

## Index

- Abdullah, Abdullah, 114–115  
 absentee balloting, 279–281  
 accountability  
   disclosure requirements and, 216–219  
   media and, 192  
   strengthening, 58–59, 192  
   transparency and, 219  
 Accra Agenda for Action, 67–68  
 ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, 142  
 Addis Ababa, UNDP and, 6–7  
 Afghanistan  
   contagion effect and, 178–180  
   domestic mobilization by women activists  
     and, 170  
   PEI, 114–115  
 Africa, North  
   geographic distribution of gender quotas  
     in, 180  
   PEI, 113–114  
 Africa, Sub-Saharan  
   Benin, 120–121  
   Burundi, 119  
   Ethiopia, 118–119  
   Nigeria, 121  
   PEI, 118–121  
 African states. *See also specific states*  
   foreign aid to, 261  
   UNDP and, 6–7  
 agenda setters, 26–27  
 Ahmadzai, Ashraf Ghani, 114–115  
 aid effectiveness concerns, 67–68  
 Albania, 183–184  
 Arab uprising, 8  
 Argentina, Ley de Cupo Feminino and, 177  
 Armenia, 177–178  
 Asia. *See also specific countries*  
   geographic distribution of gender quotas  
     in, 180  
   Myanmar, 113  
   PEI, 113  
 aspirant gender quotas, 173  
 al-Assad, Bashar, 116–118  
 Assembly of Experts for Leadership, 115–116  
*Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas*, 310  
 autocracy  
   democracy promotion doubts during  
     resurgence of, 68–71  
   democratic assistance condemned by, 68–69  
   NELDA, 76–77  
   third-wave era undermined by, 69–70  
   transitions from, 15–16  
 Ba'ath party, 116–118  
 balloting. *See* voter registration and balloting  
 Beijing target, 163, 168  
 Belarus PEI, 111  
 Belgium, 177–178  
 Benin PEI, 120–121  
 Bowler, Shaun, 15  
 Brancati, Dawn, 15–16  
 Brazil, 227  
 Brexit, 13, 260–261  
 Brown, Mark Malloch, 48  
 Burnell, Peter, 14, 261  
 Burundi PEI, 119  
 Bush, Sarah Sunn, 15, 261

## Index

367

- campaign finance regulation, 27. *See also*  
 political finance regulation
- Canada PEI, 110–111
- candidate quota policies, 173–174
- Carothers, Thomas, 14, 70–71, 261
- CEDAW. *See* Convention on the Elimination of  
 All Forms of Discrimination Against  
 Women
- CEL. *See* Convenience Election Law
- Celestin, Jude, 112–113
- Central Europe. *See* Europe, Central and  
 Eastern
- chain-of-results framework  
 explained, 19–20  
 information gathering and, 95  
 for media, 188  
 middle stage of, 94  
 political finance regulation and, 213  
 process of, 74  
 societal impacts and, 226  
 voter registration and balloting study and,  
 236–237
- Churchill, Winston, 7–8
- Clinton, Hillary, 163–164
- Committee to Protect Journalists, 187–188
- Commonwealth Secretariat, electoral  
 monitoring and, 136
- communism, 177
- compliance, ensuring  
 focus of, 54–55  
 strengthening accountability and oversight  
 mechanisms, 58–59
- contagion effect, 178–180
- contribution limits, 220
- Convenience Election Law (CEL), 236–237,  
 243–248, 279–281
- convenience voting  
 ballots casting and, 238–239  
 CELs used in US, 279–281  
 criticism of, 240–241  
 electoral administration and, 323  
 fraud and, 240–241  
 loosening of registration procedures and, 238  
 as necessity, 239  
 research on effects of, 239–240
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of  
 Discrimination Against Women  
 (CEDAW), 77–78, 167–168
- Convention on the Rights of Persons with  
 Disabilities (CRPD), 77–78
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices (Prevention) Act,  
 220–222
- CPS. *See* Current Population Survey
- CRPD. *See* Convention on the Rights of Persons  
 with Disabilities
- cultural diffusion, 125–127
- cultural values, gender quotas and, 172
- Current Population Survey (CPS), 241–242
- de Zeeuw, Jeroen, 15
- Declaration of Global Principles for  
 Nonpartisan Election Observation and  
 Monitoring*, 139
- democracy  
 assistance spending trends, 51–54  
 cuts in promotion of, 260–261  
 Economist Intelligence Democracy Index, 12  
 elections as foundational to, 3–4  
 European states promotion of, 9–10  
 foreign policy during Obama administration  
 and, 8–10  
 foreign policy in Trump era and, 10–11  
 gender quotas and, 171–172  
 intrinsic value of elections in, 66  
 levels of analysis of promotion of, 265  
 methods evaluating impact of promotion of,  
 265–267  
 NELDA, 76–77  
 null-hypothesis and, 265–266  
 ODA and, 67–68  
 pessimism and, 4–5  
 policymakers skepticism on promotion  
 of, 261  
 populism threatening, 12–13  
 promotion doubts during authoritarian  
 resurgence, 68–71  
 promotion of, 7–8  
 randomized control trials and, 267  
 regime transitions and promotion of, 89–90  
 scholars' critique of promotion of, 13–16  
 UN Millennium Development Declaration  
 and, 46–47, 290  
 Varieties of Democracy project, 39–42,  
 76–77, 103–105  
 waves of expansion of, 38–39  
 Western aid donors retreat from promotion  
 of, 7–8
- Democratic Governance practice, 259–260
- democratic peace proposition, 18–19
- Denmark, PEI and, 105–108
- Department of International Development, UK  
 (DFID)  
 claimed benefits of, 88–89  
 spending trends and, 51–54

- Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)
  - mandate of, 48–49
  - dependent variables, 276–278
- DFID. *See* Department of International Development, UK
- disclosure, 216–219, 228–229, 230
- Donovan, Todd, 15
- DPKO. *See* Department of Peacekeeping Operations
- EAC. *See* Election Assistance Commission
- Easterly, William, 261
- Eastern Europe. *See* Europe, Central and Eastern
- EAVS. *See* Election Administration and Voting Survey
- economic development, structural constraints and, 124–125
- Economist Intelligence Democracy Index, US and, 12
- ECOSOC. *See* UN Economic and Social Council
- Egypt, 177–178
- Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS), 241–242, 243–248
- Election Assistance Commission (EAC), 243–248
- election day registration, 279–281
- Election Performance Index, 234
- elections
  - CEL and, 236–237, 243–248, 279–281
  - Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring*, 139
  - delayed, 90
  - ENEMO, 139
  - “*Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Periodic and Genuine Elections*”, 46
  - FECA, 220
  - flaws derailing, 3
  - as foundational to democracy, 3–4
  - functions of, 35–36
  - Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors, 139
  - instrumental arguments and, 66–67
  - intrinsic value of, 66
  - NELDA, 76–77
  - ODIHR/OSCE monitoring, 136–138
  - Open Election Data Initiative, 141–142
  - problems associated with, 36
  - public confidence in, 293
  - spread of, worldwide, 39–42
  - states not holding, 290
  - 2014 US midterm elections in, 234–235
  - 2016 US presidential, 109, 235
  - UN electoral missions for, 46
  - US elections as flawed, 66–67
  - watchdogs and, 136–142
- electoral assistance programs
  - agencies responding to demand for, 45
  - areas addressed by, 34
  - assessing, 6–16
  - campaign finance regulation, 27
  - cases of, 60–62
  - chain-of-results framework and, 19–20
  - chilly climate facing, 263
  - compliance and, 58–59
  - concept of, 34–38
  - conclusions, 29, 62–63
  - core actors supplying, 45–54
  - criteria for effectiveness of, 19
  - critics addressed regarding, 264
  - demand compared with supply and, 44
  - demand for, 38–44
  - democracy, waves of expansion of, and, 38–39
  - doubts about, 70–71
  - early pioneers of, 45–46
  - effectiveness, difficulties in establishing, and, 71–72
  - election cycle stages and, 37–38
  - electoral integrity and, 20–21
  - expansion of, 38
  - forms of evidence and techniques related to, 266–267
  - future research agenda for, 275
  - governmental donor agencies, 49–51
  - growth in, since early 1990s, 259
  - impact of, 24–29
  - impacts, indeterminate, of, 5–6
  - inclusive representation and, 26
  - independent media and, 26–27
  - instrumental interests and, 17–19
  - intergovernmental agencies and regional organizations, 49
  - key international and regional agencies engaged in, 268
  - levels of analysis of, 265
  - Libya case, 60–61
  - limited success of, 261–262
  - linkage versus leverage and, 35
  - Mali case, 61–62
  - malpractices mitigated by, 37–38

## Index

369

- methods evaluating impact of, 265–267
- negative results related to, 265–266
- NGOs, international and national, 51
- Nigeria case, 62
- normative values and, 16–17
- null-hypothesis and, 265–266
- observational data and, 266–267
- offered, 54–62
- overview, 33
- performance monitoring and, 59–60
- policies, implementing, and, 56–58
- positive results related to, 266
- pragmatic argument and, 19–22
- pragmatic argument evidence summary, 268–275
- pragmatic case for, 3–6, 16–22
- randomized control trials and, 267
- reforming electoral laws and procedures, 24–25
- regional organizations role in, 136–152
- requests for, 43–44
- rules meeting international standards, establishing, and, 55–56
- soft power and, 16, 35
- spending trends, 51–54
- spending versus democratic governance spending, 53–54
- study data, evidence and research design related to, 152–154
- successes of, 5
- technical assistance and, 34
- threats and opportunities facing, 122–128
- UN agencies and bureaus and, 45–49
- UN member states and, 262–263, 328
- voter registration, 28–29
- electoral integrity. *See also* Perceptions of Electoral Integrity
  - broader concept of, 21
  - conditions strengthening or weakening, 75
  - consequences of journalistic roles for, 207–210
  - electoral laws explaining variance in, 238–241
  - expert perceptions of, 248–253
  - explained, 20–21
  - by global regions, 105
  - long-term societal impacts and, 88–91
  - medium term programmatic outcomes for, 84–88
  - overview of topics discussed, 22–24
  - plan of book, 22–24
  - questions addressed regarding, 4
  - treaties and, 77–78
  - electoral laws, reforming, 24–25
    - agenda-setting theory and, 147–149
    - cultural norms and, 145–146
    - election monitoring as watchdogs and, 136–142
    - external actors and, 133–134
    - impact of recommendations, 147–150
    - incumbent self-interest and, 133
    - integrity of laws and, 144–147
    - international norm diffusion and, 149–150
    - major change and, 146
    - minor change and, 146–147
    - overview, 134–135
    - rational choice institutionalism theories and, 149
    - regional organizations and, 136–152
    - strategic threats and opportunities theory and, 151–152
  - electoral monitoring
    - critics questioning, 140
    - by domestic observers, 139
    - evidence related to, 140–141
    - expansion of, 136–138
    - by external observers, 139–140
    - organizations involved in, 137–138
    - political diversity in, 138–139
    - roots of, 136
    - transparency and, 141–142, 307
    - as watchdogs, 136–142
  - Electoral Observation Mission Database*, 153–154
  - ENEMO. *See* European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations
  - “Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Periodic and Genuine Elections”* (UN General Assembly Resolution), 46
  - EPRDF. *See* People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
  - Essebsi, Béji Caïd, 113–114
  - Estonia PEI, 111–112
  - Ethiopia PEI, 118–119
  - Europe, Central and Eastern
    - geographic distribution of gender quotas in, 180
    - PEI and, 111–112
  - Europe, Western
    - Denmark and, 105–108
    - geographic distribution of gender quotas in, 180
    - PEI and, 105–108
    - UK and, 108

- European Instrument for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights, 51–54
- European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO), 139
- European states. *See also specific states*
  - populism and, 12–13
  - promotion of democracy, 9–10
- evaluation
  - aid effectiveness concerns and, 67–68
  - authoritarian resurgence and, 68–71
  - chain of results process, 74
  - conclusions about, 91–94
  - effectiveness, difficulties in establishing, and, 71–72
  - evidence gathering approaches and, 72–73
  - evidence-based, 21
  - first step in, 75–77
  - forms of, 64
  - inconclusive results related to, 73
  - instrumental arguments and, 66–67
  - long-term societal impacts and, 88–91
  - medium term programmatic outcomes and, 84–88
  - methods and evidence, 72–91
  - multiple methods approach, 94
  - needs-assessment and, 75–77
  - operational activities and, 80–84
  - organizational learning and, 71
  - overview, 64–66
  - Pew Trust and, 93
  - political finance regulation, 224–229
  - program goals and, 77–80
  - questions related to, 73–74
  - randomized methods and, 93–94
  - rationale for, 66–72
  - results-based management and, 81–84
  - second stage of, 77–80
  - societal impacts, 88–91, 226–229
  - SWOT matrix assessments and, 75–77
  - task of, 64
- evidence
  - electoral assistance programs forms and techniques of, 266–267
  - electoral monitoring, 140–141
  - evaluation and, 21, 72–91
  - gathering approaches, 72–73
  - media and, 201–205, 210–211
  - methods and, 72–91, 94, 96–105
  - multiple methods approach, 94
  - PEI methods and, 96–105
  - Pew Trust and, 93
  - pragmatic argument and, 21, 268–275
  - questions related to, 73–74
  - randomized methods and, 93–94
  - study data, research design and, 152–154
  - voter registration and balloting, 241–242
- expert judgment-based measures
  - explained, 97
  - organizations utilizing, 96–97
- explanatory variables, 276–278
- Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA), 220
- felon disenfranchisement, 279–281
- field experiments, 93–94, 266–267
- final observer mission reports, 144–145
- finance regulation. *See* political finance regulation
- Fortuyn, Pim, 13
- fourth estate, 197–198
- France, 12
- fraud
  - during balloting and at vote count stage, 140–141
  - convenience voting and, 240–241
  - detection of, 241
  - Trump and, 108–109
- Freedom House index
  - Benin and, 120–121
  - Nigeria and, 121
  - press freedom and, 187–188
- French parity law, 178–180
- gatekeepers, 26–27
- Gender Quota Database (GQD), 26, 174–175
  - Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas* and, 310
  - explained, 166
- gender quotas
  - adoption of, 179
  - aspirant, 173
  - candidate quota policies, 173–174
  - channels of aid supporting, 169
  - conclusions, 184–186, 270–271
  - contagion effect and, 178–180
  - controlling for local conditions, 169–172, 179, 182–183
  - country coverage and time period, 174–175
  - cultural and religious values and, 172
  - defined, 173
  - domestic advocacy groups and, 175–176
  - domestic mobilization by women activists, 169–170
  - empowerment and, 270–271
  - first wave of, 177
  - French parity law and, 178–180

## Index

371

- geographic distribution of, 180
- global spread of, 176–178
- international forces role in adoption of, 166, 175, 178–180
- international organizations role in, 167–169
- issues addressed related to, 164
- levels of democratization and, 171–172
- measures and indicators related to, 175–176
- national office and, 166–167
- overview, 164–167
- rationale for adoption of, 178–183
- research design related to, 172–176
- reserved seats and, 173–174
- second wave of, 177
- socioeconomic conditions and, 171, 175–176
- soft power approaches to, 164–166
- state autonomy and, 169–170
- success of, 183–184
- theoretical framework related to, 167–172
- third wave of, 177–178
- trends in global spread of, 164
- types of, 164
- typology of policies related to, 173–176
- waves of adoption and revision of, 177–178
- Global Database of Quotas for Women, 174–175
- Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors, 139
- governmental donor agencies, 49–51
- GQD. *See* Gender Quota Database
- Guardian Council, 115–116
- Guinea-Bissau, UNDP and, 6–7
- Haiti PEI, 112–113
- Hanitzsch, Thomas, 198
- Haraszti, Miklós, 111
- HLM. *See* multi-level hierarchical logistic models
- human rights. *See also* Universal Declaration of Human Rights
  - European Instrument for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights, 51–54
  - final observer mission reports and, 144–145
  - intrinsic value of elections related to, 66
  - neighborhood effects and, 143
  - ODIHR/OSCE, 136–138, 144–145
  - OHCHR, 48–49
  - regional organizations as advocates for, 142–144
  - regional organizations as policy analysts and, 144–147
  - suffrage and, 16–17
- ICCPR. *See* International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights
- ICERD. *See* International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- ICMW. *See* International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
- inclusive representation, 26
- India, 215, 227
- indicators and variable measures, 276–278
- in-person early voting, 279–281
- institutional arrangements, 122–123
- instrumental interests
  - benefits, 18–19
  - critics addressed regarding, 264
  - democratic peace proposition and, 18–19
  - elections and, 66–67
  - electoral assistance programs and, 17–19
  - evaluation and, 66–67
  - malpractices and, 17–18
- intergovernmental agencies, 49
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), 77–78
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICMW), 77–78
- International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 16–17, 77–78
- international leverage and linkage
  - explained, 122
  - PEI and, 125–127
- International Media Support, 192–193
- international organizations. *See also* regional organizations; *specific organizations*
  - key, 268
  - women's representation role of, 167–169
- Iran PEI, 115–116
- Iraq, 170
- Islamic Consultative Assembly, 115–116
- isolationist sentiments, 70–71
- Japan, 146, 227
- Jospin, Lionel, 12
- journalism education and training programs, 193–195
- Kaplan, Robert, 70–71
- Karzai, Hamid, 114–115
- Kelley, Judith, 149–150, 155–157

- Kennedy, John F., 7–8  
 Kenny, Charles, 266  
 Kenya, 86–87, 297  
 Kumar, Krishna, 14, 199–200  
 Kyrgyzstan, 183–184
- laboratory experiments, 93–94, 266–267  
 Lamothe, Laurent, 112–113  
 Latin America. *See also specific states*  
   contagion effect and, 178–180  
   geographic distribution of gender quotas  
     in, 180  
   PEI, 112–113  
   populism in, 13  
   study data, evidence and research design  
     related to, 152–154  
     assessing recommendations contents,  
       153–154  
     comparative framework, 152–153  
   study results and analysis, 154–160  
     globalization and, 157–159  
     implementation rate of OAS  
       recommendations, 155–157, 158  
     implementation rate of recommendations  
       by country, 156–157  
     other factors, 159–160  
     recommendations addressing each cycle  
       stage, 154  
     recommendations likely to be adopted,  
       158, 160  
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 12  
 legal candidate quotas, 173–174  
 legal quotas, 164  
 Ley de Cupo Feminino, 177  
 Libya electoral assistance programs case, 60–61  
 Lipset, Seymour Martin, 171  
 Lipset thesis, 123, 171  
 List Proportional Representation, 127–128
- Maduro, Nicolás, 68–69  
 Mali  
   electoral assistance programs case, 61–62  
   UNDP and, 6–7  
 Mansfield, Edward D., 15–16, 261  
 Martelly, Michel, 112–113  
 Marzouki, Moncef, 113–114  
 May, Theresa, 163–164  
 McFaul, Michael, 263  
 MDGs. *See* Millennium Development Goals  
 media  
   accountability and oversight strengthening  
     and, 192  
   agencies engaged in assistance, 190  
   assistance programs, 189–201  
   capacity building, education, training  
     and, 192  
   chain-of-results framework for, 188  
   conclusions, 210–211, 271–272  
   consequences of journalistic roles for  
     electoral integrity, 207–210  
   development initiatives communication  
     and, 189  
   donors and, 190–191, 192–193  
   education impact on role orientations,  
     205–207  
   effectiveness of education related to,  
     199–200  
   evidence key findings, 210–211  
   evidence related to, 201–205  
   evolution of assistance for, 188  
   as fourth estate, 197–198  
   independent, 26–27  
   infrastructure investments and, 190  
   International Media Support, 192–193  
   journalism education and training programs,  
     193–195  
   journalistic roles and, 195–196  
   legal regulation and, 192  
   lessons learned, 271–272  
   monitoring, 192  
   neutral reporters and, 196–197  
   ODA spending and, 191–192  
   overview, 188–189  
   PEI and, 202–203, 205  
   press freedom and, 187–188  
   professional education and role  
     orientations, 208  
   public diplomacy and, 189–190  
   results of studies related to, 205–210  
   role orientations causes, 199–200  
   role orientations consequences, 200–201  
   societal impacts of role orientations, 206  
   as unofficial spokesmen for authorities,  
     198  
   watchdogs and, 197–198  
   WJS and, 202–203  
 Merkel, Angela, 163–164  
   on common values with US, 10–11  
 Mexico City, 167–168  
 Middle East  
   Afghanistan, 114–115  
   geographic distribution of gender quotas  
     in, 180  
   Iran, 115–116

## Index

373

- PEI, 113–118
- Syria, 116–118
- Milawi, UNDP and, 6–7
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 168
- minorities inclusive representation, 26
- Mitchell, Lincoln, 15, 263
- Morocco, 177–178
- Mugabe, Robert, 68–69
- multi-level hierarchical logistic models (HLM)
  - institutional arrangements and, 154
  - international linkages and, 154
  - OAS and, 153–154
  - REML and, 154
  - structural constraints and, 154
  - types of policy recommendations and, 153–154
- Myanmar, 35
  - PEI, 113
- Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, 167–168
- National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), 243–248
- National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA), 76–77
- National Progressive Front coalition, 116–118
- natural experiments, 93–94, 266–267
- natural resources, structural constraints and, 125
- NCSL. *See* National Conference of State Legislatures
- needs-assessment, 75–77
- neighborhood effects, 143
- NELDA. *See* National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy
- Netherlands, 13
- neutral reporters, 196–197
- New Zealand, 146
  - gender quotas and, 171–172
- NGOs. *See* non-governmental organizations
- Nieman Foundation for Journalism, 197–198
- Nigeria
  - electoral assistance programs case, 62
  - PEI, 121
  - UNDP and, 6–7
- Nkurunziza, Pierre, 119
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
  - domestic mobilization by women activists and, 170
  - electoral monitoring by, 139
  - international and national, 51
- normative values
  - critics addressed regarding, 264
  - electoral assistance programs and, 16–17
- North Africa. *See* Africa, North
- North America
  - Canada, 110–111
  - PEI and, 108–111
  - US, 108–110
- null-hypothesis, 265–266
- OAS. *See* Organization of American States
- Obama, Barack, 118–119
- Obama administration, 8–10
- observational data, 266–267
- observer, international and domestic, 59–60
- ODA. *See* Official Development Assistance
- ODIHR/OSCE. *See* Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
- OECD. *See* Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- OECD/DAC. *See* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR/OSCE)
  - election monitoring and, 136–138
  - final report recommendations of, 144–145
- Official Development Assistance (ODA)
  - devoted to democracy assistance, 67–68
  - donor countries and, 49–51
  - media and, 191–192
  - OECD/DAC monitoring, 51–54
- OHCHR. *See* UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
- online registration, 279–281
- Open Election Data Initiative, 141–142
- Open Society Institute, 141–142
- operational activities
  - evaluation and, 80–84
  - examples related to, 80–81
  - results-based management and, 81–84
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 53–54
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC), 51–54
- Organization for Security and Cooperation, 170



- Organization of American States (OAS), 24–25  
*Electoral Observation Mission Database*  
 and, 153–154  
 observation goals of, 144–145  
 study data, evidence and research design  
 related to, 152–154  
 assessing recommendations contents,  
 153–154  
 comparative framework, 152–153  
 HLM, 153–154  
 study results and analysis, 154–160  
 globalization and, 157–159  
 implementation rate of recommendations,  
 155–157, 158  
 implementation rate of recommendations  
 by country, 156–157  
 other factors, 159–160  
 recommendations addressing each cycle  
 stage, 154  
 recommendations likely to be adopted,  
 158, 160  
 watchdog expansion by, 136–138  
 organizational learning, 71
- Pacific PEI, 113  
 Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness, 67–68  
 Party for Freedom, 13  
 PEI. *See* Perceptions of Electoral Integrity  
 People's Revolutionary Democratic Front  
 (EPRDF), 118–119  
 Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI)  
 Afghanistan, 114–115  
 Africa, North, 113–114  
 Africa, Sub-Saharan, 118–121  
 Asia, 113  
 background and overview of, 95–96  
 Belarus, 111  
 Benin, 120–121  
 Burundi, 119  
 Canada, 110–111  
 conclusions, 129  
 consequences of journalistic roles for  
 electoral integrity and, 207–210  
 cultural bias and, 102  
 cycle stages and, 102, 121  
 Denmark, 105–108  
 diagnosing strengths and weaknesses, 105–121  
 as diagnostic tool, 76–77  
 economic development and, 124–125  
 electoral cycle and, 101  
 Estonia, 111–112  
 Ethiopia, 118–119  
 Europe, Central and Eastern, 111–112  
 Europe, Western, 105–108  
 evidence and, 96–105  
 expert judgment-based measures and, 96–97  
 experts defined, 98  
 fraud during balloting and at vote count stage  
 and, 140–141  
 Haiti, 112–113  
 international leverage and linkage and,  
 125–127  
 Iran, 115–116  
 Latin America, 112–113  
 media and, 202–203, 205  
 methods and, 96–105  
 Middle East, 113–118  
 models explaining expert, 252–253  
 multidimensional assessment and, 102–103  
 Myanmar, 113  
 Nigeria, 121  
 North America, 108–111  
 other data sets compared with, 97  
 other national assessments compared with,  
 103–105, 300  
 Pacific, 113  
 political finance regulations and, 228–229, 230  
 political institutions and, 127–128  
 press freedom and, 187–188  
 questions in survey, 99–101  
 range of countries studied, 103  
 range of parameters in data set of, 97–98  
 rolling survey and, 98–101  
 Scandinavia, 105–108  
 societal impacts, 206, 228–229, 230  
 societal impacts of journalist role  
 orientations, 206  
 strength of political finance disclosure  
 regulations and societal impacts, 229  
 structural constraints and, 123–125  
 Syria, 116–118  
 Tunisia, 113–114  
 UK, 108  
 US, 108–110, 237–238, 248–253  
 US states, 248–253  
 validity, reliability, and legitimacy tests,  
 103–105  
 Varieties of Democracy project and, 103–105  
 voter registration study and, 237–238,  
 242–243  
 performance, monitoring  
 focus of, 54–55  
 international and domestic observer and,  
 59–60

## Index

375

- Petrobras scandal, 212  
 Pew Trust  
   Election Performance Index of, 234  
   evaluation and, 93  
 policies, implementing  
   capacity building and technical assistance, 56–58  
   focus of, 54–55  
 political finance regulation  
   background of issues related to, 212  
   chain-of-results framework and, 213  
   classifying types of public policies, 216  
   conclusions, 232–233, 272–273  
   contribution limits, 220  
   correlation between laws and practices, 225–226  
   definitions related to, 215–216  
   degree of, 227  
   disclosure requirements, 216–219  
   historical background, 214  
   lessons learned, 272–273  
   overview, 213  
   PEI and, 228–229, 230  
   policy types, 214–224  
   problems prompting, 215  
   program outcomes evaluation, 224–226  
   societal impacts evaluation, 226–229  
   spending limits, 220–222  
   strategies, 214  
   type of *de jure* policies, 227  
   in US, 212  
 political institutions, PEI and, 127–128  
 populism  
   European states sliding into, 12–13  
   in Latin America, 13  
   parties representing, 260–261  
   rise of, 4–5, 260–261  
   Trump era and, 10–11  
   Western liberal democracies threatened by, 12–13  
 poverty, structural constraints  
   and, 123  
 power-sharing constitutions, 127–128  
 PR. *See* proportional representation  
 pragmatic argument  
   chain-of-results framework and, 19–20  
   critics addressed regarding, 264  
   electoral assistance programs and, 3–6, 16–22, 268–275  
   evidence summary, 268–275  
   evidence-based evaluation and, 21  
   Principe, UNDP and, 6–7  
   program goals  
     evaluation and, 77–80  
     specificity and, 79–80  
     treaties and, 77–78  
   proportional representation (PR), 127–128  
   provisional ballots, 279–281  
   Putin, Vladimir, 68–69, 125–127  
  
 quotas, defined, 173. *See also* gender quotas  
  
 randomized control trials, 267  
 randomized methods, 93–94  
 rational choice institutionalism theories, 149  
 Reagan, Ronald, 7–8  
 recommendations, impact of, 147–150  
 regional effects, 126–127  
 regional organizations, 268. *See also specific organizations*  
   conclusions about, 160–162, 269–270  
   electoral assistance and, 49, 136–152  
   final observer mission reports of, 144–145  
   as human rights advocates, 142–147  
   impact of recommendations of, 147–150  
   lessons learned, 269–270  
   neighborhood effects and, 143  
   overview, 136  
   as policy analysts catalyzing and reinforcing reforms, 144–147  
   study data, evidence and research design related to, 152–154  
     assessing recommendations contents, 153–154  
     comparative framework, 152–153  
     technical cooperation projects and, 145  
   as watchdogs, 136–142  
 registration under 18, 279–281  
 religion, gender quotas and, 172  
 REML. *See* restricted maximum likelihood techniques  
 reserved seats, 164, 173–174  
 restricted maximum likelihood techniques (REML), 154  
 results-based management, 81–84  
 Right to Information Act (RTI), 216–218  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 7–8  
 Rose Revolution, 125–127  
 Ross, Michael, 171  
 Rouhani, Hassan, 115–116  
 RTI. *See* Right to Information Act

- rules meeting international standards,
  - establishing
  - focus of, 54–55
  - reforming constitutional, legal, and regulatory frameworks, 55–56
  - UN declarations and, 56
- Russett, Bruce, 18–19
- Russia, 227, 260–261
- Sachs, Jeffrey, 266
- SADC. *See* Southern African Development Community
- sample ballots, 279–281
- Sao Tome, UNDP and, 6–7
- Scandinavia
  - Denmark, 105–108
  - PEI and, 105–108
- Scottish Nationalist Party, 146–147
- Sen, Amartya, 16–17, 264
- Snyder, Jack, 15–16, 261
- societal impacts
  - chain-of-results framework and, 226
  - long-term
    - claimed benefits related to, 88–89
    - evaluation and, 88–91
    - regime transitions and, 89–90
  - of media role orientations, 206
  - PEI and, 206, 228–229, 230
  - political finance regulation, 226–229
- soft power
  - electoral assistance programs and, 16, 35
  - forms of, 35
  - gender quotas and, 164–166
  - technical cooperation projects and, 145
- Southern African Development Community (SADC), 220
- spending limits, 220–222
- state-building
  - elections delayed in favor of, 90
  - priorities of, 91
  - regime transitions and, 90
- strategic threats and opportunities theory, 151–152
- structural constraints
  - economic development and, 124–125
  - explained, 122
  - natural resources and, 125
  - PEI and, 123–125
  - poverty and, 123
- structural controls, 276–278
- Sub-Saharan Africa. *See* Africa, Sub-Saharan
- subsidies, direct or indirect, 222–224
- Sustainable Development Goals, 168
- Sweden, 222–224
- SWOT matrix assessments
  - conclusions about, 268–269
  - evaluation and, 75–77
- Syria PEI, 116–118
- Talon, Patrice, 120–121
- technical cooperation projects, 145
- Tillerson, Rex, 11
- Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 46–47
- transitions, regime
  - autocracy and, 15–16
  - democracy promotion related to, 89–90
  - state-building and, 90
- transparency
  - accountability and, 219
  - disclosure requirements and, 216–219
  - electoral monitoring and, 141–142, 307
  - Open Society Institute and, 141–142
  - political parties and, 219
  - UNCAC and, 216–218
  - wide endorsement of, 218–219
- Trump, Donald
  - fraud claims by, 108–109
  - state-building and, 70–71
  - 2016 presidential elections and, 109, 235
- Trump administration
  - America first rhetoric of, 11
  - authoritarian leaders and, 10
  - foreign policy in, 10–11
  - Russia and, 260–261
  - Western liberal democracy threatened by, 12–13
- Tunisia
  - domestic mobilization by women activists and, 170
  - PEI, 113–114
- Uganda, 177–178
- UK. *See* United Kingdom
- UN. *See* United Nations
- UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 168
- UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 48–49
- UN Electoral Assistance Division (UNEAD)
  - as focal point of electoral assistance, 43–44
  - role of, 48
  - technical assistance and, 34
  - 2015 assistance by, 46

## Index

377

- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 48–49
- UN Millennium Development Declaration, 46–47, 290
- UNCAC. *See* United Nations Convention against Corruption
- UNDP. *See* United Nations Development Program
- UNED. *See* UN Electoral Assistance Division
- UNESCO. *See* UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- United Kingdom (UK)
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices (Prevention) Act and, 220–222
  - DFID, claimed benefits of, and, 88–89
  - DFID spending trends and, 51–54
  - minor electoral reform and, 146–147
  - PEI and, 108
- United Nations (UN)
- agencies and bureaus
    - electoral missions of, 46
    - “*Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Periodic and Genuine Elections*”, 46
  - goal of, 47
  - implementing electoral assistance programs, 45–49
  - overview of, 47
  - strengths of, 47
  - UN Millennium Development Declaration and, 46–47, 290
  - Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring*, 139
  - electoral assistance programs and, 262–263, 328
  - electoral monitoring and, 136
- United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), 77–78, 216–218
- United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
- activities of, 48
  - African states and, 6–7
  - claimed benefits of, 88–89
  - collaborations of, 48–49
  - Democratic Governance practice of, 259–260
  - domestic mobilization by women activists and, 170
  - goal of, 6–7
  - long-term effect of assistance from, 91–92
  - scale of, 67–68
  - spending trends and, 51–54, 291
- United States (US). *See also* voter registration and balloting
- America first rhetoric, 11
  - division over electoral processes in, 108–109
  - Economist Intelligence Democracy Index and, 12
  - elections as flawed in, 66–67
  - electoral problems occurring in, 109–110
  - FECA and, 220
  - foreign policy during Obama administration, 8–10
  - foreign policy in Trump era, 10–11
  - gender quotas and, 171–172
  - Merkel on common values with, 10–11
  - minor electoral reform and, 146–147
  - PEI and, 108–110, 237–238, 248–253
  - PEI survey of voter registration and, 237–238
  - political finance in, 212
  - 2014 midterm elections in, 234–235
  - 2016 presidential elections and, 109, 235
  - voter registration debate in, 235
  - voter registration vulnerabilities in, 234
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 16–17
- Article 21(3) of, 77–78
  - principles of, 55–56
  - will of people and, 47
  - women’s representation and, 167–168
- UNWomen, 48–49
- US. *See* United States
- US Agency for International Development (USAID), 34–35
- claimed benefits of, 88–89
  - effectiveness of media education and, 199–200
  - Kenya and, 86–87, 297
  - media assistance and, 192–193
  - positive results of, 266
  - spending trends and, 51–54
- van Borzyskowski, Inken, 43–44
- variables, 276–278
- Varieties of Democracy project, 39–42, 76–77
- PEI and, 103–105
- voluntary candidate quotas, 173–174
- voluntary quotas, 164
- vote by mail, 279–281
- voter ID, 279–281

- voter registration and balloting
  - American election vulnerabilities in, 234
  - convenience facilities and, 238–239, 323
  - convenience versus security, 28–29
  - debate in US surrounding, 235
  - electoral assistance programs and, 28–29
  - evidence available on, 241–242
  - fraud and, 240–241
  - implications of issues surrounding, 235–236
  - lessons learned, 273–274
  - loosening of procedures for, 238
  - opinion polls related to, 242
  - overly-lenient requirements in, 238
  - overly-strict procedures in, 238
  - study
    - CEL and, 236–237, 243–248
    - chain-of-results framework related to, 236–237
    - conceptual and theoretical framework, 237–241
    - conclusions, 253–255, 273–274
    - expert perceptions of electoral integrity, 248–253
    - expert respondents in, 243
    - models explaining expert perceptions of integrity, 252–253
    - overview, 236–237
    - PEI survey, 237–238, 242–243
    - research design, 241–248
    - state laws, classifying and measuring, 243–248
    - 2014 US midterm elections and, 234–235
    - 2016 US presidential elections and, 235
    - US and, 234–235, 237–238
- voting information pamphlets, 279–281
- watchdogs, 26–27
  - election monitoring, 136–142
  - media as, 197–198
  - OAS, 136–138
- Weaver, David H., 196
- Western Europe. *See* Europe, Western
- Wilders, Geert, 13
- Wilson, Woodrow, 7–8
- WJS. *See* Worlds of Journalism Survey
- Wolfensohn, James D., 214
- women's representation. *See also* gender quotas
  - Beijing target and, 163, 168
  - channels of aid in, 169
  - conclusions, 184–186, 270–271
  - controlling for local conditions, 169–172
  - conventions and protocols adopted for, 167–168
  - country coverage and time period, 174–175
  - cultural and religious values and, 172
  - decision-making positions and, 163–164
  - demand side of recruitment, 167–172
  - domestic advocacy groups and, 175–176
  - empowerment and, 270–271
  - factors contributing to rise of, 164
  - gender quota policies, typology of, and, 173–176
  - inclusive, 26
  - increase in, 163
  - international organizations role in, 167–169, 175
  - issues addressed related to, 164
  - legal quotas and, 164
  - lessons learned, 270–271
  - levels of democratization and, 171–172
  - organizations engaged in, 168–169
  - overview, 164–167
  - research design related to, 172–176
  - reserved seats and, 164
  - rules of game and, 167–172
  - socioeconomic conditions and, 171, 175–176
  - soft power approaches to, 164–166
  - state autonomy and, 169–170
  - success of gender quotas and, 183–184
  - supply side of recruitment, 167–172
  - theoretical framework related to, 167–172
  - voluntary quotas and, 164
- World Plan of Action in Mexico City, 167–168
- World Values Survey, 76–77
- Worlds of Journalism Survey (WJS)
  - consequences of journalistic roles for electoral integrity and, 208
  - described, 202–203
  - role orientations and, 202–203
  - societal impacts of journalist role orientations, 206
- Yayi, Thomas Boni, 120–121
- Zakaria, Fareed, 70–71
- Zinsou, Lionel, 120–121