

Strengthening Electoral Integrity

Today a general mood of pessimism surrounds Western efforts to strengthen elections and democracy abroad. If elections are often deeply flawed or even broken in many countries around the world, can anything be done to fix them? To counter the prevailing ethos, Pippa Norris presents new evidence for why programs of international electoral assistance work. She evaluates the effectiveness of several practical remedies, including efforts designed to reform electoral laws, strengthen women's representation, build effective electoral management bodies, promote balanced campaign communications, regulate political money, and improve voter registration. Pippa Norris argues that it would be a tragedy to undermine progress by withdrawing from international engagement. Instead, the international community needs to learn the lessons of what works best to strengthen electoral integrity, to focus activities and resources upon the most effective programs, and to innovate after a quarter century of efforts to strengthen electoral integrity.

Pippa Norris is the McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and Laureate Fellow and Professor of Government and International Relations at Sydney University. She is the director of the Electoral Integrity Project. Recent books by this award-winning author, also published by Cambridge University Press, include *Driving Democracy* (2008), *Cosmopolitan Communications* (2009), *Democratic Deficit* (2011), *Making Democratic Governance Work* (2012), and the present volume completes her trilogy with *Why Electoral Integrity Matters* (2014), and *Why Elections Fail* (2015).

Also by Pippa Norris from Cambridge University Press

- Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*, Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski (1995)
Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies, Pippa Norris, Ed. (1997)
A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Democracies, Pippa Norris (2000) (awarded the 2006 Doris Graber award by APSA's political communications section)
Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide, Pippa Norris (2001)
Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism, Pippa Norris (2002)
Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World, Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris (2003)
Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior, Pippa Norris (2004)
Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market, Pippa Norris (2005)
Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work? Pippa Norris (2008)
Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2009)
Sacred and Secular: Politics and Religion Worldwide, 2nd edition, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2011) (first edition awarded the 2005 Virginia A. Hodgkinson prize by the Independent Scholar)
Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited, Pippa Norris (2011)
Making Democratic Governance Work: How Regimes Shape Prosperity, Welfare, and Peace, Pippa Norris (2012)
Why Electoral Integrity Matters, Pippa Norris (2014)
Why Elections Fail, Pippa Norris (2015)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-05260-4 — Strengthening Electoral Integrity
Pippa Norris
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Strengthening Electoral Integrity

PIPPA NORRIS

Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-05260-4 — Strengthening Electoral Integrity
Pippa Norris
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107052604
DOI: 10.1017/9781107280656

© Pippa Norris 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-05260-4 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-107-68166-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

| | |
|---|---------|
| <i>List of Figures</i> | page vi |
| <i>List of Tables</i> | viii |
| <i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i> | ix |
| PART I INTRODUCTION: DOES ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE WORK? | I |
| 1 The Pragmatic Case for Electoral Assistance | 3 |
| PART II EVALUATING ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE | 3 I |
| 2 What Is Electoral Assistance? | 33 |
| 3 Evaluating Effectiveness | 64 |
| 4 Threats and Opportunities Facing Electoral Assistance | 95 |
| PART III THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS | I 3 I |
| 5 Reforming Electoral Laws | I 33 |
| 6 Strengthening Women’s Representation | I 63 |
| 7 Supporting Independent Media | I 87 |
| 8 Regulating Political Finance | 2 I 2 |
| 9 Improving Voter Registration | 234 |
| PART IV CONCLUSIONS: LESSONS LEARNED | 2 57 |
| 10 Making Electoral Assistance Work Better | 259 |
| <i>Technical Appendices</i> | 276 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 282 |
| <i>Select Bibliography</i> | 33 I |
| <i>Index</i> | 366 |

Figures

| | | |
|------|---|----------------|
| 1.1 | The chain-of-results framework for program evaluation. | <i>page</i> 20 |
| 2.1 | Steps in the electoral cycle. | 37 |
| 2.2 | Growth in the number of countries using elections for executive and legislative office. | 38 |
| 2.3 | The number of years of electoral regimes. | 39 |
| 2.4 | The world of elections in 1944, 1976, and 2012. | 41 |
| 2.5 | Trends in varieties of democracy, 1900–2014, V-Dem. | 42 |
| 2.6 | Requests for UN electoral assistance, 1990–2003. | 43 |
| 2.7 | The supply and demand for UN electoral assistance, 1990–2003. | 44 |
| 2.8 | Proportion of ODA spent by donors on government and civil society, OECD-DAC 2013. | 50 |
| 2.9a | Trends in aid spending on government and civil society, 1971–2013 (constant \$US) | 52 |
| 2.9b | Trends in aid spending on government and civil society as a proportion of all ODA, 1971–2013 (constant \$US). | 52 |
| 2.10 | US Foreign Operations Budget FY 2013. | 53 |
| 2.11 | The typology of policy options designed to strengthen electoral integrity. | 55 |
| 4.1 | Electoral integrity measured by PEI and V-Dem. | 104 |
| 4.2 | Electoral integrity by global regions. | 106 |
| 4.3 | The world map of electoral integrity. | 107 |
| 4.4 | Electoral integrity by stages of the electoral cycle. | 122 |
| 4.5 | Electoral integrity and economic development. | 124 |
| 5.1 | The rise in the proportion of elections with international monitors. | 137 |
| 5.2 | The integrity of electoral laws. | 148 |
| 5.3 | The proportion of OAS recommendations addressing each stage of the electoral cycle. | 155 |
| 5.4 | The implementation rate of OAS recommendations. | 156 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>List of Figures</i> | vii |
| 5.5 The implementation rate by country. | 157 |
| 5.6 The implementation rate rises with political globalization. | 159 |
| 6.1 Trends in the global spread of gender quota laws since 1990. | 165 |
| 6.2 The classification and distribution of gender quota policies. | 176 |
| 6.3 The global map of gender quota policies. | 181 |
| 7.1 The chain-of-results framework for media assistance programs. | 189 |
| 7.2 ODA spending on media assistance. | 191 |
| 7.3 The quality of media campaign coverage and levels of electoral integrity. | 203 |
| 7.4 Global map of the quality of media campaign coverage. | 204 |
| 7.5 Journalist roles and electoral integrity. | 209 |
| 8.1 The chain-of-results framework for political finance reforms. | 213 |
| 8.2a Types of political finance regulations, from market to state intervention. | 216 |
| 8.2b The global map of integrity in the Campaign Finance Index. | 217 |
| 8.3 Types of policies used worldwide. | 223 |
| 9.1 The chain-of-results framework for voter registration reforms. | 236 |
| 9.2 The use of convenience election laws, US 2012–2014. | 239 |
| 9.3 Convenience electoral facilities and in-person voting in the US states, 2014. | 248 |

Tables

| | |
|--|----------------|
| 3.1 Should International Organizations Intervene? The SWOT Assessment Matrix | <i>page 75</i> |
| 4.1 Questions in the Expert Survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity | 99 |
| 5.1 The Implementation Rate of Electoral Reform Recommendations | 158 |
| 6.1 Explaining the Adoption of Legal Quotas | 179 |
| 6.2 The Effects of Quotas on Women’s Representation | 184 |
| 7.1 Journalist Role Orientations | 202 |
| 7.2 The Societal Impacts of Journalist Role Orientations | 206 |
| 7.3 Professional Education and Role Orientations | 208 |
| 8.1 Correlations Between Political Finance Laws and Practices | 225 |
| 8.2 Political Finance Disclosure Regulations and Societal Impacts | 230 |
| 8.3 The Strength of Political Finance Regulations and Societal Impacts | 231 |
| 9.1 Convenience Election Laws in US States, 2014 | 245 |
| 9.2 Perceptions of Electoral Integrity in Selected US States, 2014 | 249 |
| 9.3 Models Explaining Expert Perceptions of Electoral Integrity | 252 |
| 6A Indicators and Variable Measures | 277 |
| 9A Classification of the Main Types of Convenience Election Laws Used in the United States | 279 |

Preface and Acknowledgments

This book is the final volume of the trilogy on the challenges of electoral integrity around the world, including why it matters, why electoral integrity fails, and what can be done to address these problems. This volume focuses upon what the international community can and does do in partnership with local stakeholders in efforts to implement reforms designed to strengthen electoral integrity around the globe.

The book is the culmination of the first phase of the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), founded in 2012. Research has been generously supported by the award of the Kathleen Fitzpatrick Australian Laureate from the Australian Research Council, as well as grants from International IDEA, Global Integrity, the Australian Research Council, the Association of World Electoral Bodies (A-WEB), the University of Sydney, (and at Harvard) by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the Roy and Lila Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, and the Australian Studies Committee. I am also most grateful to the World Values Survey Association for including the electoral integrity battery in the sixth and seventh wave surveys.

The EIP project is based at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. I am indebted to Michael Spence, Duncan Ivison, Simon Tormey, Allan McConnell, Colin Wight, and Graeme Gill for facilitating the arrangement in Sydney, as well as to all colleagues in the department. The book would not have been possible without the research team at Sydney, who have played an essential role in stimulating ideas, providing critical feedback and advice, generating related publications, and organizing events, especially developing the Perception of Electoral integrity (PEI) dataset. Throughout the lifetime of the project, I owe an immense debt to all the research team – Ferran Martinez i Coma, Richard W. Frank, Max Grömping, Jeffrey Karp, Alexandra Kennett, Alessandro Nai, and Andrea Abel van Es – as

well as all the fellows and interns visiting the project. In particular, I am most grateful to Max Grömping, the PEI manager, for producing all the maps used in the book. The intellectual foundations for this study build upon a series of earlier books for Cambridge University Press that have compared electoral institutions, voting behavior, political culture, and processes of democratization, particularly the previous volumes in the trilogy, *Why Electoral Integrity Matters* (2014) and *Why Elections Fail* (2015).

Specific chapters also owe an immense debt of gratitude for work with collaborators who helped with data collection, conference papers presenting the initial results. This includes the invaluable contribution of Holly Ann Garnett (McGill University) for collaborating on Chapter 9. Chapter 6 is based on a paper for APSA 2014 in Washington, DC, coauthored with Drude Dahlerup in the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University. The chapter draws on the Gender Quota Database (GQD, Stockholm: Stockholm University, Release May 2014) with help from Alma Jonssen and Vaselis Petrogiannis, students of political science at Stockholm University. The project would also not have been possible without the help of several interns who worked with the Electoral Integrity Project over the years.

As always, this book also owes immense debts to many friends and colleagues. I also appreciate all colleagues and friends who provided encouraging comments about this project during its gestation, including Sarah Birch, David Carroll, Ivor Crewe, Larry Diamond, Jorge Dominguez, Jörgen Elklit, David Ellwood, Annette Fath-Lihic, Mark Franklin, Ben Goldsmith, Judith Kelley, Alex Keyssar, Thad Hall, Carolien Van Ham, Susan Hyde, Larry LeDuc, John Keane, Ian McAllister, Jane Mansbridge, Marc Plattner, Andy Reynolds, Carolien van Ham, Sidney Verba, and Chad Vickery. The book has also been shaped by many students who have taken my Harvard classes over the years, where we discuss challenges of electoral integrity, theories of democratization, and measures of the quality of democratic governance, and the most effective policy reforms that address these issues. Invaluable feedback has been received at several international workshops and meetings, including the Poznan International Political Science Association World Congress and EIP Workshop in July 2016, the American Political Science Association annual meeting and EIP workshop in Philadelphia in August 2016, and faculty seminars at Harvard's Kennedy School and the Government Department.

I have also learned a tremendous amount from working closely with colleagues based in many other international development agencies and academic teams linked with the Electoral Integrity Project, including the United Nations Development Program, the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, the Australian Election Commission, the Carter Center, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of

Preface and Acknowledgments

xi

American States, the Kofi Annan Commission, the Sunlight Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, USAID, the UK Electoral Commission, the Varieties of Democracy project, and many others.

Finally, as always, the support of Cambridge University Press has proved invaluable, particularly the patience, efficient assistance, and enthusiasm of my editor, Robert Dreesen, as well as the helpful comments of the reviewers.