

THE ELECTORAL INTEGRITY PROJECT

WHY ELECTIONS FAIL AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT



 by EUPOL Afghanistan: The Afghan election audit

THE YEAR IN ELECTIONS, 2014

THE WORLD'S FLAWED AND FAILED CONTESTS

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1. Executive summary

Pippa Norris, Ferran Martínez i Coma and Max Grömping

In many countries, polling day ends with disputes about ballot-box fraud, corruption, and flawed registers. Which claims are legitimate? And which are false complaints from sore losers?

This report by the Electoral Integrity Project aims to evaluate the quality of elections held around the world.

Based on a rolling survey collecting the views of election experts, the research provides independent and reliable evidence to compare whether countries meet international standards of electoral integrity.

The rolling survey results presented in this report cover 127 national parliamentary and presidential contests held worldwide in 107 countries from 1 July 2012 to 31 December 2014. The current dataset covers almost two-thirds (62%) of all independent nation-states worldwide holding direct elections for the lower house of parliament, containing 4.2 billion people in total. We requested assessments from 4,970 election experts, receiving completed responses from 1,429, generating an average response rate of 29%.

The study monitors 49 indicators to compare elections and countries around the globe. These indicators are clustered to evaluate eleven stages in the electoral cycle as well as generating an overall summary Perception of Electoral Integrity (PEI) 100-point index and comparative ranking.

MAJOR FINDINGS

SEVERAL FAILED ELECTIONS RAISED MAJOR RED FLAGS.

- In **Bangladesh**, the parliamentary election for the Jatiya Sangsad was boycotted by 18 opposition parties, led by the BJP, in protest against the abolishment of the caretaker government provision. As a result, a total of 153 seats were uncontested, mostly going to the government led by Awami League. Voter turnout was low, due to both the boycott and violence. At least 21 people were killed, over 100 polling centres were set on fire, and the Electoral Commission suspended voting at over 300 polling stations due to the conflict.
- In **Egypt**, the presidential contest in May 2014 saw the election of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, the former army field marshal, who swept to victory with 95% of the vote after banning the Muslim Brotherhood, a contest ranked 5th worst in all the elections held during 2014.¹
- In **Mozambique**, October 2014 general election was also rated poorly, with a violent campaign and irregularities on polling day when Filipe Nyusi, the candidate of the ruling FRELIMO, was elected as President, and FRELIMO retained its parliamentary majority.²
- In **Afghanistan**, the presidential election in June 2014 encountered major problems with one leading candidate, Abdullah Abdullah, alleging fraud “on an industrial scale”. The UN led the mammoth task of auditing all 8 million votes cast leading to a contentious brokered outcome. The Afghanistan presidential election was ranked 3rd worst among 2014 contests.
- **Bahrain** saw a low-turnout general election for the largely powerless Bahrain parliament, boycotted by the main opposition Shiite bloc al-Wefaq following bitter sectarian strife.³ The contest ranked as next to last among all elections in 2014.
- Finally **Syria** saw the reelection of President Bashar Assad, who captured another seven-year term in June 2014 after winning almost 90% of the vote, but polling was limited to government-held areas, excluding rebel held regions, thereby sealing a forgone conclusion. The Syrian election ranked as worst among all the contests held during 2014.


YET SEVERAL ELECTIONS WERE HIGH PERFORMERS

- By contrast, several states in Central Europe and the Baltics ranked exceptionally well in the comparison, **especially Lithuania** (the top contest in 2014), **Slovenia**, **Slovakia**, and **Latvia**. Latin America also featured several high performers, notably **Costa Rica** (2nd best in 2014) and **Uruguay**.
- Not surprisingly, **Sweden** and **New Zealand** were among the top performers. Long experience over successive elections in established democracies usually helps to consolidate electoral practices, reinforce civic cultures, and build the capacity of electoral management bodies.
- Yet contests in the **United States scored the worst performance among any long-established democracy**. Hence the 2012 Presidential elections was ranked 42nd worldwide, while the 2014 mid-term Congressional races was ranked 45th, similar to Colombia and Bulgaria. One reason is that experts expressed growing concern over US electoral laws and processes of voter registration, both areas of heated partisan debate. ⁴
- Flaws can damage credibility at any stage throughout the electoral cycle. According to experts, the worst problems often arose during the campaign, due to lack of equitable access to political finance and media coverage, while fewer malpractices occurred on polling day and its aftermath.
- Among global regions, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East face the greatest risks of failed elections, such as contests in **Egypt**, **Bahrain**, and **Algeria**. At the same time, exceptions within these regions during 2014 include the Tunisian presidential and legislative elections, both ranked moderately well, as were contests in **Mauritius** and **South Africa**.

Overall the results highlight the dangers of flawed and failed elections around the globe. The world has seen major gains in the spread of competitive elections during recent decades but many challenges remain to strengthen electoral accountability, integrity, and popular legitimacy.

The next annual report will broaden the worldwide coverage for elections held during 2015. The PEI-3 data is available for download, along with more detailed analysis of the results, listed under 'Further readings'.



 by Etienne Girardet

'Election day in Indonesia 2014' by Etienne Girardet,
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2. Introduction

The ‘electoral revolution’ has transformed the political landscape. At the end of World War II, around fifty independent nation-states had a popularly-elected legislature.⁵ Today, by contrast, direct elections have been almost universally adopted worldwide, with the exception of a handful of states.

As numerous observers have highlighted, however, the quality of contemporary elections commonly fails to meet international standards. The gravest problems are evident in ‘electoral autocracies’, with the façade of party competition but with major violations of human rights. Yet flaws also occur elsewhere, including in more democratic regimes.⁶

Problems may arise at every stage of the electoral cycle, including during the pre-election period, the campaign, polling day and its aftermath. Failures erode public trust and confidence in elected authorities, discourage voter turnout, and undermine regime stability.⁷ Elections are essential for liberal democracy, but poor quality contests can corrode legitimacy.


How do we know when elections are flawed – or even fail? Electoral observer missions by international and regional organizations provide in-depth assessments of many contests – but it remains difficult to compare reports consistently across countries worldwide. The picture has been muddied by the proliferation of election monitoring groups, producing divergent assessments.⁸ After observing the Azerbaijan Presidential elections on 9 October 2013, for example, the OSCE/ODIHR mission reported numerous flaws, including ballot-box stuffing, lack of transparency in the vote count, and candidate and voter intimidation.⁹ By contrast, observers from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) concluded that there was “a free, fair and transparent electoral process.”¹⁰

Journalists provide detailed election reports. But coverage is uneven in the international media and contentious elections are likely to attract more extensive news headlines than those which are smooth sailing. Losing party leaders also have an incentive to dispute the process and cry fraud, both to excuse a poor performance and to undermine the authority of the winning parties.

Given claims and counter-claims, it is important to establish reliable and robust evidence. The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) expert survey, launched on 1 July 2012, provides a comprehensive, systematic and consistent way to monitor and compare the quality of elections worldwide. The study draws on evaluations of electoral integrity provided by a wide range of independent elections experts.

This report explains the methods, compares elections worldwide, and then describes the results for key contests.



 By United Nations Photo

‘North Darfur Woman Votes in Sudanese National Elections’

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3. The design of the survey

THE CONCEPT OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

The concept of '*electoral integrity*' refers to international standards and global norms governing the appropriate conduct of elections.¹¹

These standards have been endorsed in a series of authoritative conventions, treaties, protocols, and guidelines by agencies of the international community, notably by the decisions of the UN General Assembly, by regional bodies such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the African Union (AU), and by member states in the United Nations.¹² Following endorsement, these standards apply universally to all countries.

MEASURING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

To operationalize this notion, the survey asks experts to evaluate elections using 49 indicators, grouped into eleven categories reflecting the whole electoral cycle. Using a comprehensive instrument, listed at the end of the report, experts assess whether each national parliamentary and presidential contest meets 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 ranked and sub-divided by thirds into contests with high, moderate, and low level of electoral integrity.

Similar 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.

THE ELECTORAL INTEGRITY PROJECT

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 research bodies. The project is directed by Professor Pippa Norris and 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. 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 Australian Political Studies Association, the American Political Science Association, the Carter Center, Democracy International, 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), and the World Values Survey. All details are available on the project website www.electoralintegrityproject.org

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) over a thirty month period from 1 July 2012 to 31 December 2014. In cases of simultaneous legislative and executive elections, the survey monitored the latter. In countries using second ballot (run-off) majoritarian electoral systems, the survey assessed the final contest. PEI-3.0 currently covers 62% of all independent nation-states worldwide holding direct elections for the lower house of parliament (i.e. 107 out of 173 nation-states).

EXPERTS

Election experts are defined as a political scientist (or other social scientist in a related discipline) who has 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 4,970 experts, producing an overall mean response rate of 29%. The rolling survey results presented in this report are drawn from the views of 1,429 election experts. 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).¹³

TIME-PERIOD

This third release of the dataset (PEI_3.0) includes the earlier cases and expands the comparison by adding all national elections held from 1 January to 31 December 2014 (see Table A3).¹⁴ In total, this report covers 127 elections held in 107 countries.

A dozen countries held two elections covered in this report, while several countries in the survey (the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Japan) held three contests.

Subsequent annual reports will include national elections held each year, to broaden the comparison worldwide for a global profile.

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS

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 were constructed for the summary PEI index based on the number of experts who responded for each election and country. These are documented in Table A2 in the technical appendix.

DOWNLOAD THE PEI_3 DATASE

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 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 reaggregate the indicators and thereby create alternative measures.

The Dataverse files allow users to generate analysis using the online data, to download files in Stata, SPSS and tab-delimited formats, 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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4. Summary of the results

TABLE 1: PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY BY ELECTION 2012-2014

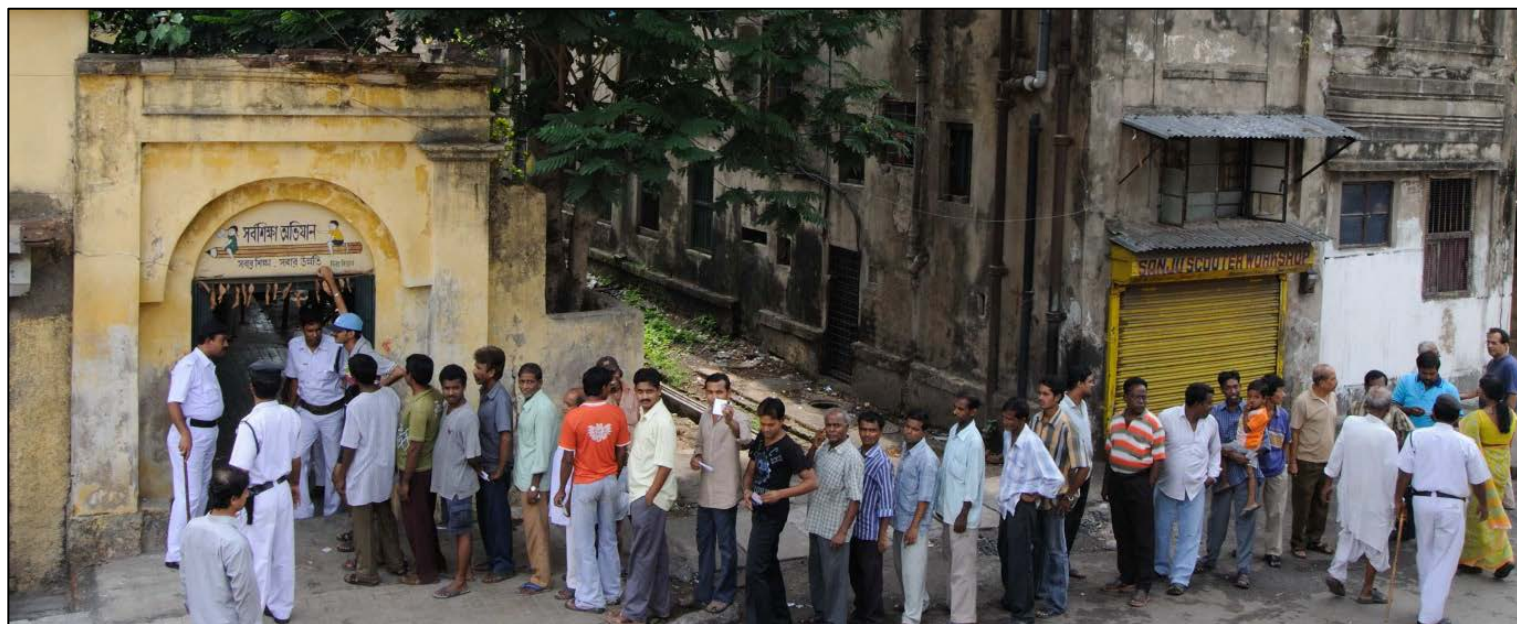
Rank of election	Nation	Election date	Office	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities	PEI response rate
1	Norway	09-SEP-2013	Leg	86.6	85	94	77	89	87	74	79	85	97	94	93	31%
2	Lithuania	25-MAY-2014	Pres	85.9	93	93	81	80	88	74	79	84	95	92	89	19%
3	Czech Rep	19-SEP-2013	Leg	85.0	88	93	87	94	84	84	76	86	97	94	94	74%
4	Costa Rica	06-APR-2014	Pres	84.8	84	98	70	81	84	66	72	86	99	95	98	21%
5	Sweden	14-SEP-2014	Leg	84.3	84	92	79	91	84	68	73	84	94	90	95	52%
6	Germany	22-SEP-2013	Leg	84.2	82	91	79	86	86	74	76	82	95	90	87	64%
7	Slovenia	13-JUL-2014	Leg	82.9	83	82	78	94	81	76	75	84	95	80	91	17%
8	Iceland	27-APR-2013	Leg	82.8	76	95	67	91	85	72	68	85	93	90	85	44%
9	Netherlands	12-SEP-2012	Leg	82.6	93	93	72	88	82	69	69	80	90	90	90	56%
10	Uruguay	30-NOV-2014	Pres	82.0	93	97	94	89	84	81	78	88	93	96	87	42%
11	Austria	29-SEP-2013	Leg	81.5	82	92	79	87	76	67	64	84	93	87	91	46%
12	Rep of Korea	19-DEC-2012	Pres	81.1	68	91	73	90	80	66	72	82	96	88	86	24%
13	Czech Rep	12-OCT-2012	Leg	80.8	82	93	72	88	80	67	73	74	94	88	88	58%
14	New Zealand	20-SEP-2014	Leg	80.4	77	96	73	64	87	64	65	83	89	91	91	33%
15	Czech Rep	25-OCT-2012	Pres	79.7	85	82	79	95	87	65	68	76	95	84	83	47%
16	Slovakia	29-MAR-2014	Pres	79.7	79	87	75	80	90	70	64	72	94	89	86	32%
17	Israel	22-JAN-2013	Leg	79.5	83	95	69	83	80	73	70	65	92	89	91	32%
18	Slovenia	02-DEC-2012	Pres	79.5	75	90	69	90	76	60	65	83	94	83	89	30%
19	Cyprus	24-FEB-2013	Pres	78.4	87	89	73	80	77	66	61	77	89	90	84	37%
20	Lithuania	28-OCT-2012	Leg	77.9	89	75	79	79	88	71	64	75	88	76	78	31%
21	Latvia	04-OCT-2014	Leg	77.4	78	86	76	73	77	68	65	75	91	82	83	40%
22	Belgium	25-MAY-2014	Leg	77.1	73	85	68	82	79	71	71	73	83	83	82	32%
23	Japan	14-DEC-2014	Leg	76.5	73	89	63	82	80	66	70	71	82	88	82	32%
24	Australia	07-SEP-2013	Leg	75.9	72	91	74	67	76	58	65	77	85	79	91	38%
25	Tunisia	07-DEC-2014	Pres	75.5	82	89	81	64	79	62	57	75	89	69	89	10%
26	Tonga	27-NOV-2014	Leg	74.5	77	74	76	67	79	65	60	76	89	73	82	13%
27	Brazil	26-OCT-2014	Pres	74.1	80	89	76	81	70	58	50	73	93	71	86	34%
28	Georgia	27-OCT-2013	Pres	73.9	81	77	77	73	64	65	66	77	93	82	77	20%
29	Chile	15-DEC-2013	Pres	73.9	64	92	68	64	74	64	61	68	92	92	90	43%
30	Japan	16-DEC-2012	Leg	73.8	63	86	61	79	70	67	67	74	84	81	77	38%
31	Japan	21-JUL-2013	Leg	73.2	61	91	56	78	72	60	63	72	88	80	79	31%
32	Italy	24-FEB-2013	Leg	73.2	55	89	72	80	73	62	59	71	84	81	83	44%
33	Grenada	19-FEB-2013	Leg	72.9	70	94	64	64	84	53	38	65	94	95	91	16%
34	Tunisia	26-OCT-2014	Leg	72.4	80	80	74	54	78	67	57	67	83	84	77	34%
35	Malta	09-MAR-2013	Leg	72.3	60	89	63	71	75	57	51	72	91	83	82	31%

Rank of election	Nation	Election date	Office	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities	PEI response rate
36	Mongolia	26-JUN-2013	Pres	71.5	65	83	70	69	72	60	56	72	87	76	77	25%
37	Rwanda	16-SEP-2013	Leg	71.2	70	76	70	78	68	63	65	69	78	82	72	19%
38	Mauritius	10-DEC-2014	Leg	71.2	71	92	62	78	68	58	46	66	89	81	83	27%
39	Argentina	27-OCT-2013	Leg	71.1	76	86	85	78	83	73	62	85	85	86	78	35%
40	South Africa	07-MAY-2014	Leg	70.3	78	83	73	61	68	65	48	70	80	77	77	41%
41	Micronesia	05-MAR-2013	Leg	70.3	71	75	77	58	80	70	50	69	77	74	74	10%
42	United States	06-NOV-2012	Pres	70.2	51	76	33	52	80	71	55	75	88	87	80	39%
43	Mexico	01-JUL-2012	Pres	69.8	67	80	74	81	67	65	55	66	88	59	74	35%
44	Barbados	21-FEB-2013	Leg	69.5	73	75	71	62	66	70	44	65	86	84	75	8%
45	United States	04-NOV-2014	Leg	69.3	44	80	29	48	84	75	57	74	81	82	78	24%
46	Colombia	09-MAR-2014	Leg	69.1	74	77	74	58	78	65	54	53	83	77	81	22%
47	Montenegro	14-OCT-2012	Leg	69.1	84	77	69	57	71	67	38	64	90	83	68	9%
48	Panama	04-MAY-2014	Pres	68.7	64	82	63	74	72	64	39	71	80	71	77	20%
49	Namibia	28-NOV-2014	Pres	68.6	73	74	81	89	79	74	53	85	85	91	77	19%
50	Bhutan	13-JUL-2013	Leg	68.2	62	80	65	56	56	73	64	66	72	75	79	30%
51	Indonesia	09-JUL-2014	Pres	68.1	71	74	69	54	74	63	56	68	79	61	78	30%
52	Maldives	22-MAR-2014	Leg	67.5	68	80	57	59	66	66	59	68	70	81	65	14%
53	El Salvador	09-MAR-2014	Pres	67.3	68	84	69	57	68	56	47	69	88	54	79	37%
54	Bulgaria	05-OCT-2014	Leg	67.3	78	70	73	57	73	58	51	67	84	77	75	35%
55	India	12-MAY-2014	Leg	67.0	77	78	66	52	66	64	46	63	78	74	81	30%
56	Kuwait	27-JUL-2013	Leg	66.9	57	84	61	63	77	63	47	62	79	70	75	16%
57	Colombia	01-JUN-2014	Pres	66.7	69	83	60	48	65	55	47	64	83	80	81	17%
58	Ukraine	25-MAY-2014	Pres	66.7	76	76	69	57	71	66	55	62	76	83	76	32%
59	Sao Tome Pr	12-OCT-2014	Leg	66.5	79	84	66	60	74	55	43	55	78	78	77	13%
60	Serbia	16-MAR-2014	Leg	66.3	63	81	70	54	69	53	51	68	85	85	77	32%
61	Botswana	24-OCT-2014	Leg	66.3	50	86	59	66	74	49	33	69	81	82	80	39%
62	Ghana	07-DEC-2012	Pres	65.7	81	70	66	58	79	64	45	57	84	57	68	40%
63	Solomon Is	19-NOV-2014	Leg	65.6	80	73	78	52	67	70	44	52	78	70	75	20%
64	Cuba	03-FEB-2013	Leg	65.6	43	82	52	81	68	53	53	62	74	90	65	8%
65	DPR Korea	09-MAR-2014	Leg	65.3	53	73	73	83	54	78	84	53	74	80	60	6%
66	Moldova	30-NOV-2014	Leg	65.3	67	74	95	75	66	72	72	88	88	72	74	25%
67	Hungary	06-APR-2014	Leg	65.0	44	76	44	75	66	46	50	72	84	78	67	44%
68	Sierra Leone	17-NOV-2012	Pres	64.7	73	83	50	74	71	45	46	63	68	72	78	6%
69	Cameroon	30-SEP-2013	Leg	64.5	58	68	68	61	59	51	46	58	81	69	70	18%
70	Bolivia	12-OCT-2014	Pres	64.3	64	70	62	56	69	63	46	66	70	76	62	28%
71	Honduras	24-NOV-2013	Pres	64.2	51	76	73	72	86	49	66	85	89	44	71	14%
72	Paraguay	21-APR-2013	Pres	64.0	70	76	67	56	63	52	39	61	79	83	66	34%
73	Ecuador	17-FEB-2013	Pres	63.9	54	72	51	67	66	54	50	70	74	74	62	35%
74	Albania	23-JUN-2013	Leg	63.6	61	72	66	68	59	57	42	57	81	83	64	23%
75	Iran	14-JUN-2013	Pres	63.5	47	78	61	69	36	65	57	66	70	84	67	24%
76	Guinea-Biss	18-MAY-2014	Pres	63.5	70	73	62	60	64	65	44	60	73	66	68	19%

Rank of election	Nation	Election date	Office	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities	PEI response rate
77	Venezuela	07-OCT-2012	Pres	63.0	58	69	59	67	74	43	37	68	75	83	60	29%
78	Ukraine	26-OCT-2014	Leg	63.0	67	72	64	56	63	59	48	59	71	73	67	32%
79	Georgia	01-OCT-2012	Leg	62.9	64	71	61	56	63	53	42	64	79	75	66	17%
80	Romania	16-NOV-2014	Pres	62.7	53	63	62	44	73	53	55	57	84	78	65	50%
81	Fiji	17-SEP-2014	Leg	62.6	45	78	60	67	59	50	46	70	71	67	70	43%
82	Indonesia	09-APR-2014	Leg	62.3	66	66	73	51	69	62	39	64	70	66	70	39%
83	Mali	11-AUG-2013	Pres	62.2	69	70	59	40	60	63	51	57	75	74	67	27%
84	Bosnia-Herze.	12-OCT-2014	Pres	62.0	51	74	53	61	54	56	48	61	73	78	73	22%
85	Maldives	16-NOV-2013	Pres	61.3	67	71	69	57	73	57	55	70	75	77	58	14%
86	Turkey	10-AUG-2014	Pres	60.9	54	70	62	67	61	42	43	62	75	74	62	34%
87	Kuwait	01-DEC-2012	Leg	60.6	51	70	50	77	62	61	36	68	79	44	62	24%
88	Thailand	02-FEB-2014	Leg	60.6	80	54	76	67	63	58	59	62	68	47	47	38%
89	Pakistan	11-MAY-2013	Leg	59.9	74	65	61	63	51	67	49	50	69	56	68	29%
90	Bulgaria	12-MAY-2013	Leg	59.7	61	62	60	45	70	56	46	62	73	52	63	51%
91	Philippines	13-MAY-2013	Leg	58.8	69	68	61	41	70	61	36	53	68	61	64	37%
92	Romania	09-DEC-2012	Leg	58.6	56	67	51	43	66	45	46	57	74	74	60	33%
93	Nepal	19-NOV-2013	Leg	58.6	80	74	72	64	67	71	57	75	76	60	75	51%
94	Macedonia	27-APR-2014	Pres	58.2	59	65	55	39	65	43	44	61	77	60	63	28%
95	Malawi	20-MAY-2014	Pres	58.1	76	60	67	44	75	59	34	54	60	56	64	38%
96	Azerbaijan	09-OCT-2013	Pres	57.0	59	68	83	70	67	56	71	89	74	69	63	28%
97	Mauritania	21-JUN-2014	Pres	56.9	62	50	71	40	55	61	51	60	65	48	58	8%
98	Jordan	23-JAN-2013	Leg	56.6	44	65	37	56	65	57	42	57	65	56	70	34%
99	Swaziland	20-SEP-2013	Leg	56.4	38	71	44	58	46	58	49	56	70	65	59	18%
100	Iraq	30-APR-2014	Leg	55.2	55	63	51	49	56	57	35	59	60	62	57	24%
101	Armenia	18-FEB-2013	Pres	54.8	63	60	59	40	61	60	45	51	68	44	53	32%
102	Guinea	28-SEP-2013	Leg	54.6	61	43	49	37	71	64	36	56	65	63	48	11%
103	Algeria	17-APR-2014	Pres	54.2	40	59	52	53	49	55	41	61	68	59	48	23%
104	Mauritania	21-DEC-2013	Leg	54.1	60	65	44	43	52	58	39	54	56	59	65	6%
105	Montenegro	07-APR-2013	Pres	53.7	62	59	66	42	66	46	41	58	57	48	45	23%
106	Kenya	04-MAR-2013	Pres	52.9	76	45	59	34	66	70	35	48	49	64	41	24%
107	Burkina Faso	02-DEC-2012	Leg	52.5	62	65	36	56	61	64	27	45	59	52	58	8%
108	Ukraine	28-OCT-2012	Leg	52.0	50	54	57	46	53	52	39	61	51	52	51	42%
109	Madagascar	20-DEC-2013	Pres	51.7	49	53	47	34	59	55	36	49	66	56	59	37%
110	Venezuela	14-APR-2013	Pres	51.4	50	50	51	53	69	48	39	59	50	46	45	37%
111	Turkmenistan	15-DEC-2013	Leg	50.3	37	63	58	50	44	37	39	50	56	78	47	20%
112	Togo	25-JUL-2013	Leg	49.7	40	51	43	36	54	58	40	54	49	52	58	11%
113	Bangladesh	05-JAN-2014	Leg	49.5	54	58	54	56	53	59	41	45	59	55	50	48%
114	Malaysia	05-MAY-2013	Leg	48.4	33	54	28	37	58	38	37	65	56	53	46	43%
115	Egypt	26-MAY-2014	Pres	48.2	60	60	83	71	54	51	58	86	85	69	58	15%
116	Angola	31-AUG-2012	Leg	48.2	43	50	56	37	57	45	38	50	49	55	48	30%
117	Zimbabwe	31-JUL-2013	Leg	48.0	42	43	45	32	60	46	40	49	57	59	46	39%

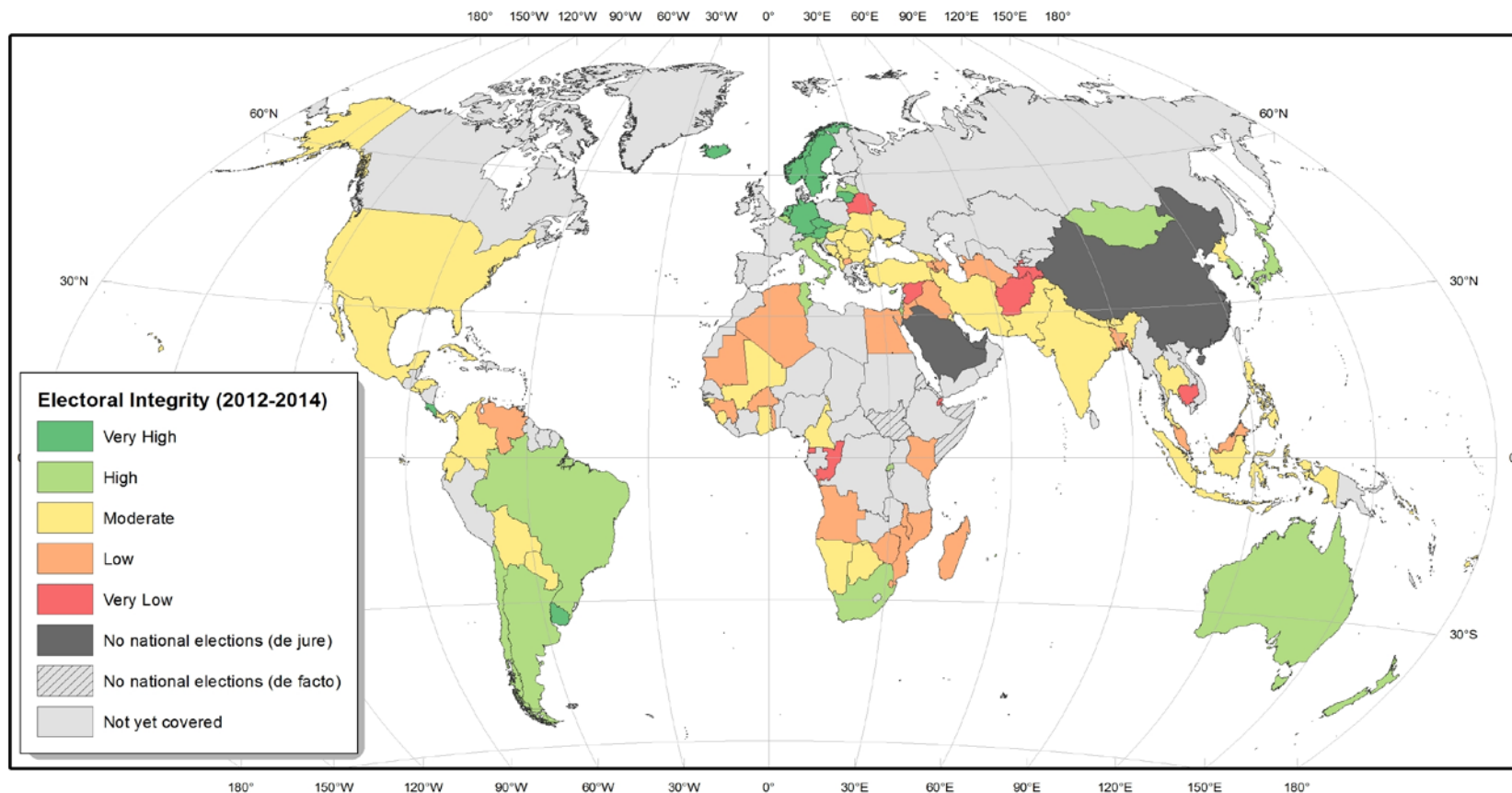
Rank of election	Nation	Election date	Office	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities	PEI response rate
118	Mozambique	15-OCT-2014	Pres	47.8	49	50	55	42	54	47	36	51	45	50	46	20%
119	Afghanistan	14-JUN-2014	Pres	46.0	59	39	60	36	45	68	38	44	39	41	41	14%
120	Cambodia	28-JUL-2013	Leg	45.6	43	51	45	30	50	43	35	48	65	40	42	39%
121	Belarus	23-SEP-2012	Leg	45.5	31	49	55	57	45	39	38	54	38	61	33	17%
122	Congo, Rep.	05-AUG-2012	Leg	45.0	42	50	53	33	47	41	27	56	41	60	38	9%
123	Tajikistan	06-NOV-2013	Pres	42.8	33	59	77	68	59	62	59	81	83	78	61	24%
124	Bahrain	29-NOV-2014	Leg	41.9	56	57	47	54	65	63	59	68	71	67	53	17%
125	Syria	03-JUN-2014	Pres	41.8	28	44	47	38	36	34	30	44	49	67	42	19%
126	Djibouti	22-FEB-2013	Leg	40.1	35	40	54	44	36	41	33	43	37	46	36	14%
127	Equat Guinea	26-MAY-2013	Leg	38.4	31	39	46	38	43	29	32	38	40	59	30	25%

Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)* Mean PEI scores for each election.



By Al Jazeera English 'Long voting queues' by Al Jazeera English, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/aljazeeraenglish/3528071241>. License at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>.

FIGURE 1: THE PEI WORLD MAP



Note: See the Technical Appendix for an explanation of the countries included in the survey. The levels of electoral integrity are calculated in terms of standard deviations from the mean: Very High = >1.5 Std.Dev.; High = 0.5-1.5 Std.Dev.; Moderate = -0.5 – 0.5 Std.Dev.; Low = -1.5 - -0.5 Std. Dev.; Very Low = < - 1.5 Std. Dev.

Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)*

WHAT EXPLAINS WHY ELECTIONS SUCCEED?

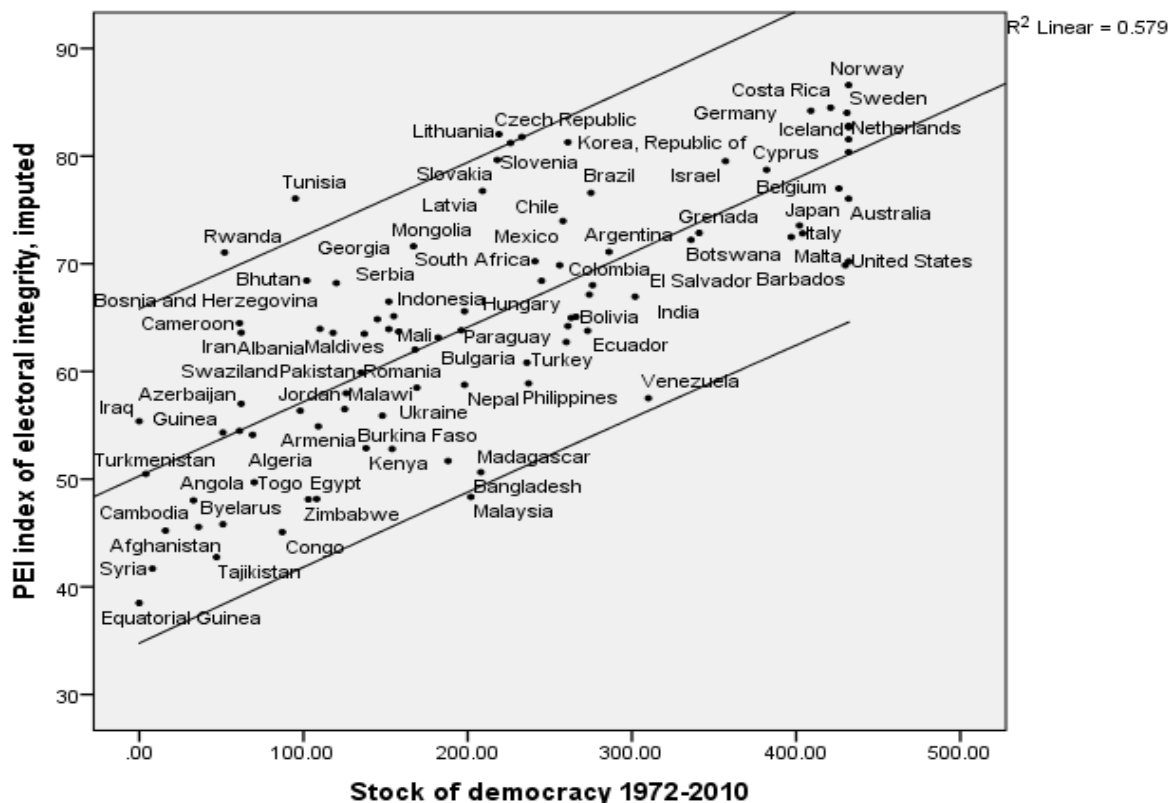
Forthcoming research suggests that many factors account for why elections succeed or fail to meet international standards – including societal constraints (such as poverty and corruption), international forces (such as the role of globalization and international aid), and domestic political institutions (exemplified by power-sharing checks and balances, as well as professional and impartial electoral management bodies).¹⁵ New books from the project also focus in depth on understanding the problem of why contentious elections are riven by conflict,¹⁶ as well as comparing the regulation of political finance worldwide.¹⁷ Here we present a snapshot of some of the key findings based on global patterns of democratization, economic development, and power-sharing institutions.

Contemporary and Historical Experiences of Democracy

As expected, the quality of elections (measured by PEI) is usually significantly correlated with *contemporary levels of liberal democracy*, as gauged by combining Freedom House and Polity V indicators of democratization matched to the year of the contest ($R=0.669^{***}$).¹⁸ Since elections are at the heart of the concept and measurement of liberal democracy, this is hardly surprising.

More interestingly, a country’s *historical stock of democracy* (built from the length of time it has been democratic from 1972 to 2010) usually proves a strong predictor of contemporary levels of electoral integrity.¹⁹ One reason is that actors can learn from elections as a repeated game; experience of parties rotating in government and opposition over a long series of contests can serve to consolidate acceptance of the legitimacy of the rules of the game and trust in the political system, especially for elections losers, generating more stable outcomes.²⁰ Moreover experience of organizing successive contests can deepen the know-how, capacity, and professional skills of electoral management bodies.

FIGURE 2: PEI AND DEMOCRACY



Note: The ‘stock of democracy’ is measured by estimating Freedom House’s cumulating rating of political rights and civil liberties in each country since the start of the third wave era (from 1972 to 2010). **Source:** Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3); Quality of Government Cross-National Dataset*, downloaded December 2014 <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/data>.

Hence among all the elections under comparison since mid-2012, many contests in the older democracies of Northern Europe and Scandinavia were high performers, including Norway, Sweden, Germany, Iceland, and the Netherlands (all ranked in the top 10 among all the elections under comparison).

Nevertheless this pattern was not fixed in stone; many younger democracies, which only established multiparty systems and competitive democratic elections during the late-1980s and early-1990s, also performed extremely well. This includes smaller Central European and Baltic states such as Lithuania, the Czech Republic and Slovenia (in the top 10 worldwide among all the elections under comparison). Several Latin American states were also ranked fairly highly, such as Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina.

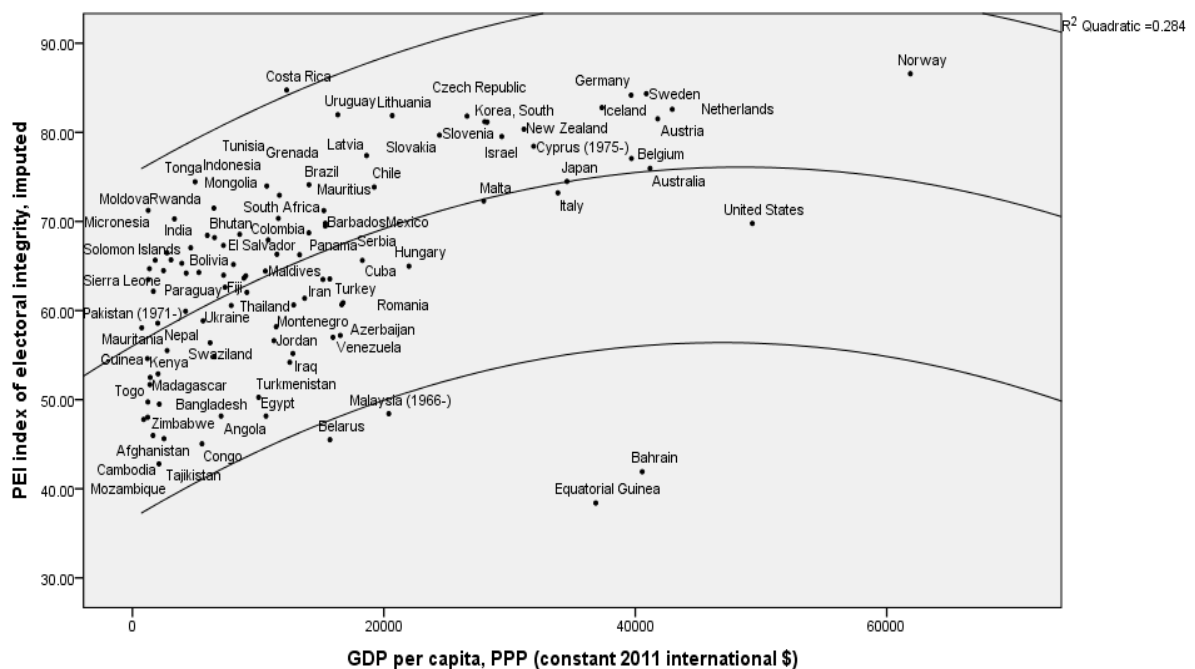
Power-sharing Political Institutions

High performing countries also usually share certain characteristic institutional arrangements, with effective and professional public administration capable of delivering efficient public services; power-sharing institutions and coalition governments providing multiple checks and balances on the executive branch; inclusive parliaments and a fairly level playing field for party competition; proportional representation or mixed electoral systems; and extensive press freedom, providing a watchdog for abuses of electoral laws and procedures. All these institutions – effective and impartial public administration, power-sharing institutions, independent parliaments and press freedoms - strengthen electoral integrity.²¹

Economic Development

Overall, again not surprisingly, *levels of economic development* also usually help to predict which countries do well and poorly in electoral integrity, although this relationship functions as a stepped shift not a linear process. The reason is that societies with per capita GDP (in ppp) over around \$15000 usually have the resources to invest in human and technological capacity which facilitates managing complex processes effectively and efficiently, including running elections.²² In addition, democratic institutions and cultures are rooted in societies characterized by well-educated and highly literate populations, rich networks of civic associations linking citizens and the state, stable states, and effective public sector bureaucracies, a proposition also known as the ‘Lipset’ hypothesis.²³

FIGURE 3: PEI AND DEVELOPMENT



Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3)*; GDP per Capita in purchasing power parity, *World Bank Development Indicators*.

Despite these general patterns, several exceptions exist among post-industrial societies and long-established democracies, including the United States. The 2012 US Presidential elections ranked 42nd worldwide, while the 2014 mid-term US Congressional races ranked even lower at 45th, around the same as Colombia and Bulgaria, in both cases reflecting the worst scores among Western countries. For several reasons discussed in section 5, the quality of American elections were ranked relatively poorly by experts.

WHAT CAUSES FAILED ELECTIONS?

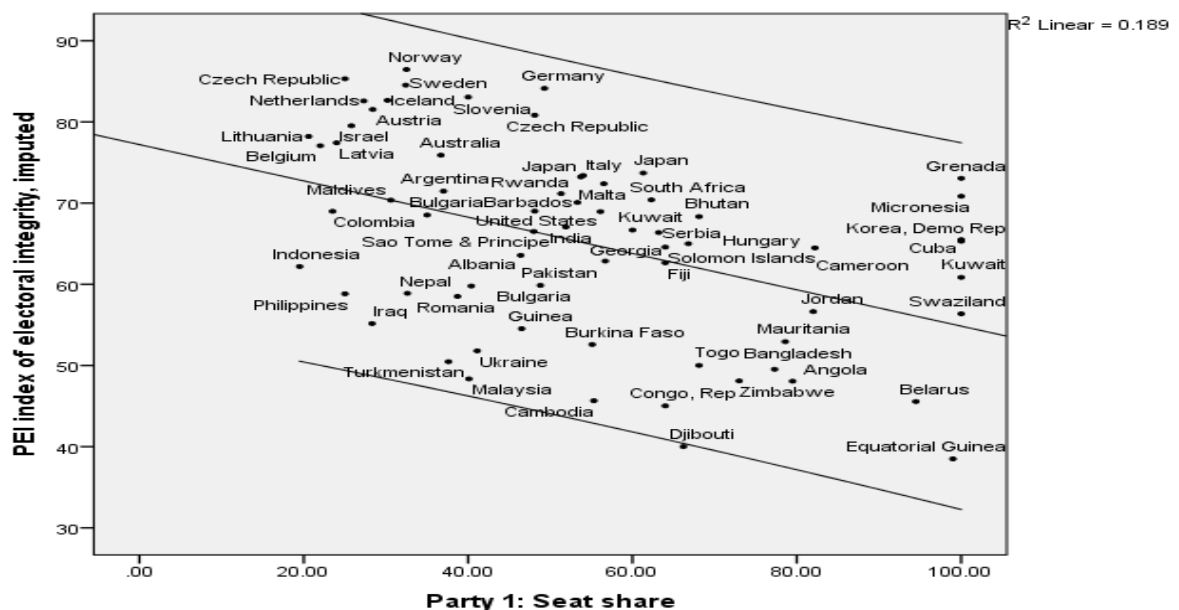
Lack of development

Not surprisingly, similar factors account for why contests do not meet international standards. Elections ranked in the bottom of the PEI ratings are drawn from diverse global regions and types of regimes. This includes several poorer countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with deep-rooted conflict and with weak state capacity, notably Zimbabwe, Angola, the Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, and Mauritania. In general, many developing societies with per capita GDP below around \$15,000, lacking the resources to invest in effective management bodies, can encounter many logistical and technical challenges in organizing elections. Again, however, this was far from a fixed pattern, since Mongolia and Lithuania, for example, scored relatively well in the PEI index. As Figure 2 shows, low income societies vary substantially in their levels of electoral integrity, as illustrated by the sharp contrasts evident among societies at similar levels of economic development, such as Angola and Tunisia, or Moldova and Cambodia. Lack of resources, by itself, is not an insuperable barrier to electoral integrity, and, by contrast several rich and poor societies, such as Norway and Costa Rica, show a similar performance on the PEI index.

Restrictions on party competition

What is the role of legal restrictions on party competition? The survey seeks to be comprehensive by evaluating all national parliamentary and presidential elections worldwide. Hence it assesses states where all political parties are banned (such as Bahrain and Swaziland), countries where specific types of political parties are disqualified from standing for election (including the Muslim Brotherhood’s Freedom and Justice party in Egypt, ethnic parties in Africa, and neo-Nazi parties in Germany), countries where candidates are restricted from ballot access (such as Iran), as well as one-party states (like Cuba and North Korea) with outright legal bans on all opposition parties.

FIGURE 4: PEI BY LEVELS OF PARTY COMPETITION



Note: The seat share is calculated by the proportion of seats in the lower house of the national parliament held by the largest party following the election. **Source:** Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3)*

Some researchers might automatically exclude one-party states like North Korea from the comparison, on the grounds that human rights in these countries are so deeply flawed as to make the elections just a façade disguising autocratic rule. We feel, however, that there are several reasons for documenting levels of integrity in all these diverse cases.

One is that the degree of party competition varies substantially worldwide, as illustrated in Figure 3. Legal bans, while a major violation of human rights, are only one mechanism to restrict opposition. It is an empirical matter to measure the degree of party competition, such as by monitoring the seat or vote share won by the leading party in parliamentary contests, or the vote share of the winning presidential candidate. The PEI is designed to measure all the ways that party competition can be limited, for example through lack of a level playing field in access to party finance or state resources, partisan manipulation of district boundaries (gerrymandering), excessive legal requirements for ballot access, and high de jure or de facto vote-seat electoral thresholds. In several micro-states, small legislatures with majoritarian electoral systems also allow a clean sweep in a landslide victory for one party.

In addition, it is also important to monitor the contemporary quality of all elections worldwide to create benchmarks for future change, should states loosen legal restrictions on party and candidate competition in subsequent elections.

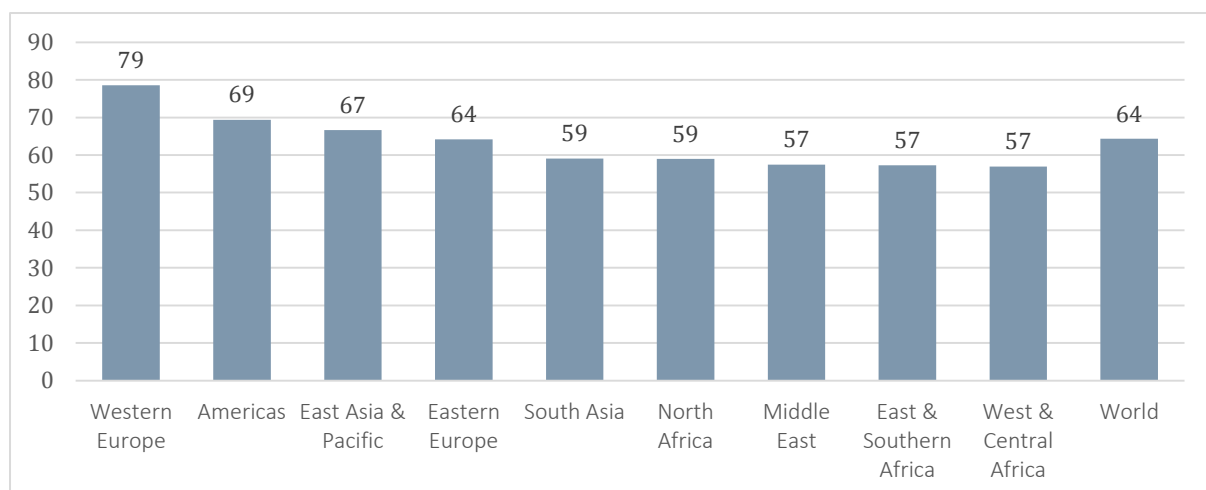
Finally, several aspects of electoral governance may still function relatively cleanly and efficiently even in states with restricted party competition and human rights. Indeed the quality of electoral governance may be higher in these cases than in several fledgling democracies with weak state capacity and insufficient resources to stamp-out malpractices and irregularities such as vote-buying, ballot-stuffing, or security threats. In Cuba, for example, during the nomination process some genuine competition is reported among rival candidates.²⁴

WORLD REGIONS

Long-established Western democracies and affluent societies usually displayed the best performance overall, among the elections under comparison, as observed earlier, while integrity was also often fairly high in East Asia and the Pacific, as well as in several Central and Eastern European states.

By contrast, Figure 5 shows that the quality of elections was judged far more negatively by experts in many poorer African societies, exemplified by the Republic of Congo, Djibouti, and Equatorial Guinea, all with weak scores across multiple indicators. Contests in the Middle Eastern and North African states were also often poorly evaluated, including in Turkey, Iraq, and Algeria. South Asia contains elections with flaws, according to the expert evaluations, including in Bangladesh and India. International agencies and bilateral donors seeking to strengthen elections should prioritize building capacity and human rights in these countries.

FIGURE 5: PEI BY WORLD REGION



Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3)*

TABLE 2: PEI BY GLOBAL REGION

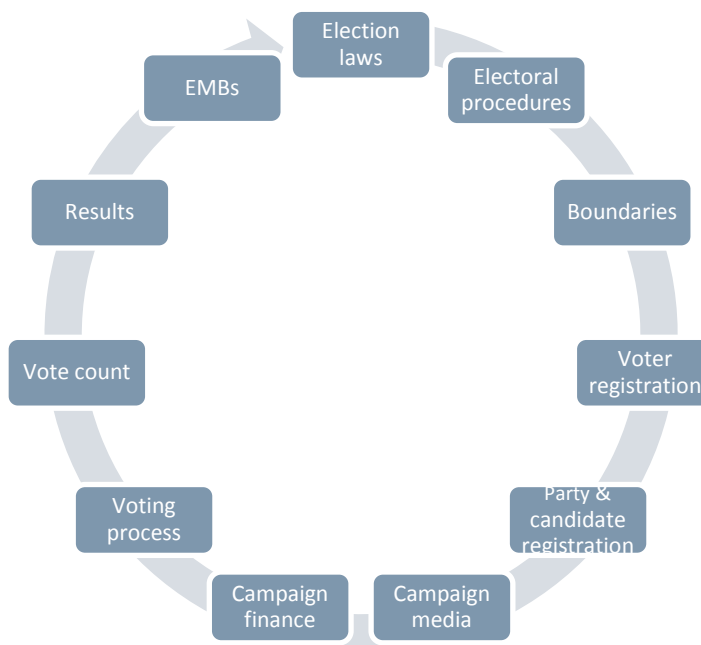
	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities
Western Europe	79	75	89	72	83	79	66	65	78	90	87	85
Americas	69	66	82	66	68	74	61	53	71	84	78	76
East Asia & Pacific	67	65	75	66	62	69	60	55	67	78	70	71
Eastern Europe	64	63	72	68	64	67	58	54	68	79	74	68
South Asia	59	67	67	63	55	58	66	50	59	66	63	65
North Africa	59	60	68	71	61	61	57	52	73	80	68	63
East & Southern Africa	58	58	63	59	54	62	56	42	58	65	66	61
Middle East	57	52	69	53	60	58	59	48	60	69	69	64
West & Central Africa	57	61	63	55	50	61	55	40	55	64	63	60
Total	64	64	73	64	62	67	60	51	66	76	72	69

Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)*. The regional classification is from World Bank *World Development Indicators*.

MAJOR PROBLEMS DURING THE ELECTORAL CYCLE

The overall assessments are useful for a broad global and regional comparisons but average scores on the PEI Index can serve to disguise specific problems occurring within each election. For a deeper dive into the data, the project monitors flaws in the electoral process occurring throughout the electoral cycle, conceived as the series of sequential steps illustrated in Figure 6.

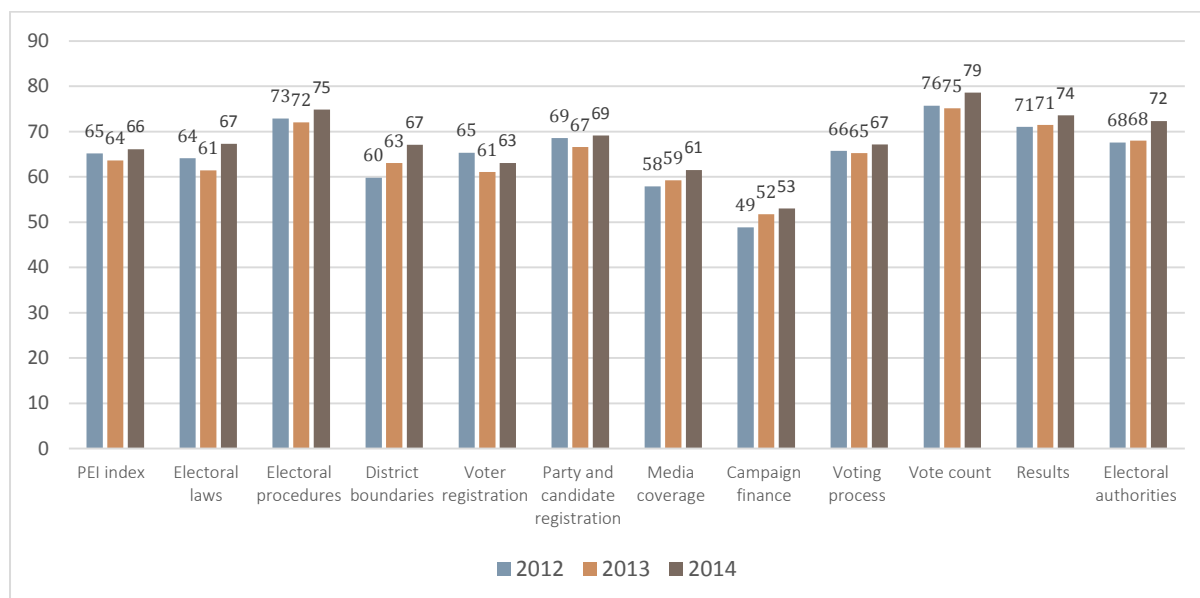
FIGURE 6: THE ELECTORAL CYCLE



Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity*

The international community has adopted the electoral cycle approach by recognizing that observing only the balloting, vote count and results is too limited unless there is a longer-term assessment of each contest. Accordingly PEI constructed multi-item indicators to monitor each dimension. Much media attention focuses on ballot-stuffing, ballot-box fraud, and irregularities in the vote count. But in fact problems may arise at any step in the process, such as from the fairness of electoral laws, malaportionment of district boundaries, disparities in access to campaign funds and media coverage, the exclusion of candidates or parties from the ballot, and so on. Which stage is most problematic?

FIGURE 7: PROBLEMS DURING THE ELECTORAL CYCLE



Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)*

Figure 7 shows that *campaign finance and campaign media coverage are consistently the most problematic stages every year*. Money in politics is a concern in many diverse developing countries, such as India, Burkina Faso, and Botswana, as well as in many affluent societies, such as the United States and Italy (see also Table 1). The regulation of money in politics deserves greater attention by domestic actors and the international community to reduce corruption, the abuse of state resources, and vote-buying, to strengthen public confidence in elections, and to ensure a level playing field for all parties and candidates.²⁵ Contrary to much attention by journalists and scholars, the end-stages of the electoral cycle, involving the process of vote tabulation and the announcement of the final results, were assessed by experts as some of the *least* problematic stage.

PEI and types of regimes

Since elections are so central to all conceptualizations, classification and measurement of liberal democratic regimes, not surprisingly a strong relationship links the PEI index with indices of democratization. Table 3 shows the relationship between Freedom House’s contemporary classification of regimes and scores across all eleven stages of the electoral cycle.

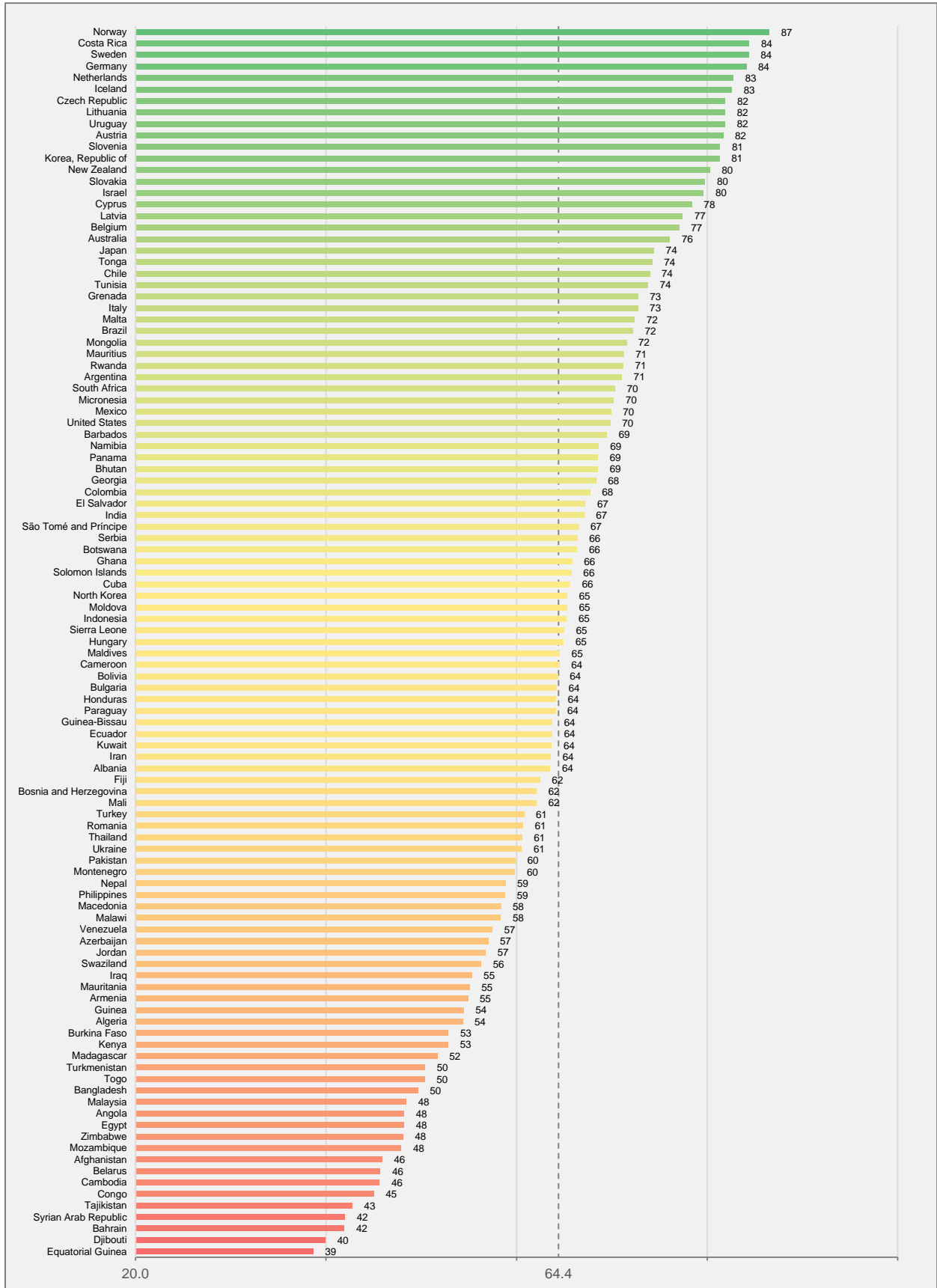
Table 3: PEI by types of regimes

	PEI index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authorities
Democracies	74	73	85	70	73	77	64	58	74	88	82	82
Hybrid regimes	60	63	68	61	56	65	58	46	61	71	64	64
Autocracies	53	48	59	58	53	53	53	47	58	63	65	54
Integrity gaps	-21	-25	-26	-13	-19	-24	-11	-12	-15	-25	-17	-28

Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)*. The types of regimes are classified by Freedom House. www.freedomhouse.org

Thus compared with the democratic (free) regimes (with high levels of political rights and civil liberties), autocratic (‘not free’) regimes score 21 points lower on the PEI index, but there are larger gaps on electoral authorities (-28), electoral procedures (-26), the vote count (-25) and electoral laws (-25). By contrast, there a smaller gap is observed on voting processes. All types of regimes performed poorly on campaign finance.

FIGURE 8: PEI BY COUNTRY (COMBINING MULTIPLE ELECTIONS)



LOOKING AHEAD

This report provides a snap-shot of the quality of elections in countries which held elections during the 30-month period under comparison. The evidence allows elections across the world to be compared with each other and any problems diagnosed across all eleven components of the electoral cycle. The inclusion of all nation-wide contests during this period (with the exclusion of micro-states with populations below 100,000) means that the evidence provides a representative cross-section of all nation-wide elections held worldwide. Further publications from the team of EIP researchers analyze 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).

We hope that this report and the data 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.

Nevertheless the report is limited in its international coverage and especially the capacity to draw comparisons over successive contests occurring within the same country. The evidence will become more comprehensive geographically and over time as the survey is replicated annually and the report is published in subsequent years, rolling out the evaluations to cover national parliamentary and presidential elections in 2015 and beyond. Further analysis and publications planned by the EIP team will focus on several specific issues, including the prevention of electoral violence, the role of election management bodies, the impact of social media and crowd-sourcing on electoral transparency, the ways in which electoral integrity influences citizen activism and turnout, and the regulation of political finance.

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 a new addition to the conceptual framework and battery of evidence available to assess problems of electoral integrity and it is hoped that this initiative proves valuable. There are several opportunities to engage with the project at the University of Sydney through a series of international workshops, conferences, internships and visiting scholarships, with details available on the project website. All information is available via www.electoralintegrityproject.com.

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

Max Grömping (Research Assistant)



 by OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

'Ballot boxes filling up on Election Day in Kyiv, Oct. 26, 2014' by OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/oscepa/15635925255>. License at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>.

5. Key elections during 2014

Several selected cases from different world regions describe some of the best and worst ranked elections during 2014 and illustrate what happened in these particular contests to generate the expert ratings.

<p>Costa Rica Ranked 4th best worldwide</p>	<p>When highlighting some of the best contests which occurred last year, Costa Rica stands out as the highest ranked election in Latin America.</p> <p>Costa Rica’s government consists of executive (presidency), legislative (a unicameral Legislative Assembly) and judicial branches. The president serves for a four-year term and cannot be re-elected for two consecutive terms. For the first time, Costa Ricans abroad were allowed to vote in the April 2014 parliamentary and presidential elections.²⁶</p> <p>In the previous election (2010), Laura Chinchilla Miranda, of the National Liberation Party, won the presidency with 47% of the vote. Her closest opponent in 2012 was Otton Solis Fallas of the Citizen Action Party, with 25%.²⁷ Chinchilla’s successor of NLP, Johnny Francisco Araya Monge received 29.7% of the vote in the first round of balloting, while opposition candidate Otton Solis Fallas of the Citizen Action Party received 30.6%. Since no candidate received over 40% of the vote, a run-off election was called between Araya and Solis. Before the second ballot, however, Araya stopped campaigning because of declining public opinion poll numbers. The constitution prohibited him from withdrawing officially, so his name was still included on the second ballot. Solis won with 77.8% of the vote, compared to 22.1% for Araya while voter turnout was 56%.²⁸</p> <p>The Organization of American States sent election observers to the Costa Rican election.²⁹ Their recommendations specific to the second round of balloting focused on two major areas: encouraging electoral participation (voter turnout) and staffing of polling stations (political parties were unable to register enough members to fully staff the polling stations). They also recommended changes to access to public funding and media coverage, and increasing party activity between elections.</p> <p>Costa Rican elections performed very well according to the PEI index; they are above 80 points in the scale and at the same level of countries such as Norway or Sweden. Overall, experts evaluated the different dimensions of the elections highly although identifying campaign media as one issues of concern.</p>
<p>Tunisia Ranked 25th and 34th worldwide</p>	<p>In the Middle East and North Africa, Tunisia also stands out as a beacon of hope for democracy.</p> <p>Tunisia held its much anticipated parliamentary election on 26 October 2014 (ranked 34th in the PEI Index), followed by two rounds of presidential elections on 23 November and 21 December 2014 (ranked 25th). The elections were widely seen as a test for Tunisia’s democratic transition process. The members of the 217-seat Assembly of the Representatives of the People - only conceived of in the new constitution of January 2014 – were chosen for the first time ever.³⁰</p> <p>Turnout for the parliamentary election was estimated at 66%, with the secularist Nidaa Tounes gaining 86 seats (37.6%), and the moderate Islamic Ennahda Movement achieving 69 seats (27.9%).³¹ For the first time in Tunisian history, election monitors – both foreign and domestic – actively observed the polls. The National Democratic Institute concluded that at both the national and the local level electoral authorities exhibited professionalism during balloting and counting. Security forces were found to contribute to a calm and peaceful atmosphere. Some isolated irregularities and incidents were deemed minor enough to not affect the results or the integrity of the election.³² The legal framework – worked out during the country’s constitution-building process – was lauded as inclusive, transparent and participatory.</p> <p>After both gaining roughly a third of votes in the first round of the subsequent presidential election, candidates Béji Caïd Essebsi of Nidaa and Moncef Marzouki of the Congress for the</p>

	<p>Republic (CPR) faced each other in the second round on 21 December. Essebsi won with 55.7% of the vote.³³ Several protests occurred in Tunis and the country’s South, due to Essebsi’s affiliation with the former autocratic regime.³⁴ Observers from the EU noted the calm and peaceful atmosphere of the polls, and lauded the ISIE for its professional handling of the process and the transparency of results announcements.³⁵ The Carter Center concurred but noted the low turnout among young voters.³⁶ The electoral authorities’ open stance towards domestic election observers was welcomed, as an estimated 29,000 citizen observers and close to 59,000 party agents were accredited to scrutinize the polls.³⁷</p> <p>Both Tunisian elections performed well in the PEI index. Experts evaluated procedures and counting as the best parts of the process for both elections. Yet experts are critical with voter registration in the legislative contests and media in the presidential election. In both cases, finance was pointed out as a problem to analyze.</p>
<p>South Africa Ranked 40th worldwide</p>	<p>Among countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, South African elections rank moderately well, despite some issues of concern.</p> <p>South Africa has a bicameral parliament (National Assembly and National Council of Provinces). Members of the National Assembly (400 seats total) are elected for four-year terms through a system of closed-list proportional representation. 200 members are selected from a national list, and the other 200 members are selected for regional lists (9 regions).³⁸</p> <p>The May 7th 2014 election was the first contest held since the death of Nelson Mandela the previous year. It was also the first election of the so-called ‘born frees’ (born after 1994) and the first national elections in which South Africans living abroad could vote.³⁹</p> <p>One major issue leading up to the election was corruption in the ruling African National Congress, which had held government since the end of apartheid in 1994⁴⁰. Nevertheless, the African National Congress, led by President Jacob Zuma, won 249 seats (62.1% of the vote), slightly fewer (-15) than in the previous contest in 2009, but with a comfortable parliamentary majority to form the government. The Democratic Alliance had the second largest share of votes, winning 89 seats with 22.2% of the vote.⁴¹ In total, 13 parties were returned to parliament. Voter turnout was 76%. Several new parties competed in this election, including the Economic Freedom Fighters, the National Freedom Party, and the Agang.</p> <p>Among other domestic and international election observation missions, the African Union sent elections observers and gave a largely positive report of the quality of the election.⁴² Nevertheless there were media reports of riots in a poor area outside Johannesburg before the election and after the results were announced and the police were brought in to disperse protesters.</p> <p>South African elections perform well in the PEI index since they are around 70 points in the scale; around the same level as the United States and Argentina. Experts evaluated procedures and the counting process very positively, however, pointing out problems with campaign finance and voter registration.</p>
<p>United States Ranked 42nd and 45th worldwide</p>	<p>Elections in United States stand out as relatively poorly ranked by experts compared with other established democracies, deserving further scrutiny.</p> <p>The United States Congressional elections were held on Tuesday, November 4, 2014. During this contest, 435 seats in the United States House of Representatives and 33 of the 100 seats in the United States Senate were contested, along with 38 state and territorial governorships, 46 state legislatures (except Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia), four territorial legislatures and numerous state and local races.</p> <p>The November 2014 Congressional elections got poor grades because experts were concerned about the electoral laws, voter registration, the process of drawing district boundaries, as well as regulation of campaign finance.</p>

	<p>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.⁴³ New state regulations on voter registration have been implemented in around 30 states.⁴⁴</p> <p>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 2014.⁴⁵ The Commission suggest a series of practical steps to improve the experience of citizens in polling, including expanding online voter registration; updating state voter registration lists; expanding voting before Election Day; recognizing the impending crisis in voting technology for old machines; and improving the ability of military and overseas voters to access ballots.</p> <p>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.⁴⁶</p>
<p>Indonesia Ranked 51st and 82nd worldwide</p>	<p>Indonesia deserves attention as an example of an increasingly successful democratic state and the largest Muslim-majority society in the world.</p> <p>Indonesia held legislative elections on 9 April 2014 (ranked 82nd in the PEI) followed by presidential elections on 9 July 2014 (ranked 51st).</p> <p>In the legislative elections - the fourth since the end of authoritarian rule in 1998 - a total of 560 seats were contested in the House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR).⁴⁷ Simultaneously, three tiers of regional legislatures were elected – 132 seats in the Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD) and more than 19,000 seats in two tiers of regional houses of representatives.⁴⁸ Voter turnout was 67% or 124,972 million votes out of 185,826 million registered voters⁴⁹ - including about 22 million first-time voters.⁵⁰</p> <p>Popular Jakarta governor Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was nominated as presidential candidate for the Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle (PDI-P). Despite some resistance within his own party, under his leadership the party made gains.⁵¹ The PDI-P’s win of 18.9%, or 109 seats, was a significant increase from the previous elections, beating the Golkar party for the first time since 1999 with a 5% margin. Another winner of the legislative election was the Gerindra party, whose vote share almost tripled from 4.5% to 11.8%, mainly due to the popularity of its leader former, General Prabowo Subianto.⁵² Overall, the legislative election resulted in a fragmented parliament, perpetuating the tradition of coalition politics.</p> <p>In the run-up to the election, discrepancies in the voter registration lists had already been uncovered, leading to fears of electoral manipulations on election-day.⁵³ For the first time, no independent international observers monitored the elections, in itself taken by many as a sign of a maturing, more stable, and less politically violent election process.⁵⁴ Only Indonesian-based observer organizations remained active. Money politics remained a major challenge for electoral integrity in the campaign, with independent organization Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat (JPPR) reporting vote buying in over 30% of observed polling places in 25 provinces.⁵⁵ Indonesia Corruption watch received 300 reports of vote buying.⁵⁶ Further evidence indicated that some legislative candidates manipulated vote-counting in a number of ways.⁵⁷ Independent vote brokers with changing loyalties remain instrumental for all political parties to get out the vote.⁵⁸ Despite these problems, the General Elections Commission (KPU) was lauded by observers for its increased professionalism⁵⁹, and with some exceptions in Aceh, the election remained largely peaceful.⁶⁰</p> <p>In the following presidential campaign, two candidates were put forward by party coalitions. While former-General Prabowo campaigned on his personality as a leader and appealed to authoritarian sentiments among parts of the electorate⁶¹, Jokowi’s campaign emphasized his</p>

	<p>achievements as Jakarta governor. Negative campaigning took a toll on both candidates.⁶² On election-day, the majority of polling institutes called the election for Jokowi, based on exit polls and quick counts. Yet, four survey institutes issued quick counts naming Prabowo as the winner. These polling institutes were found to be aligned with the Prabowo campaign, the conflicting counts allegedly a tactical manipulation of public opinion to buy time to intervene in the official vote count conducted by the election commission (KPU).⁶³ Yet, the maneuver failed, not least because the Indonesian EMB had committed to placing online the scanned images of the official reports from every single polling place. Several crowdsourced quick count initiatives were instrumental in nudging public opinion by confirming Jokowi.⁶⁴ The KPU announced Jokowi as the winner with 53.1% of the vote, and although Prabowo alleged ‘systematic, structured, and massive fraud’ and rejected this result, it was confirmed by the Constitutional Court.⁶⁵</p> <p>The Indonesian legislative elections were rated better than the presidential contest by the PEI index and experts agreed that the most relevant problems related to finance and voter registration.</p>
<p>India Ranked 55th worldwide</p>	<p>India stands out as the largest democracy in the world and one of the most complex elections to manage successfully. There are many reasons to celebrate elections in this country although contests continue to be marred by problems of conflict and corruption. The outcome saw a sharp swing towards the BJP and away from the long predominant Congress Party.⁶⁶</p> <p>Elections to the Indian Lok Sabha (House of the People) were held between 7 April and 12 May 2014.⁶⁷ In total 543 MPs were elected through simple plurality single-member constituencies.⁶⁸</p> <p>Polling for the Indian Lok Sabha (House of the People) was open over nine days between 7 April and 12 May 2014, due to the staggering logistical task of getting 834 million registered voters to the ballot box.⁶⁹</p> <p>The two major competing parties were the Indian National Congress (INC) – which had governed for the past ten years in a coalition government - and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). BJP’s candidate for prime minister, the former chief minister of the economic powerhouse Gujarat state Narendra Modi, campaigned on his technocratic credentials and emphasized economic recovery from the Global Financial Crisis. He was seen as a staunch Hindu nationalist with a controversial role in the 2002 ethnic riots in Gujarat.⁷⁰</p> <p>The Election Commission of India (ECI) has been lauded for their independence and aptitude in managing the largest election worldwide.⁷¹ Electronic voting machines are used although these have been criticized as vulnerable to manipulations.⁷² The EC introduced machines that produce a paper trail to reduce risks of fraud.⁷³ The EC also makes extensive use of technology, such as online voter registration or an online complaints process.⁷⁴ It also implements an SMS-based reporting system - called Communications Plan for Election Tracking (COMET) – that allows around 1.1 million government officials to monitor the electoral process and send updates of vote tallies or report problems in real-time.⁷⁵</p> <p>Voter turnout was 66.4% in 2014, with 553.8 million votes cast, an increase from 58% in 2009.⁷⁶ The BJP received 31% of the vote and 282 seats. This represented a landslide victory for the party and its leader – an increase of 144 seats from the April 2009 Election.⁷⁷ It is the first outright majority for a governing party since 1984.⁷⁸ BJP drew voters across the electorate, especially among the young, but also among the traditionally split upper caste Northern Indian voters. The ruling India National Congress, led by Sonia Gandhi, suffered the greatest loss in Indian election history, receiving 19.3% of the vote and 44 seats – 162 less than 2009. It was argued that in addition to Modi’s personal popularity, the BJP relied heavily on ‘vote mobilizers’ to secure its win. Large numbers of these non-partisan local brokers shifted their allegiance from Congress to the BJP prior to the election.⁷⁹ Yet, BJP’s overwhelming victory rests on a vote share of only 31%, due to India’s first-past-the-post electoral system. Therefore, the victory does not necessarily represent a lasting tidal shift in</p>

	<p>Indian politics.⁸⁰</p> <p>After the election, four parties called for nation-wide protests against what they categorized as an ‘assault on democracy’. Among other things, they highlighted widespread intimidation and violence against voters, the ‘capturing’ of up to 1,000 polling booths, and incidents that included voters being shot and injured.⁸¹ Electoral security for voters, as evidenced by the protests and violence, remains the most pressing issue in electoral reform for India, according to IFES.⁸² During the campaign, security concerns prevented some rallies from taking place. The BJP held protests in Varanasi after its leader Modi was denied permission to hold a rally there.⁸³ Protest flared up in the disputed Himalayan area of Kashmir, where hundreds of protestors hurled rocks at polling stations shouting “Down with India” on April 24.⁸⁴ The Kashmir region also boycotted polling on May 7, culminating in a bomb explosion.⁸⁵</p> <p>In addition, political finance was seen as a problem.⁸⁶ Although the electoral commission puts limits on campaign finance to \$115,000 a seat, estimates show that it requires as much as \$3m to stand a reasonable chance of election, pushing candidates into under-ground, non-transparent mechanisms to raise funds. The EC is not able to regulate this, nor do the limits accurately reflect the electoral conditions.⁸⁷</p> <p>According to the PEI experts, Indian elections performed well in the conduct of the electoral authorities, the laws, counting and procedure. The experts’ evaluations, however, were more critical of political finance and voter registration.</p>
<p>Turkey Ranked 86th worldwide</p>	<p>Standing at the cross-roads of Europe and Asia, elections in Turkey provides genuine opportunities for popular participation, although several flaws bring down the overall ranking of contests in this country.</p> <p>Turkey has been a parliamentary democracy since its foundation in 1923. The contests on August 10, 2014 were the first held since the 2007 constitutional reform introduced direct presidential elections. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the incumbent leader of the Justice and Development party (AKP) and Prime Minister for three consecutive terms, won the election with a bare majority of 51.8% of the vote, thereby making a run-off redundant. The main challenger, former Secretary General of the Organisation of Islamic Co-operation, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, supported by the Republican People’s Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), obtained 38.4%.The third candidate, Selahattin Demirtas from the pro-Kurdish Democratic People’s party (HDP), received 9.8%.⁸⁸</p> <p>The OSCE/ODIHR observer mission assessed the elections as generally free, but also expressed concern regarding Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s undue advantage in terms of state resources, campaign financing, and media coverage.⁸⁹</p> <p>In Turkey voting is compulsory, and Turkish citizens abroad could vote for the first time. Nevertheless only 74.1% of registered voters cast their ballot, fewer than for the previous legislative elections in 2011 (83.2%).</p> <p>Experts give an overall score of 60 in the PEI scale, at the same level of Maldives or Kuwait. Experts praised the results and the counting processes however, they were more critical regarding media, finance and laws.</p>
<p>Thailand Ranked 88th worldwide</p>	<p>Thailand illustrates problems when elections are derailed by partisan rancor and street violence, catalyzing a military coup suspending the government and prospects for democratic stability.</p> <p>Thailand’s derailed snap election of 2nd February 2014 presents a unique case among the observed polls. It ranked 88th out of all contests, not least due to the violent disruption campaign of the opposition People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) and the subsequent disenfranchisement of millions of voters.⁹⁰ Full results of the vote count were not released by the Election Commission of Thailand, and only partial information was provided about a lower-than-usual turnout of 47% and a higher number of spoilt ballots.⁹¹</p>

	<p>The election deepened Thailand’s political crisis – with the constitutional court annulling the contest on 21 March 2014, and the military staging a coup d’état on 22 May 2014, Thailand’s second coup in a decade.⁹² International watchdog organizations registered a significant deterioration of the human rights situation in Thailand since the coup.⁹³</p> <p>Electoral democracy appears controversial in Thailand. Despite the proliferation of party bans⁹⁴, institutional engineering, and the politicization of courts⁹⁵, popular sentiment seems still strongly in favor of electoral democracy, as election results and turnout since 2001 have shown. Yet, there is a non-negligible and politically powerful minority that rejects elections outright. This coalition argues that politicians are corrupt, and voters easily bought and too ignorant to be able to distinguish between good and bad politicians.⁹⁶ While making reference to the concept of electoral integrity, this discourse seems not to match well with the comparative evidence collected through the PEI experts’ evaluations.</p> <p>The results of the PEI survey suggest that elections in Thailand are by and large well-administered in the technical aspects, and that the existing legal framework does not significantly favor incumbents. Election fraud, vote buying or other forms of manipulation seem to be less problematic and on par with other countries in the region.⁹⁷ The PEI experts identified the opposition movement’s intimidation campaign, and the electoral authorities’ fainthearted enforcement of the law, as the main problems.⁹⁸</p>
<p>Egypt Ranked 117th worldwide</p>	<p>Among countries with deeply flawed contests, the 2014 Egyptian presidential elections symbolize some of the worst practices which have set back human rights and any prospects for an effective transition from the country’s authoritarian past.</p> <p>A presidential election in Egypt took place between 26 and 28 May 2014. There were only two candidates, former Egyptian defense minister Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and Egyptian Popular Current candidate Hamdeen Sabahi. As a result, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, the former army field marshal, swept to victory with a reported 95% of the vote, providing an official façade to legitimate his grip on power.</p> <p>But turnout was lukewarm (47%) and genuine choice was restricted as the Muslim Brotherhood’s Freedom and Justice Party had been banned from running after the ouster of President Mohammed Morsi two years earlier, their supporters had been arrested, other contestants boycotted the elections, and the clampdown on human rights limited independent media coverage.⁹⁹</p> <p>The PEI experts gave the Egyptian presidential elections a low score of 48 overall, similar to Malaysia and Zimbabwe. Given the bans on the opposition, not surprisingly experts evaluated party and candidate registration and media coverage as particularly problematic areas of concern.</p>
<p>Afghanistan Ranked 121st worldwide</p>	<p>Among the worst contests in 2014, the Afghan elections were undermined by massive fraud, vote-buying, and corrupt practices, with the vote count suspended in favor of a brokered power-sharing deal.</p> <p>Afghanistan held presidential elections on 5 April 2014. The third poll since the fall of the Taliban, this election was open because the incumbent, Hamid Karzai, had reached his constitutional term limit and could not stand again. The majoritarian 2nd ballot election was held in two rounds.</p> <p>Eleven candidates contested the first round of the election, down from the original twenty-seven nominated by the 6 October 2013 deadline. The sixteen disqualified candidates were rejected for a number of reasons, including education levels or lack of documentation. There have, however, been allegations that the disqualification was motivated by political reasons.¹⁰⁰</p> <p>Campaign polls suggested that Abdullah Abdullah, former Foreign Minister and leader of the National Coalition, and Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai, former finance minister and World Bank official who ran as an independent, were leading the race, followed by the president’s older</p>

	<p>brother, Qayoum Karzai.¹⁰¹</p> <p>Several major problems occurred in this election. One concerned violence from insurgents. Security threats initially forced 24 out of the 414 polling centers to be closed, but the government then declared them open.¹⁰²</p> <p>The registration process was problematic, as the voter registration cards in circulation exceeding the number of eligible voters and the cards could be easily transferred. Due to cultural sensitivities, women are not required to carry photos to vote, which further compounds the problem. Experience of previous elections suggests that electoral fraud, bribery and vote-buying were all potentially flawed.¹⁰³ NDI observers noted multiple malpractices during the previous 2010 Afghan contests from the endemic threat of violence to widespread mistrust of electoral institutions, voting irregularities, barriers to women’s participation, and the existence of massive numbers of false voter identification cards.¹⁰⁴</p> <p>During the count for the second round, one leading candidate, Abdullah Abdullah, alleged fraud “on an industrial scale”, and the UN-led intervened to coordinate the mammoth task of auditing all 8 million votes cast. This process failed to determine a legitimate winner and only a US brokered backroom deal produced a compromise for power-sharing accepted by the two leading contenders. Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai became president, while Abdullah Abdullah agreed to serve in the government, with the final disputed vote share was not released by the Electoral Commission.</p> <p>PEI experts scored the Afghan election as 46 in the PEI Index, around the same as Mozambique and Cambodia. Electoral procedures, voter registration, campaign finance and the declaration of results were all ranked poorly.</p>
<p>Syria Ranked 127th worldwide</p>	<p>The Syria presidential elections were held on 3rd June 2014 despite the fact that the country was in the midst of a bloody civil war and deep humanitarian crisis which started in 2011. The contests illustrate a fake election violating human rights in order to cloak the incumbent with the appearance of a popular mandate.</p> <p>President Bashar Hafez al-Assad from the Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party was re-elected overwhelmingly for another seven-year term with a reported 89% of the vote while his main rivals standing as independents, Hassan Abdullah al-Nouri and Maher Abdul-Hafiz Hajjar each got less than 5% of the vote.</p> <p>Yet the election was deeply flawed because some areas of the country were not under government control, so that polling did not take place in the regions where insurgents were strongest. National Coalition - the main Western-backed opposition group - boycotted the contest. In addition, an estimated 9 million Syrians had fled their homes since the conflict began in 2011, including 2.5 million refugees and 6.5 million internally displaced persons. Those refugees who crossed through government-controlled “official” border crossings, with an exit stamp, were eligible to vote abroad, but most refugees did not have an official stamp.</p> <p>The Gulf Cooperation Council, the European Union and the United States all criticized the election as illegitimate, although the contest was defended by spokespersons for the Russian and Iranian governments.</p> <p>PEI ranked the Syrian election as the worst contest in 2014 with an exceptionally poor performance almost across the board.</p>

6. Elections to watch during 2015

During 2015, several contests deserve to be closely watched to monitor any problems of electoral integrity. More details about forthcoming elections are available via IFES' Election Guide.¹⁰⁵

<p>Nigeria – March</p>	<p>Nigeria's general election presents a major logistical and security challenge for Africa's most populous country.¹⁰⁶ There has already been violence over the delayed release of voter registration cards and the contests have been postponed from 14 February to 28 March 2015 because of instability and insecurity caused by Boko Haram.</p> <p>In total, in this election 360 seats in the House of Representatives will be elected by simple plurality vote in single-member constituencies, while 109 seats in the Senate will be determined in multi-member constituencies.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the office of the President will be contested among at least 14 candidates.</p> <p>The 5th national election since the end of military rule in 1999 is set to be a close race between incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), and Muhammadu Buhari, fielded by the opposition All Progressives Congress (APC). While Jonathan's stronghold is the largely-Christian south, Buhari represents the country's Muslim north. A win for either side is feared to anger supporters of the other, possibly repeating the 2011 election-related violence with hundreds of deaths. Insurgencies in the oil-rich Niger delta and Boko Haram's campaign in the northern border region with Chad, Niger and Cameroon are just two of the factors jeopardizing the security of the electoral process.¹⁰⁸</p> <p>While the PDP welcomed the election commission's decision to postpone the election to provide for better security measures, the oppositional APC decried the move as 'a major setback for Nigerian democracy'.¹⁰⁹ Incumbent Jonathan won the PDP's primaries unopposed and thus received the party's nomination for presidential candidate. Previously, the party leadership had rotated between Muslim northerners and Christian southerners, and thus Jonathan's candidacy was met with the defection in protest of 'dozens' of PDP MPs.¹¹⁰</p> <p>While public trust in the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is reasonably high, with two-thirds (68%) of Nigerians expressing confidence that the EMB is able to organize the election, concerns about violence also run high in the electorate; 69% of Nigerians are worried that violence may take place during the elections.¹¹¹ In addition, only 13% believe that the election will be 'honest', a drop from 51% in 2011.¹¹²</p>
<p>Israel - March</p>	<p>Israel will be back to the polls on 17th March 2015. The 120 seats in the Knesset are elected by proportional representation in a single nationwide constituency. This will be a 'snap' election called because the governing coalition neither agreed on the budget nor on the "Jewish nation state" law, which critics have argued would have promoted Jewish national rights while eroding Israel as a democracy.¹¹³ Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's dismissed Tzipi Livni, Justice Minister and Israel's lead negotiator in the peace process, and Yair Lapid, Finance Minister. The previous election, on January 22 2013, was held because Netanyahu's government coalition was also unable to pass a budget.</p> <p>Besides the "Jewish State" bill, the campaign will debate issues of peace and security.¹¹⁴ In total 26 parties have submitted final lists for elections.¹¹⁵ Among them, Bizchutan (In their merit), the first party in history led by Haredi women.¹¹⁶ However, it is expected that the Knesset will be less fragmented than in previous elections. Currently it has 12 parties. This is due to the change in the minimum electoral threshold. Previously, it was set at 2% but in March 2014 it increased to 3.25%¹¹⁷. Such decision was not uncontroversial, since the vote that passed the amendment was 67/0 on a decision that is said to target ultra-Orthodox Jewish and Arab parties. Polls are pointing out, however, that elections are likely to be close.¹¹⁸</p>
<p>UK - May</p>	<p>Once the home of stable 'Westminster' two-party politics, British party politics have been transformed in recent decades, and the 2015 UK general election promises to generate an uncertain outcome, a multi-party coalition government, and growing voting support for minor</p>

	<p>parties.</p> <p>The UK general election and English local elections will be held on 7th May 2015. New legislation passed in 2011 established fixed term parliaments. Voting will take place in 650 parliamentary constituencies of the United Kingdom to elect Members of Parliament (MPs) to seats in the House of Commons, the lower house of the Parliament. The contest uses a single-member plurality electoral system (First-Past-the-Post) managed by the UK Electoral Commission.¹¹⁹ In May 2011, the option of changing to an Alternative Vote electoral system was put to a popular referendum but this was defeated.</p> <p>In the previous general election, in May 2010, the Conservative party led by Prime Minister David Cameron won 306 seats, making it the largest party, thereby defeating the Labour government, but without securing an overall parliamentary majority. A coalition government was formed, with the support of the Liberal Democrat’s 57 MPs under the leadership of Alan Clegg. The Labour party under David Miliband won 258 seats in the 2010 election, making it the second largest party.</p> <p>Opinion polls show that after a short honeymoon for the government, by the end of 2010 the opposition Labour party made gains to emerge as the most popular party, retaining their modest lead throughout the parliament.¹²⁰ The main reason was a sharp collapse in popular support for the Liberal Democrats, as voters switched allegiance to Labour. In 2012, some former-Conservative supporters also switched to the UK Independent party (UKIP), which threatened to displace the Liberal Democrats, while the Scottish Nationalist Party saw steady gains and a substantial lead in Scotland.</p> <p>The current vote-seat projections from several alternative methods all point towards a hung parliament, where varied fortunes of several minor parties mean that the process of coalition formation is likely to lead to a highly uncertain outcome, with the possibility of a three party coalition government. This would be highly unusual both for post-war UK governments and for contests using first-past-the-post electoral rules which usually exaggerate the ‘winner’s bonus’.</p> <p>Recent years have also seen growing contention about electoral security and more frequent claims of fraud, especially associated with the use of the postal ballot in local elections in certain regions.¹²¹ It remains to be seen whether these concerns will resurface in a close contest.</p>
<p>Canada - October</p>	<p>The Canadian federal election is particularly noteworthy of attention as this will be the first national contest since passage of the 2014 Fair Elections Act, which sparked a controversial debate amidst rival claims of vote suppression and voter fraud.</p> <p>The Canadian federal election contesting 338 seats for the House of Commons is scheduled to occur on October 19, 2015. The electoral system uses single-member plurality ridings or First-Past-the-Post with the contests administered by Elections Canada.¹²²</p> <p>The Fair Elections bill was championed by the Conservative’s Pierre Poilievre – Canada’s Minister of State for Democratic Reform – who claimed that the abolition of ‘vouching’ as a form of identification would reduce impersonation. The new law also claims to protect voters from rogue campaign phone calls by creating a mandatory public registry for political parties and it gives the Commissioner of Canada Elections more independence in seeking tougher penalties for those found to be interfering with elections.</p> <p>The Conservatives and Liberals are currently neck-and-neck in the opinion polls, with the New Democratic Party in third place, followed by the Bloc Quebecois and the Greens. It is important to monitor the impact of the new act on voter turnout and on any malpractices which arise to challenge the legitimacy of the electoral process and outcome.</p>
<p>Argentina - October</p>	<p>Elections in Argentina will gather a lot of attention because, according to current polls, it promises to be a close race. Besides an increasing inflation and unemployment rate, politically the government faces many problems. This includes the murky events surrounding the death of the Federal Prosecutor Alberto Nisman¹²³, who had earlier drafted an arrest warrant for</p>

	<p>President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner.¹²⁴</p> <p>General elections will be held in Argentina on 25 October 2015, with a second round on 24 November if required. Argentina will be voting for the successor of the President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner (CFK), who cannot prolong her mandate after assuming office in 2007 and being re-elected to a second term in the first round of the presidential elections of October 2011.</p> <p>In Argentina, the presidential election is a 2nd ballot majoritarian system. If no candidate obtains more than 50 percent of the vote, a run-off contest is conducted.¹²⁵ On the same day, one-half of the Chamber of Deputies will be up for election, since it is renewable every two years. One-third of the Senate, also renewed every two years, will be also at stake.</p> <p>The government has also been in a bitter fight with the Clarín Group, the biggest media corporation in the country. The Clarín Group, after losing a five year legal battle against the government, warned about "government colonisation of the media." According to their claims, about 80% of broadcast media now follow the government line directly or indirectly.¹²⁶</p> <p>A relevant aspect also to consider will be the money that is projected to be spent on the campaign. In the previous report, PEI experts pointed out that campaign finance was the issue of greatest concern. It may very well be the same case now. According to some estimates, it is expected that candidates spend a minimum between 500 and 1000 million pesos (above 115 million USD) and those with real chances will be spending more.¹²⁷ The reality does not match the actual figures. An example is enough: for the 2013 elections, the Frente para la Victoria (FPV), from the President, declared that spent 2.6 million in street posters. According to an audit from the Cámara Nacional Electoral, the total was closer to 9.6 million.¹²⁸</p>
<p>Myanmar - October</p>	<p>General elections in Myanmar are expected to take place in late October or early November 2015.¹²⁹</p> <p>The country has a bicameral People's Assembly (Pyithu Hluttaw) consisting of the House of Nationalities (Amyotha Hluttaw) with 224 seats and the House of Representatives (Pyithu Hluttaw) with 440 seats. In the House of Nationalities, 168 members are elected by absolute majority vote in single-member constituencies and 56 members are appointed by the military. In the House of Representatives, 330 members are elected by absolute majority vote in single-member constituencies to serve 5-year terms and 110 members are appointed by the military to serve 4-year terms.¹³⁰</p> <p>Since 2010, the country has undergone massive economic liberalization whilst transitioning from a closed military dictatorship to a formally electoral political system. The 2015 polls are seen as a test for the newly built institutions. The persistent power of the military and state-facilitated crony capitalism are seen to be impediments to the reform process.¹³¹</p> <p>Various provisions of the 2008 constitution might impede the competitiveness of the election. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader and icon of the main ethnic Burmese opposition party National League for Democracy (NLD), will likely be precluded from taking high office and 25% of seats in the legislature continue to be reserved for the military.¹³² The NLD, which won the annulled election of 1990 is intermittently considering boycotting the polls in protest over the electoral system, yet, observers see little sense in the NLD's exiting the electoral arena.¹³³</p> <p>Simultaneously, continued fighting in Kachin and northern Shan States, as well as anti-Muslim violence Rohingya in Rakhine State, present formidable challenges to the country's transition which are somewhat separate from the intra-Burmese contest between USPDC and NLD.¹³⁴ In addition, the rate of political imprisonment is still high, and restrictions to freedom of speech seem to have increased in the run-up to the election.¹³⁵</p>
<p>Spain - December</p>	<p>Although the date has yet to be confirmed, Spaniards will probably be going to the polls in December 2015. The election will be interesting for two main reasons.</p>

	<p>First, Spain’s leading conservative party, Partido Popular (PP), has been recently accused by its former treasurer, Luis Bárcenas, of using illicit financing methods.¹³⁶ According to Bárcenas, Spain’s current Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, and the PP’s other leaders had improperly received money. Furthermore, members of the former Aznar government have also been implicated in illicitly receiving money in addition to their public wages. In addition, significant sums of money were illegally donated to the PP in a scheme that could date back over twenty years.¹³⁷ Until April 2013, PP Bárcenas’ lawyers’ fees (over a million euro) and referred to Mr. Bárcenas as an example of ‘great professional’.¹³⁸</p> <p>The second reason is the emergence of a new party, Podemos, who came fourth in the 2014 European election with a program based on ‘more democracy, more rights and more economy working for the people’.¹³⁹ In less than a year, Podemos has altered the Spanish political system and, according to different polls, is even with PP if not ahead.¹⁴⁰</p> <p>Because of the economic crisis, the numbers of Spaniards abroad has increased dramatically: about 700.000.¹⁴¹ In 2011, however, the procedure for postal voting became less convenient. Before then, between 20 and 38% of Spaniards living abroad voted, but after the change this proportion is likely to decrease substantially.¹⁴²</p>
<p>Venezuela - December</p>	<p>In Venezuela, parliamentary elections are expected to be held in December 2015.</p> <p>After the after the death of former charismatic President Hugo Chávez, the presidential elections saw a close victory for Nicolás Maduro (1.5% difference against the opposition leader Henrique Capriles Radonski).</p> <p>Venezuela is going through a rough economic situation due to the fall in oil prices and inflation is the highest in the Americas.¹⁴³ There are shortages of basic products.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Caracas is considered to be in top three among the most dangerous cities in the world with 134.36 homicides per 100,000 residents.¹⁴⁵ President Maduro’s approval rating last November was about 24% and 85% believing that the country was heading in the wrong direction.¹⁴⁶ Support for Capriles Radonski is 45%, the highest of any opposition leader.¹⁴⁷ However, other names may be present, such as Jesus Torrealba, who travelled to the European Parliament to highlight the situation of political prisoners in Venezuela.¹⁴⁸</p> <p>There has been a lively debate regarding the Venezuelan election management body, the Consejo Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Council, CNE). According to the Constitution and the Organic Law of Electoral Processes in Force, the CNE is composed by five members.¹⁴⁹ The term for three of those members expired in April 2013 but they continue to hold office. The decision of the National Assembly referred appointing the electoral authorities to the Supreme Court of Justice (Tribunal Supremo de Justicia, TSJ), and their decision was to reappoint those members. Currently, the CNE is controlled by four members close to the government and one to the opposition.¹⁵⁰</p>

7. 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 31st December 2014. In total, PEI 3.0 covers 127 elections in 107 nations. For 2014, 54 elections were surveyed in 50 countries.¹⁵¹

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 (<i>de facto</i>)	3	Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan
Sub-total of nation-states included in the survey	173	
Covered to date in the PEI 3.0 dataset (from mid-2012 to end-2014)	107	62% of all the subtotal of nation-states containing 4.2bn people.

Because of the selection rules, elections contained in each cumulative release of the PEI survey can be treated as a representative cross-section of *all* national presidential and legislative elections around the world (with the exception of the exclusion of micro-states). As demonstrated below, the countries in PEI3 are broadly similar in political and socio-economic characteristics to those countries holding national elections which are not yet covered in the survey, with the exception of being slightly larger in population size.

		Mean total population (WDI)	Mean GNI per capita, PPP (constant 2011 international \$) (WDI)	Mean Human Development Index (UNDP)	Mean Freedom House/ Imputed Polity (QoG)
Countries included in PEI 3.0	Mean	37,391,466	14,547	0.686	6.7
	N	104	101	106	107.0
Not included in PEI 3.0	Mean	17,202,140	13,268	0.653	7.0
	N	78	71	74	80.0
Total	Mean	28,738,897	14,019	0.672	6.9
	N	182	172	180	187.0

Source: Jan Teorell, Stefan Dahlberg, Sören Holmberg, Bo Rothstein, Felix Hartmann & Richard Svensson. 2015. *The Quality of Government Standard Dataset*, version Jan15. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se>.

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, 1,429 completed responses were received in the survey, representing just under one third of the experts that the project contacted (29%).

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.¹⁵²

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 sub-dimensions, 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’,¹⁵³ 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 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 sub-dimensions in the electoral cycle are summations of the imputed individual variables.¹⁵⁴

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.¹⁵⁵

For external validity tests, the PEI Index in the third release was confirmed to be significantly correlated with other standard independent indicators contained in the 2015 version of the Quality of Government cross-national dataset, including the combined Freedom House/imputed Polity measure of democratization ($R=.726^{**}$, $N. 107$), the Cheibub-Ghandi classification of democracy-autocracy ($R=.604^{**}$, $N.017$), the Economist Intelligence Unit measure of Electoral Processes and Pluralism ($R=.665^{**}$, $N. 100$), and the Cingranelli-Richards measure of Electoral Self-Determination rights ($R=.543^{**}$, $N.107$).¹⁵⁶

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-3 Codebook provides detailed description of all variables and imputation procedures. A copy can be downloaded from the project website www.electoralintegrityproject.com




 by **Jeremy Weate** ‘Voting in Kubwa’ by **United Nations Photo**,
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/73542590@N00/5628705565>.
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TABLE A1: PEI SURVEY QUESTIONS

	Sections	Performance indicators	Direction
ELECT PRE	1. Electoral laws	1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties	N
		1-2 Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties (N)	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	
CAMP	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	
ELECT	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
ELECT POST	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, and Max Gromping. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity*: www.electoralintegrityproject.com.

TABLE A2: PEI INDEX SCORES WITH 95% CONFIDENCE INTERVALS (2-TAILED)¹⁵⁷

Election Code	Election date	PEI index	PEI Index, low ci	PEI Index, high ci	PEI experts invited, by election	PEI expert responses, by election	PEI response rate, by election
AFG_14062014_P2	14-JUN-2014	46	42	49	42	6	14%
AGO_31082012_L1	31-AUG-2012	48	42	54	37	11	30%
ALB_23062013_L1	23-JUN-2013	64	61	67	81	19	23%
ARG_27102013_L1	27-OCT-2013	71	69	74	46	16	35%
ARM_18022013_P1	18-FEB-2013	55	50	60	34	11	32%
AUS_07092013_L1	07-SEP-2013	76	73	79	42	16	38%
AUT_29092013_L1	29-SEP-2013	82	79	84	35	16	46%
AZE_09102013_P1	09-OCT-2013	57	50	64	36	10	28%
BEL_25052014_L1	25-MAY-2014	77	73	81	38	12	32%
BFA_02122012_L1	02-DEC-2012	53	52	53	38	3	8%
BGD_05012014_L1	05-JAN-2014	50	44	55	33	16	48%
BGR_05102014_L1	05-OCT-2014	69	64	74	40	12	30%
BGR_12052013_L1	12-MAY-2013	60	56	64	39	20	51%
BHR_29112014_L2	29-NOV-2014	42	38	45	36	5	14%
BIH_12102014_P1	12-OCT-2014	62	57	67	40	9	22%
BLR_23092012_L1	23-SEP-2012	46	42	50	40	7	17%
BOL_12102014_P1	12-OCT-2014	64	61	68	40	11	28%
BRA_26102014_P2	26-OCT-2014	72	69	75	38	15	39%
BRB_21022013_L1	21-FEB-2013	70	58	82	39	3	8%
BTN_13072013_L2	13-JUL-2013	68	63	73	37	11	30%
BWA_24102014_L1	24-OCT-2014	66	62	71	38	15	39%
CHL_15122013_P2	15-DEC-2013	74	72	76	44	19	43%
CMR_30092013_L1	30-SEP-2013	64	64	65	34	6	18%
COG_05082012_L2	05-AUG-2012	45	35	55	34	3	9%
COL_09032014_L1	09-MAR-2014	69	66	72	36	8	22%
COL_15062014_P2	01-JUN-2014	67	65	69	42	7	17%
CRI_06042014_P2	06-APR-2014	85	81	88	39	8	21%
CUB_03022013_L1	03-FEB-2013	65	45	86	38	3	8%
CYP_24022013_P2	24-FEB-2013	79	75	82	38	14	37%
CZE_13102012_S1	12-OCT-2012	81	78	84	38	22	58%
CZE_25012013_P2	25-OCT-2012	79	77	82	40	19	47%
CZE_25102013_L1	19-SEP-2013	85	84	86	42	31	74%
DEU_22092013_L1	22-SEP-2013	84	81	87	42	27	64%
DJI_22022013_L1	22-FEB-2013	40	34	46	37	5	14%
DZA_17042014_P1	17-APR-2014	55	49	60	35	8	23%
ECU_17022013_P1	17-FEB-2013	64	59	68	37	13	35%
EGY_26052014_P1	26-MAY-2014	48			39	6	15%
FJI_17092014_L1	17-SEP-2014	63	58	67	40	17	43%
FSM_05032013_L1	05-MAR-2013	71	68	74	40	4	10%
GEO_01102012_L1	01-OCT-2012	63	58	67	48	8	17%
GEO_27102013_P1	27-OCT-2013	74	71	76	44	9	20%
GHA_07122012_P1	07-DEC-2012	66	62	70	35	14	40%
GIN_28092013_L1	28-SEP-2013	55	48	61	36	4	11%
GNB_18052014_P2	18-MAY-2014	64	59	68	42	8	19%
GNQ_26052013_L1	26-MAY-2013	38	33	44	40	10	25%
GRD_19022013_L1	19-FEB-2013	73	69	77	37	6	16%
HND_24112013_P1	24-NOV-2013	64	53	75	37	5	14%
HUN_06042014_L1	06-APR-2014	65	61	69	36	16	44%
IDN_09042014_L1	09-APR-2014	62	58	67	36	14	39%
IDN_09072014_P1	09-JUL-2014	68	65	72	40	12	30%
IND_12052014_L1	12-MAY-2014	67	64	70	40	12	30%
IRN_14062013_P1	14-JUN-2013	63	58	69	37	9	24%
IRQ_30042014_L1	30-APR-2014	55	52	58	37	9	24%
ISL_27042013_L1	27-APR-2013	83	79	86	36	16	44%
ISR_22012013_L1	22-JAN-2013	80	74	85	38	12	32%
ITA_24022013_L1	24-FEB-2013	73	71	75	41	18	44%
JOR_23012013_L1	23-JAN-2013	57	53	60	35	12	34%

Election Code	Election date	PEI index	PEI Index, low ci	PEI Index, high ci	PEI experts invited, by election	PEI expert responses, by election	PEI response rate, by election
JPN_14142014_L1		77	73	80		10	
JPN_16122012_L1	16-DEC-2012	74	70	77	40	15	38%
JPN_21072013_L1	21-JUL-2013	73	69	78	39	12	31%
KEN_04032013_P1	04-MAR-2013	53	48	58	38	9	24%
KHM_28072013_L1	28-JUL-2013	46	41	50	38	15	39%
KOR_19122012_P1	19-DEC-2012	81	79	84	34	8	24%
KWT_01122012_L1	01-DEC-2012	61	56	66	37	9	24%
KWT_27072013_L1	27-JUL-2013	67	62	71	38	6	16%
LTU_25052014_P2	25-MAY-2014	86	82	89	42	8	19%
LTU_28102012_L2	28-OCT-2012	78	75	81	36	11	31%
LVA_04102014_L1	04-OCT-2014	77	75	80	40	16	40%
MDA_30112014_L1	30-NOV-2014	65	63	68	36	9	25%
MDG_20122013_P2	20-DEC-2013	52	49	54	43	16	37%
MDV_16112013_P2	16-NOV-2013	57	48	67	36	6	17%
MDV_22032014_L1	22-MAR-2014	70	65	76	37	4	11%
MEX_01072012_P1	01-JUL-2012	70	65	74	40	14	35%
MKD_27042014_P2	27-APR-2014	58	51	66	32	9	28%
MLI_11082013_P2	11-AUG-2013	62	58	66	41	11	27%
MLT_09032013_L1	09-MAR-2013	72	70	75	32	10	31%
MNE_07042013_P1	07-APR-2013	51	45	57	35	7	20%
MNE_14102012_L1	14-OCT-2012	69	58	80	35	3	9%
MNG_26062013_P1	26-JUN-2013	72	66	77	36	9	25%
MOZ_15102014_P1	15-OCT-2014	48	44	52	40	8	20%
MRT_21062014_P1	21-JUN-2014	56	37	76	40	3	8%
MRT_21122013_L2	21-DEC-2013	53	47	59	36	2	6%
MUS_10122014_L1	10-DEC-2014	71	68	74	37	10	27%
MWI_20052014_P1	20-MAY-2014	58	55	61	40	15	38%
MYS_05052013_L1	05-MAY-2013	48	45	52	40	17	43%
NAM_28112014_P1	28-NOV-2014	63			37	6	16%
NLD_12092012_L1	12-SEP-2012	83	80	85	43	24	56%
NOR_09092013_L1	09-SEP-2013	86	83	90	42	13	31%
NPL_19112013_L1	19-NOV-2013	59	52	65	35	18	51%
NZL_20092014_L1	20-SEP-2014	80	77	84	39	13	33%
PAK_11052013_L1	11-MAY-2013	60	57	62	126	36	29%
PAN_04052014_P1	04-MAY-2014	69	65	72	40	8	20%
PHL_13052013_L1	13-MAY-2013	59	55	63	38	14	37%
PRK_09032014_L1	09-MAR-2014	65			35	2	6%
PRY_21042013_P1	21-APR-2013	64	60	68	35	12	34%
ROU_09122012_L1	09-DEC-2012	59	53	64	39	13	33%
ROU_16112014_P2	16-NOV-2014	63	60	67	36	18	50%
RWA_16092013_L1	16-SEP-2013	71	62	80	37	7	19%
SLB_19112014_L1	19-NOV-2014	65	62	67	40	7	17%
SLE_17112012_P1	17-NOV-2012	65	62	68	34	2	6%
SLV_09032014_P2	09-MAR-2014	67	64	70	38	14	37%
SRB_16032014_L1	16-MAR-2014	66	62	71	40	13	32%
STP_12102014_L1	12-OCT-2014	67	61	72	38	5	13%
SVK_29032014_P2	29-MAR-2014	80	76	83	38	12	32%
SVN_02122012_P2	02-DEC-2012	80	74	85	37	11	30%
SVN_13072014_L1	13-JUL-2014	83	79	88	40	7	17%
SWE_14092014_L1	14-SEP-2014	85	82	87	40	21	52%
SWZ_20092013_L1	20-SEP-2013	56	44	69	38	7	18%
SYR_03062014_P1	03-JUN-2014	42	39	45	42	8	19%
TGO_25072013_L1	25-JUL-2013	50	46	54	36	4	11%
THA_02022014_L1	02-FEB-2014	61	57	64	40	15	38%
TJK_06112013_P1	06-NOV-2013	43	38	47	34	8	24%
TKM_15122013_L1	15-DEC-2013	50	42	59	41	8	20%
TON_27112014_L1	27-NOV-2014	74	68	80	31	4	13%
TUN_21122014_P2	07-DEC-2014	76	71	80		4	
TUN_26102014_L1	26-OCT-2014	73	69	76	38	13	34%

Election Code	Election date	PEI index	PEI Index, low ci	PEI Index, high ci	PEI experts invited, by election	PEI expert responses, by election	PEI response rate, by election
TUR_10082014_P1	10-AUG-2014	61	56	65	35	12	34%
UKR_25052014_P1	25-MAY-2014	67	62	71	40	13	32%
UKR_26102014_L1	26-OCT-2014	63	58	68	40	13	32%
UKR_28102012_L1	28-OCT-2012	52	50	54	33	14	42%
URY_30112014_P2	30-NOV-2014	81	80	83	38	15	39%
USA_04112014_L1	04-NOV-2014	69	66	72	37	8	22%
USA_06112012_P1	06-NOV-2012	70	67	74	38	15	39%
VEN_07102012_P1	07-OCT-2012	63	56	70	38	11	29%
VEN_14042013_P1	14-APR-2013	52	44	59	38	14	37%
ZAF_07052014_L1	07-MAY-2014	70	67	73	39	16	41%
ZWE_31072013_L1	31-JUL-2013	48	41	55	33	13	39%
Total	29-OCT-2013	65	60	70	39	11	29%



by Adele Webb

'Indelible ink - National Elections May 2010, Negros Occidental, The Philippines. Compact Observer Mission.' by Adele Webb. License at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/>

TABLE A3: ELECTIONS SURVEYED IN 2014

Country	Office	Nation_Date_Round	PEI
Lithuania	Presidential	LTU_25052014_P2	86
Costa Rica	Presidential	CRI_06042014_P2	85
Sweden	Legislative	SWE_14092014_L1	85
Slovenia	Legislative	SVN_13072014_L1	83
Uruguay	Presidential	URY_30112014_P2	81
New Zealand	Legislative	NZL_20092014_L1	80
Slovakia	Presidential	SVK_29032014_P2	80
Latvia	Legislative	LVA_04102014_L1	77
Belgium	Legislative	BEL_25052014_L1	77
Japan	Legislative	JPN_14142014_L1	77
Tunisia	Presidential	TUN_21122014_P2	76
Tonga	Legislative	TON_27112014_L1	74
Tunisia	Legislative	TUN_26102014_L1	73
Brazil	Presidential	BRA_26102014_P2	72
Mauritius	Legislative	MUS_10122014_L1	71
South Africa	Legislative	ZAF_07052014_L1	70
Maldives	Legislative	MDV_22032014_L1	70
Colombia	Legislative	COL_09032014_L1	69
US	Legislative	USA_04112014_L1	69
Bulgaria	Legislative	BGR_05102014_L1	69
Panama	Presidential	PAN_04052014_P1	69
Indonesia	Presidential	IDN_09072014_P1	68
El Salvador	Presidential	SLV_09032014_P2	67
India	Legislative	IND_12052014_L1	67
Ukraine	Presidential	UKR_25052014_P1	67
Colombia	Presidential	COL_15062014_P2	67
Sao Tome & Principe	Legislative	STP_12102014_L1	67
Botswana	Legislative	BWA_24102014_L1	66
Serbia	Legislative	SRB_16032014_L1	66
Moldova	Legislative	MDA_30112014_L1	65
Korea, Dem Rep	Legislative	PRK_09032014_L1	65
Hungary	Legislative	HUN_06042014_L1	65
Solomon Islands	Legislative	SLB_19112014_L1	65
Bolivia	Presidential	BOL_12102014_P1	64
Guinea-Bissau	Presidential	GNB_18052014_P2	64
Romania	Presidential	ROU_16112014_P2	63
Ukraine	Legislative	UKR_26102014_L1	63
Namibia	Presidential	NAM_28112014_P1	63
Fiji	Legislative	FJI_17092014_L1	63
Indonesia	Legislative	IDN_09042014_L1	62
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Presidential	BIH_12102014_P1	62
Turkey	Presidential	TUR_10082014_P1	61
Thailand	Legislative	THA_02022014_L1	61
Macedonia	Presidential	MKD_27042014_P2	58
Malawi	Presidential	MWI_20052014_P1	58
Mauritania	Presidential	MRT_21062014_P1	56
Iraq	Legislative	IRQ_30042014_L1	55
Algeria	Presidential	DZA_17042014_P1	55
Bangladesh	Legislative	BGD_05012014_L1	50
Egypt	Presidential	EGY_26052014_P1	48
Mozambique	Presidential	MOZ_15102014_P1	48
Afghanistan	Presidential	AFG_14062014_P2	46
Syria	Presidential	SYR_03062014_P1	42
Bahrain	Legislative	BHR_29112014_L2	42
All			66

Source: Electoral Integrity Project. 2014. *The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 3 (PEI_3.0)* Mean score for elections by country

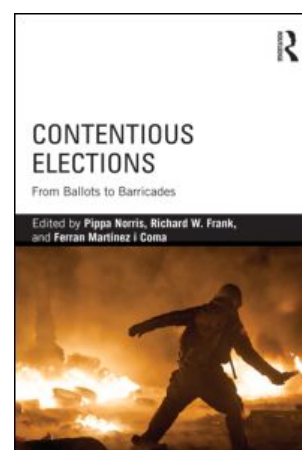
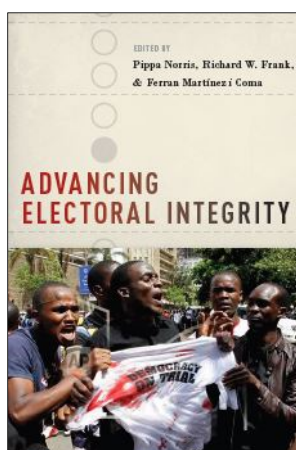
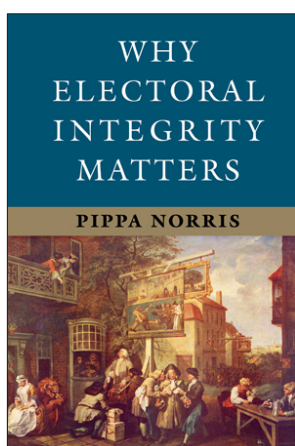
8. Further reading from EIP

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