that “five of the six

political parties fielding mostly Muslim candidates, including those representing Rohingya and Kaman, lost more than half of their candidates, and at least two Muslim independent candidates were disqualified".¹¹¹ During election campaigns, the UN warned of widespread intimidations by authorities, as dozens of candidates were disqualified from running and also ballots and names on electoral rolls were reported missing.¹¹² Other issues raised were the disenfranchisement of some 760,000 holders of temporary registration certificates, so-called "white cards".¹¹³ Simultaneously, ongoing fighting in some ethnic states has continued to present formidable challenges for some time.¹¹⁴

The domestic NGO People's Alliance for Credible Elections (PACE) voiced concern about the electoral legal framework, particularly the 25 percent reserved seats for the military.¹¹⁵ The PEI experts also picked up this problem; electoral laws scored lower than average (Myanmar: 43; global mean: 54). Furthermore, voter registration was singled out as particularly problematic, with the election ranking in the lowest quartile in the global

comparison of this sub-dimension (Myanmar: 30; global mean: 51). Despite technological solutions being used to create the electoral roll¹¹⁶, doubts about its completeness persisted.¹¹⁷ The PEI experts concurred by giving an average response of 4.2 and 3.9 (out of 5) respectively on the survey items "5-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register" and "4-2 The electoral register was inaccurate".

Myanmar's election was widely hailed by commentators as a leap forward in the democratization process.¹¹⁸ With the NLD's majority, reforms may ensue, providing space for more societal participation. But elections have also been characterized as a deliberate survival strategy of the highly professionalized military complex, seeking to institutionalize some mechanisms of power sharing among the ruling elite.¹¹⁹ While the elections were a successful test for newly built institutions, the country's transition is certainly impeded by the persistent power of the military, state-facilitated crony capitalism, and increasing sectarian divisions.¹²⁰

"2015-11-08 Rangun Polling Day IMG_0623" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by Prachatai

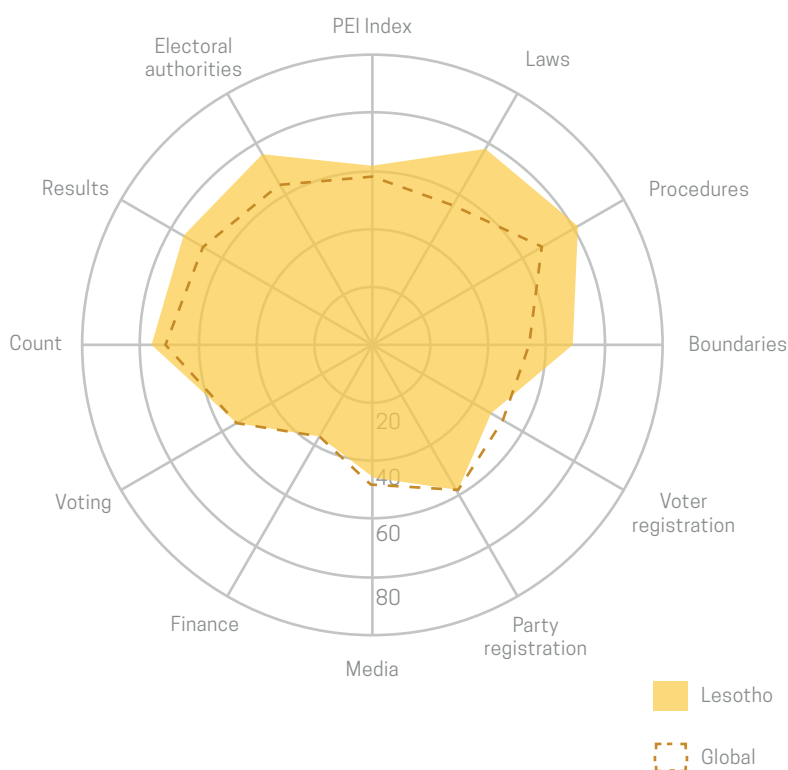


LESOTHO – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 28 FEBRUARY 2015

The 2015 legislative election in Lesotho stood out as a contest of high electoral integrity, despite the turbulent lead-up to it. In 2012, an election had produced the country’s first-ever coalition government.¹²¹ Three parties – Democratic Congress (DC), All Basotho Convention (ABC), and Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) – formed a minority government with ABC’s Thomas Thabane as Prime Minister. In March 2014, after power struggles between the leaders of coalition parties, Lesotho’s government started breaking apart.¹²² In response to a motion of no-confidence, Thabane suspended parliament, creating fears of political instability.¹²³ In August, members of the military reportedly attacked police headquarters in the capital Maseru¹²⁴ and encircled the Prime Minister’s palace.¹²⁵ Thabane fled to South Africa, alleging a coup d’etat had been

staged. The Prime Minister would eventually return to Lesotho in early September and South African Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, as facilitator for the Southern African Development Community (SADC), was able to somewhat reconcile the feuding political parties.¹²⁶ A security accord was signed¹²⁷, parliament reconvened on October 17¹²⁸ and all political parties agreed to hold early elections in February 2015.¹²⁹ Similar “invited interventions” by South Africa or the SADC had previously put Lesotho back on track for multiparty elections.¹³⁰ Yet, in a repeat of the 2012 polls, the elections again produced no outright winner and the government in Maseru is now made up of a coalition of seven parties.¹³¹ Democratic Congress leader Pakalitha Mosisili, who previously served as Prime Minister between 1998 and 2012, was sworn in on 17 March as the nation’s new PM.

FIGURE 16: LESOTHO



Given the tumultuous events that brought about the elections, and the pre-election mood of distrust and animosity amongst Lesotho's political leaders¹³², it came to some surprise that the polls themselves were viewed as largely peaceful and orderly by election monitors.¹³³ Commonwealth observers praised the elections for being inclusive, commended the professionalism and dedication of polling officials, highlighted the voter education efforts of religious and civil society leaders, and recognized the respectful and trustworthy behavior of political party agents at polling stations.¹³⁴ The SADC observer mission concluded that the polls were "peaceful, transparent, credible, free and fair, thus reflecting the will of the people of the Kingdom of Lesotho".¹³⁵

These comments align with Lesotho's score on the 2015 Perception of Electoral Integrity index. Overall, the 2015 PEI index positions this landlocked African nation at 63, slightly above the world average. It was the second highest score of any election in Africa in 2015, surpassed only by Benin, scoring

above average in almost all aspects of the electoral cycle. Lesotho's exemplary adherence to electoral procedures and its robust electoral laws are its strongest electoral assets. At the same time, some observers argue that the country's Mixed-Member Proportional electoral system causes structural instability and hung parliaments¹³⁶, although others credit it with mitigating some potential conflicts.¹³⁷

The overall high integrity of elections in Lesotho was weakened by its average performance in the areas of voter registration, campaign finance and campaign media access. The African Union made a number of recommendations for the improvement of future elections. They called for: more stringent media regulations; measures to promote full participation and representation of women, young people and people with a disability; greater distance between political and security forces; and constitutional reform.¹³⁸ Another weakness of elections in Lesotho remains low voter turnout – 47 percent in the 2015 election.¹³⁹

"Lesotho elections, 1 March 2015" (CC BY-ND 2.0) by GovernmentZA



NIGERIA – GENERAL ELECTION, 28 MARCH 2015

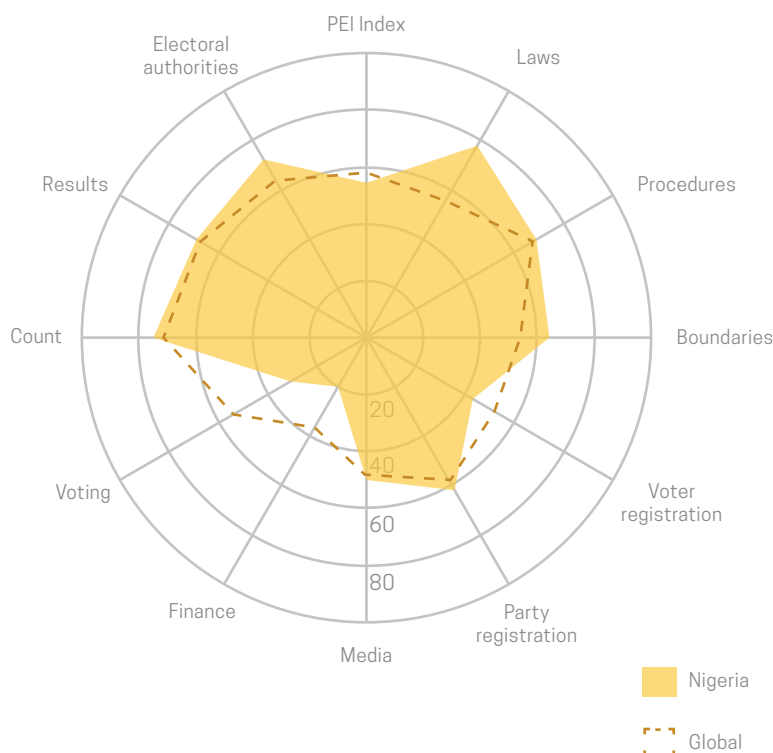
Nigeria’s Presidential Elections took place on 28 March 2015, after being postponed by six weeks because of security concerns. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) reasoned that the decision was taken to push back the election date after military advice indicated electoral security could not be guaranteed.¹⁴⁰ The postponement was heavily criticized by the opposition and civil society observers as a politically motivated collusion between military and the incumbent to give the ruling party more time to campaign and “play the money game”.¹⁴¹ Yet, ultimately, as the International Republican Institute remarked, the extra time proved valuable and allowed the distribution of “an extra 10 million PVCs [Permanent Voters Cards], taking the total distribution rate from 66.5 percent

before the postponement to 81.2 percent on the eve of the election”.¹⁴²

When elections did eventually take place, the people of the most populous nation in Africa elected representatives by simple majority vote in the 360 single-member constituencies of the House of Representatives and in the 109 multi-member constituencies of the Senate.¹⁴³ 14 candidates contested the presidency, needing either an absolute majority or at least 25 percent of the vote in two thirds of the states in order to be elected.¹⁴⁴

The fifth presidential race since the transition from military rule in 1999 was highly competitive and but marked by sporadic violence, with both the incumbent and the opposition reporting attacks and murders of their supporters.¹⁴⁵ The Boko Haram resurgence also threatened freedom of assembly.

FIGURE 17: NIGERIA



Media favouring the incumbent was a concern for observers, not being addressed by the regulatory body.¹⁴⁶ Although it was a mostly peaceful event, mob violence leading to injuries and death occurred in a number of states.¹⁴⁷

The main challenger for incumbent leader Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDC) was Muhammadu Buhari, leader of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and former military dictator. Buhari who put up a strong campaign centred on security, promising to crush the Boko Haram insurgency.¹⁴⁸ His support base lies in the largely Muslim north of the country, whereas Jonathan is most popular in the predominantly Christian south. The election results reflected the competitive promise of the pre-election period with Jonathan winning 15 states and the Federal Capital Territory and Buhari winning the remaining 21 states.¹⁴⁹ Some contestation ensued over fraudulent vote counts in certain southern states, "however no centralised systemic fraud was observed".¹⁵⁰ Quick count initiatives, such as the one by the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), helped increase public trust in the validity of results.¹⁵¹

The outcome was hailed as a triumph for Nigerian democracy.¹⁵² It was the first time a sitting president was ousted from power via democratic means and accepted the result. In an encouraging gesture of goodwill, Jonathan phoned Buhari to convey his "best wishes"¹⁵³ and urged his supporters to accept the result.¹⁵⁴

Nevertheless, significant room for improvement for future elections was also noted in other areas. Tighter media campaign regulations to avoid bias favouring incumbents, greater political participation for women, the need to better organise polling stations and voting equipment, and the efficient use of biometric identification were all earmarked for reform.¹⁵⁵ A statement from the African Union observation mission also highlighted the inability of INEC to effectively monitor the sources of political

party financing.¹⁵⁶ This picture is consistent with Nigeria's score in the overall PEI Index in which it was ranked slightly below the global average (Nigeria: 53; global mean: 56). Experts evaluated the political finance sub-section with a score of 20 (global mean: 36), putting Nigeria in the lowest ten elections of 2015 in that regard.

International electoral observation missions from the European Union and the Commonwealth both commended the INEC for its handling of the election overall, singling out the introduction of biometric identity cards as a particularly positive development.¹⁵⁷ Electronic voter card readers and other innovations were credited with making multiple voting, ballot-box stuffing and other election-day fraud largely unfeasible.

However, biometric technology was also criticized.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, the 'voting' sub-dimension – while one of the less problematic aspects of elections in global comparison – was ranked particularly poorly (Nigeria: 30; global mean: 54). Only nine out of the 180 elections covered in PEI 4.0 were ranked lower than Nigeria in that subdimension, indicating that there were significant problems with some fraudulent votes cast, voters being threatened with violence, or the timing and voting facilities simply being poorly managed.

Yet, despite these concerns, EU observers considered the overall outcome of the elections as "peaceful and orderly (...) despite frustration and challenges caused by often late opening of polling sites, failing biometric voter verification, some regrettable violent incidents, and re-polling on Sunday".¹⁵⁹ They commended the National Election Commission NEC efforts given the systemic challenges. PEI experts noted Nigeria's electoral legal framework and vote counting procedures.

SINGAPORE – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 11 SEPTEMBER 2015

Singapore’s ruling party won the city-state’s election for the 12th consecutive time during its parliamentary election on September 11 2015. This was the People’s Action Party (PAP) most challenging election yet as Singapore is experiencing a weakening economy and opposition parties contested every parliamentary seat for the first time since Singapore’s independence in 1965.¹⁶⁰ In the Singaporean parliament, 76 members are directly elected by bloc vote in 16 multi-member constituencies and 13 are directly elected by simple majority vote in single member constituencies for a total of 89 seats in parliament.¹⁶¹

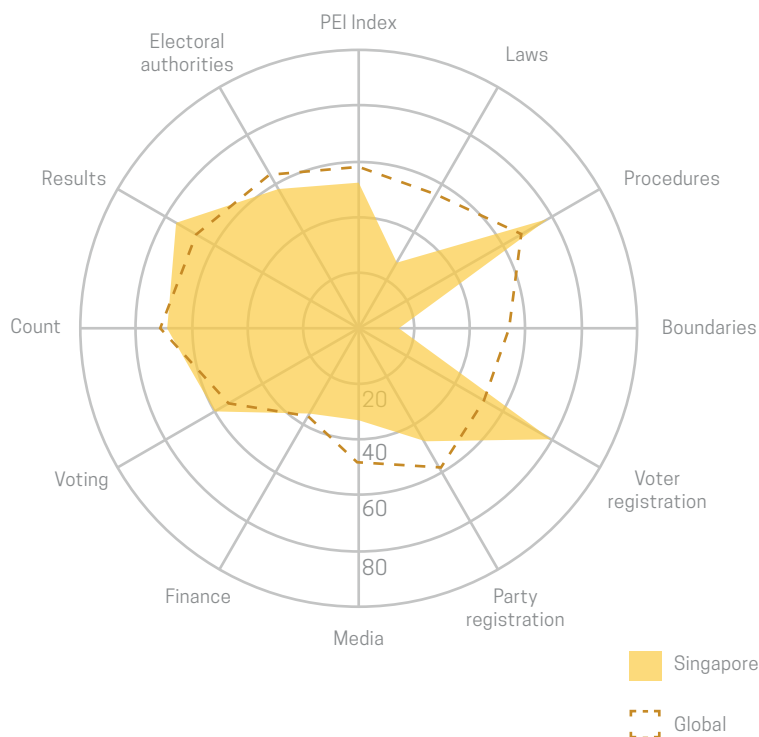
Lee Kuan Yew, who transformed the island into an economic powerhouse during his ruling, died in March 2015. His death sparked strong national pride among Singaporeans,¹⁶² and after celebrating

the 50th anniversary of Singapore’s independence, Lee’s son Prime Minister Lee Hsie Long called for early elections in what seemed a strategy to take advantage of patriotic feelings.¹⁶³

The election had only a stunning nine days of political campaigning - the shortest legally allowed by the election department. It saw a reinvigorated opposition that used social media to bring their message across to Singaporeans, rather than through state-controlled media outlets.¹⁶⁴

Despite the opposition’s gains in the 2011 polls – where PAP gained only 60.1 percent of the vote, its lowest percentage of support in history¹⁶⁵ - the ruling party secured a sweeping victory in 2015 with 83 of the 89 seats. Of the eight opposition political parties, only the Workers Party (WP) was able to obtain six seats in parliament.¹⁶⁶

FIGURE 18: SINGAPORE



Autocratic rule by an entrenched elite, rhetoric of government effectiveness and 'meritocracy', the ubiquitous influence of personal power networks, and economic favoritism of cronies have long been remarked upon as characteristic features of the 'Singapore model'.¹⁶⁷ The election result reinforced this half century dominance of the PAP in Singaporean politics.¹⁶⁸ The PEI experts gave Singapore a middling PEI Index of 53, just around the global average of 56, but far lower than any other country of comparable socio-economic development. Technical and administrative aspects of the elections worked well as expected, highlighted by above-average scores in the dimensions of electoral procedures (Singapore: 76; global mean: 66), or even more so voter registration (Singapore: 77; global mean: 51). Campaign finance was seen as being on par with the global average, reflecting the strict enforcement of existing political finance regulation, as well as the fact that the PAP as a 'cadre party' is relatively autonomous from private business interests, and intraparty competition is not commercialized.¹⁶⁹

Yet, aspects pertaining to a level playing field were evaluated far less positively. The country's electoral laws were seen as highly skewed in favor of the governing party and restricting citizens' rights (Singapore: 27; global mean: 54). The most negative

assessment regarded the delimitation of voting district boundaries (Singapore: 14; global mean: 53). Only two countries – the United States and Malaysia – scored worse in this dimension. The country fared very poorly on the category's items such as "boundaries discriminated against some parties", or "boundaries favored incumbents". Singapore's large multi-member districts deter electoral competition and increase the likelihood of super-majorities in the gerrymandered districts, leading to a large number of essentially uncontested seats.¹⁷⁰

Given the poor performance of its electoral institutions and the simultaneous erosion of the authoritarian developmental state's 'growth with equity' social compact¹⁷¹, Singapore is faced with new problems of legitimation. While a 'silent majority' wants the PAP in power¹⁷², an electorate keeping up high demand for effective policy and economic growth present challenges for both ruling party and opposition. The country relies on its goods and services from overseas. Singaporeans worry about being able to retire and are struggling with wages that have been devalued with the high cost of living¹⁷³ as well as a rising population triggered by immigration which has pushed the island's population up by over a million people since 2006 to a total of 5.4 million.¹⁷⁴

"The stage after the rally" (CC BY-ND 2.0) by gunman47



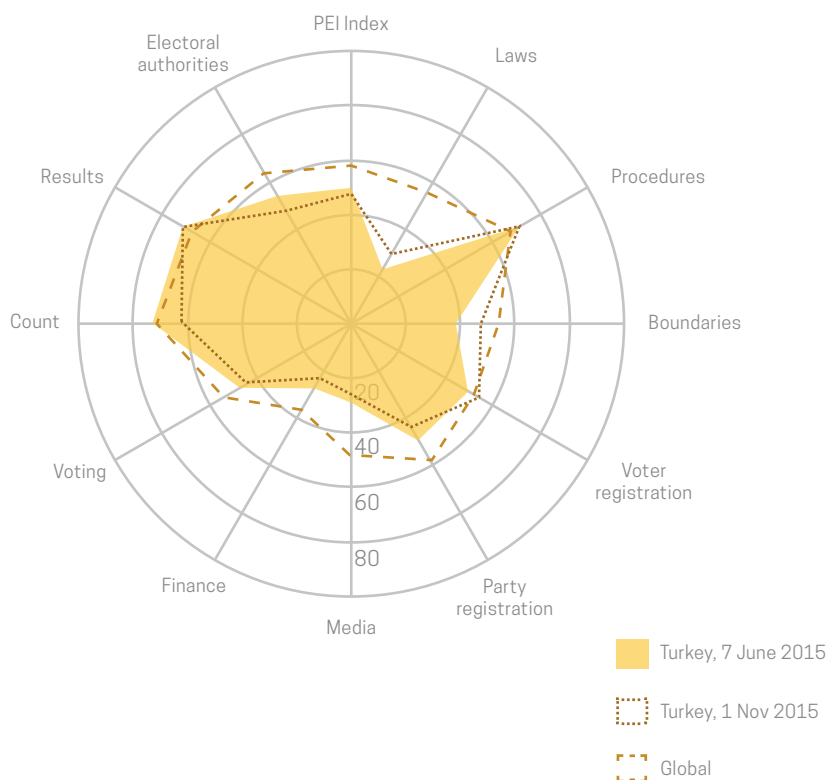
TURKEY – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 7 JUNE AND 1 NOVEMBER 2015

Turkey voted twice in 2015, electing the 550 members of the Grand National Assembly through a closed-list proportional representation system to serve 4-year terms.¹⁷⁵ Driven by compulsory voting¹⁷⁶ and two high stakes races, both elections had high voter turnouts - 82 percent in June and 85 percent in the November polls.¹⁷⁷

The election of 7 June 2015 saw President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) fail to secure an overall majority in parliament for the first time since its creation in 2002. The election results ruined President Recep's plans to boost his office's powers, as he was seeking a two-thirds majority to turn Turkey into a presidential republic.¹⁷⁸ The AKP's strong grip on power and its widespread electoral support have

been characterized as evidence for an emerging hegemonic party.¹⁷⁹ Yet, amidst growing social polarization and fears of emergent authoritarianism the result challenged the AKP's single-party rule.¹⁸⁰ While still securing 40.9 percent of the vote, it lost 69 seats compared to the 2011 election. The Kurdish People's Democratic Party (HDP) at the same time managed to surpass the extraordinary electoral threshold of 10 percent, leading to a political stalemate and hung parliament.¹⁸¹ Snap elections were hence called for the 1st of November. The November election brought back a victory for the AKP, increasing its vote almost nine points in 5 months, frustrating hopes of a fundamental change in the country's political trajectory.

FIGURE 19: TURKEY



Despite stark differences in the political outcome, the integrity of both elections varied only slightly. The PEI experts gave the June election an overall PEI Index of 45, while they rated the November polls with a PEI Index of 47 (compared to the global average of 56). These middling to low scores reflect continued issues in Turkish electoral politics, which are characterized by high polarization and widespread incident of negative campaigning.¹⁸² The media dimension of the PEI was evaluated poorly with a score of 25 and 28 respectively (global mean: 47), including problems such as news favoring the governing party or unequal access to political broadcasting. In addition, campaign finance received low marks of 24 and 26 (global mean: 37). In fact, some scholarly studies have previously suggested that more than one-third of the Turkish electorate is targeted for vote-buying.¹⁸³

PEI experts agreed that electoral laws are a particularly problematic area in Turkey, with both contests scoring less than 30 (global mean: 54). This is even more relevant as there was a drop of more than 20 points compared with the 2014 presidential election. The country has the world's highest election threshold, barring from the legislature any party that does not register at least 10 percent of the popular vote. This regulation was meant to promote efficiency in governance and lawmaking; however international observers have previously stated that

the 10 percent threshold limits pluralism. Reports made by the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) have recommended the threshold to be lowered.¹⁸⁴ The PEI experts strongly agreed that electoral laws are unfair to small parties (4.9 and 4.6 on a 1-5 scale where 5 indicates strong agreement) and agreed that electoral laws favored the governing party (4.17 and 4.15).¹⁸⁵

Another notable difference between the two elections was the degree of violence targeting the left and Kurdish community. In July in a town called Suruc near the Syrian border a suicide bomber killed at least 30 people¹⁸⁶ and in October just a few weeks before the election during a peace rally more than 100 civilians were killed in Ankara.¹⁸⁷ Simultaneously, the government escalated once again its war against the Kurdish nationalist PKK (Kurdistan Workers' party).¹⁸⁸ The PACE and OSCE/ODIHR observer mission characterized the June election as highly participatory.¹⁸⁹ In contrast, the mission's November election report criticized the climate of violence and fear that preceded the vote. They stated that the insecure environment, arrests of opposition activists and media bias by the national broadcaster TRT have made the political campaign unfair.¹⁹⁰

"Ballots and boxes, Ankara, 1 Nov. 2015" (CC BY-SA 2.0) by oscepa



VENEZUELA – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 6 DECEMBER 2015

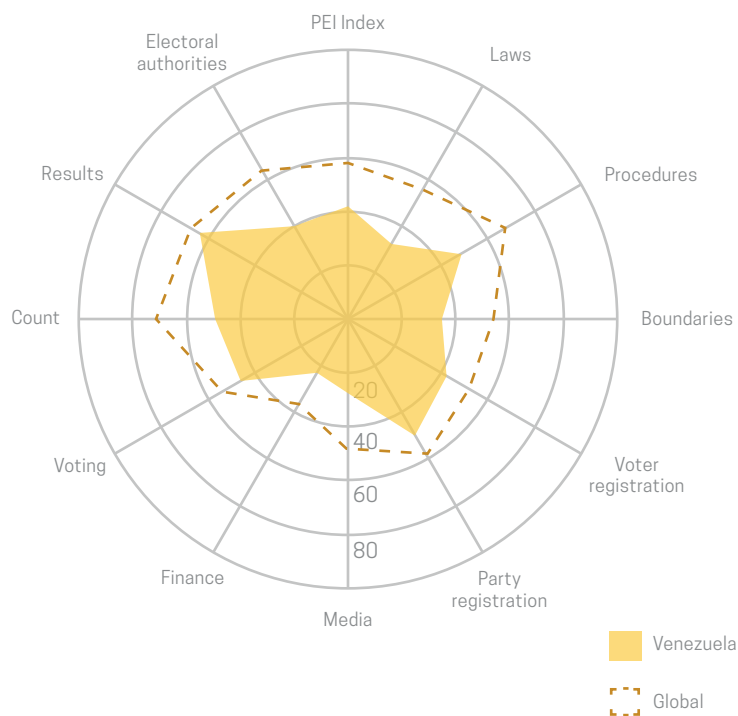
Venezuela held its much-anticipated parliamentary election on 6 December 2015. The results marked a setback for the leftist chavista movement founded by President Chavez in 1999.¹⁹¹ This election was marked by the country’s rough economic situation due to the fall in oil prices and inflation running at almost 200 percent a year. There were shortages of basic products, including food and medicines.¹⁹² The country also experienced high rates of crime: Caracas, the capital, was ranked in the top three among the most dangerous cities in the world, with 134 homicides per 100,000 residents.¹⁹³

Members of Venezuela’s unicameral National Assembly (Asamblea Nacional) are elected to serve

5-year terms partly by simple majority (113 seats), and partly by proportional representation (51 seats), while 3 seats are reserved for indigenous peoples.¹⁹⁴ Voter turnout in the 2015 contest was 73.7 percent or 14,385 million out of 19,504 million registered voters.¹⁹⁵ The results showed the opposition led by the United Opposition parties (Mesa de la Unidad Democratica - MUD) regaining control of the legislative power by winning 65.2 percent of the vote and a total of 109 seats in the National Assembly. This is the first time in 17 years of socialist government where the opposition has obtained a majority. This was a significant win for the opposition against President Maduro who obtained 32.9 percent of the vote and 55 total seats.

¹⁹⁶

FIGURE 20: VENEZUELA



Maduro – having lost control of the parliament – claimed that fraud, vote buying and polling booth capture facilitated the opposition victory.¹⁹⁷ The Supreme Court accepted a challenge of the results.¹⁹⁸ One major issue leading up to the election was the government and the National Electoral Council (CNE) refusal to invite international observers such as the OAS or EU to the parliamentary election. Instead, the government insisted on bringing electoral “accompaniments”. President Maduro allowed the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) to “accompany” the election. UNASUR, cannot make value judgment on the elections of its constituent states.¹⁹⁹ For this election, however, the head of UNASUR, Ernesto Samper, praised Venezuela for organizing the most efficient and transparent elections observed by the bloc of South American countries.²⁰⁰ In the past UNASUR missions have endorsed the CNE’s management of elections and reports have been secret or confidential.²⁰⁰ For this election, several member states of UNASUR insisted on a more impartial form of observation. This led to clashes among Venezuelan authorities and disagreements among UNASUR member states.²⁰¹ This was a continuation of the trend to undermine credible election monitoring by international and citizen observers, which has been noted since at least 2008.²⁰² Existing domestic monitoring efforts

have faced serious institutional constraints, limiting their ability to render accurate evaluations of elections or engage in broader advocacy efforts.²⁰³

Talks of the ‘end of Chavism’²⁰⁴ obscured the fact that the Venezuelan election performed poorly in all stages of the electoral cycle according to PEI experts, with an overall PEI Index of only 42 (global mean: 56). This was a significant decline from the score of 54 in the 2012 parliamentary election, but roughly on par with the 2013 presidential contest (PEI Index of 40). Overall, this election ranked 144 out of 180 elections covered in PEI 4.0. Only party registration and results announcement were on par with the global average. However, experts agreed that the most relevant problems related to electoral laws (Venezuela: 35; global mean: 54), media (Venezuela: 33; global mean: 47) and political finance (Venezuela: 23; global mean: 37). State employees and public funds are used for political campaigning by governing parties,²⁰⁵ which is reflected by an overwhelmingly negative score of 4.5 (out of 5) on the PEI survey item: “Some states resources were improperly used for campaigning”. At the same time, a score of 1.5 out of 5 on the item “Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising” shows serious distortions in regards to campaign media.

“US-VENEZUELA-ELECTIONS” (CC BY-NC 2.0) by Globovisión



BELARUS – PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 11 OCTOBER 2015

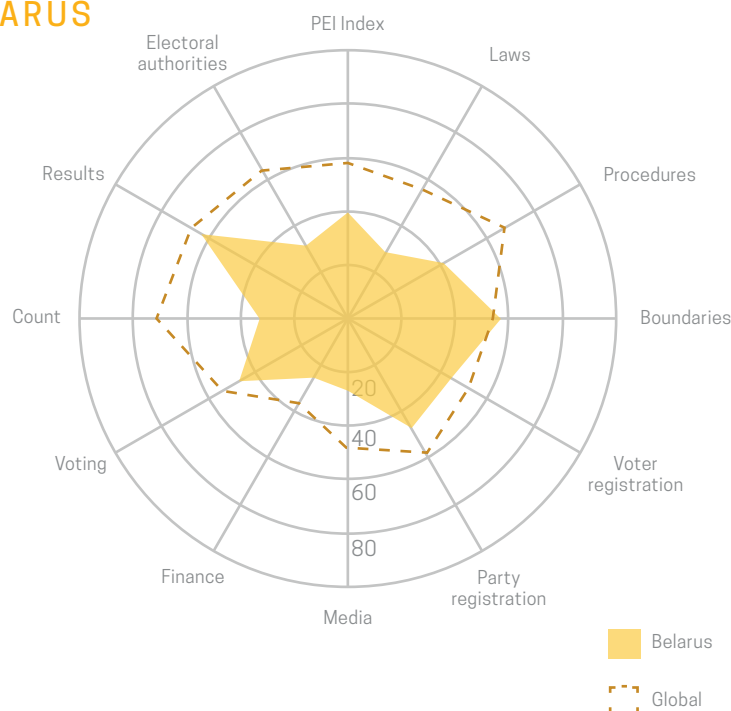
Belarus will be under the rule of Alexander Lukashenko for another five-year term after he was elected president for a fifth time. Since gaining control in 1994 Lukashenko has established himself firmly in the country’s highest political office, altering the constitution in 2004 to abolish the two-term limit on the presidency.²⁰⁵ The president is elected via an absolute majority vote and 50 percent of the population must participate in the elections for them to be valid.²⁰⁶ In the most recent election, held on 11 October 2015, voter turnout was 86.7 percent²⁰⁷, well and truly surpassing the legal limit. The man George Bush’s administration once named “Europe’s last dictator” received a record 83.5 percent of the vote.²⁰⁸

The second-placed candidate, Tatiana Korotkevich, only achieved 4.4 percent.²⁰⁹ Part of the lack of opposition support could be due to the absence of long-term opposition figures who were not allowed to stand.²¹⁰ Prominent leaders are routinely jailed or exiled, and social movements who mobilize for post-election protests are routinely repressed.²¹¹ This has left the Belarusian opposition fragmented.²¹²

Lukashenko’s election campaign was focused on international issues, rather than domestic economic turmoil, also portraying himself as a peacemaker between Europe and Russia.²¹³ ‘Stability’, compared with neighboring Ukraine, is something Lukashenko regards as a major achievement.²¹⁴ Voters were presented with very little choice between candidates, since only one candidate was openly critical of Lukashenko and this was largely on socio-economic grounds.²¹⁵

The PEI experts evaluated the 2015 presidential election in the lowest quarter of contests, with an overall PEI Index of 41. It scored below the global average in all but one PEI sub-dimension. While the experts saw the 2015 contest more positively compared with the legislative elections of 2012 in all stages of the electoral cycle (except voter registration), the 2015 election still scored low on electoral laws (score of 30), campaign finance (27), and media (27). The integrity of media coverage was ranked in the lowest ten percent of all elections covered thus far in PEI 4.0. Tight control over the media also shapes public perceptions of the

FIGURE 21: BELARUS



fairness of the polls.²¹⁶ Furthermore, Belarus ranked exceptionally poor in the 'count' sub-dimension (Belarus: 34, global mean: 69). In this category – a rather unproblematic one in global comparison – the Belarusian contest received the third lowest score of all elections held in 2015. Among other things, this category includes items on the access of domestic and international observers, on whether ballot boxes were secure or whether votes were counted fairly.

In concurrence, international and domestic election observers were highly critical of the conduct of the elections, with the United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights in Belarus, Miklós Haraszti, stating: “The election process was orchestrated, and the result was pre-ordained. It could not be otherwise, given the 20 years of continuous suppression of the rights to freedom of expression, assembly, and association, which are the preconditions for any credible competition”.²¹⁷ Other international bodies have been similarly scathing, with the OSCE noting: “Significant problems, particularly during the counting and tabulation, undermined the integrity of the election”.²¹⁸ Three domestic observer groups also challenged the validity of the

results citing evidence of voter-turnout and results manipulation.²¹⁹ Additionally, domestic human rights observers condemned unequal media access for candidates, voter coercion, the improper use of state resources by the incumbent, and the lack of access for observers to some election processes.²²⁰

Despite what was an overwhelmingly negative appraisal of the electoral event, some rays of hope shone through. Six political prisoners were released in the run up to the elections²²¹ and the OSCE expected that this would mark the end of this kind of political persecution in Belarus.²²² Another positive development was the appearance of the first-ever female presidential candidate.²²³ Candidates were also offered equal and free access to state-owned media; however it was noted that Lukashenko was by far the most visible candidate.²²⁴ In contrast with the 2010 elections the 2015 presidential contest did not cause violent contention, a development praised by the UN.²²⁵ In addition to this, the delimitation of voting district boundaries was singled out as a rather non-problematic issue by the PEI experts (Belarus: 58, global mean: 52) and the PEI Index for the 2015 elections was higher compared to the 2012 legislative elections (32).

“A man votes at a polling station in Mins” (CC BY-SA 2.0) by oscepa



Elections to watch during 2016

*The following cases are ordered
alphabetically.*

AUSTRALIA – FEDERAL ELECTION, SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 2016

Australian politics is at a crossroad. In September last year, Malcolm Turnbull became PM after an internal Liberal Party leadership spill in which he deposed former leader Tony Abbott. Perhaps ironically, the same fate had befallen Turnbull in 2009 when the Liberal-National Coalition was in opposition: Abbott staged a coup and won the party leadership taking his party to electoral victory in 2013.²²⁶ The Turnbull-Abbot carousel is indicative of a broader instability in Australian party leadership, as the Labor party faced a virtually identical situation while holding the federal executive in the previous term. All in all, executive powers at the federal level have changed hands five times in the past five years (Kevin Rudd, Julia Gillard, Kevin Rudd, Tony Abbott, Malcolm Turnbull). And this takes into account only successful leadership spills: Both Abbott and Gillard faced, over the past three years,

several failed attempts to remove them from party leadership.²²⁷

The next elections are a chance for Mr. Turnbull to gain popular legitimacy for his policies, decidedly more centrist, socially liberal and inclusive than those of his predecessor, and to cement his position as Liberal leader. Polls suggest that the Coalition is likely to hold on to power and that Turnbull is much preferred over Labor's Bill Shorten for the top job.²²⁸

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has said that elections can be expected around September or October 2016 but no date has yet been determined.²²⁹ In the last federal elections in 2013, The Australian Electoral Commission lost 1,375 votes²³⁰ from the Western Australian senate vote count, leading to a re-run of senate elections in that state at a cost of around \$20 million.²³¹ There was significant political and public outcry after the event, leading to the resignation of AEC commissioner Ed Killesteyn and

"Australian Parliament House, Canberra (#" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by Christopher Chan



AEC state manager Peter Kramer.²³²

It will also be interesting to see whether minor parties continue to be influential in the Senate. In 2013, the Australian Motoring Enthusiast Party, the Liberal Democratic Party and Family First all won a single senate seat and mining magnate Clive Palmer's Palmer United Party won three. Two of Palmer's senators have since defected and are now sitting as independents. There have been calls for reform of the preferential voting system that led to the election of these minor parties (especially the LDP, AMEP and FF).²³⁵ Currently, preferences in senate voting are largely determined by political parties, because of the burdensome task of numbering 90 percent of the ballot boxes (there were 110 in New South Wales) in senate voting. This leads to most voters choosing to mark '1' next to the political party of their choice, in what is called above-the-line voting, and then letting the party determine preferences. No reform has been implemented and so this somewhat antidemocratic practice of deferring to political parties to determine your vote seems likely to continue.

Also on the spotlight of the political agenda are three popular referenda (plebiscites) on rather controversial issues: same-sex marriage, the abandon of the Monarchy system towards a Republic, and substantive recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders people in the Constitution. Although not directly related to the upcoming federal election, discussions about those issues are likely to set the agenda, increase the polarization of the party system, and eventually shape electoral dynamics.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO – PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 2016

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) faces another difficult electoral contest on November 2016. The current president, Joseph Kabila has been president since 2001 and he inherited the position after his father Laurent-Désiré Kabila was assassinated in 2001.²³⁶ Kabila, who during the past years faced continuous military tensions in eastern Congo and internal rebel forces allegedly supported by neighboring Uganda and Rwanda, was elected for two consecutive terms in 2006 and 2011.²³⁷ The DRC's semi-presidential system creates a situation in which, although the PM (currently Mr. Augustin Matata Ponyo) and the legislature superintend much of the legislative work, the President holds significant powers to influence lawmaking processes, both indirectly and formally through constitutional conventions.

In January 2015 the Congolese people protested, which resulted in the death of at least 40 people²³⁸, demanding Kabila respects democracy and the constitution by stepping down as president in 2016. Such events are expected to happen again in 2016 as opposition parties have vowed to hold demonstrations in order to mount pressure

on President Kabila to step down once his terms expires. Kabila has also been accused of trying to amend the constitution to extend his presidential term.²³⁹

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has not had a peaceful transfer of power in over 55 years of independence.²⁴⁰ Civil wars have resulted in 6 million deaths and destroyed the country's infrastructure. Unemployment is high with 64 percent of people living below the \$ 1.25 per day international poverty line.²⁴¹ The DRC experiences conflict, insecurity, sexual and gender violence on a daily basis.²⁴²

Governmental authorities have previously stated that the 2016 elections may be delayed for up to four years, creating uncertainty around whether the election will happen.²⁴³ Moreover, the DRC government prepared an election calendar in January 2015 showing that revision of the voter register would take up to 16 months and might cost \$290 million dollars.²⁴⁴

This election is not only important for the Congolese people but will also have global repercussions as the DRC has untapped mineral resources worth 24 trillion dollars, vital to global industries.²⁴⁵

"Long Queues Characterize Congolese Elect" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by United Nations Photo





DOMINICAN REPUBLIC – GENERAL ELECTION, MAY 2016

General elections will be held in the Dominican Republic on 15 May 2016. It will be the first time since 1994 that all public authorities will be elected at the same time: presidential, congressional and municipal. It will also be the first time in the Dominican Republic's tormented electoral history²⁴⁶ that all authorities will be elected directly by the people.²⁴⁷ The election will count for the first time with an automated system employed by the EMB, which will replace manual counting ballots.²⁴⁸

Dominican Republic President Danilo Medina will be eligible to run for the 2016 election under a constitutional change approved by the nation's lower congressional chamber in June 2015.²⁴⁹ The modified constitution allows for two consecutive presidential terms and limits presidents to a total of eight years. The previous constitution prohibited consecutive terms, as a President had to wait four years before seeking reelection.²⁵⁰

In 2014, President Medina's popularity grew faster than any other in Latin America, as the economy expanded with 7.3 percent.²⁵¹ The Dominican Republic is a \$66 billion economy that has grown at an average rate of 5.8 percent from 2005–2015, the second highest growth rate in Latin America, after Panama.²⁵² Medina's popularity was reflected in the polls from January 2016. According to recent SIN-Mark Penn survey results, Medina, running for the Dominican Republic's ruling party (PLD), could be reelected by more than 30 points over his opposition rival Luis Abinader, from the Modern Revolutionary Party (PRM).²⁵³ Another polling company, Pollster Asisa Research, also predicted that Medina's PLD party would win with 54.8 percent of the vote against Luis Abinader with 38.6 percent of the vote.²⁵⁴ However, Medina has been criticized for changing migration and citizenship laws, which stripped thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent of their citizenship.²⁵⁵

IRAN - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, FEBRUARY 2016

The Iranian people voted in February 2016, in the first joint election of the 290-seat parliament, known in Iran as the Islamic Consultative Assembly (also called Iranian Majlis, or People's House), and the Assembly of Experts, the body that chooses the Islamic Republic's supreme leader.²⁵⁶

Some journalists doubted the fairness of the elections, with questions arising over the "arbitrary" exclusion of potential candidates.²⁵⁷ The Guardian Council (a 12-member panel of Islamic jurists²⁵⁸) approved only 166 of the 801 candidates who applied to run for the Assembly of Experts.²⁵⁹ This followed after the same council had disqualified all but around 4,700 out of more than 12,000 potential parliamentary candidates.²⁶⁰ A similar situation in 2012 led to a parliamentary election boycott by reformist parties²⁶¹; however, one prominent reformist leader ruled out this tactic for the 2016 elections.²⁶¹

Some believe the vote was a referendum on the future

direction of the revolution.²⁶² This is because of the great potential for change that would be generated by a win by progressives in either the parliament and or the Assembly of Experts.²⁶³ The power shift in parliament may give moderate President Hassan Rouhani more scope to push through reforms, such as the codification of political crimes and a prohibition on the policing of religious adherence, changes which have both been previously blocked by his more conservative political opponents.²⁶³

Rouhani has achieved a lot in the international sphere since wresting the presidency away from hardliner Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. He recently secured a groundbreaking nuclear deal with world powers, an achievement that may have had hardliners sensing the winds of change.²⁶⁵ The agreement may improve Iran's economic situation through lifting crippling economic sanctions.²⁶⁶ In the wake of the nuclear deal, Rouhani toured Europe to sign multi-million dollar trade deals and even met with the Pope, a sign of increasing international engagement.²⁶⁷

"Iran election protest 092309, UN, NYC" (CC BY 2.0) by bettyx1138



MOROCCO - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION OCTOBER 2016

Parliamentary elections in Morocco will be held on 7 of October 2016. Moroccans will elect 395 seats in the House of Representatives, with 305 from multi-member constituencies and 90 from a single nationwide constituency of which 60 seats are reserved for women and 30 for men under the age of 40.²⁷⁰

This will be Morocco's second Parliamentary election since King Mohamed VI announced a series of reforms in early 2011 as a response to widespread protests²⁷¹ demanding greater power sharing and an end to corruption in the country. The 2011 reform aimed to transform Morocco into a constitutional monarchy and it was the first time that citizens themselves encouraged substantial reforms in the country.²⁷² The new constitution expands the power of the parliament and curbs most but not all of the powers of King Mohammed, who still retains the ultimate authority²⁷³, having the ability to

dissolve parliament and remaining commander in chief of the armed forces.²⁷⁴ Several studies show that the majority of Moroccans do not perceive the parliament as an efficient institution, and that a strong tendency towards political abstention exists among Moroccans. The electoral system does not favor the emergence of a strong parliamentary majority. An example of this is the 2011 election, where the Islamist Justice and Development party (PJD) had to negotiate with ideologically different parties to be able to form a majority in parliament.²⁷⁵

The last parliamentary election took place in November 2011 and saw the PJD win and become the first Islamist party to lead a government. Analysts believe that the PJD could win a second term in the 2016 election.²⁷⁶ However, current austerity measures might affect PJD Prime Minister Abdelilah Benkirane's popularity. Benkirane's government may also face pressures as agricultural output is expected to drop and GDP is only expected to grow by 3 percent in 2016.²⁷⁷

"Avenue Muhammad V" (CC BY-NC 2.0) by khowaga1





"Election Fervor" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by Cocoabiscuit

PERU – GENERAL ELECTION, APRIL 2016

Keiko Fujimori, daughter of former president Alberto Fujimori, is positioned as the favorite candidate to win the presidential elections scheduled for April 10, 2016. On this date, Peruvians will go to the polls to elect a new President and Representatives to the 130-seat Congress for the period of 2016-2021.²⁷⁸ Members are elected in 25 multi-member constituencies and the voting system uses proportional representation with closed party lists.²⁷⁹ Incumbent President Ollanta Humala is ineligible to run due to constitutional limits.²⁸⁰ If none of the presidential candidates exceeds more than 50 percent of the vote then a second round of elections will be carried out in June 2016.²⁸¹

Alberto Fujimori was Peru's president from 1990 to 2000 and is now in prison convicted for a range of human rights crimes. His daughter is distancing herself from her father by promoting a more democratic and less authoritarian image. According to an Ipsos Poll made in January, 2016 Keiko Fujimori leads the polls with 33 percent of the vote.²⁸² In second place is Pedro Pablo Kuczynski,

a right wing economist and former Prime Minister who polled 13 percent and businessman Cesar Acuna who also obtained 13 percent. Ex-president Alan Garcia gathered 8 percent in the poll as the Peruvian Congress is currently investigating him in relation to the "narcoindultos"- the pardoning of hundreds of drug traffickers who are accused of having paid bribes during Garcia's presidency.²⁸³ All the polls forecast that the election will be decided in a June run-off seeing as no individual candidate is likely to achieve the 50 percent needed to win the first round. According to the poll, Fujimori would be considered as the winner of a 2nd round run-off election against Kuczynski, Acuna or Garcia.²⁸⁴

Peru's economy has delivered impressive levels of growth over the past decade, thanks to the booming commodity prices and rising levels of natural resource exports to China. Peru is also a leading exporter of copper, gold, silver and other metals, however one in three Peruvians still lives on less than US 3\$ a day and has no access to running water.²⁸⁵ In 2016, Peru's economic growth is likely to be affected by weak consumer spending.²⁸⁶

PHILIPPINES - PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, MAY 2016

The sixth presidential election since the 1986 revolution that ended the authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos will take place on 9 May 2016, when each Filipino will vote for a new president, vice president, 12 senators, one district representative, one party list representative and provincial/city/municipal officials.²⁸⁷ The president will be elected for a period of six years with no reelection as the constitution forbids it.²⁸⁸ The positions of President and Vice President are elected separately and winning candidates may come from different political parties.²⁸⁹

Philippines will use an automated voting technology²⁹⁰ for the third time, which electoral observers have praised because it is faster and provided more credible election results in 2010 and 2013.²⁹¹ However, there are still worries about the reliability of the digital software and the possible manipulation of results based on previous elections.²⁹²

Elections in the Philippines have a long history of violence and corruption. The worst incidence in recent times occurred in 2009, when 58 people mostly followers and family members of gubernatorial candidate Esmael Mangundadatu were killed in the Maguindanao massacre to stop the registration of the political candidate.²⁹³

In recent years, under President Benigno Aquino III,

the country's GDP reached the highest levels in four decades. However poverty, corruption and crime remain Philippines biggest challenges. Many believe Aquino has been successful in moving the economy forward but the Philippines still faces unemployment and income inequality issues.²⁹⁴ Aquino has named Manuel "Mar" Roxas II as his successor, however Roxas is not as popular as Aquino's vice president Jejomar Binay. Binay belongs to one of the opposition's political parties and has faced trial for corruption allegations.²⁹⁵ Jejomar Binay was mayor of the city that hosts the country's financial center: Makati City. Binay is in favor of amending the economic provisions of the 1987 Constitution that restricts foreign ownership of land and corporations. Another prominent candidate is Mary "Grace Poe" Llamanzares who was recently disqualified by the electoral commission on December 2015. The commission said that Grace Poe is unable to run for presidency as she is not a "natural born Filipino", since she was abandoned as a baby and then adopted.²⁹⁶ She also fails to satisfy a 10-year residency requirement in the Philippines. She appealed the Comelec's decision at the Supreme Court and the case is currently unfolding.²⁹⁷ Another presidential hopeful, Rodrigo Duterte is gaining support in many regions and among Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW). He claims strong his achievement as an efficient public sector manager as current mayor of Davao.²⁹⁸ This election will be crucial as the next elected government could either maintain or deteriorate the efforts during Aquino's presidency.²⁹⁹

"Ballot Secrecy Folder" (CC BY-NC 2.0) by Daniel Y. Go



**BALLOT SECRECY
FOLDER**



"Kremlin" (CC BY 2.0) by larrywkoester

RUSSIA - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, SEPTEMBER 2016

Russia's legislative election is due to be held on September 18th 2016, which would be three months earlier than usual.³⁰⁰ The change came after Russia's President Vladimir Putin signed a law that moves the 2016 Parliamentary election from December to September.³⁰¹ Another change includes how the Lower House will be chosen as now it will be directly elected, while previously it was based on how well each party did.³⁰² Government officials and supporters have stated that having Russia's parliamentary, regional and local elections on the same day will ensure that a new Duma is chosen before the budgets are passed in the fall, therefore making more sense to elect new lawmakers beforehand. Supporters have also argued that having the elections on the same day is more efficient.³⁰³

In 2011, the ruling party United Russia won 49 percent of the overall vote, granting it 238 seats in the lower house of the parliament.³⁰⁴ There were allegations of widespread fraud in the parliamentary election, which caused mass protests against voting fraud. More than 50,000 people gathered near the Kremlin to demand a re-run of 34 the parliamentary election.³⁰⁵ This was the biggest anti-government rally in Moscow since the fall of the Soviet Union and has posed the biggest public threat to Vladimir Putin's rule.³⁰⁶

In the 2016 election, 450 seats in the State Duma and the Federation Assembly will be up for grabs. Putin's personal ratings remain high, however some experts predict that the economic crisis might lead to difficulties. Experts suggest there is a serious risk of numerous protests becoming a reality before and after the election in September 2016³⁰⁷ and others are hopeful that 2016 will be an important year for Russia's opposition. In 2015 the opposition decided to unite in order to come with a unified list for the parliamentary election.³⁰⁸ Others believe that the opposition will not be able to mobilize its resources and that the change of date will likely affect the opposition. It is generally harder for political parties to reach voters during August, which happens to be the most popular vacation month in Russia.³⁰⁹

As happened for the last contests, the international community will closely scrutinize the forthcoming elections in Russia. The country faces serious allegations of widespread and endemic corruption at all levels of the political structure and administration. Furthermore, Russia has been constantly in the media spotlight over the past months for its increasing strategic role in Middle East (and especially in the war against Islamic State in Syria)³¹⁰, and for President Putin's alleged involvement in the murder of former KGB officer Alexander Litvinenko in London in 2006.³¹¹



"Korea_President_Park_Poland_President_Ko" (CC BY-SA 2.0) by KOREA.NET - Official page of the Republic of Korea

SOUTH KOREA – LEGISLATIVE ELECTION, APRIL 2016

The next legislative election in South Korea is set for 13 April 2016 and the conservative government of President Park Geun-hye could increase its majority.³¹² Since the election of Park in 2013, some commentators have criticized over the state of South Korean democracy because of government crackdowns on peaceful political protests³¹³, interference in the election process by the National Intelligence Service (NIS)³¹⁴, increased prosecution of critical journalists³¹⁵, an academic being charged with defamation³¹⁶, and the banning of the Unified Progressive Party.³¹⁷ The outlawing of the UPP was justified on the basis that the party's political ideology was pro-North Korea and therefore posed a threat to the South Korean government.³¹⁸ This was the first case of a political party being banned since democratisation.³¹⁹

President Park's Saenuri Party currently holds 156 of the 300 seats in parliament and is aiming to win 180 at the next election, enough to give it the power to pass laws unilaterally.³²⁰ This prospect is not impossible given that the traditional opposition party (formerly New Politics Alliance for Democracy)

recently split into the Minjoo Party of Korea and the People's Party, thus reducing the likelihood of a unified campaign that could challenge the government.³²¹ The unicameral South Korean Parliament is elected with a mixed system with 246 single member constituencies.³²² The remaining 54 MPs are elected via proportional representation through a closed list.³²³

The overall state of democracy and electoral integrity in South Korea is still held in high regard.³²⁴ Instances of state organs meddling in the election process, however, such as the NIS's dissemination of thousands of anti-opposition and pro-government propaganda messages in the lead-up to the 2012 elections, have undermined confidence in the neutrality of state government agencies.³²⁵ The jailing of Japanese reporter Tatsuya Kato, for allegedly defaming the president, has also lowered South Korea's standing in terms of freedom of expression.³²⁶ For these reasons it will be interesting to observe the conduct of the government and state organizations during the campaign period, and the reaction of the South Korean people when the time comes to vote.

SYRIA – PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, MAY 2016

More than 250,000 people have died in almost five years of civil war armed conflict in Syria, which has destabilized the Middle East and has forced more than 11 million of Syrians away from their homes.³²⁸ The conflict, which began as an anti-government protest in 2011, has also facilitated the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in the country.³²⁹

In 2014, the Syrian presidential election saw Bashar al-Assad win by a landslide victory with 88.7 percent of the vote³³⁰, which allows Assad to be Syria's president until 2021. Opponents of the Assad regime demised the 35 elections as fraudulent, as voting did not take place in areas controlled by the opposition, effectively excluding millions of voters.³³¹ In October, 2015 Assad stated that he was willing to run in an early presidential election and parliamentary elections, as well as discuss

constitutional changes, but only if terrorist groups were defeated before holding the elections.³³²

Since February 2016, the UN opened Syria peace talks in Geneva, with the purpose to end the Syrian conflict. The talks are part of a UN –backed up plan agreed in 2015 in Vienna that envisages negotiations to have a transitional government, a new constitution and elections within the next 18 months. However, representatives of the opposition have not attended the negotiations in Vienna, as there has not been an agreement reached in regards to aid entering towns surrounded by armed forces.³³³ The absence of key opposition members threatens to resolve the civil war, a conflict that has been ravaging the country for nearly five years.

The Syrian parliament four-year term is due to expire in May 2016.³³⁴ However, the precise date of the parliamentary election is yet to be confirmed.³³⁵

"Syria - Lest we forget massacre that hap" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) by Metrix X



UNITED STATES - PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 2016

After eight years in the Oval Office, President Barack Obama will step down. With election day set for November 8, candidates face a long slog before the culmination of the electoral process. Elections for the House of Representatives and the Senate will also be held on November 8 2016, along with gubernatorial elections. In the Democratic primaries, former First Lady and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton faced independent senator from Vermont, Bernie Sanders. On the Republican side, the front-runners are Florida senator Marco Rubio, Texas senator Ted Cruz, and celebrity business figure Donald Trump, who has been leading the polls.³²⁷

So far, and just before Super Tuesday, Hillary Clinton has secured victory in the states of South Carolina, Nevada and Iowa. Sanders obtained a majority in New Hampshire, which neighbors his home state of Vermont. In the Republican side, Donald Trump emerged victorious in Nevada, New Hampshire, South Carolina. Iowa was won by Ted Cruz.³²⁸

Campaign finance experts predicted that this could be the most expensive election in history. Spending is estimated to reach as much as \$5 billion, more than double the amount spent on 2012's campaigns.³²⁹ And this trend is unlikely to reverse anytime soon, especially given the major decisions by the Supreme Court deregulating campaign funding.³³⁰

"Corn Poll - 32/52" (CC BY 2.0) by Phil Roeder





"white house" (CC BY-SA 2.0) by ThatMattWade

The liberalization of campaign spending and the increased importance of “third-party advertising” (e.g., super PACS) is furthermore likely to increase the use of attack rhetoric and negative advertising³³¹, usually disliked by citizens potentially depressing turnout and trust in political elites.³³²

Some of the biggest issues in the campaign so far have been immigration, with Donald Trump controversially calling for a ban on all Muslims attempting to enter the US³³³, with Hillary Clinton making commitments to new restrictions on gun control,³³⁴ funding the Health Care Act, and the admission of Syrian refugees into the US.³³⁵

When it comes to the quality of previous elections, the US stands out relatively poorly compared with other established democracies. As we discussed in a previous report³³⁶, the 2014 Congressional election raised concerns about electoral laws, voter registration, the process of drawing district boundaries, as well as regulation of campaign finance. The US also suffers from exceptionally partisan and decentralized arrangements for electoral administration. The PEI data show that, comparing with all 180 elections held worldwide between July 2012 and December 2015, the US ranks 60th for the 2012 Presidential election and 65th for the 2014 legislative election. These are the lowest ranks among established Western democracies.

Technical Appendix: Performance indicators, methods and data

Aims: To start to gather new evidence, on 1st July 2012 the project launched an expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity. The design was developed in consultation with Professor Jorgen Elklit (Aarhus University) and Professor Andrew Reynolds (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill). The method of pooling expert knowledge has been used for years for measuring complex issues, such as to assess the risks of building nuclear plants, levels of corruption, and processes of democratization.

Global Coverage: The PEI survey of electoral integrity focuses upon independent nation-states around the world which have held direct (popular) elections for the national parliament or presidential elections. The criteria for inclusion are listed below. The elections analyzed in this report cover the period from 1 July 2012 to 31 December 2015. In total, PEI 4.0 covers 180 elections in 139 nations. For 2015, 54 elections were surveyed in 47 countries.³⁵¹

| Criteria for inclusion in the survey | # Definition and source |
|---|---|
| Total number of independent nation-states | 193 Membership of the United Nations |
| Excluded categories | |
| Micro-states | 12 Population less than 100,000 in 2013, including Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, Monaco, Nauru, Palau, Saint Kitts and Nevis, San Marino, Seychelles, and Tuvalu. |
| Without de jure direct (popular) elections for the lower house of the national legislature | 5 Brunei Darussalam, China, Qatar, UAE, and Saudi Arabia |
| State has constitutional provisions for direct (popular) elections for the lower house of the national legislature, but none have been held since independence or within the last 30 years (de facto) | 3 Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan |
| Sub-total of nation-states included in the survey | 173 Sub-total of nation-states included in the survey |
| Covered to date in the PEI 4.0 dataset (from mid-2012 to end-2015) | 139 88.4 percent of all the subtotal of nation-states containing 4.62bn people. |

Respondents: For each country, the project identified around forty election experts, defined as a political scientist (or other social scientist in a related discipline) who had demonstrated knowledge of the electoral process in a particular country (such as through publications, membership of a relevant research group or network, or university employment). The selection sought a roughly 50:50 balance between international and domestic experts, the latter defined by location or citizenship. Experts were asked to complete an online survey. In total, 2080 completed responses were received in the survey, representing just under one third of the experts that the project contacted (29 percent).

Concepts: The idea of electoral integrity is defined by the project to refer to agreed international conventions and global norms, applying universally to all countries worldwide through the election cycle, including during the pre-election period, the campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath.³⁵²

Measurement: To measure this concept, the PEI pilot survey questionnaire includes 49 items on electoral integrity (see Table A1) ranging over the whole electoral cycle. These items fell into eleven sequential subdimensions, as shown. Most attention in detecting fraud focuses upon the final stages of the voting process, such as the role of observers in preventing ballot-stuffing, vote-rigging and manipulated results. Drawing upon the notion of a 'menu of manipulation',³⁵³ however, the concept of an electoral cycle suggests that failure in even one step in the sequence, or one link in the chain, can undermine electoral integrity. The list of elections in the survey is presented in Table A2.

The electoral integrity items in the survey were recoded, where a higher score consistently represents a more positive evaluation. Missing data was estimated based on multiple imputation procedures of chained equations in groups

composing of the eleven sub-dimensions. The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) Index is then an additive function of the 49 imputed variables, standardized to 100-points. Sub-indices of the eleven subdimensions in the electoral cycle are summations of the imputed individual variables.³⁵⁴

Validity and reliability tests: The results of the pilot study, from the elections held in 2012, were tested for external validity (with independent sources of evidence), internal validity (consistency within the group of experts), and legitimacy (how far the results can be regarded as authoritative by stakeholders). The analysis, presented elsewhere, demonstrates substantial external validity for the PEI data when compared to many other expert datasets, as well as internal validity across the experts within the survey, and legitimacy as measured by levels of congruence between mass and expert opinions within each country.³⁵⁵

For external validity tests, the PEI Index in the fourth release was confirmed to be significantly correlated with other standard independent indicators contained in the 2015 version of the Quality of Government crossnational dataset, including the combined Freedom House/imputed Polity measure of democratization ($R=.77^{***}$, $N125$), the Economist Intelligence Unit measure of Electoral Processes and Pluralism ($R=.71^{***}$, $N129$), and the Cingranelli-Richards measure of Electoral Self-Determination rights ($R=.63^{**}$, $N137$).³⁵⁶

For internal validity purposes, several tests were run using OLS regression models to predict whether the PEI index varied significantly by several social and demographic characteristics of the experts, including sex, age, education, domestic and international institutional location, and familiarity with the election. In accordance with the findings from the previous versions, domestic experts and those reporting a higher level of familiarity with the

election were significantly more positive in their evaluations, but other social characteristics were not significant predictors of evaluations.

Codebook The PEI-4 Codebook provides detailed description of all variables and imputation procedures. A copy can be downloaded from the project website www.electoralintegrityproject.com

TABLE A1: PEI SURVEY QUESTIONS

| | Sections | Performance indicators | Direction |
|---|--|--|-----------|
| PRE-ELECTION | 1. Electoral laws | 1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties | N |
| | | 1-2 Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties | N |
| | | 1-3 Election laws restricted citizens' rights | N |
| | 2. Electoral procedures | 2-1 Elections were well managed | P |
| | | 2-2 Information about voting procedures was widely available | P |
| 2-3 Election officials were fair | | P | |
| 2-4 Elections were conducted in accordance with the law | | P | |
| 3. Boundaries | 3-1 Boundaries discriminated against some parties | N | |
| | 3-2 Boundaries favored incumbents | N | |
| | 3-3 Boundaries were impartial | P | |
| 4. Voter registration | 4-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register | N | |
| | 4-2 The electoral register was inaccurate | N | |
| | 4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered | N | |
| 5. Party registration | 5-1 Some opposition candidates were prevented from running | N | |
| | 5-2 Women had equal opportunities to run for office | P | |
| | 5-3 Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office | P | |
| | 5-4 Only top party leaders selected candidates | N | |
| | 5-5 Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies | N | |
| CAMPAIGN | 6. Campaign media | 6-1 Newspapers provided balanced election news | P |
| | | 6-2 TV news favored the governing party | N |
| | | 6-3 Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising | P |
| | | 6-4 Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections | P |
| | | 6-5 Social media were used to expose electoral fraud | P |
| | 7. Campaign finance | 7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public subsidies | P |
| | | 7-2 Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations | P |
| | | 7-3 Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts | P |
| | | 7-4 Rich people buy elections | N |
| | | 7-5 Some states resources were improperly used for campaigning | N |

| | Sections | Performance indicators | Direction |
|--|---------------------------|---|-----------|
| ELECTION DAY | 8. Voting process | 8-1 Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls | N |
| | | 8-2 Some fraudulent votes were cast | N |
| | | 8-3 The process of voting was easy | P |
| | | 8-4 Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box | P |
| | | 8-5 Postal ballots were available | P |
| | | 8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled | P |
| | | 8-7 National citizens living abroad could vote | P |
| | | 8-8 Some form of internet voting was available | P |
| POST-ELECTION | 9. Vote count | 9-1 Ballot boxes were secure | P |
| | | 9-2 The results were announced without undue delay | P |
| | | 9-3 Votes were counted fairly | P |
| | | 9-4 International election monitors were restricted | N |
| | | 9-5 Domestic election monitors were restricted | N |
| | 10. Post-election | 10-1 Parties/candidates challenged the results | N |
| | | 10-2 The election led to peaceful protests | N |
| | | 10-3 The election triggered violent protests | N |
| | | 10-4 Any disputes were resolved through legal channels | P |
| | 11. Electoral authorities | 11-1 The election authorities were impartial | P |
| | | 11-2 The authorities distributed information to citizens | P |
| | | 11-3 The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance | P |
| 11-4 The election authorities performed well | | P | |

Note: Direction of the original items P=positive, N=negative.

Source: Pippa Norris, Ferran Martínez i Coma, Max Grömping, and Alessandro Nai.
The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity: www.electoralintegrityproject.com.

TABLE A2: PEI INDEX SCORES BY ELECTION,
INCLUDING CONFIDENCE INTERVALS

| Election code | Election date | PEI index | PEI Index, low CI | PEI Index, high CI | PEI experts invited | PEI expert responses | PEI response rate |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| AFG_14062014_P2 | 14/06/14 | 33 | 29 | 37 | 42 | 6 | 14% |
| AGO_31082012_L1 | 31/08/12 | 35 | 28 | 42 | 37 | 11 | 30% |
| ALB_23062013_L1 | 23/06/13 | 54 | 51 | 58 | 81 | 19 | 23% |
| ARG_22112015_L1 | 22/11/15 | 63 | 60 | 66 | 45 | 21 | 47% |
| ARG_27102013_L1 | 27/10/13 | 66 | 63 | 68 | 46 | 16 | 35% |
| ARM_18022013_P1 | 18/02/13 | 43 | 37 | 50 | 34 | 11 | 32% |
| AUS_07092013_L1 | 07/09/13 | 70 | 66 | 74 | 42 | 16 | 38% |
| AUT_29092013_L1 | 29/09/13 | 77 | 73 | 81 | 35 | 16 | 46% |
| AZE_01112015_L1 | 01/11/15 | 29 | 28 | 31 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| AZE_09102013_P1 | 09/10/13 | 41 | 36 | 46 | 36 | 10 | 28% |
| BDI_21072015_P1 | 21/07/15 | 22 | 18 | 25 | 44 | 3 | 7% |
| BDI_29062015_L1 | 29/06/15 | 27 | 22 | 32 | 41 | 8 | 20% |
| BEL_25052014_L1 | 25/05/14 | 71 | 67 | 76 | 38 | 12 | 32% |
| BEN_26042015_L1 | 26/04/15 | 69 | 62 | 76 | 35 | 4 | 11% |
| BFA_02122012_L1 | 02/12/12 | 41 | 40 | 43 | 38 | 3 | 8% |
| BFA_29112015_P2 | 29/11/15 | 65 | 62 | 68 | 39 | 9 | 23% |
| BGD_05012014_L1 | 05/01/14 | 38 | 32 | 45 | 33 | 16 | 48% |
| BGR_05102014_L1 | 05/10/14 | 63 | 56 | 70 | 40 | 12 | 30% |
| BGR_12052013_L1 | 12/05/13 | 50 | 45 | 55 | 39 | 20 | 51% |
| BHR_29112014_L2 | 29/11/14 | 38 | 29 | 47 | 36 | 6 | 17% |
| BIH_12102014_P1 | 12/10/14 | 52 | 46 | 58 | 40 | 9 | 23% |
| BLR_11102015_P1 | 11/10/15 | 41 | 35 | 46 | 41 | 11 | 27% |
| BLR_23092012_L1 | 23/09/12 | 32 | 27 | 37 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| BLZ_04112015_L1 | 04/11/15 | 53 | 45 | 62 | 38 | 8 | 21% |
| BOL_12102014_P1 | 12/10/14 | 56 | 51 | 60 | 40 | 11 | 28% |
| BRA_26102014_P2 | 26/10/14 | 68 | 65 | 71 | 38 | 13 | 34% |
| BRB_21022013_L1 | 21/02/13 | 62 | 48 | 77 | 39 | 3 | 8% |
| BTN_13072013_L2 | 13/07/13 | 61 | 54 | 67 | 37 | 11 | 30% |
| BWA_24102014_L1 | 24/10/14 | 58 | 53 | 63 | 38 | 15 | 39% |
| CAN_19102015_L1 | 19/10/15 | 75 | 71 | 78 | 40 | 24 | 60% |
| CHE_18102015_L1 | 18/10/15 | 79 | 76 | 81 | 37 | 20 | 54% |
| CHL_15122013_P2 | 15/12/13 | 66 | 64 | 69 | 44 | 19 | 43% |
| CIV_25102015_P1 | 25/10/15 | 59 | 53 | 64 | 33 | 8 | 24% |
| CMR_30092013_L1 | 30/09/13 | 46 | 34 | 58 | 34 | 6 | 18% |
| COG_05082012_L2 | 05/08/12 | 31 | 19 | 44 | 34 | 3 | 9% |
| COL_09032014_L1 | 09/03/14 | 61 | 57 | 65 | 36 | 8 | 22% |
| COL_15062014_P2 | 15/06/14 | 58 | 56 | 60 | 42 | 7 | 17% |
| COM_22022015_L2 | 22/02/15 | 50 | 40 | 59 | 39 | 5 | 13% |
| CRI_06042014_P2 | 06/04/14 | 80 | 76 | 85 | 39 | 8 | 21% |
| CUB_03022013_L1 | 03/02/13 | 56 | 32 | 81 | 38 | 3 | 8% |
| CYP_24022013_P2 | 24/02/13 | 73 | 69 | 77 | 38 | 14 | 37% |
| CZE_13102012_S1 | 13/10/12 | 76 | 73 | 79 | 38 | 22 | 58% |
| CZE_25012013_P2 | 25/01/13 | 74 | 71 | 78 | 40 | 19 | 48% |
| CZE_25102013_L1 | 25/10/13 | 77 | 75 | 79 | 42 | 31 | 74% |
| DEU_22092013_L1 | 22/09/13 | 80 | 77 | 84 | 42 | 27 | 64% |
| DJI_22022013_L1 | 22/02/13 | 25 | 18 | 32 | 37 | 5 | 14% |
| DNK_18062015_L1 | 18/06/15 | 86 | 84 | 89 | 37 | 18 | 49% |
| DZA_17042014_P1 | 17/04/14 | 43 | 36 | 50 | 35 | 8 | 23% |
| ECU_17022013_P1 | 17/02/13 | 55 | 49 | 60 | 37 | 13 | 35% |
| EGY_02122015_L1 | 02/12/15 | 45 | 38 | 53 | 44 | 6 | 14% |
| EGY_26052014_P1 | 26/05/14 | 40 | 33 | 46 | 39 | 6 | 15% |
| ESP_20122015_L1 | 20/12/15 | 69 | 66 | 71 | 42 | 25 | 60% |
| EST_01032015_L1 | 01/03/15 | 79 | 75 | 82 | 36 | 18 | 50% |
| ETH_24052015_L1 | 24/05/15 | 22 | 18 | 27 | 47 | 19 | 40% |
| FIN_19042015_L1 | 19/04/15 | 86 | 84 | 88 | 38 | 16 | 42% |

| Election code | Election date | PEI index | PEI Index, low CI | PEI Index, high CI | PEI experts invited | PEI expert responses | PEI response rate |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| FJI_17092014_L1 | 17/09/14 | 53 | 48 | 59 | 40 | 17 | 43% |
| FSM_03032015_L1 | 03/03/15 | 60 | 57 | 63 | 40 | 4 | 10% |
| FSM_05032013_L1 | 05/03/13 | 63 | 59 | 66 | 40 | 4 | 10% |
| GBR_07052015_L1 | 07/05/15 | 65 | 60 | 70 | 36 | 10 | 28% |
| GEO_01102012_L1 | 01/10/12 | 54 | 48 | 59 | 48 | 8 | 17% |
| GEO_27102013_P1 | 27/10/13 | 64 | 61 | 68 | 44 | 9 | 20% |
| GHA_07122012_P1 | 07/12/12 | 57 | 52 | 62 | 35 | 14 | 40% |
| GIN_11102015_P1 | 11/10/15 | 41 | 34 | 48 | 38 | 8 | 21% |
| GIN_28092013_L1 | 28/09/13 | 43 | 35 | 52 | 36 | 4 | 11% |
| GNB_18052014_P2 | 18/05/14 | 54 | 49 | 60 | 42 | 8 | 19% |
| GNQ_26052013_L1 | 26/05/13 | 23 | 17 | 30 | 40 | 10 | 25% |
| GRC_20092015_L1 | 20/09/15 | 62 | 58 | 66 | 40 | 19 | 48% |
| GRC_25012015_L1 | 25/01/15 | 71 | 67 | 75 | 42 | 14 | 33% |
| GRD_19022013_L1 | 19/02/13 | 66 | 61 | 72 | 37 | 6 | 16% |
| GTM_25102015_P2 | 25/10/15 | 48 | 42 | 54 | 45 | 9 | 20% |
| GUY_11052015_L1 | 11/05/15 | 53 | 47 | 58 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| HND_24112013_P1 | 24/11/13 | 45 | 32 | 59 | 37 | 5 | 14% |
| HRV_08112015_L1 | 08/11/15 | 68 | 63 | 73 | 37 | 12 | 32% |
| HRV_11012015_P2 | 11/01/15 | 65 | 58 | 72 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| HTI_25102015_L2 | 25/10/15 | 28 | 25 | 31 | 45 | 7 | 16% |
| HUN_06042014_L1 | 06/04/14 | 56 | 51 | 61 | 36 | 16 | 44% |
| IDN_09042014_L1 | 09/04/14 | 53 | 48 | 59 | 36 | 14 | 39% |
| IDN_09072014_P1 | 09/07/14 | 60 | 56 | 64 | 40 | 12 | 30% |
| IND_12052014_L1 | 12/05/14 | 59 | 55 | 63 | 40 | 12 | 30% |
| IRN_14062013_P1 | 14/06/13 | 54 | 47 | 62 | 37 | 9 | 24% |
| IRQ_30042014_L1 | 30/04/14 | 44 | 40 | 48 | 37 | 9 | 24% |
| ISL_27042013_L1 | 27/04/13 | 78 | 74 | 83 | 36 | 16 | 44% |
| ISR_17032015_L1 | 17/03/15 | 72 | 68 | 77 | 43 | 14 | 33% |
| ISR_22012013_L1 | 22/01/13 | 74 | 68 | 81 | 38 | 12 | 32% |
| ITA_24022013_L1 | 24/02/13 | 67 | 64 | 69 | 41 | 18 | 44% |
| JOR_23012013_L1 | 23/01/13 | 46 | 41 | 51 | 35 | 12 | 34% |
| JPN_14122014_L1 | 14/12/14 | 71 | 65 | 76 | 38 | 12 | 32% |
| JPN_16122012_L1 | 16/12/12 | 67 | 63 | 72 | 40 | 15 | 38% |
| JPN_21072013_L1 | 21/07/13 | 67 | 61 | 72 | 39 | 12 | 31% |
| KAZ_26042015_P1 | 26/04/15 | 43 | 39 | 47 | 38 | 9 | 24% |
| KEN_04032013_P1 | 04/03/13 | 41 | 35 | 47 | 38 | 9 | 24% |
| KGZ_04102015_L1 | 04/10/15 | 54 | 47 | 61 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| KHM_28072013_L1 | 28/07/13 | 32 | 26 | 38 | 38 | 15 | 39% |
| KOR_19122012_P1 | 19/12/12 | 77 | 74 | 80 | 34 | 8 | 24% |
| KWT_01122012_L1 | 01/12/12 | 51 | 45 | 56 | 37 | 9 | 24% |
| KWT_27072013_L1 | 27/07/13 | 59 | 53 | 64 | 38 | 6 | 16% |
| LKA_08012015_P1 | 08/01/15 | 51 | 44 | 57 | 42 | 10 | 24% |
| LKA_17082015_L1 | 17/08/15 | 53 | 50 | 55 | 33 | 6 | 18% |
| LSO_28022015_L1 | 28/02/15 | 63 | 57 | 69 | 38 | 11 | 29% |
| LTU_25052014_P2 | 25/05/14 | 82 | 78 | 86 | 42 | 8 | 19% |
| LTU_28102012_L2 | 28/10/12 | 73 | 69 | 76 | 36 | 11 | 31% |
| LVA_04102014_L1 | 04/10/14 | 72 | 68 | 75 | 40 | 16 | 40% |
| MDA_30112014_L1 | 30/11/14 | 57 | 52 | 62 | 36 | 9 | 25% |
| MDG_20122013_P2 | 20/12/13 | 40 | 36 | 43 | 43 | 16 | 37% |
| MDV_16112013_P2 | 16/11/13 | 54 | 42 | 67 | 36 | 5 | 14% |
| MDV_22032014_L1 | 22/03/14 | 59 | 52 | 67 | 37 | 5 | 14% |
| MEX_01072012_P1 | 01/07/12 | 62 | 57 | 68 | 40 | 14 | 35% |
| MEX_07062015_L1 | 07/06/15 | 52 | 47 | 58 | 45 | 22 | 49% |
| MKD_27042014_P2 | 27/04/14 | 48 | 39 | 57 | 32 | 9 | 28% |
| MLI_11082013_P2 | 11/08/13 | 53 | 47 | 58 | 41 | 11 | 27% |
| MLT_09032013_L1 | 09/03/13 | 66 | 62 | 69 | 32 | 10 | 31% |
| MMR_08112015_L1 | 08/11/15 | 54 | 50 | 58 | 39 | 16 | 41% |
| MNE_07042013_P1 | 07/04/13 | 38 | 31 | 46 | 35 | 7 | 20% |

| Election code | Election date | PEI index | PEI Index, low CI | PEI Index, high CI | PEI experts invited | PEI expert responses | PEI response rate |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| MNE_14102012_L1 | 14/10/12 | 61 | 47 | 75 | 35 | 3 | 9% |
| MNG_26062013_P1 | 26/06/13 | 64 | 58 | 71 | 36 | 9 | 25% |
| MOZ_15102014_P1 | 15/10/14 | 35 | 30 | 39 | 40 | 8 | 20% |
| MRT_21062014_P1 | 21/06/14 | 46 | 21 | 71 | 40 | 3 | 8% |
| MRT_21122013_L2 | 21/12/13 | 41 | 34 | 49 | 36 | 2 | 6% |
| MUS_10122014_L1 | 10/12/14 | 64 | 61 | 67 | 37 | 10 | 27% |
| MWI_20052014_P1 | 20/05/14 | 48 | 44 | 51 | 40 | 15 | 38% |
| MYS_05052013_L1 | 05/05/13 | 36 | 31 | 40 | 40 | 17 | 43% |
| NAM_28112014_P1 | 28/11/14 | 60 | 55 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 19% |
| NGA_28032015_L1 | 28/03/15 | 53 | 49 | 57 | 42 | 18 | 43% |
| NLD_12092012_L1 | 12/09/12 | 79 | 76 | 81 | 43 | 24 | 56% |
| NOR_09092013_L1 | 09/09/13 | 83 | 79 | 87 | 42 | 13 | 31% |
| NPL_19112013_L1 | 19/11/13 | 54 | 47 | 60 | 35 | 18 | 51% |
| NZL_20092014_L1 | 20/09/14 | 75 | 71 | 79 | 39 | 13 | 33% |
| OMN_25102015_L1 | 25/10/15 | 61 | 56 | 66 | 36 | 12 | 33% |
| PAK_11052013_L1 | 11/05/13 | 50 | 47 | 53 | 126 | 36 | 29% |
| PAN_04052014_P1 | 04/05/14 | 61 | 56 | 65 | 40 | 8 | 20% |
| PHL_13052013_L1 | 13/05/13 | 48 | 43 | 53 | 38 | 14 | 37% |
| POL_24052015_P2 | 24/05/15 | 74 | 70 | 78 | 37 | 16 | 43% |
| POL_25102015_L1 | 25/10/15 | 75 | 71 | 79 | 37 | 15 | 41% |
| PRT_04102015_L1 | 04/10/15 | 72 | 68 | 76 | 40 | 19 | 48% |
| PRY_21042013_P1 | 21/04/13 | 55 | 50 | 60 | 35 | 12 | 34% |
| ROU_09122012_L1 | 09/12/12 | 48 | 42 | 55 | 39 | 13 | 33% |
| ROU_16112014_P2 | 16/11/14 | 53 | 49 | 58 | 36 | 18 | 50% |
| RWA_16092013_L1 | 16/09/13 | 64 | 52 | 75 | 37 | 7 | 19% |
| SDN_13042015_P1 | 13/04/15 | 43 | 33 | 54 | 39 | 10 | 26% |
| SGP_11092015_L1 | 11/09/15 | 53 | 45 | 60 | 41 | 14 | 34% |
| SLB_19112014_L1 | 19/11/14 | 57 | 54 | 60 | 40 | 8 | 20% |
| SLE_17112012_P1 | 17/11/12 | 56 | 54 | 59 | 34 | 2 | 6% |
| SLV_01032015_L1 | 01/03/15 | 49 | 44 | 54 | 41 | 9 | 22% |
| SLV_09032014_P2 | 09/03/14 | 59 | 55 | 63 | 38 | 14 | 37% |
| SRB_16032014_L1 | 16/03/14 | 58 | 52 | 63 | 40 | 13 | 33% |
| STP_12102014_L1 | 12/10/14 | 58 | 52 | 65 | 38 | 5 | 13% |
| SUR_25052015_L1 | 25/05/15 | 51 | 47 | 55 | 40 | 13 | 33% |
| SVK_29032014_P2 | 29/03/14 | 74 | 70 | 78 | 38 | 12 | 32% |
| SVN_02122012_P2 | 02/12/12 | 75 | 68 | 81 | 37 | 11 | 30% |
| SVN_13072014_L1 | 13/07/14 | 79 | 73 | 84 | 40 | 7 | 18% |
| SWE_14092014_L1 | 14/09/14 | 81 | 78 | 84 | 40 | 21 | 53% |
| SWZ_20092013_L1 | 20/09/13 | 45 | 29 | 61 | 38 | 7 | 18% |
| SYR_03062014_P1 | 03/06/14 | 27 | 24 | 31 | 42 | 8 | 19% |
| TGO_25042015_P1 | 25/04/15 | 38 | 29 | 46 | 38 | 6 | 16% |
| TGO_25072013_L1 | 25/07/13 | 38 | 32 | 43 | 36 | 4 | 11% |
| THA_02022014_L1 | 02/02/14 | 51 | 46 | 56 | 40 | 15 | 38% |
| TJK_01032015_L1 | 01/03/15 | 36 | 31 | 40 | 42 | 8 | 19% |
| TJK_06112013_P1 | 06/11/13 | 37 | 31 | 43 | 34 | 8 | 24% |
| TKM_15122013_L1 | 15/12/13 | 38 | 28 | 48 | 41 | 8 | 20% |
| TON_27112014_L1 | 27/11/14 | 68 | 60 | 75 | 31 | 4 | 13% |
| TUN_21122014_P2 | 21/12/14 | 69 | 64 | 74 | 39 | 4 | 10% |
| TUN_26102014_L1 | 26/10/14 | 65 | 62 | 69 | 38 | 13 | 34% |
| TUR_01112015_L1 | 01/11/15 | 45 | 40 | 49 | 41 | 20 | 49% |
| TUR_07062015_L1 | 07/06/15 | 47 | 41 | 53 | 40 | 12 | 30% |
| TUR_10082014_P1 | 10/08/14 | 51 | 46 | 57 | 45 | 12 | 27% |
| TZA_25102015_P1 | 25/10/15 | 43 | 40 | 47 | 37 | 14 | 38% |
| UKR_25052014_P1 | 25/05/14 | 60 | 54 | 66 | 40 | 13 | 33% |
| UKR_26102014_L1 | 26/10/14 | 54 | 48 | 60 | 40 | 13 | 33% |
| UKR_28102012_L1 | 28/10/12 | 40 | 37 | 42 | 33 | 14 | 42% |
| URY_30112014_P2 | 30/11/14 | 75 | 73 | 78 | 38 | 16 | 42% |
| USA_04112014_L1 | 04/11/14 | 62 | 58 | 65 | 37 | 9 | 24% |

| Election code | Election date | PEI index | PEI Index, low CI | PEI Index, high CI | PEI experts invited | PEI expert responses | PEI response rate |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| USA_06112012_P1 | 06/11/12 | 63 | 59 | 67 | 38 | 15 | 39% |
| UZB_04012015_L2 | 04/01/15 | 39 | 33 | 45 | 40 | 5 | 13% |
| UZB_29032015_P1 | 29/03/15 | 40 | 28 | 51 | 44 | 12 | 27% |
| VEN_06122015_L1 | 06/12/15 | 42 | 36 | 48 | 46 | 22 | 48% |
| VEN_07102012_P1 | 07/10/12 | 54 | 45 | 63 | 38 | 11 | 29% |
| VEN_14042013_P1 | 14/04/13 | 40 | 30 | 49 | 38 | 14 | 37% |
| ZAF_07052014_L1 | 07/05/14 | 63 | 60 | 67 | 39 | 16 | 41% |
| ZMB_20012015_P1 | 20/01/15 | 44 | 39 | 48 | 38 | 9 | 24% |
| ZWE_31072013_L1 | 31/07/13 | 35 | 27 | 43 | 33 | 13 | 39% |

Note: Values for the PEI scores are the imputed values (see the codebook).
Mean with 95% confidence intervals (2-tailed)

TABLE A3: ELECTIONS SURVEYED IN 2015

| Country | Office | Election code | PEI Index |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Denmark | Legislative | DNK_18062015_L1 | 86 |
| Finland | Legislative | FIN_19042015_L1 | 86 |
| Estonia | Legislative | EST_01032015_L1 | 79 |
| Switzerland | Legislative | CHE_18102015_L1 | 79 |
| Poland | Legislative | POL_25102015_L1 | 75 |
| Canada | Legislative | CAN_19102015_L1 | 75 |
| Poland | Presidential | POL_24052015_P2 | 74 |
| Israel | Legislative | ISR_17032015_L1 | 72 |
| Portugal | Legislative | PRT_04102015_L1 | 72 |
| Greece | Legislative | GRC_25012015_L1 | 71 |
| Benin | Legislative | BEN_26042015_L1 | 69 |
| Spain | Legislative | ESP_20122015_L1 | 69 |
| Croatia | Legislative | HRV_08112015_L1 | 68 |
| Burkina Faso | Presidential | BFA_29112015_P2 | 65 |
| Croatia | Presidential | HRV_11012015_P2 | 65 |
| United Kingdom | Legislative | GBR_07052015_L1 | 65 |
| Argentina | Legislative | ARG_22112015_L1 | 63 |
| Lesotho | Legislative | LSO_28022015_L1 | 63 |
| Greece | Legislative | GRC_20092015_L1 | 62 |
| Oman | Legislative | OMN_25102015_L1 | 61 |
| Micronesia | Legislative | FSM_03032015_L1 | 60 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | Presidential | CIV_25102015_P1 | 59 |
| Myanmar | Legislative | MMR_08112015_L1 | 54 |
| Kyrgyzstan | Legislative | KGZ_04102015_L1 | 54 |
| Belize | Legislative | BLZ_04112015_L1 | 53 |
| Nigeria | Legislative | NGA_28032015_L1 | 53 |
| Guyana | Legislative | GUY_11052015_L1 | 53 |
| Singapore | Legislative | SGP_11092015_L1 | 53 |
| Sri Lanka | Legislative | LKA_17082015_L1 | 53 |
| Mexico | Legislative | MEX_07062015_L1 | 52 |
| Suriname | Legislative | SUR_25052015_L1 | 51 |
| Sri Lanka | Presidential | LKA_08012015_P1 | 51 |
| Comoros | Legislative | COM_22022015_L2 | 50 |
| El Salvador | Legislative | SLV_01032015_L1 | 49 |
| Guatemala | Presidential | GTM_25102015_P2 | 48 |
| Turkey | Legislative | TUR_07062015_L1 | 47 |
| Egypt | Legislative | EGY_02122015_L1 | 45 |
| Turkey | Presidential | TUR_01112015_L1 | 45 |
| Zambia | Presidential | ZMB_20012015_P1 | 44 |
| Tanzania | Presidential | TZA_25102015_P1 | 43 |
| Sudan | Presidential | SDN_13042015_P1 | 43 |
| Kazakhstan | Presidential | KAZ_26042015_P1 | 43 |
| Venezuela | Legislative | VEN_06122015_L1 | 42 |
| Guinea | Presidential | GIN_11102015_P1 | 41 |
| Belarus | Presidential | BLR_11102015_P1 | 41 |
| Uzbekistan | Presidential | UZB_29032015_P1 | 40 |
| Uzbekistan | Legislative | UZB_04012015_L2 | 39 |
| Togo | Presidential | TGO_25042015_P1 | 38 |
| Tajikistan | Legislative | TJK_01032015_L1 | 36 |
| Azerbaijan | Legislative | AZE_01112015_L1 | 29 |
| Haiti | Legislative | HTI_25102015_L2 | 28 |
| Burundi | Legislative | BDI_29062015_L1 | 27 |
| Ethiopia | Legislative | ETH_24052015_L1 | 22 |
| Burundi | Presidential | BDI_21072015_P1 | 22 |



TABLE A4: PEI SCORES FOR ELECTIONS BY ALL STAGES OF THE ELECTORAL CYCLE

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|----------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 1 | Denmark | 18/6/2015 | Leg | 86 | 91 | 98 | 83 | 94 | 90 | 72 | 73 | 79 | 97 | 94 | 93 |
| 2 | Finland | 19/4/2015 | Leg | 86 | 80 | 98 | 71 | 95 | 93 | 70 | 70 | 83 | 99 | 96 | 96 |
| 3 | Norway | 9/9/2013 | Leg | 83 | 80 | 92 | 68 | 87 | 84 | 68 | 73 | 81 | 97 | 93 | 91 |
| 4 | Lithuania | 25/5/2014 | Pres | 82 | 92 | 91 | 71 | 76 | 85 | 67 | 74 | 79 | 94 | 91 | 86 |
| 5 | Sweden | 14/9/2014 | Leg | 81 | 79 | 90 | 78 | 89 | 80 | 61 | 66 | 80 | 93 | 88 | 94 |
| 6 | Costa Rica | 6/4/2014 | Pres | 80 | 80 | 97 | 58 | 76 | 79 | 56 | 64 | 82 | 99 | 94 | 97 |
| 7 | Germany | 22/9/2013 | Leg | 80 | 77 | 89 | 74 | 82 | 83 | 67 | 70 | 78 | 94 | 88 | 84 |
| 8 | Slovenia | 13/7/2014 | Leg | 79 | 78 | 78 | 67 | 93 | 77 | 68 | 69 | 80 | 94 | 76 | 87 |
| 9 | Estonia | 1/3/2015 | Leg | 79 | 75 | 84 | 67 | 88 | 76 | 68 | 58 | 89 | 87 | 86 | 82 |
| 10 | Netherlands | 12/9/2012 | Leg | 79 | 91 | 91 | 68 | 85 | 78 | 61 | 62 | 76 | 87 | 89 | 88 |
| 11 | Switzerland | 18/10/2015 | Leg | 79 | 77 | 89 | 71 | 89 | 81 | 63 | 41 | 82 | 93 | 93 | 91 |
| 12 | Iceland | 27/4/2013 | Leg | 78 | 70 | 94 | 58 | 88 | 81 | 65 | 60 | 82 | 91 | 87 | 83 |
| 13 | Czech Republic | 25/10/2013 | Leg | 77 | 85 | 90 | 73 | 87 | 77 | 58 | 55 | 72 | 93 | 89 | 87 |
| 14 | Austria | 29/9/2013 | Leg | 77 | 78 | 90 | 73 | 84 | 69 | 59 | 55 | 80 | 91 | 85 | 89 |
| 15 | Rep. of Korea | 19/12/2012 | Pres | 77 | 59 | 88 | 70 | 89 | 76 | 57 | 64 | 78 | 95 | 85 | 83 |
| 16 | Czech Republic | 13/10/2012 | Leg | 76 | 77 | 91 | 66 | 84 | 74 | 59 | 65 | 68 | 93 | 86 | 85 |
| 17 | New Zealand | 20/9/2014 | Leg | 75 | 71 | 95 | 65 | 55 | 83 | 55 | 55 | 79 | 87 | 89 | 88 |
| 18 | Uruguay | 30/11/2014 | Pres | 75 | 91 | 94 | 71 | 79 | 72 | 65 | 58 | 56 | 92 | 94 | 84 |
| 19 | Poland | 25/10/2015 | Leg | 75 | 79 | 87 | 77 | 78 | 74 | 51 | 63 | 74 | 87 | 85 | 82 |
| 20 | Canada | 19/10/2015 | Leg | 75 | 51 | 90 | 78 | 56 | 73 | 62 | 68 | 73 | 89 | 86 | 89 |
| 21 | Slovenia | 2/12/2012 | Pres | 75 | 69 | 88 | 62 | 88 | 70 | 50 | 57 | 80 | 92 | 80 | 86 |
| 22 | Slovakia | 29/3/2014 | Pres | 74 | 72 | 83 | 66 | 75 | 87 | 63 | 55 | 65 | 92 | 85 | 82 |
| 23 | Israel | 22/1/2013 | Leg | 74 | 79 | 94 | 62 | 78 | 75 | 66 | 62 | 56 | 89 | 86 | 89 |
| 24 | Czech Republic | 25/1/2013 | Pres | 74 | 80 | 75 | 73 | 92 | 82 | 53 | 57 | 68 | 92 | 80 | 77 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|-----------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 25 | Poland | 24/4/2015 | Pres | 74 | 79 | 82 | 69 | 77 | 77 | 56 | 61 | 75 | 83 | 80 | 80 |
| 26 | Cyprus | 24/2/2013 | Pres | 73 | 83 | 87 | 65 | 75 | 71 | 57 | 51 | 71 | 87 | 88 | 80 |
| 27 | Lithuania | 28/10/2012 | Leg | 73 | 86 | 69 | 74 | 76 | 85 | 64 | 55 | 69 | 85 | 70 | 72 |
| 28 | Israel | 17/3/2015 | Leg | 72 | 74 | 89 | 61 | 79 | 77 | 50 | 61 | 58 | 92 | 88 | 84 |
| 29 | Portugal | 4/10/2015 | Leg | 72 | 71 | 85 | 65 | 46 | 72 | 58 | 59 | 73 | 90 | 84 | 80 |
| 30 | Latvia | 4/10/2014 | Leg | 72 | 72 | 83 | 70 | 67 | 72 | 60 | 56 | 69 | 88 | 77 | 78 |
| 31 | Belgium | 25/5/2014 | Leg | 71 | 66 | 81 | 60 | 76 | 73 | 64 | 64 | 67 | 79 | 79 | 77 |
| 32 | Greece | 25/1/2015 | Leg | 71 | 48 | 93 | 57 | 78 | 71 | 54 | 50 | 64 | 91 | 90 | 87 |
| 33 | Japan | 14/12/2014 | Leg | 71 | 67 | 86 | 53 | 77 | 75 | 57 | 63 | 64 | 77 | 86 | 78 |
| 34 | Australia | 7/9/2013 | Leg | 70 | 65 | 89 | 68 | 59 | 70 | 47 | 56 | 72 | 81 | 75 | 88 |
| 35 | Tunisia | 21/12/2014 | Pres | 69 | 78 | 86 | 75 | 54 | 75 | 53 | 47 | 67 | 86 | 62 | 86 |
| 36 | Benin | 26/4/2015 | Leg | 69 | 83 | 77 | 71 | 52 | 65 | 70 | 40 | 60 | 85 | 80 | 88 |
| 37 | Spain | 20/12/2015 | Leg | 69 | 37 | 83 | 54 | 76 | 73 | 48 | 52 | 66 | 91 | 93 | 82 |
| 38 | Croatia | 8/11/2015 | Leg | 68 | 60 | 80 | 55 | 57 | 68 | 53 | 58 | 63 | 88 | 87 | 77 |
| 39 | Brazil | 26/10/2014 | Pres | 68 | 74 | 87 | 69 | 75 | 62 | 48 | 38 | 66 | 91 | 64 | 82 |
| 40 | Tonga | 27/11/2014 | Leg | 68 | 73 | 67 | 72 | 58 | 75 | 56 | 47 | 69 | 85 | 64 | 78 |
| 41 | Japan | 16/12/2012 | Leg | 67 | 53 | 83 | 53 | 75 | 63 | 59 | 58 | 66 | 81 | 77 | 71 |
| 42 | Japan | 21/7/2013 | Leg | 67 | 51 | 89 | 46 | 71 | 66 | 50 | 54 | 66 | 86 | 76 | 74 |
| 43 | Italy | 24/2/2013 | Leg | 67 | 44 | 86 | 65 | 75 | 66 | 53 | 49 | 64 | 80 | 76 | 79 |
| 44 | Chile | 15/12/2013 | Pres | 66 | 54 | 89 | 54 | 54 | 65 | 53 | 48 | 53 | 89 | 90 | 88 |
| 45 | Grenada | 19/2/2013 | Leg | 66 | 63 | 93 | 54 | 55 | 80 | 41 | 22 | 58 | 92 | 93 | 88 |
| 46 | Argentina | 27/10/2013 | Leg | 66 | 70 | 83 | 60 | 65 | 70 | 55 | 41 | 62 | 78 | 77 | 69 |
| 47 | Malta | 9/3/2013 | Leg | 66 | 51 | 86 | 54 | 64 | 68 | 45 | 39 | 65 | 90 | 80 | 78 |
| 48 | Tunisia | 26/10/2014 | Leg | 65 | 75 | 75 | 66 | 44 | 73 | 59 | 45 | 59 | 79 | 81 | 70 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|----------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 49 | Burkina Faso | 29/11/2015 | Pres | 65 | 74 | 86 | 65 | 51 | 53 | 67 | 44 | 46 | 85 | 81 | 83 |
| 50 | Croatia | 11/1/2015 | Pres | 65 | 64 | 77 | 51 | 55 | 64 | 47 | 60 | 63 | 80 | 79 | 72 |
| 51 | United Kingdom | 7/5/2015 | Leg | 65 | 37 | 85 | 43 | 62 | 65 | 39 | 57 | 71 | 85 | 73 | 79 |
| 52 | Mongolia | 26/6/2013 | Pres | 64 | 56 | 78 | 64 | 62 | 65 | 48 | 46 | 65 | 84 | 69 | 71 |
| 53 | Georgia | 27/10/2013 | Pres | 64 | 76 | 72 | 56 | 59 | 56 | 57 | 51 | 59 | 82 | 77 | 71 |
| 54 | Mauritius | 10/12/2014 | Leg | 64 | 64 | 90 | 52 | 72 | 60 | 47 | 32 | 58 | 87 | 77 | 78 |
| 55 | Rwanda | 16/9/2013 | Leg | 64 | 62 | 71 | 59 | 73 | 61 | 54 | 58 | 60 | 71 | 77 | 65 |
| 56 | South Africa | 7/5/2014 | Leg | 63 | 73 | 78 | 68 | 51 | 60 | 56 | 36 | 62 | 76 | 72 | 71 |
| 57 | Argentina | 22/11/2015 | Leg | 63 | 68 | 74 | 55 | 65 | 71 | 55 | 35 | 61 | 70 | 75 | 66 |
| 58 | Lesotho | 28/2/2015 | Leg | 63 | 80 | 82 | 70 | 48 | 59 | 47 | 38 | 55 | 78 | 76 | 77 |
| 59 | Micronesia | 5/3/2013 | Leg | 63 | 66 | 70 | 72 | 43 | 75 | 62 | 37 | 61 | 70 | 68 | 67 |
| 60 | United States | 6/11/2012 | Pres | 63 | 38 | 70 | 16 | 40 | 74 | 64 | 43 | 68 | 85 | 84 | 75 |
| 61 | Bulgaria | 5/10/2014 | Leg | 63 | 76 | 65 | 67 | 49 | 66 | 50 | 40 | 60 | 81 | 72 | 71 |
| 62 | Barbados | 21/2/2013 | Leg | 62 | 67 | 69 | 63 | 59 | 57 | 62 | 29 | 56 | 83 | 79 | 73 |
| 63 | Mexico | 1/7/2012 | Pres | 62 | 58 | 75 | 68 | 76 | 59 | 56 | 44 | 58 | 85 | 48 | 67 |
| 64 | Greece | 20/9/2015 | Leg | 62 | 44 | 88 | 50 | 57 | 59 | 47 | 39 | 56 | 84 | 85 | 75 |
| 65 | United States | 4/11/2014 | Leg | 62 | 31 | 75 | 11 | 35 | 80 | 69 | 47 | 67 | 76 | 77 | 72 |
| 66 | Colombia | 9/3/2014 | Leg | 61 | 67 | 71 | 68 | 48 | 72 | 57 | 42 | 41 | 79 | 71 | 77 |
| 67 | Montenegro | 14/10/2012 | Leg | 61 | 81 | 71 | 61 | 46 | 64 | 59 | 23 | 54 | 87 | 79 | 60 |
| 68 | Oman | 25/10/2015 | Leg | 61 | 52 | 79 | 51 | 59 | 58 | 55 | 41 | 62 | 74 | 79 | 59 |
| 69 | Bhutan | 13/9/2013 | Leg | 61 | 52 | 75 | 59 | 46 | 45 | 67 | 55 | 57 | 66 | 69 | 74 |
| 70 | Panama | 4/5/2014 | Pres | 61 | 55 | 78 | 55 | 65 | 64 | 54 | 24 | 63 | 75 | 64 | 71 |
| 71 | Namibia | 28/11/2014 | Pres | 60 | 67 | 62 | 70 | 53 | 70 | 52 | 34 | 56 | 64 | 80 | 68 |
| 72 | Micronesia | 3/3/2015 | Leg | 60 | 64 | 71 | 59 | 46 | 61 | 56 | 33 | 64 | 71 | 67 | 68 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|-------------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 73 | Indonesia | 9/7/2014 | Pres | 60 | 64 | 68 | 62 | 44 | 68 | 54 | 43 | 61 | 74 | 50 | 72 |
| 74 | Ukraine | 25/5/2014 | Pres | 60 | 70 | 70 | 57 | 41 | 63 | 57 | 41 | 50 | 70 | 78 | 71 |
| 75 | Maldives | 22/3/2014 | Leg | 59 | 60 | 75 | 47 | 49 | 57 | 58 | 48 | 60 | 63 | 76 | 56 |
| 76 | El Salvador | 9/3/2014 | Pres | 59 | 60 | 80 | 61 | 47 | 60 | 44 | 34 | 61 | 85 | 43 | 74 |
| 77 | India | 12/5/2014 | Leg | 59 | 72 | 72 | 58 | 40 | 57 | 55 | 32 | 54 | 72 | 67 | 76 |
| 78 | Cote d'Ivoire | 25/10/2015 | Pres | 59 | 68 | 73 | 41 | 57 | 67 | 46 | 33 | 53 | 77 | 71 | 64 |
| 79 | Kuwait | 27/7/2013 | Leg | 59 | 47 | 80 | 50 | 54 | 71 | 53 | 33 | 52 | 73 | 63 | 69 |
| 80 | Colombia | 15/6/2014 | Pres | 58 | 60 | 79 | 51 | 36 | 57 | 44 | 34 | 55 | 79 | 75 | 76 |
| 81 | Sao Tome & Princ. | 12/10/2014 | Leg | 58 | 73 | 80 | 60 | 51 | 68 | 43 | 29 | 45 | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| 82 | Botswana | 24/10/2014 | Leg | 58 | 37 | 83 | 48 | 57 | 67 | 36 | 17 | 61 | 76 | 77 | 74 |
| 83 | Serbia | 16/3/2014 | Leg | 58 | 54 | 74 | 56 | 39 | 57 | 36 | 35 | 57 | 79 | 80 | 68 |
| 84 | Ghana | 7/12/2012 | Pres | 57 | 77 | 62 | 57 | 48 | 73 | 55 | 32 | 48 | 80 | 45 | 61 |
| 85 | Solomon Islands | 19/11/2014 | Leg | 57 | 75 | 67 | 72 | 42 | 59 | 62 | 29 | 41 | 72 | 63 | 68 |
| 86 | Moldova | 30/11/2014 | Leg | 57 | 58 | 64 | 70 | 57 | 46 | 50 | 33 | 58 | 80 | 60 | 58 |
| 87 | Sierra Leone | 17/11/2012 | Pres | 56 | 67 | 79 | 41 | 65 | 63 | 30 | 33 | 55 | 62 | 64 | 72 |
| 88 | Hungary | 6/4/2014 | Leg | 56 | 30 | 70 | 30 | 68 | 58 | 32 | 38 | 65 | 81 | 73 | 58 |
| 89 | Cuba | 3/2/2013 | Leg | 56 | 29 | 77 | 41 | 72 | 60 | 40 | 39 | 52 | 66 | 87 | 56 |
| 90 | Bolivia | 12/10/2014 | Pres | 56 | 55 | 64 | 54 | 45 | 61 | 54 | 34 | 58 | 62 | 70 | 53 |
| 91 | Paraguay | 21/4/2013 | Pres | 55 | 63 | 70 | 57 | 45 | 54 | 40 | 25 | 51 | 74 | 79 | 57 |
| 92 | Ecuador | 17/2/2013 | Pres | 55 | 42 | 65 | 38 | 58 | 57 | 43 | 38 | 63 | 68 | 67 | 52 |
| 93 | Iran | 14/6/2013 | Pres | 54 | 34 | 73 | 49 | 63 | 21 | 56 | 45 | 58 | 63 | 80 | 59 |
| 94 | Albania | 23/6/2013 | Leg | 54 | 52 | 65 | 59 | 59 | 49 | 47 | 27 | 46 | 76 | 79 | 55 |
| 95 | Guinea-Bissau | 18/5/2014 | Pres | 54 | 63 | 67 | 52 | 50 | 55 | 55 | 31 | 50 | 66 | 57 | 59 |
| 96 | Maldives | 16/11/2013 | Pres | 54 | 58 | 64 | 60 | 45 | 61 | 47 | 32 | 53 | 68 | 65 | 48 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|------------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 97 | Myanmar | 8/11/2015 | Leg | 54 | 43 | 72 | 54 | 30 | 40 | 49 | 34 | 55 | 74 | 69 | 69 |
| 98 | Kyrgyzstan | 4/10/2015 | Leg | 54 | 54 | 64 | 54 | 43 | 43 | 52 | 39 | 53 | 71 | 65 | 59 |
| 99 | Venezuela | 7/10/2012 | Pres | 54 | 48 | 61 | 51 | 59 | 67 | 29 | 22 | 60 | 69 | 79 | 49 |
| 100 | Ukraine | 26/10/2014 | Leg | 54 | 59 | 64 | 53 | 45 | 53 | 49 | 35 | 48 | 65 | 66 | 58 |
| 101 | Georgia | 1/10/2012 | Leg | 54 | 55 | 63 | 52 | 44 | 54 | 42 | 27 | 54 | 75 | 69 | 57 |
| 102 | Nepal | 19/11/2013 | Leg | 54 | 73 | 63 | 57 | 45 | 57 | 53 | 37 | 42 | 66 | 46 | 66 |
| 103 | Romania | 16/11/2014 | Pres | 53 | 40 | 54 | 55 | 29 | 66 | 40 | 43 | 46 | 80 | 72 | 56 |
| 104 | Fiji | 17/9/2014 | Leg | 53 | 30 | 73 | 50 | 60 | 49 | 37 | 32 | 63 | 65 | 59 | 63 |
| 105 | Belize | 4/11/2015 | Leg | 53 | 41 | 64 | 38 | 41 | 60 | 53 | 28 | 52 | 68 | 65 | 67 |
| 106 | Indonesia | 9/4/2014 | Leg | 53 | 58 | 57 | 65 | 38 | 62 | 53 | 23 | 52 | 63 | 57 | 63 |
| 107 | Nigeria | 17/3/2015 | Leg | 53 | 75 | 66 | 62 | 42 | 60 | 49 | 20 | 30 | 73 | 67 | 70 |
| 108 | Guyana | 11/5/2015 | Leg | 53 | 43 | 77 | 50 | 61 | 63 | 36 | 30 | 47 | 66 | 44 | 74 |
| 109 | Singapore | 11/9/2015 | Leg | 53 | 27 | 76 | 14 | 77 | 46 | 33 | 35 | 60 | 69 | 75 | 58 |
| 110 | Mali | 11/8/2013 | Pres | 53 | 62 | 62 | 50 | 25 | 51 | 53 | 39 | 45 | 69 | 67 | 59 |
| 111 | Sri Lanka | 17/8/2015 | Leg | 53 | 59 | 73 | 46 | 47 | 51 | 41 | 22 | 51 | 74 | 54 | 68 |
| 112 | Bosnia-Herzegov. | 12/10/2014 | Pres | 52 | 39 | 68 | 40 | 49 | 42 | 45 | 36 | 51 | 66 | 73 | 66 |
| 113 | Mexico | 7/6/2015 | Leg | 52 | 49 | 66 | 57 | 61 | 47 | 43 | 33 | 44 | 73 | 53 | 62 |
| 114 | Turkey | 10/8/2014 | Pres | 51 | 43 | 62 | 55 | 58 | 51 | 27 | 29 | 53 | 68 | 68 | 53 |
| 115 | Thailand | 2/2/2014 | Leg | 51 | 76 | 43 | 70 | 60 | 54 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 60 | 35 | 35 |
| 116 | Suriname | 25/5/2015 | Leg | 51 | 49 | 66 | 49 | 46 | 62 | 39 | 27 | 48 | 58 | 66 | 54 |
| 117 | Sri Lanka | 8/1/2015 | Pres | 51 | 57 | 68 | 51 | 49 | 46 | 35 | 28 | 46 | 63 | 61 | 67 |
| 118 | Kuwait | 1/12/2012 | Leg | 51 | 37 | 63 | 36 | 66 | 51 | 53 | 20 | 60 | 75 | 30 | 52 |
| 119 | Bulgaria | 12/5/2013 | Leg | 50 | 51 | 52 | 52 | 31 | 63 | 45 | 33 | 53 | 67 | 40 | 54 |
| 120 | Pakistan | 11/5/2013 | Leg | 50 | 68 | 57 | 50 | 54 | 38 | 59 | 36 | 37 | 62 | 45 | 60 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|-------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 121 | Comoros | 22/2/2015 | Leg | 50 | 63 | 59 | 46 | 30 | 56 | 51 | 26 | 38 | 67 | 58 | 61 |
| 122 | El Salvador | 1/3/2015 | Leg | 49 | 53 | 44 | 59 | 52 | 60 | 49 | 37 | 47 | 49 | 54 | 42 |
| 123 | Romania | 9/12/2012 | Leg | 48 | 46 | 59 | 39 | 28 | 58 | 32 | 32 | 46 | 67 | 68 | 50 |
| 124 | Philippines | 13/5/2013 | Leg | 48 | 61 | 60 | 50 | 27 | 63 | 51 | 20 | 39 | 60 | 51 | 55 |
| 125 | Guatemala | 25/10/2015 | Pres | 48 | 46 | 62 | 61 | 32 | 38 | 41 | 20 | 36 | 76 | 63 | 67 |
| 126 | Macedonia | 27/4/2014 | Pres | 48 | 49 | 56 | 47 | 24 | 57 | 28 | 30 | 51 | 71 | 49 | 54 |
| 127 | Malawi | 20/5/2014 | Pres | 48 | 70 | 49 | 60 | 30 | 69 | 49 | 18 | 42 | 50 | 44 | 55 |
| 128 | Turkey | 7/6/2015 | Leg | 47 | 22 | 68 | 38 | 49 | 48 | 28 | 26 | 46 | 71 | 69 | 52 |
| 129 | Cameroon | 30/9/2013 | Leg | 46 | 47 | 59 | 38 | 41 | 49 | 39 | 22 | 38 | 67 | 52 | 63 |
| 130 | Mauritania | 21/6/2014 | Pres | 46 | 53 | 38 | 62 | 25 | 44 | 52 | 37 | 51 | 56 | 35 | 49 |
| 131 | Jordan | 23/1/2013 | Leg | 46 | 30 | 57 | 21 | 44 | 55 | 46 | 28 | 47 | 56 | 46 | 63 |
| 132 | Egypt | 2/12/2015 | Leg | 45 | 26 | 60 | 36 | 48 | 57 | 31 | 25 | 48 | 58 | 58 | 46 |
| 133 | Swaziland | 20/9/2013 | Leg | 45 | 22 | 64 | 30 | 48 | 32 | 47 | 36 | 45 | 62 | 56 | 49 |
| 134 | Honduras | 24/11/2013 | Pres | 45 | 38 | 51 | 47 | 38 | 60 | 36 | 29 | 46 | 68 | 30 | 46 |
| 135 | Turkey | 1/11/2015 | Leg | 45 | 28 | 60 | 47 | 52 | 43 | 25 | 24 | 44 | 61 | 68 | 45 |
| 136 | Iraq | 30/4/2014 | Leg | 44 | 44 | 53 | 39 | 39 | 45 | 46 | 18 | 48 | 51 | 53 | 46 |
| 137 | Zambia | 20/1/2015 | Pres | 44 | 53 | 54 | 61 | 31 | 48 | 30 | 27 | 32 | 58 | 55 | 50 |
| 138 | Tanzania | 25/10/2015 | Pres | 43 | 33 | 59 | 43 | 33 | 54 | 43 | 23 | 43 | 56 | 39 | 46 |
| 139 | Armenia | 18/2/2013 | Pres | 43 | 54 | 49 | 51 | 26 | 51 | 50 | 31 | 37 | 60 | 30 | 41 |
| 140 | Guinea | 28/9/2013 | Leg | 43 | 51 | 28 | 39 | 21 | 64 | 55 | 19 | 44 | 56 | 55 | 34 |
| 141 | Sudan | 13/4/2015 | Pres | 43 | 27 | 48 | 41 | 36 | 47 | 36 | 28 | 45 | 56 | 59 | 44 |
| 142 | Kazakhstan | 26/4/2015 | Pres | 43 | 29 | 48 | 42 | 51 | 34 | 27 | 32 | 49 | 58 | 61 | 40 |
| 143 | Algeria | 17/4/2014 | Pres | 43 | 25 | 48 | 42 | 42 | 36 | 44 | 26 | 52 | 59 | 49 | 35 |
| 144 | Venezuela | 6/12/2015 | Leg | 42 | 33 | 49 | 35 | 43 | 51 | 27 | 23 | 46 | 50 | 64 | 40 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|--------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 145 | Burkina Faso | 2/12/2012 | Leg | 41 | 53 | 56 | 19 | 44 | 52 | 54 | 8 | 34 | 52 | 40 | 48 |
| 146 | Mauritania | 21/12/2013 | Leg | 41 | 50 | 56 | 29 | 23 | 40 | 48 | 22 | 39 | 44 | 46 | 56 |
| 147 | Guinea | 11/10/2015 | Pres | 41 | 40 | 46 | 42 | 27 | 47 | 39 | 25 | 38 | 59 | 41 | 45 |
| 148 | Kenya | 4/3/2013 | Pres | 41 | 71 | 31 | 51 | 17 | 57 | 62 | 19 | 33 | 36 | 55 | 27 |
| 149 | Azerbaijan | 9/10/2013 | Pres | 41 | 44 | 37 | 60 | 43 | 42 | 31 | 30 | 42 | 44 | 46 | 40 |
| 150 | Belarus | 11/10/2015 | Pres | 41 | 30 | 41 | 58 | 44 | 43 | 27 | 27 | 49 | 34 | 62 | 33 |
| 151 | Ukraine | 28/10/2012 | Leg | 40 | 38 | 42 | 47 | 33 | 41 | 39 | 23 | 52 | 39 | 40 | 39 |
| 152 | Venezuela | 14/4/2013 | Pres | 40 | 33 | 37 | 41 | 43 | 58 | 38 | 25 | 47 | 39 | 38 | 31 |
| 153 | Madagascar | 20/12/2013 | Pres | 40 | 36 | 41 | 34 | 17 | 48 | 44 | 20 | 36 | 58 | 44 | 49 |
| 154 | Egypt | 26/5/2014 | Pres | 40 | 29 | 50 | 45 | 32 | 23 | 30 | 23 | 49 | 52 | 57 | 41 |
| 155 | Uzbekistan | 29/3/2015 | Pres | 40 | 27 | 50 | 41 | 37 | 30 | 25 | 25 | 44 | 48 | 73 | 36 |
| 156 | Uzbekistan | 4/1/2015 | Leg | 39 | 27 | 54 | 54 | 39 | 32 | 27 | 20 | 44 | 44 | 67 | 24 |
| 157 | Bangladesh | 5/1/2014 | Leg | 38 | 42 | 46 | 41 | 45 | 38 | 49 | 23 | 27 | 50 | 40 | 36 |
| 158 | Turkmenistan | 15/12/2013 | Leg | 38 | 21 | 55 | 50 | 41 | 29 | 21 | 24 | 37 | 45 | 74 | 34 |
| 159 | Montenegro | 7/4/2013 | Pres | 38 | 48 | 46 | 55 | 22 | 56 | 29 | 21 | 43 | 41 | 31 | 27 |
| 160 | Bahrain | 29/11/2014 | Leg | 38 | 17 | 44 | 21 | 33 | 39 | 35 | 26 | 46 | 53 | 56 | 31 |
| 161 | Togo | 25/4/2015 | Pres | 38 | 43 | 43 | 26 | 27 | 51 | 49 | 28 | 36 | 38 | 33 | 32 |
| 162 | Togo | 25/7/2013 | Leg | 38 | 25 | 39 | 29 | 19 | 42 | 47 | 26 | 43 | 38 | 40 | 48 |
| 163 | Tajikistan | 6/11/2013 | Pres | 37 | 17 | 42 | 46 | 22 | 29 | 32 | 28 | 40 | 48 | 58 | 34 |
| 164 | Tajikistan | 1/2/2015 | Leg | 36 | 19 | 47 | 39 | 28 | 27 | 30 | 19 | 40 | 49 | 55 | 37 |
| 165 | Malaysia | 5/5/2013 | Leg | 36 | 16 | 43 | 10 | 22 | 48 | 22 | 21 | 57 | 44 | 42 | 32 |
| 166 | Zimbabwe | 31/7/2013 | Leg | 35 | 27 | 29 | 31 | 15 | 50 | 33 | 26 | 36 | 46 | 49 | 33 |
| 167 | Angola | 31/8/2012 | Leg | 35 | 28 | 37 | 45 | 21 | 46 | 31 | 22 | 36 | 36 | 44 | 35 |
| 168 | Mozambique | 15/10/2014 | Pres | 35 | 37 | 38 | 43 | 26 | 42 | 33 | 20 | 39 | 32 | 37 | 33 |

| Rank | Country | Election date | Off. | PEI index | Electoral laws | Electoral proced. | District bound. | Voter registr. | P & C registr. | Media coverage | Campaign finance | Voting process | Vote count | Results | Electoral authorit. |
|------|-------------------|---------------|------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| 169 | Afghanistan | 14/6/2014 | Pres | 33 | 49 | 24 | 50 | 20 | 32 | 61 | 24 | 30 | 24 | 26 | 27 |
| 170 | Belarus | 23/10/2012 | Leg | 32 | 15 | 36 | 48 | 45 | 32 | 24 | 22 | 42 | 23 | 52 | 16 |
| 171 | Cambodia | 28/7/2013 | Leg | 32 | 29 | 37 | 33 | 13 | 38 | 29 | 19 | 35 | 57 | 25 | 28 |
| 172 | Congo, Rep. | 5/8/2012 | Leg | 31 | 28 | 38 | 42 | 17 | 33 | 27 | 8 | 45 | 27 | 50 | 23 |
| 173 | Azerbaijan | 1/11/2015 | Leg | 29 | 26 | 24 | 29 | 38 | 34 | 16 | 9 | 39 | 36 | 56 | 12 |
| 174 | Haiti | 9/8/2015 | Leg | 28 | 41 | 14 | 45 | 18 | 43 | 55 | 7 | 14 | 38 | 21 | 22 |
| 175 | Syria | 3/6/2014 | Pres | 27 | 10 | 29 | 38 | 22 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 29 | 38 | 60 | 27 |
| 176 | Burundi | 29/6/2015 | Leg | 27 | 32 | 17 | 31 | 14 | 39 | 25 | 15 | 28 | 34 | 32 | 24 |
| 177 | Djibouti | 22/2/2013 | Leg | 25 | 18 | 24 | 48 | 26 | 20 | 26 | 16 | 29 | 23 | 33 | 20 |
| 178 | Equatorial Guinea | 26/5/2013 | Leg | 23 | 13 | 23 | 33 | 21 | 29 | 12 | 15 | 23 | 26 | 49 | 13 |
| 179 | Ethiopia | 24/5/2015 | Leg | 22 | 12 | 20 | 34 | 31 | 27 | 21 | 18 | 22 | 15 | 40 | 11 |
| 180 | Burundi | 21/7/2015 | Pres | 22 | 25 | 13 | 32 | 19 | 20 | 27 | 7 | 23 | 44 | 15 | 17 |

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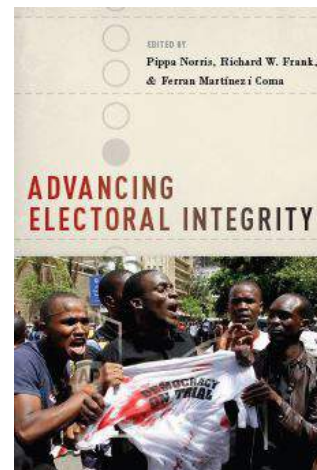
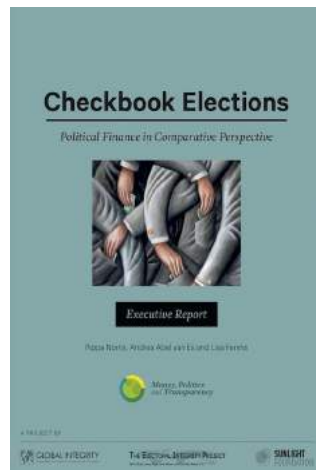
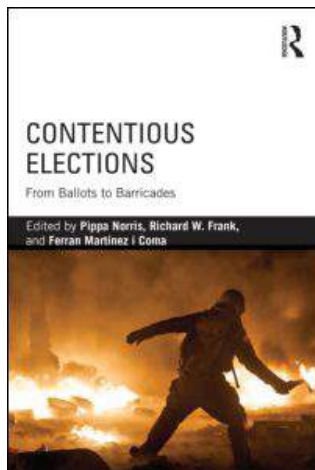
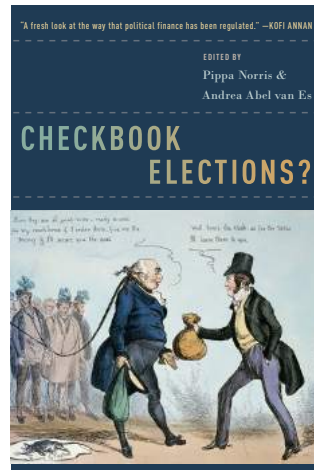
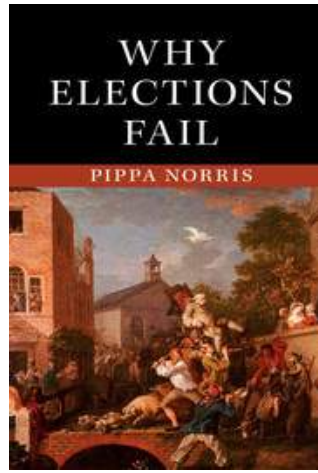
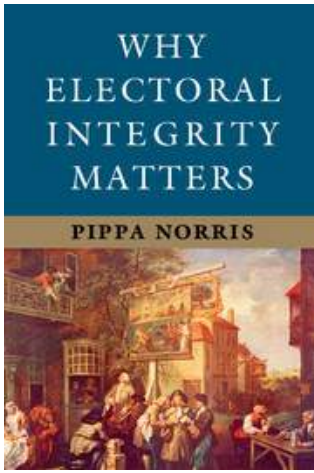
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Contact Information

The Electoral Integrity Project
Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It





Tel +61 2-467-163051
 pippa_norris
 @hks.harvard.edu

Tel +61 2-9351-2147
 ferran.martinezcoma
 @sydney.edu.au

Tel +61 2-9351-2055
 alessandro.nai
 @sydney.edu.au

Tel +61 2-9351-5085
 max.groemping
 @sydney.edu.au

THE ELECTORAL INTEGRITY PROJECT






Department of Government and international
 Relations Mereweather Building (H0.4)

University of Sydney

Sydney, NSW, 2006, Australia

electoralintegrity@sydney.edu.au
 www.electoralintegrityproject.com

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This report summarizes the results of the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) expert survey. The report is based on an expert survey to over 2000 election experts in 180 elections for 139 countries from 1 July 2012 until 31 December 2015). This publication is part of the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), a six-year research project generously funded by the Kathleen Fitzpatrick Australian Laureate awarded to Professor Pippa Norris by the Australian Research Council. Ferran Martínez i Coma is the manager of PEI expert survey, assisted by Max Grömping. Alessandro Nai is EIP Project Manager.

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The Electoral Integrity Project

Depart. of Government and International Relations
Merewether Building (H0.4)

University of Sydney

Sydney, NSW, 2006, Australia
electoralintegrity@sydney.edu.au
www.electoralintegrityproject.com

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