The e-Parliament Election Index

A global survey on the quality of practices in parliamentary elections

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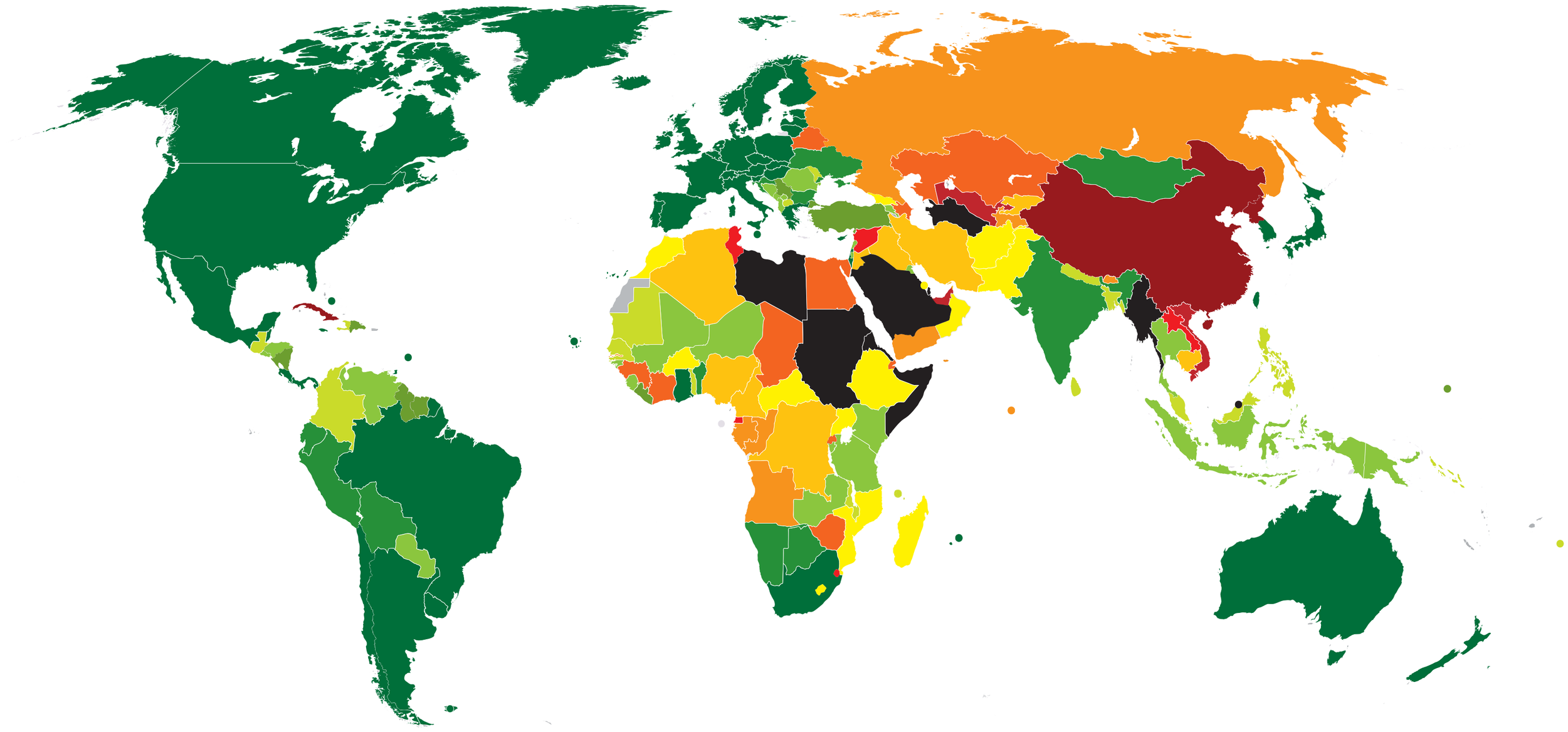

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

0-5 = closed or no electoral process 6-8 = restrictive electoral process 9-10 = mostly open electoral process 11-12 = open electoral process

This data was collected by Professor Steve Fish of Berkeley University in California. Only countries with populations of over 250,000 were evaluated

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the modern world, national legislatures are the primary nexus between the government and the governed. In some polities, they are what Max Weber said they should be: the "proper palaestra" of political struggle. In such places, the link between state and society is often robust. In other countries the legislature is a mere decoration, rendering the link between rulers and the ruled tenuous or nonexistent. Where parliaments are strong, there is at least some prospect for popular control over the rulers. Where they are weak, there is a high probability that relations between rulers and the ruled will take the form of domination rather than governance.

Where legislatures are strong, elections for them are momentous events. Where legislatures lack power, elections for them are of much less practical consequence. So great is the symbolic legitimacy of elected legislatures in the modern world that even dictators hold elections for them, and often furnish their members with fine buildings equipped with the trappings of power. In open political regimes, rulers fear the ruled and strive to please them prior to parliamentary elections. In dictatorships, rulers rig the elections to ensure that their own loyalists triumph. Either way, elections for parliaments are major events in modern politics. Power-holders prepare for elections by serving their constituents, manipulating the conduct of the elections, or some combination of two. Yet even the most grizzled dictators rarely forgo elections altogether; the perceived cost to the legitimacy of the regime is too great. Only a handful of countries still lack legislatures and periodic elections for their membership, and the number of such holdouts diminishes by the year.

Yet the openness of elections varies greatly. In some countries, contests are free and the results reflect the popular will. In others, rulers stage-manage elections and the results cannot be regarded as an expression of popular preferences. Many polities stand somewhere between these two poles. Their elections for legislatures present a mix of openness and closure, of assertion of the voters' will and manipulation by power-holders who fear the unobstructed expression of popular preferences.

This study assesses the openness of parliamentary elections around the world. It estimates the openness of the most recent election for the national legislature in every country in the world with a population of at least one quarter of a million inhabitants. It provides a basis for cross-national comparison that may be of use to scholars, parliamentarians, political activists, and political observers who are interested in parliaments and how they are chosen. It also furnishes a baseline against which to gauge the openness of future elections.

The Survey

The study assesses the openness of elections according to three criteria: A) freedom of candidate participation; B) fairness of voter registration, voting procedures, and vote count; and C) freedom of expression in electoral campaigns. Each item is scored from 0 (least open) to 4 (most open). Each country receives a score ranging from 0 to 4 on each criterion and an overall summary score ranging from 0 to 12, called the e-

Parliament Elections Index (EEI). The items for the index and the bases for scoring are as follows:

A. Freedom of Candidate Participation (scored 0-4)

> 4. Anyone can run for election and there are no substantial restrictions on standing as a candidate.
>
> 3. In principle anyone can run for election, but formal barriers such as challenging registration requirements or informal obstacles such as the threat of coercion or retribution may prevent some would-be candidates from seeking office.
>
> 2. There are substantial barriers to running for election; arbitrary disqualification, restrictive registration requirements, or intimidation may prevent many would-be candidates from competing for office.
>
> 1. Only a circumscribed body of candidates vetted, controlled, or confirmed by higher state authorities can run for office.
>
> 0. There is no legislature or there is a legislature but all of its members are appointed by an executive authority.

B. Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures, and Vote Count (scored 0-4)

> 4. Voter registration and voting procedures are fair and votes in elections are counted accurately; problems of fraud or technical difficulties rarely if ever arise.
>
> 3. Fair voter registration and voting procedures and accurate counting of ballots in elections are the norm, but fraudulent practices or technical difficulties sometimes arise and cast doubt on the accuracy of results.
>
> 2. Fraudulent practices or serious technical difficulties in voter registration, voting procedures, or the counting of ballots in elections are common, albeit not pervasive, and often cast doubt on the accuracy of the results.
>
> 1. Fraudulent practices or overwhelming technical difficulties in voter registration, voting procedures, or the counting of ballots in elections are the norm, and elections results cannot be regarded as a gauge of voters' intentions.
>
> 0. There is no legislature or there is a legislature but ordinary citizens cannot participate in the election of its members.

C. Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaigns (scored 0-4)

4. There are no consequential restrictions on political communication during campaigns.

3. There is considerable freedom of political communication during campaigns, but candidates or voters may sometimes have reason to believe that they cannot discuss a matter openly without fear of penalty, or some participants in the election encounter limitations on their ability to publicize their views.

2. There are substantial limitations on political communication during campaigns; some issues cannot be discussed openly by candidates or voters without fear of penalty, or some participants in the election encounter serious limitations on their ability to publicize their views.

1. There are severe limitations on political communication during campaigns; many issues cannot be discussed openly by candidates or voters without fear of penalty, or many participants in the election encounter severe limitations on their ability to publicize their views.

0. There is no legislature or there is a legislature but candidates are prohibited from campaigning or voters are forbidden to express their views.

Scores for each of these three criteria are summed to yield the EEI for each country. Countries' elections may be grouped into the following categories based on their EEI scores:

0-5 = closed or no electoral process
6-8 = restrictive electoral process
9-10 = mostly open electoral process
11-12 = open electoral process

The three following sections explicate each of the three major scoring areas.

Freedom of Candidate Participation

This item gauges citizens' freedom to stand for election to the legislature. If there are no major obstacles, the country receives a score of "4" on this item. Any substantial barriers to candidate participation make for a lower score. How much lower depends on the severity and pervasiveness of the obstacles.

Many factors may circumscribe freedom of participation in elections. They include formal requirements that exclude most citizens from running for office. In monoparty regimes, such as are found in China, Cuba, and North Korea, only candidates from a single party that controls the state apparatus are allowed to stand for parliament. Decisions about who may run are taken entirely from above and voters effectively have no choice. The ballots they see on election day feature a single candidate for each office. In other polities with highly restrictive rules, a nonelected executive body other than a

hegemonic party vets candidates and rejects at will those it regards as objectionable. In Iran, unelected clerical authorities determine whether or not candidates are adequately pious to stand for office. Were such an institution a mere formality, or were candidacies rejected only in the event of severe moral turpitude, Iran's score on this item would not necessarily be as low as it is. But the rule was abused in the 2008 parliamentary elections. It was invoked to reject the candidacies of hundreds of individuals whose political views did not appeal to the conservative clerics who made up the vetting council.

Single-party dictatorships as well as the clerical regime in Iran therefore receive a score of "1" for freedom of candidate participation. In Iran, voters enjoy somewhat greater choice than in the single-party dictatorships, but the filters through which candidates are screened are dense enough to merit a low score.

In extreme instances of closure, such as exist in Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan, even the pretense of competitive candidacies is absent and an executive body appoints all members of the parliamentary body. In such cases, the country receives a score of "0" for freedom of candidate participation, reflecting the absence of even a hypothetical right to self-determined candidate participation.

Single-party dictatorships such as China, clerical regimes such as Iran, no-party personalistic dictatorships such as Libya, and absolutist monarchies such as Saudi Arabia provide well-known examples of regimes in which freedom of candidate participation is highly restricted or nonexistent. A less well-known case is found in Bhutan, where candidates had to hold advanced degrees in order to stand for office in the 2008 parliamentary elections. Given the generally low level of educational attainment in the country, the requirement limited eligibility for office to less than five percent of the adult population.

Bans on pluralism may take the form of an elaborate ensemble of rules. In Kazakhstan, free candidate participation is virtually foreclosed by an unreasonably high minimum number of signatures needed to register one's party, a high minimum threshold rule for a party to gain representation in parliament, a prohibition on parties forming alliances or blocs, laws that prohibit parties from forming on the basis of ethnic origin, religion, or gender—all topped off by "national security" laws that leave opposition parties no room for maneuver. Unsurprisingly, despite the pretense of multiparty competition, the parliament elected in the most recent elections, held in 2007, is made up exclusively of members of the president's party.

Kazakhstan represents an especially clear case of a regime in which one finds a façade of pluralism but also a phalanx of rules that snuff out free candidate participation. Numerous other electoral systems do essentially the same thing, though some allow for token opposition participation. Tunisia and Equatorial Guinea provide examples. In these countries, some oppositionists are allowed to contest seats but are closely monitored by the authorities and extremely limited in number. These countries also receive a score of "1" for freedom of candidate participation. Pluralism of contestation is somewhat greater, but still restricted by the authorities, in Algeria, Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Russia, and Singapore, among other cases. In these countries opposition candidates are allowed to contest elections but are frequently subject to politically-motivated disqualification, restrictive registration requirements, or bullying by the state security services. In Azerbaijan's 2005 election, for example, a quarter of the candidates who originally registered subsequently withdrew from the race due to intimidation by the state security

services. These cases and others like them receive a "2" for freedom of candidate participation.

Bans on certain types of groups or parties may constrain freedom of candidate participation, although the bans may vary in the severity of their effects. In Kazakhstan, the ban on parties that are based on religion or ethnicity is accompanied by other rules and norms that rule out anyone who espouses Islamism in any form from running for office. In Mauritania's 2006 election, like in Kazakhstan's 2007 vote, Islamist parties were outlawed. In Mauritania, however, candidates who identified themselves with Islamism could run as independents, and some were elected. The ban on a type of party counts against Mauritania's score on freedom of candidate participation, but given the broader toleration of Islamist candidates, the party ban was not as weighty of a check on freedom as it was in Kazakhstan. The relatively greater degree of freedom is reflected in Mauritania's score of "3" on candidate participation.

Limitations on candidate participation may take idiosyncratic forms. In Oman, candidates are not subject to severe restrictions in the pre-electoral period, but *after* the election the sultan decides who among the elected actually gets to serve. This rule obviously may influence who is elected to begin with and who is able to serve in the Consultative Council, which functions as Oman's equivalent of a legislature.

Barriers to freedom of candidate participation are often imposed by the state, but the state is not the only possible source of obstacles. Violence due to civil upheaval, insurgencies, or gang warfare may create an atmosphere of intimidation that discourages people from running for office. The strife that plagued Nepal during the run-up to its 2008 Constituent Assembly election sowed fear that complicated candidate participation. Violence may even eliminate candidates during campaigns. In Guatemala, scores of candidates, activists, and their family members were slain in the run-up to the 2007 elections. In the Philippines, political violence claimed the lives of 121 people, including 37 politicians, in the six months prior to the 2007 Congressional elections. The threat of violence that was not necessarily instigated by state actors also weighed against free candidate participation in, for example, Bangladesh, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Russia, though the type, severity, and source of threats differed across cases.

A word is in order about matters that are *not* counted in assessments of the freedom of candidate participation. The extent of political parties' control over nominating procedures is not treated as a factor. In some countries, particularly those with systems of proportional representation (PR), parties control who can stand for office, and opportunities for individuals to stand as independent candidates may be slim or nonexistent. Such a condition may be seen as a barrier to freedom of candidate participation. But the predominance of party elites as gatekeepers in the nomination of candidates is a long-established practice in many open polities. It may be regarded as a normal aspect of organizing political competition. Many scholars even view strong party control over nominating procedures as a surer way of providing voters with clear, meaningful choices than rules that leave parties in a less commanding position. Provided that rulers do not manipulate party control over nominating procedures to preclude all but their own loyalists from standing for office, party sway over nomination is not considered a restriction on freedom of candidate participation.

Intraparty democracy is also not taken into account in scoring. Intraparty democracy may enhance the openness of candidate participation. But it is exceedingly difficult to assess and rate in cross-national perspective. Even within a given polity, parties may vary greatly in terms of the power of rank-and-file over party leaders' decisions regarding candidate selection. One major party might be controlled by a single leader, while another major party in the same country features substantial internal democracy. In this study, intraparty democracy is not taken into account as a basis for assessing freedom of candidate participation.

Finally, certain restrictions based upon past political activities are not necessarily treated as obstacles to freedom of candidate participation. In a small number of countries, individuals who were closely associated with an authoritarian past are disallowed from standing for office. In Latvia, the election law denies the right of candidacy to some former officials in the Soviet-era secret police apparatus. This law is applied to a small number of people and is not invoked arbitrarily. A rule of this type is obviously subject to abuse, however. It could be invoked to exclude candidates of certain programmatic inclinations. It was not so abused in Latvia's most recent parliamentary elections, so the country's score on freedom of candidate participation is not docked for this rule. Restricting candidacies on the basis of current political orientation rather than past affiliation with an authoritarian regime, however, does count against a country's score on freedom of candidate participation. Thus, disqualification of "extremist" candidates whose Islamist, socialist, liberal, or merely oppositional stance may offend power-holders does negatively affect scores on freedom of candidate participation.

Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures, and Vote Count

The second criterion for evaluating the openness of parliamentary elections concerns voter participation. It estimates how justly voters are treated and how accurately their votes are counted. Where voter registration and voting procedures are fair and votes are counted accurately, the election merits a score of "4." Flaws in one or more areas, whether due to intentional human interference or technical difficulties, are grounds for lower ratings.

In the most restrictive cases, there is no legislature or voters do not participate at all in the election of its members. Such conditions merit a score of "0." In countries with legislatures that are appointed by the executive authority, citizens have no direct say in the composition of legislature's membership. In some such cases, the parliament is not a legislature in the usual sense of the word, but rather a group that the executive—often a monarch—treats as a consultative body. Brunei, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, among other countries, have such regimes. In some countries with legislatures whose members are appointed, the legislature at least officially has real law-making functions and is not merely a consultative body. Sudan has such a system. Here, the appointment of the legislature by the president, which occurred in 2005, is not considered a permanent institution, but rather a transitional expedient that will be superseded in the future by open elections.

A score of "0" is also assigned for elections in which citizens formally participate but are invariably given a single "choice." Real choice means at least one alternative; no alternative means no choice. From the standpoint of democratic theory as well as

common sense, elections that offer voters no choice are not elections at all. Soviet-type systems provide exemplars. Some partially liberalized regimes of this type have experimented with multiple-candidate ballots. Thus, in Laos's 2006 contest, 175 candidates stood for 115 seats. Vietnam's 2007 elections presented a similar situation. Given the presence of a bit of choice for voters, Laos's and Vietnam's elections are given a score of "1" rather than "0."

A simple logic underlies assigning a score of "0" to cases in which the rulers, either by direct appointment or "nomination" of a single candidate, fully determine the composition of the legislature: Namely, there is no genuine popular participation and therefore no real public electorate. There are a handful of polities, however, where voters are offered choice but only a portion of the citizenry has the right to serve as the electorate. Such a situation used to be common. It long existed in Great Britain, where people who enjoyed advantages of property and birth could vote but other people could not. Apartheid-era South Africa presents another example. There, race rather than economic or family status determined one's qualification for membership in the electorate. In many of the world's old established democracies, female suffrage trailed male suffrage by decades or centuries.

Since the demise of the apartheid system in South Africa in 1994, circumscribed popular participation has become exceedingly rare. Even where the rulers decide in advance what "the people's" decision will be by offering them a ballot with a single "choice," everyone formally has the right to participate. An exceptional hold-out is the United Arab Emirates (UAE). In its 2006 elections, rulers chose a tiny portion of the citizenry—more precisely, 6689 of 825,000 citizens—to form a college to elect members of the Federal National Council. Given that the proportion of the citizenry enfranchised amounted to less than one percent of the national total, the UAE is assigned a score of "0." Rulers claim that this procedure represents the first phase in a process that will culminate in all citizens participating in the election of half the members of the legislature, while the other half will continue to be appointed by the monarchs. Such an expansion in the electorate will, if it occurs, provide a basis for a higher score than the one assigned for the 2006 election.

Most countries do have universal voting rights and an electorate that, at least formally, enjoys genuine choice. The bases for scoring these countries depend upon how well voters' preferences are actually translated into results. In some cases, problems with voter registration produce low or middling scores. For example, in Bangladesh's 2001 election, voter lists were the source of a great deal of justifiable contention. According to some observers, voter rolls were padded. The increase in names on voter rolls between the previous elections, held in 1996, and the 2001 contest substantially outstripped population growth in many constituencies. Padded voter rolls open possibilities for fraud, as nonexistent or "ghost" voters can be pressed into the service of power-holders. Dispute over the integrity of voter lists remains a bone of contention in Bangladesh. It underlay the deadlock and outbreak of violence in the run-up to the parliamentary elections that were planned for 2007. The elections were subsequently postponed multiple times and, as of this writing, still have not been held. In a particularly brazen example of voter-roll augmentation, the king of Bahrain enfranchised tens of thousands of non-citizen guest workers and Saudi Arabians who had never even lived in Bahrain on the eve of the 2006 parliamentary elections. This remarkable move had the effect of expanding the electorate

by roughly twenty percent. The king targeted for extraordinary enfranchisement Sunni Muslims who shared his family's tribal origins. He hoped to dilute support for the parties representing Shia Muslims, who make up a majority of citizens but have little share in political power. Padded voter rolls are a long-time favorite among rulers who seek to inflate vote totals for themselves and their allies. They reduce the integrity of elections in many polities.

Including nonexistent people or people who do not legally have the right to vote is one way of rigging registration. Another is excluding people who should be eligible. Excluding citizens from voting registries may be due to technical as well as man-made causes. In either case, the result is lack of fairness in the voting process. Opponents of the government of President Yoweri Museveni credibly charged the authorities with canceling the registration of many opposition supporters prior to Uganda's 2006 election. Similar problems arose in the Philippines in 2007, when many voters arrived at their polling places to find their names absent from the registry.

Over-registration and under-registration can happen simultaneously. Sometimes over-registration occurs in districts whose residents are thought to support the authorities and under-registration in strongholds of opposition. In some cases flaws in voter registration may arise from technical and organizational shortcomings rather than, or in addition to, human machinations. Malawi's 2004 election exhibited a bouquet of deficiencies that included both inflated and deflated voter registration figures. Initially, publication of registration information revealed inflation of voter rolls. But an attempt by a South African computer company prior to the election to clean up the rolls resulted in purging eligible voters and creating problems of voter identification as well. The measures caused confusion and delays in voting and substantial disenfranchisement.

Sometimes registration problems arise from people lacking papers that identify them as citizens who are qualified to vote. In Peru's 2006 elections, hundreds of thousands of citizens were effectively disenfranchised due to their lack of official identification papers. Problems of this type arose in Nepal in 2008 as well. In neither Peru nor Nepal was there strong evidence of a systematic effort to prevent people from voting. Most of the excluded citizens reside in remote rural areas. But malfunction in citizen identification posed technical barriers to participation that prevented either country's election from meriting top scores.

The quality of voting can be undermined by factors other than faulty registration. Some such problems may arise on election day. Shortcomings in voting procedures, such as shortages of ballots at polling places and the failure of polling stations to open and close at their properly scheduled times, may compromise the quality of balloting. Such problems were on lurid display in Angola's long-awaited 2008 election, the first in that country since 1992, as well as in Nigeria's 2007 election. Multiple voting, which often is made possible by shortcomings in voter identification, was also evident in Angola in 2008. It plagued Romania's 2004 election as well. Systematic efforts by participants to defy electoral rules by using temporary registrations and absentee ballots to vote in districts where they do not reside may also degrade voting procedures. This practice occurred in Bulgaria in 2005, when one of the major parties, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, organized a scheme of "voting tourism" in which supporters shifted their votes from regions where the party's strength was overwhelming and its victories ensured to regions where the contests were closer. The practice sullied an otherwise satisfactory

situation in terms of voting procedures in Bulgaria. Stuffing ballot boxes or removing and destroying marked ballots represent yet another way of undermining the integrity of the vote. This practice was highly visible and widespread in Nigeria's 2007 elections. Deploying military personnel inside polling places, if those personnel are widely viewed by voters as close to a particular political force (usually the ruling party), can also hinder the fairness of the voting process. It may cast a pall of intimidation over the vote. Such problems arose in Bangladesh in 2001 and Uganda in 2006, among other cases.

Occasionally, restrictions on voters' participation are due to inhibitions on movement or access to the polls imposed by an external power. Thus, despite the generally fair vote in the Palestine Territories' 2006 election, the inability of many Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem to participate, despite their legal right to do so, prevents the election from receiving a score of "4" on the criterion under discussion. Israeli obstruction of Palestinians' movement and ability to access ballots prevented many of the 120,000 eligible voters who reside in East Jerusalem from participating.

The accuracy of results in elections depends not only on what happens during the run-up to the election and at the polling places. It also hinges on vote tabulation. Stalin's dictum that "It doesn't matter who votes, it matters who counts the votes" stands as one of his most politically incisive statements. It is still vitally relevant to electoral practice. Leaders of nondemocratic regimes in the lands of the former USSR, including Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, and the five Central Asian republics are certainly cognizant of the veracity of the former Soviet dictator's statement. Accordingly, they maintain strict control over the electoral commissions that oversee vote counts. Fraud in vote tabulation is common in these countries. Dictators in Egypt, Syria, and Equatorial Guinea, among other countries, rely upon control over vote-counting to ensure the persistence of overwhelming majorities in parliament, despite the unpopularity of the leaders and the parties themselves. In Zimbabwe's 2008 parliamentary election, the transparency of popular support for the opposition was so great that the president, Robert Mugabe, found it impossible to mask that his opponents had triumphed in many constituencies. Through manipulation of the vote count—which dragged on for weeks with no explanation from the electoral authorities—Mugabe nevertheless fabricated an official outcome in which his supporters captured half of the seats. Had votes been counted accurately, oppositionists may well have captured two-thirds of all seats.

Zimbabwe shows that a strong showing by the opposition does not in itself demonstrate the absence of fraud. A similar dynamic was visible in Malaysia in 2008, when the opposition posted its best-ever showing and shook up an entrenched system of single-party domination. But in a contest free from manipulation in registration, procedures, and vote count, the opposition might have fared even better than it did. The degree of fraud in Malaysia was probably much lower than in Zimbabwe, which is reflected in Malaysia's higher score on this item. But both cases illustrate the broader point: A good (or better-than-expected) showing by the opposition might be a sign of some degree of openness, but does not a clean election make.

Detecting fraud in vote tabulation poses an especially challenging job for election observers. Ballot-box stuffing may be visible to the naked eye in polling places. The tabulation of votes, often done on computers by technically proficient specialists, may be much harder to detect. Several practices and circumstances, however, may be considered red flags.

One red flag is bodies that organize and oversee the vote and the tabulation process (often called electoral commissions) that are controlled by officials from the ruling party or power. Such a situation is found in, among other polities, Russia and Tajikistan. Another is electoral commissions that the public widely regards as corrupt and incompetent. This condition is found in the Philippines. Electoral commissions that are partisan but that include a fair balance of representatives of rival forces are far superior to those controlled by a single political force. Electoral commissions that are nonpartisan and appointed by political authorities from a wide range of political forces are optimal and pose the best guard against fraud, especially at the stage of vote tabulation.

Another red flag is the failure to follow a practice of publishing detailed final results. Where there is nothing to hide, electoral commissions typically publish the numbers on voting results by district, sometimes down to the polling place. Even when there is something to hide, electoral commissions sometimes manage to manufacture results that are publicly presentable and publish them. When the electoral authorities do not publish results beyond simply announcing the winners, as in the Philippines' election for the House of Representatives in 2007, one may suspect that there is something to hide—usually fraud or, at best, uncertainty on the part of the electoral authorities themselves of the results (which is scarcely more reassuring).

The exclusion of election observers, foreign or domestic, from the vote-counting process, is another cause for concern. Election officials who have nothing to hide normally try to hide nothing. They welcome observation. The same holds for observation at polling places as well as sites of vote tabulation.

A fourth bad sign is the absence of a reliable, nonpartisan avenue for redress of allegations of fraud after the elections. Electoral commissions or judicial bodies that fairly and competently adjudicate appeals and complaints are a sign of good electoral hygiene; the absence of such bodies is not. The observers from the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly noted in their report on Georgia's 2008 parliamentary election: "The election administration in general failed to exercise its broad authority to investigate and address campaign violations on its own initiative. In addition, election commissions and the courts generally did not give due consideration to complaints and appeals, with an apparent bias in favour of the ruling parties and public officials. In some cases they refused to hear relevant witnesses or take note of evidence, applied questionable interpretation of the law or failed to provide legal reasoning for their decisions. The CEC [Central Electoral Commission] did not discuss and analyze complaints in a systematic and legalistic manner, and in general did not adopt legal reasoning for its decisions" (Parliamentary Assembly, "Observation of the Parliamentary Elections in Georgia, 21 May 2008," p. 5; online at http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc08/EDOC11651.pdf). This description provides a portrait of the type of postelectoral administration that sheds a long retrospective shadow of doubt on the fairness of what occurred on election day.

Not all matters that reflect or affect electoral hygiene are taken into account in the current study. Vote-buying, for example, is not assessed here. Most reporting of it takes the form of allegations that are exceedingly difficult to verify. What is more, vote-buying is not only difficult to observe; it is also very hard to define. Handing cash to voters in return for their promise of support is an obvious case of vote-buying. But even here we encounter problems of assessment. Knowing whether voters actually honored their

promises to deliver votes is impossible, unless the buyer of votes stands next to the recipient of payment and watches him or her cast his or her vote or physically intervenes and fills in the voter's ballot. Such extreme situations can and do arise, but detecting when, where, and to what extent is beyond the scope of this study. And how to assess election-eve promises of funding and public works projects that candidates habitually make, even in advanced industrialized countries with long-standing democratic regimes? Are these not just more "modern" methods of "vote-buying"? Vote-buying broadly defined is nearly universal in contemporary politics. The present report does not attempt to measure vote-buying or to take it closely into account in scoring.

Finally, it merits note that allegations of fraud in voter registration, voting procedures, or vote count are by no means treated uncritically in the present report. Losers in elections frequently cry fraud. Allegations of fraud are a sign that it might have taken place but are not, by themselves, sound evidence. Sometimes losers may even stage violent demonstrations without good cause. In Mongolia's 2008 parliamentary contest, for example, the losing party, led by a former prime minister, responded to a disappointing showing by alleging massive fraud and inciting violence that led to loss of life and colossal destruction of property. Voting procedures in Mongolia were not perfect, and shortcomings are reflected in the less-than-stellar score of "3" that it receives on this item. But observers overwhelmingly rejected the charges of extensive and decisive rigging that the losers alleged. They regarded the vote as essentially sound and consistent with the practices Mongolia has adhered to since its democratization at the beginning of the 1990s. In sum, post-electoral protests may or may not be justified. They are not by themselves treated as reliable evidence of fraud.

Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaigns

The third aspect of electoral practice assessed in this study is the extent of freedom of expression in the run-up to the election. The openness of political communication is the issue of concern here. If there are no consequential restrictions on political communication during campaigns, the election receives a score of "4." Anything that substantially compromises freedom of expression—by candidates, voters, or the media through which they express themselves—is treated as grounds for a lower score.

In extreme cases, voters and/or candidates cannot engage in any real exchange of views and little or no campaigning takes place. These conditions merit a score of "0." Uzbekistan provides an example. Restrictions on political communication were extremely onerous. Candidates were essentially forbidden to engage in any give-and-take with one another in the highly-orchestrated fora that officials concocted for "debates" before groups of (hand-picked) voters. Other places in which restrictions on speech were comprehensive, such as Turkmenistan and North Korea, also receive the lowest rating.

In most countries, candidates and voters labored under less weighty strictures on communication. Ratings depend on the extensiveness and severity of barriers.

One factor that affects scores is the severity of rules and norms against criticizing public officials. Bans on criticizing the chief executive and his or her family present an obvious—and common—example of a limitation on communicative freedoms. Whether the prohibition is formally encoded in law or an informal norm that is "understood" by candidates and voters, it may remove from public discourse a great deal of what matters

most in the electoral contest. How strongly the prohibition affects a country's score depends on how severe the restrictions and the penalties for transgression are and how powerful the leaders who stand beyond the threat of censure are. Where a candidate or voter risks his or her own physical security or freedom if he or she offers even mild or oblique criticism of those in power, a low score on this item is justified. Such conditions prevail in many harsh dictatorships. Where challenging top leaders involves less grave but still consequential risks, a middling but not minimal score may be in order. For example, in Singapore candidates may criticize top leaders without fear of violence or imprisonment. But critics are sure to encounter lawsuits for defamation, and under Singapore's peculiar "rule-of-law" regime, high officials often win settlements that bankrupt their detractors. This more "modern" method of controlling criticism chills public debate and prevents Singapore's election from receiving a high score for freedom of expression. Still, some brave souls who are undaunted by the threat of impecuniousness can and do challenge power-holders publicly. Their voices are not hushed by the threat of torture or death, as they are in, for example, Cambodia, Tunisia, Vietnam or Zimbabwe, all of which receive scores of "0" or "1" for freedom of expression. Singapore's score of "2" reflects conditions that are censorious but not as harsh, and therefore not necessarily as stifling, as under some other authoritarian regimes.

Some polities that forbid criticism of the top leaders are monarchies. Many of them have strict *lèse majesté* laws that guard the dignity of the sovereign. How consequential these rules are for parliamentary elections depends in part on how strictly they are enforced. In Kuwait, candidates can get away with oblique (but to voters, often obvious) references to what they regard as shortcomings in the monarch's approach to this or that policy matter. In Bahrain and Morocco sovereigns are more prickly and less likely to indulge anything that smacks of challenge to their judgment. In Swaziland, the king is more intolerant still. Such differences are reflected in countries' scores.

But the importance of the party that is beyond critique is also significant for scoring. In all of the above-mentioned monarchies, the kings rule; they do not merely reign. Thus, *lèse majesté* laws place a great deal of what is important in political life beyond the realm of debate. In Thailand, however, where *lèse majesté* laws are also stringent, the king is less powerful. Thus, the requirement that candidates steer clear of criticizing him is of less consequence for the substance of debate in parliamentary elections than it is in, say, Morocco, where the royal palace has more sway over policy.

Limitations on press freedoms obviously impede the free flow of political communication and count against scores on freedom of expression in electoral campaigns. The breadth and importance of the areas excluded from public debate is crucial in assigning scores. If limits on press freedoms cover only a single issue or a handful of issues, if expression on that issue or those issues is not crucial to free discussion of what matters most to voters, and if the restriction is not abused by power-holders to stifle debate in other areas, countries are generally not penalized. Some countries have laws that forbid the incitement of racial, ethnic, or religious hatred. Where such laws are invoked to throttle public conversation on broader political matters, communicative freedoms are infringed. Where there is no such abuse, the laws normally do not seriously compromise freedom of expression.

Freedom of expression is intimately tied to freedom of association and movement. A great deal of political expression may occur at rallies, demonstrations, and face-to-face

meetings between candidates and voters. Limitations on these freedoms can be as consequential as press censorship. Restrictions on peaceful demonstrations of support for candidates, parties, or causes during campaigns therefore count against a country's score. Restrictions on rights to establish offices may also prevent candidates from getting their messages out to voters and therefore also provide grounds for lower scores. For example, in Mozambique's 2004 elections, in some districts opposition parties encountered extreme difficulties setting up offices and were subject to threats and violent attacks.

Violence against journalists and candidates who express a certain point of view is treated here as a limitation on freedom of expression as well. Such violence is often carried out by agents of the state, but sometimes the threat comes from nonstate sources. In some rural areas of Nepal, in the run-up to the 2008 vote, the specter of violence by Maoist insurgents restricted the flow of political communication and impeded freedom of expression by candidates and voters. Whatever the source of violence during electoral campaigns, countries' scores on freedom of expression are reduced as the threat of violence as retribution for expressing a certain viewpoint rises. The arrest of candidates during the campaign obviously also inhibits political communication. In Azerbaijan, opposition leaders were arrested on the eve of balloting in 2005 for criticizing government policy. In Egypt's 2005 elections, the threat of arrest also hung over opposition candidates and impeded their ability to communicate freely with voters.

Bias in the public media can affect scores, but the bar for what constitutes an infringement on freedom of expression is high here. If voters have access to multiple sources of information, even partiality in state-owned media is not considered an obstacle to candidates' ability to publicize their views. Only when the state controls most or all of what voters see and hear is bias considered grounds for a lower score. Thus, in Botswana's otherwise open parliamentary election of 2004, the governing party enjoyed limitless access to the radio, print, and television sources that the vast majority of voters relied upon for information, while the opposition was cut out. Given the extent of the slant in the media to which most voters had access, Botswana receives a less-than-top score on this item. Yet since there was no substantial censorship and oppositionists had little to fear in the event that they could manage to get their message out, Botswana's score is still not low; it receives a score of "3." Only where media bias is reinforced by a threat of punishment for airing certain views or substantial other limitations on expression are scores lower than "3" assigned for this item.

Certain barriers that are virtually universal, very hard to measure and observe, or "soft" in nature are not taken into account in scoring freedom of expression. Virtually everywhere, small parties and poorly-known candidates complain, often with good reason, that they cannot attract the media attention they feel they deserve. In many polities, moreover, the costs of running a campaign are steep and a shortage of material or organizational resources prevents some candidates from projecting their messages as extensively as they would like. While wide-ranging media coverage of candidates and low material constraints on publicity during campaigns are laudable ends that may enrich political communication and boost voters' knowledge about candidates, deficiencies in these qualities are not considered grounds for a reduction in scores.

Remarks on the Conduct of the Survey

This study was carried out in the late summer and fall of 2008 and reflects the state of knowledge at that time. It covers elections held through September of 2008.

Securing reliable information on all countries of the world for the three criteria that constitute the items of the survey was challenging. The author relied upon two sources. The first were publications on the elections and particularly the reports of election observers. Especially helpful were reports of observer missions from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and the Carter Center. Reports from the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa and the online databases and reports of the Inter-parliamentary Union, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Freedom House provided valuable information as well. The author also tapped various press sources and secondary materials.

The second main source of information was the distinguished expert consultants who kindly extended their help. The author enlisted over two-score specialists with intimate country and regional knowledge. He mailed the items for the index and the bases for scoring to these specialists and asked them for their assessments of particular countries and regions. In some cases, the experts were consulted in person. In order to enhance the objectivity of assessments, the author relied upon academic experts and officials from NGOs. No government officials, members of legislatures, parliamentary staffers, party officials, or anyone else who might have a personal or political interest in the scores was consulted.

Although the author gathered invaluable information, incisive observations, and deep insights from the experts, all shortcomings in the present report are the responsibility of the author alone. In no case does the appearance of an expert's name necessarily mean that the expert concurred with any specific scores presented here. Experts were not always in agreement, and the author always relied upon the full range of available sources in determining scores. The final decisions on the scores were exclusively the author's, and he bears sole responsibility for the content of this report.

Reflections on the Aim, Scope, and Limitations of the Study

The scores aim to reflect actual conditions on the ground at the time of the elections, not just the intentions of the authorities. Usually the intentions of the authorities, for good or ill, deeply affect the actual state of play and therefore shape the scores. But sometimes factors beyond the reach of public officials influence elections, and they are taken into account in scoring. Thus, as mentioned in the discussion of scoring criteria above, insurgencies and other conflicts, technical problems, and other factors that may be beyond the control of the authorities affect scores if they shaped the atmosphere in which elections were held and the accuracy with which the results reflected the will of the voters.

The scope of the study is limited to the openness of the most recent elections for legislatures. The ratings measure this and nothing else. The openness of presidential, local, provincial, past parliamentary, or any other elections is not under consideration here. In some countries that had general elections, the openness of the presidential and legislative elections diverged. For example, in Kenya in 2007, the presidential election was marred by substantial—and probably decisive—fraud, while balloting for parliament

was cleaner. One reason why the parliamentary election might have been cleaner was that so much less was at stake, and power-holders therefore paid less attention to rigging it. The Kenyan parliament is weaker than the presidency, so the outcome of the parliamentary elections was the object of less interest.

The strength of the legislature is another factor that is not assessed here. A high score signifies an open election, but not necessarily a strong parliament. Indeed, some elections that had elements of openness were for toothless assemblies, as in Oman. Similarly, the legislature in Mali, while more puissant than that in Oman, is far less powerful than the president, and elections for parliament in 2007 had pronounced elements of openness. Dirty elections are, of course, also possible for legislatures that matter. The Nigerian legislature is a substantial political actor, and elections for that body in 2007 were marred by massive fraud.

The rights of noncitizens are not taken into account in assessments. In most countries, noncitizens are a small fraction of all residents, and their lack of right to stand for office or vote is not a weighty or controversial issue. In a small number of countries, noncitizens make up a large portion of the population. In Latvia and Estonia, they compose substantial minorities, with Russian-speakers who have not met the requirements for citizenship effectively excluded from the franchise. In Latvia, for example, 18 percent of inhabitants have not obtained Latvian or any other citizenship since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In some small states in the Persian Gulf such as the UAE and Kuwait, noncitizens compose a majority of the population. Noncitizens are mostly guest workers in the oil industry and related sectors. Some are citizens of other countries and have voting rights there; others are effectively stateless. Their rights, or the lack thereof, pose a thorny set of issues. Those issues cannot be dealt with in this survey. Here, the legal rights of noncitizens in elections are not considered; only the conditions of citizens are taken into account.

The scores presented here are, of course, mere estimates, and lumpy ones at that. Some experts suggested assigning a score of "1.5" rather than "2" or "1" for this or that criterion in a given country's election. Alas, in order to enhance the clarity and simplicity of the data, all scores are offered as whole numbers, although in many cases, this or that election teetered between two numbers. Judgment calls had to be made; indeed, all the scores are the product of judgment calls.

Making such calls was especially difficult in some cases. What if the threat of violence or heavy-handed officials blocked voters' access to the polls in one part or some parts of the country but not others? Such a situation arose in Macedonia in 2008 and India in 2007, to name two cases. Should these countries' scores on fairness of voter registration, voting procedures, and vote count be much lower than they would be in the absence of such obstacles? Clearly, if such problems were localized, they are grounds for less of a reduction in score than if they were national in scope. Such problems should affect scores only if they influenced a substantial portion of voters. But how substantial is substantial? Here difficult judgment calls are in order. In Macedonia, voting throughout predominantly ethnic Albanian areas, which account for nearly one-third of the country, was judged by observers to have been severely hindered by intentional efforts at sabotage and by threats of violence. In India, several swaths of territory suffered from insurgencies or terrorist threats that could deter voters. The Naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh, the Maoist movement in Bihar, and the ongoing conflict in Kashmir posed challenges to fair

voting procedures. Yet for the vast majority of voters even in these provinces (or at least in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar), the insurgencies did not inhibit participation, and on the broader national level, such threats did not make a large dent in voters' opportunities to participate. Thus, in Albania, a fairly large chunk of eligible voters was under duress at election time; in India, a smaller proportion was affected. These assessments are reflected in the countries' scores.

Similarly, in Nepal's 2008 election, an astute consultant stated that freedom of expression in the election campaign would warrant a score of "4" in Kathmandu and Pokhara, as there were few restrictions and political information flowed freely, but in rural areas, such as Terai and hinterlands controlled by Maoist insurgencies, a score as low as "1" would be in order. Making use of such information, the author had to assign a score for the country as a whole. Obviously, doing so was no simple matter.

It merits note, moreover, that in a study such as the present one, everything is relative. No country really deserves a score of "4" for any of the three items assessed here. In no country can anyone who wants to run for office do so, are all the votes counted perfectly, and are there no barriers to communication. But electoral conditions in some countries were, relatively speaking, very open, and those countries receive high scores. A score of "4" for a given criterion does not signify perfection, but rather excellence relative to other countries. No one is perfect, and everything is relative.

The universe of comparison used for scoring is the whole world, not groups of countries distinguished by region, levels of economic development, experience with democratic elections, or any other criteria. Thus, the author cut developing countries with little experience in free elections no slack; the same criteria applied to Namibia, Nepal, the Netherlands, and Nigeria alike. Indeed, the author endeavored *not* to "control for" trying circumstances that might arise out of material scarcity or lack of experience with democratic procedures. To the extent that technical difficulties that complicate the vote are less likely to arise in more developed countries, the latter may enjoy an advantage that shows up in scores on fairness of voter registration, voting procedures, and vote count. Yet the author also tried to avoid imposing a rigid Western conception on what constitutes fairness. Canadians or Germans might consider having to wait in line for hours to vote a serious imposition and a major technical glitch that would compromise the fairness of voting procedures. Liberians and Mozambicans may be less likely to hold such a view. Observers' reports on elections such as the author relied upon are usually savvy about such matters. The reports do not, for example, usually treat long lines at polling stations, unless artificially engineered to deter voters of a certain political persuasion, as a barrier to fair voting procedures. Where they occur, long lines and delays are often noted but are not usually considered violations. In the present study, the author followed the norm established by astute election observers of not treating such inconveniences as violations that merit lower scores.

Acknowledgments

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COUNTRY RATINGS

AFGHANISTAN (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE AFGHANISTAN	*7*

ALBANIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ALBANIA	*9*

ALGERIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE ALGERIA:	*6*

ANGOLA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE ANGOLA	*5*

ARGENTINA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ARGENTINA	*12*

ARMENIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE ARMENIA	*9*

AUSTRALIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE AUSTRALIA	*12*

AUSTRIA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE AUSTRIA	*12*

AZERBAIJAN (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1

EEI SCORE AZERBAIJAN	*4*

BAHAMAS (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BAHAMAS	*12*

BAHRAIN (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE BAHRAIN	*7*

BANGLADESH (2001)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE BANGLADESH	*8*

BARBADOS (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BARBADOS	*12*

BELARUS (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE BELARUS	*4*

BELGIUM (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BELGIUM	*12*

BELIZE (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BELIZE	*12*

BENIN (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BENIN	*11*

BHUTAN (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE BHUTAN	*5*

BOLIVIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BOLIVIA	*11*

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	*9*

BOTSWANA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE BOTSWANA	*11*

BRAZIL (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BRAZIL	*12*

BRUNEI

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0

Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE BRUNEI	*0*

BULGARIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE BULGARIA	*11*

BURKINA FASO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE BURKINA FASO	*7*

BURUNDI (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE BURUNDI	*9*

CAMBODIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE CAMBODIA	*6*

CAMEROON (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE CAMEROON	*6*

CANADA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE CANADA	*12*

CAPE VERDE (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE CAPE VERDE	*12*

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	*7*

CHAD (2002)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1

Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE CHAD	*4*

CHILE (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE CHILE	*12*

CHINA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE CHINA	*1*

COLOMBIA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE COLOMBIA	*8*

COMOROS (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE COMOROS	*8*

CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE (REPUBLIC OF CONGO) (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE	*5*

CONGO-KINSHASA (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO) (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE CONGO-KINSHASA	*6*

COSTA RICA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE COSTA RICA	*12*

CÔTE D'IVOIRE (2000)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE CÔTE D'IVOIRE	*4*

CROATIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3

EEI SCORE CROATIA *11*

CUBA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0

EEI SCORE CUBA *1*

CYPRUS (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE CYPRUS *12*

CZECH REPUBLIC (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE CZECH REPUBLIC *12*

DENMARK (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE DENMARK *12*

DJIBOUTI (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE DJIBOUTI	*4*

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	*10*

ECUADOR (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ECUADOR	*11*

EGYPT (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE EGYPT	*4*

EL SALVADOR (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE EL SALVADOR	*9*

EQUATORIAL GUINEA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE EQUATORIAL GUINEA	*3*

ERITREA (NO ELECTIONS SINCE 1994)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE ERITREA	*0*

ESTONIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ESTONIA	*12*

ETHIOPIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE ETHIOPIA	*7*

FIJI (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE FIJI	*8*

FINLAND (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE FINLAND	*12*

FRANCE (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE FRANCE	*12*

GABON (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE GABON	*5*

THE GAMBIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE THE GAMBIA	*5*

GEORGIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE GEORGIA	*7*

GERMANY (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE GERMANY	*12*

GHANA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE GHANA	*12*

GREECE (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE GREECE	*12*

GUATEMALA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3

Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE GUATEMALA	*8*

GUINEA (2002)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE GUINEA	*4*

GUINEA-BISSAU (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE GUINEA-BISSAU	*9*

GUYANA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE GUYANA	*10*

HAITI (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE HAITI	*8*

HONDURAS (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE HONDURAS	*9*

HUNGARY (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE HUNGARY	*12*

ICELAND (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ICELAND	*12*

INDIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE INDIA	*11*

INDONESIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3

EEI SCORE INDONESIA	*9*

IRAN (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE IRAN	*6*

IRAQ (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE IRAQ	*6*

IRELAND (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE IRELAND	*12*

ISRAEL (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE	*12*

ITALY (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE ITALY	*12*

JAMAICA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE JAMAICA	*12*

JAPAN (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE JAPAN	*12*

JORDAN (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE JORDAN	*6*

KAZAKHSTAN (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE KAZAKHSTAN	*4*

KENYA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE KENYA	*9*

KOREA, NORTH (DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF) (2003)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE NORTH KOREA	*1*

KOREA, SOUTH (REPUBLIC OF KOREA) (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SOUTH KOREA	*12*

KOSOVO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE KOSOVO	*9*

KUWAIT (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3

Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE KUWAIT	*9*

KYRGYZSTAN (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE KYRGYZSTAN	*6*

LAOS (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE LAOS	*3*

LATVIA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE LATVIA	*12*

LEBANON (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE LEBANON	*9*

LESOTHO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE LESOTHO	*7*

LIBERIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE LIBERIA	*10*

LIBYA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE LIBYA	*0*

LITHUANIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE LITHUANIA	*12*

LUXEMBOURG (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE LUXEMBOURG *12*

MACEDONIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE MACEDONIA	*8*

MADAGASCAR (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE MADAGASCAR	*7*

MALAWI (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE MALAWI	*8*

MALAYSIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE MALAYSIA	*8*

MALDIVES (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE MALDIVES	*5*

MALI (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE MALI	*9*

MALTA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE MALTA	*12*

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Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE MARSHALL ISLANDS	*10*

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Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
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Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE MAURITANIA	*8*

MAURITIUS (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE MAURITIUS	*12*

MEXICO (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
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MOLDOVA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE MOLDOVA	*8*

MONGOLIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE MONGOLIA	*11*

MONTENEGRO (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
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Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE MONTENEGRO	*9*

MOROCCO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE MOROCCO	*7*

MOZAMBIQUE (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE MOZAMBIQUE	*7*

MYANMAR (NO ELECTIONS SINCE 1990)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE MYANMAR	*0*

NAMIBIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE NAMIBIA	*11*

NEPAL (2008)*

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE NEPAL	*8*

NETHERLANDS (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE NETHERLANDS	*12*

NEW ZEALAND (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE NEW ZEALAND	*12*

NICARAGUA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE NICARAGUA	*10*

NIGER (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3

EEI SCORE NIGER	*9*

NIGERIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE NIGERIA	*6*

NORWAY (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE NORWAY	*12*

OMAN (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE OMAN	*7*

PAKISTAN (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE PAKISTAN	*7*

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES	*9*

PANAMA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE PANAMA	*12*

PAPUA NEW GUINEA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE PAPUA NEW GUINEA	*9*

PARAGUAY (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE PARAGUAY	*9*

PERU (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE PERU	*11*

PHILIPPINES (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE PHILIPPINES	*8*

POLAND (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE POLAND	*12*

PORTUGAL (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE PORTUGAL	*12*

QATAR (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE QATAR	*0*

ROMANIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4

Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE ROMANIA	*9*

RUSSIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE RUSSIA	*5*

RWANDA (2003)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE RWANDA	*4*

SAUDI ARABIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE SAUDI ARABIA	*0*

SENEGAL (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE SENEGAL	*8*

SERBIA (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SERBIA	*10*

SIERRA LEONE (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE SIERRA LEONE	*9*

SINGAPORE (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE SINGAPORE	*7*

SLOVAKIA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SLOVAKIA	*12*

SLOVENIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE SLOVENIA	*12*

SOLOMON ISLANDS (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE SOLOMON ISLANDS	*8*

SOMALIA (2004)**

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE SOMALIA	*0*

SOUTH AFRICA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SOUTH AFRICA	*12*

SPAIN (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SPAIN	*12*

SRI LANKA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE SRI LANKA	*8*

SUDAN (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE SUDAN	*0*

SURINAME (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE SURINAME	*10*

SWAZILAND (2003)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE SWAZILAND	*3*

SWEDEN (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SWEDEN	*12*

SWITZERLAND (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE SWITZERLAND	*12*

SYRIA (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE SYRIA	*3*

TAIWAN (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE TAIWAN	*12*

TAJIKISTAN (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE TAJIKISTAN	*5*

TANZANIA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3

Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE TANZANIA	*9*

THAILAND (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE THAILAND	*9*

TIMOR-LESTE (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE TIMOR-LESTE	*9*

TOGO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE TOGO	*8*

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4
EEI SCORE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	*12*

TUNISIA (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE TUNISIA	*3*

TURKEY (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE TURKEY	*10*

TURKMENISTAN (2007)***

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	0
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE TURKMENISTAN	*0*

UGANDA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	2
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE UGANDA	*7*

UKRAINE (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE UKRAINE *11*

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	0
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1

EEI SCORE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES *2*

UNITED KINGDOM (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE UNITED KINGDOM *12*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *12*

URUGUAY (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	4
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	4
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	4

EEI SCORE URUGUAY *12*

UZBEKISTAN (2004)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE UZBEKISTAN	*2*

VENEZUELA (2005)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE VENEZUELA	*9*

VIETNAM (2007)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	1
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	0
EEI SCORE VIETNAM	*2*

YEMEN (2003)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	2
EEI SCORE YEMEN	*5*

ZAMBIA (2006)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	3
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	3
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	3
EEI SCORE ZAMBIA	*9*

ZIMBABWE (2008)

Freedom of Candidate Participation:	2
Fairness of Voter Registration, Voting Procedures and Vote Count:	1
Freedom of Expression in Electoral Campaign:	1
EEI SCORE ZIMBABWE	*4*

*election for Constituent Assembly
**election for Transitional Federal Parliament
***Scores are for the People's Council (*Khalk Maslakhaty*), which is officially the country's highest legislative body. No elections are held for the People's Council.

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EXPERT CONSULTANTS

Africa (sub-Saharan)

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Lars Svåsand, University of Bergen, Norway
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East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific

William Case, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
Yong Chool Ha, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, and Seoul National University, Seoul
Jonathan Chow, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA
Allen Hicken, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
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Roselyn Hsueh, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA
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South Asia

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Eurasia

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Middle East and North Africa

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About the author

M. Steven Fish is Professor of Political Science at the University of California-Berkeley. He is a comparative political scientist who studies democracy and regime change in developing and postcommunist countries, religion and politics, and constitutional systems and national legislatures. He is author of *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge, 2005), which was the recipient of the Best Book Award of 2006, presented by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association, and *Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution* (Princeton, 1995). He is coauthor of *The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey* (Cambridge, 2009) and *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy* (Princeton, 2001). His articles have appeared in *World Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, and other journals. He served as a Senior Fulbright Fellow and Visiting Professor at the Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, in 2007 and at the European University at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia, in 2000-2001. In 2005, he was the recipient of the Distinguished Social Sciences Teaching Award of the Colleges of Letters and Science, University of California-Berkeley.