

# **Behavioural models of electoral management: A world survey**

Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

## **ABSTRACT**

*Democratisation has continued in the world, but many newly emerged democracies are still struggling with a lack of electoral integrity. Intending to dealing with the lacking, traditional studies, have focused on Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs), such as Bangladesh Election Commission, while the election time government or, in other words, electoral government as a unique political institution has so far been unresearched. This paper sheds new light on this tradition by introducing the concept of electoral government and explaining how an electoral government shapes the electoral management and influence the electoral outcome. It commissions and uses a world survey and comes up with a set of behavioural models of electoral management.*

## **Keywords**

Democratisation; Electoral government; Electoral Management Body (EMB); International IDEA; Models of Electoral Management; Political party

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<sup>1</sup> An academic at the University of Technology Sydney, Australia. Email: kazad9@gmail.com

## **Introduction**

An election, which determines that the citizen indirectly runs the state affairs, is rooted in the citizen ownership of the state (see Azad, 2020). A classic example of such ownership practice is found in the ancient Greek city-state of Athens (see Blackwell, 2003; Jones, 1958; Landauer, 2014). In ancient Athens, citizens generally used to get whatever the majority of them wanted from the state as they ran state affairs on their own. In the large-scale present-day democracies, citizens themselves cannot run state affairs. Rather, they get the state governed by their representatives in a system termed representative democracy. Their representation is determined in an election and all the countries with a democratic constitution these days have a legal-institutional framework for an election that shapes the electoral management. The electoral management varies by country. Catt et al. (2014) in the International IDEA's Electoral Management Design categorise the electoral management worldwide into three models<sup>2</sup> – Independent Model, Governmental Model and Mixed Model. The categorisation is based on whether or how much an EMB is independent of the government. However, in a representative democracy, it is not certain that citizens get whatever they want from the state because representative individuals or political parties have emerged as an intermediary factor that can interfere in what citizens get. This uncertainty deepens further if the representative election procedure is questioned.

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<sup>2</sup> Catt et al. (2014) divides the electoral management system into three models. But the models are defined by the characteristics of EMBs (See p.10). Therefore, this paper terms it Models of EMB.

In the global arena, democratisation has continued, but elections in many newly emerged democracies are still facing questions. In advanced democracies<sup>3</sup> like Australia, Canada, the UK, and the USA, elections<sup>4</sup> are held under an election time government or, in other words, electoral government led by the current governing party or alliance, and the elections are usually acceptable. Contrary to this practice, results of elections held under a governing party or alliance administration in struggling democracies<sup>5</sup> are not acceptable in general. This kind of unacceptability points to an allegation that government mechanisms in struggling democracies help governing parties win elections (Akram and Shadhan, 2007, 2006; Birch, 2007; Carothers, 2002; Collier and Pedro, 2012; Fireman, 1994; Karp, Nai and Norris, 2018; Lehoucq and Ivan, 2002; Lehoucq and Atenea, 2007; Long, 2012; López-Pintor, 2011; Norris, 2015; Norris, Frank and Coma, 2015; Norris, 2019; Zavadskaya, Grömping and Coma, 2017; Schedler, 2012). The governing party or alliance as the leader of the electoral government during elections uses government mechanisms and state organisations, including the Electoral Management Body (EMB) and personnel as tools to conduct fraudulent elections. The party or alliance in power politicises, among others, the EMB, gets a fake voter roll prepared, creates intimidation, spends money on electioneering beyond permitted limits, and get manipulated election results announced in the state-owned media. Noticing such incidences, a few struggling democracies have opted for a non-party election time government as a temporary fix, such as Caretaker

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<sup>3</sup> This paper considers a country an advanced democracy if elections of government in the country show a trend of acceptability. Examples of advanced democracies are Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA. ‘Fully Free’ countries in the Freedom House database of Political Rights (Freedom House database, ND) include advanced democracies.

<sup>4</sup> An election in this paper means parliamentary or presidential election that determines who will run the state affairs of the country.

<sup>5</sup> If a country after embracing a democratic transition suffers from an electoral integrity crisis for a considerable period of time, the country is considered struggling democracy in this paper. Such democracies are usually seen struggling to consolidate and even to survive in Asia, Africa and Latin America (see e.g. Haynes, 2001, Freedom House database, ND; Polity, ND). Examples of these countries are Bangladesh, Kenya, Mexico and Pakistan. ‘Partly Free’ countries in the Freedom House database of Political Rights (Freedom House database, ND) include such democracies.

Government in 1991 in Bangladesh, to have general elections held in free, fair and acceptable manners (Azad and Crothers, 2012). Besides, there has been a practice of a type of electoral management aided by the United Nations (UN) in some crisis-torn countries.

Therefore, a legal-institutional framework seems not to be enough for an acceptable election. The same way, the Catt et al. (2014) categorisation seems to be futile in practice. Many democracies with a non-independent EMB (Governmental Model) like the United Kingdom and the United States and less independent EMB (Mixed Model) like Japan produce acceptable elections while many others with an independent EMB (Independent Model) like Bangladesh produce unacceptable elections. Besides, with the same EMB models, different democracies generate different levels of election results ranging from unacceptable to acceptable. For example, Australia and Bangladesh both have the Independent Model of EMB, but electoral acceptability in Australia has been an exemplary while most of the elections held in Bangladesh suffered from a lack of acceptability (for an explanation, see Przeworski et al., 2000, Catt et al., 2014; Freedom House database, ND; Polity, ND). These facts suggest that the legal-institutional framework of a model of electoral managements may have different types of behaviour which are the key to an electoral outcome. Studies of such behaviours are abundant (e.g Buckley and Reidy, 2018; Bowler, Brunell, Donovan and Gronke; 2015; Donovan and Karp, 2017; Garnett and Zavadskaya, 2017; Garnett, 2017; Groemping, 2018; Gauja, 2015; James, 2020; Norris, 2017) that use different samples and methods but do not use the concept of electoral government, which is introduced in this paper. Hence, it is still crucial to know about the behavioural pattern of different categories of electoral government and behavioural models of electoral management.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows: First, what is the theory behind the concept of electoral government and what is the measurement theory for the performance of such government are described in the Theory section. Method section says how the study is carried out and the way the paper is organised. Then, the Findings section reveals the impacts of different categories of electoral government on elections and their relevance. The paper, in Recommendation, introduces a set of Behavioural Models of Electoral Management as an alternative to the International IDEA Models and, then, concludes with some claims of the paper's contribution, further evaluation of findings and remarks about future research.

### **Theory: The electoral government**

The concept of electoral government is based on the theory of citizen ownership of the state (see Azad, 2020). According to the theory, the world trend of election status may be divided into three categories: acceptable election, unacceptable election, and no election. As a result of an acceptable election, a representative government is set up. Azad (2020) models the authority of a representative government to a power of attorney, where election promises of the winning party, alliance or individuals become the only written part of the power of attorney and winning party, alliance or individuals becomes the agent of the citizen, the owner of the state. Then, how much the ownership exists is calculated based on the implementation status of the election promises made by the governing party, alliance or individuals during their election. On the other hand, citizen ownership of the state is occupied by the governing party, alliance or individuals where there is no acceptable election or no election at all. These two latter trends are sometimes interrupted whenever an acceptable election takes place. However, if an election is held – no

matter where and when the election is held and whether the election is acceptable or unacceptable – the existence of an electoral government is certain.

This paper considers the electoral government as a government of an independent state that runs usual operations of the state affairs during the period of an election that determines who will govern the state affairs for the next term. Based on the theory of citizen ownership of the state, this paper considers that a compliant agent cooperates with the conduct of election by refraining themselves from interfering in the election. Soon after the election, this type of agent hands over the power to the newly elected party, alliance or individuals or, in other words, the newly appointed agent and then exits immediately. Even if the same party, alliance or individuals are elected again, still a formal changeover takes place. Conversely, a non-compliant agent interferes with the conduct of election and clings to the state power unlawfully and, thus, they occupy the citizen ownership of the state. Therefore, an incumbent electoral government could be either Outgoer or Occupier by nature. However, an Occupier incumbent can become Outgoer by cooperating with the conduct of an acceptable election. Apart from the incumbent electoral government, some other types of electoral government have also been seen. When there are no acceptable elections or no elections at all and parties get involved in confrontations, then the power of attorney is withdrawn. Under such circumstances, the citizen of a by-and-large national consensus takes over and conduct elections, which are generally acceptable. Furthermore, in a worst case scenario in a country where a confrontation goes out of intra-societal control and no power of attorney exists – the state runs on an anarchic basis, then outside societies that is the United Nations (UN) extend their cooperation in regard to conducting an election.

This paper considers these are the possible backgrounds of different categories of electoral government. Accordingly, this paper classifies the electoral government into three primary categories: Incumbent Electoral Government (Incumbent EG), National Electoral Government (National EG), and International-aided Electoral Government (International-aided EG). The incumbent government leads the Incumbent EG. It is of two further categories: Outgoer and Occupier. By nature, the Outgoer does not interfere in the election. The Outgoer tends to produce acceptable elections and exits as soon as the newly elected government is installed. It is generally observed in advanced democracies. The Occupier tends to produce unacceptable elections and, based on those elections, occupies the citizen ownership of the state by clinging to the state power. Occupiers are generally seen in struggling democracies. The National EG tends to produce acceptable elections. Non-party citizenry leads the National EG. They generally come from the civil society and have, by and large, nationwide acceptability. So far, the National EG operated in Bangladesh (see Ahmed, 2011; Azad and Crothers, 2012) and Pakistan (see [Malik, 2013](#); Sikander, 2018). Electoral outcomes of the International-aided EG tend to be situational. This is because the behaviours of different local and international parties involved in the electoral government vary by situation.

Thus, each category of electoral governments has an impact – strong or weak – on the electoral outcome. This paper considers that those impacts are generated from two types of behaviour of the electoral government – complying behaviour and intruding behaviour. A complying behaviour lets the EMB work independently while an intruding behaviour controls the EMB. However, there might be some behaviour of EMBs which are independent of the electoral government. In such cases, this paper considers that those are some stray incidents which are not

good enough to alter an election result at the national level. Therefore, this paper does not cover EMB behaviours and observes that the electoral government has an overall impact that generally defines the electoral outcome, the empirical status of EMBs as well as the whole electoral management.

A researcher is able to measure the performance of an electoral government. Traditionally proven, the best way to measure how a student performs is their exam results. Here, the election could be considered an exam for the electoral government. So, whether an election is acceptable or not is the obvious measurement of the status of an electoral government. A minimalist dichotomous democracy index, such as Przeworski et al. 2000, could be used to measure an election where democracy can mean acceptable election and non-democracy the other.

## **Method**

This paper picks the International IDEA's handbook entitled "Electoral Management Design" by Catt et al., 2014 as a case that develops three models of electoral management. These models are based on the legal-institutional status of EMBs. Against this backdrop, the objective of this paper is to develop real world election management models, using empirical data. To achieve the objective, this paper hypothesises that there is a number of electoral governments whose behaviours shape the electoral management their own way and generally determine the electoral outcome – acceptable or unacceptable.



To explain how the electoral government shape the electoral management, a qualitative evaluation of relevant data (Appendix 1) is carried out. This paper considers that electoral management is primarily composed of two institutions – the electoral government and the EMB. Among these two, the electoral government is able to influence the EMB. The influences ranging from no influence to neutral influence are considered complying or positive, while all other influences are considered intruding or negative. If an election is found acceptable, the EMB is meant to be influenced positively by the electoral government. Conversely, if an election is found unacceptable, the EMB is meant to be influenced negatively by the electoral government. Thus, in both cases, the electoral government by influencing the EMB shapes the electoral management.

How the electoral government determines an electoral outcome is tested using logistic regression. In the logistic regression, electoral government and International IDEA's electoral management variables are used as fixed factors, year as a covariate when election (acceptable and unacceptable) is used as dependent variable. Since elections were held in different years in different countries, it is an unbalanced panel data. Therefore, the unbalanced panel data are made a balanced one by filling the gaps in the years from 1990 to 2018, using 'NA' as missing value. Besides, robust standard errors are used to obtain unbiased standard errors of OLS coefficients under heteroscedasticity as both the independent variables are categorical and the independent is binary where the structure of variations is unknown.

### **Variables and data**

Sample – the electoral world: Out of 217 the countries and territories surveyed and divided into three categories of electoral management bodies by International IDEA (Catt et al, 2014), a total

of 131 countries are chosen for this paper (see Appendix 1). These countries have to have at least one acceptable election held any time from the year 1990 through 2018. All electoral governments that worked during those elections are covered. The 1990-2018 time range is chosen as a series of democratic transition started taking place in the late 1980s, and 2018 is considered one of the latest years when this paper is prepared.

FROM\_ELECTION/ From of election: 0 = Presidential, 1 = Parliamentary.

Where citizens cast their direct vote to elect the country's president, the presidential election and where there is no provision for their direct vote to elect a president, the parliamentary election, are chosen for this paper. Data about the type of election are collected mostly from the Database of Political Institutions (Cruz, Keefer and Scartascini, 2018), IPU Parline (ND) and BBC Country Profiles (ND). About the latest elections such as the ones held in 2018, data are collected by conducting web searches, using keywords like 'Tuvalu elections' or 'Tuvalu election 2018.'

ELECTION/ Election: 0 = Unacceptable, 1 = Acceptable

The word 'election' means either presidential or parliamentary election in this paper. For coding the acceptability and unacceptability of elections data, this paper uses Przeworski et al.'s (2000) theory of democracy and non-democracy. The elections which meet the criteria Przeworski et al. (2000) use for democracy are considered acceptable in this paper. On the other hand, the elections that do not meet the criteria are considered unacceptable. However, this paper does not use the Przeworski et al. (2000) criteria for democracy that incumbents do not hold their offices

continuously for more than two terms. This paper uses Przeworski et al. (2000) data extended by Cheibub et al. (2010) and then by Bjørnskov and Rode (2018).

ELECTORAL\_GOVT/ Electoral government: 0 = National EG, 1 = International EG, 2 = Incumbent EG

As per the discussion in the Theory section, the electoral government is of three categories: Incumbent EG, National EG, and International-aided EG. Incumbent EG is of two types: Outgoer and Occupier. These two types are used unseparated in the regression model while separated in the Behavioural Models of Electoral Management. The variable is coded 1 only when the UN electoral assistance to the electoral government takes place along with the presence of a peace agreement or a related UN mission/ operation in the country. If an election is observed, organised, conducted, supervised or the election process is verified by the UN, then it is considered that the UN electoral assistance takes place. The data about International-aided EG are collected from UN Peacekeeping (ND) and UN Reports (ND).

EMB/ International IDEA's Electoral management models: 0 = Government, 1 = Mixed, 2 = Independent

International IDEA's three models of electoral management are actually based on EMBs, which could be called EMB Models. They are Government Model, Mixed Model and Independent Model. According to the world survey of EMBs conducted by Catt et al. (2014, pp. 374-395), the EMB models are used in this paper for the whole 1990-2018 period of study.

ELECTION\_YEAR/ Election year: An election year is the year when an election took place. The election year data are collected mostly from the Database of Political Institutions (Cruz, Keefer and Scartascini, 2018), IPU Parline (ND) and BBC Country Profiles (ND). About the latest elections, such as the ones held in 2018, data are collected by conducting web searches, using keywords like ‘Singapore elections’ or ‘Singapore election 2018.’

## Findings

Table 1. Logistic regression analysis of elections from 1990 to 2018 worldwide

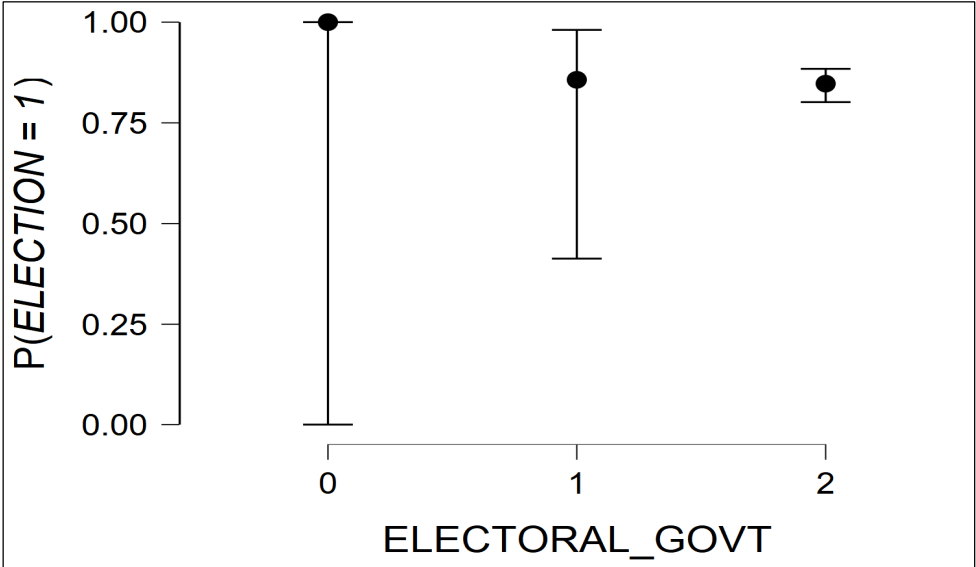
Independent variable	Estimate	Robust Standard		
		Error	Z	P
(Intercept)	-69.918	31.897	-2.192	0.028
ELECTION_YEAR	0.044	0.016	2.775	0.006
EBM (1)	0.806	0.468	1.721	0.085
EBM (2)	17.175	0.208	82.696	< .001
FORM_ELECTION (1)	0.816	0.265	3.083	0.002
ELECTORAL_GOVT (1)	-17.008	1.977	-8.602	< .001
ELECTORAL_GOVT (2)	-17.084	1.113	-15.344	< .001
Model X <sup>2</sup> =	55.404			
Tjur R <sup>2</sup> =	0.054			
P =	< .001			
N =	866			

Note: The dependent variable in this analysis is election coded 0 as unacceptable and 1 as acceptable.

The findings of the statistical analysis are interesting. The electoral government in the logistic regression model (Table 1 and Figure 1) is predicted to have a strong influence on election. The regression coefficient for the incumbent electoral government (level 2) is around -17.084. It suggests that the incumbent electoral government will produce 17.084 points less acceptable elections than the national electoral government’s (the reference level). At the same time, the international-aided electoral government (level 1) will attain -17.008 points acceptable election

compared to that the national electoral government does. On the other hand, in the same model, the regression coefficient for the government model of EMBs (level 2) is 17.175. It reveals that the government model of EMBs will generate 17.175 points more acceptable elections than the so-called independent model of EMBs produces. Besides, the parliamentary election (FROM\_ELECTION 1) is predicted to account for a 0.816 point more acceptable the elections than the presidential election does.

Figure 1. Estimates plot: Influences of electoral governments on election



Notes: 0 = National electoral government, 1 = International electoral government and 2 = Incumbent electoral government

Out of the total 866 elections in the sample, 790 found acceptable and 76 unacceptable (See Table 2). The incumbent electoral government accounts for 74 unacceptable elections, which is found the biggest contributor to the total unacceptable elections in the sample. It leads to the lowest regression coefficient for the incumbent electoral government in the model.

Table 2. Elections held during three types of electoral government, 1990-2018

Election	Incumbent EG	National EG	International-aided EG	Total
Acceptable	776	6	8	790
Unacceptable	74	0	2	76
Grant total	850	6	10	866

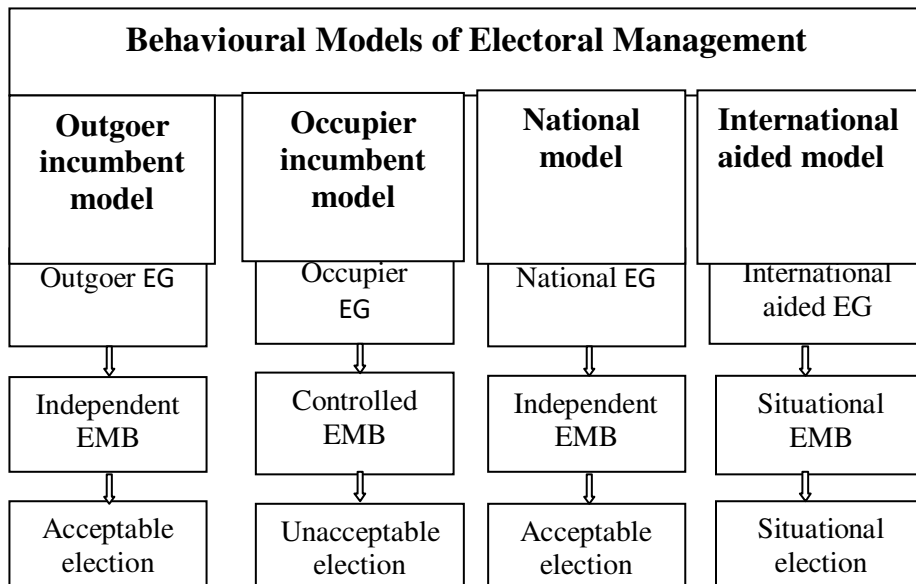
International IDEA's Models of Electoral Management apparently ignores the practicality of electoral regimes. These models' practical-impractical anomaly has not been an issue so far in advanced democracies as electoral governments in those democracies provide a complying behaviour with a view to conducting acceptable elections and keeps EMBs independent in practice no matter the EMB model is Government, Mixed or Independent in theory. However, the electoral government in struggling democracies has had a behaviour that occupies the citizen ownership of the state and kept EMBs under their control in practice with a view to producing election results in favour of them or the ones they like most no matter the EMB model is Government, Mixed or Independent in theory. That is why International IDEAS's 'independent' EMB produces acceptable elections in Australia but not in Bangladesh, for example.

### **Recommendation: Behavioural Models of Electoral Management**

In accordance with the findings above, this paper recommends a set of new models of electoral management, called Behavioural Models of Electoral Management (see Figure 2), as an alternative to the International IDEA models. The Behavioural Models developed based on the Appendix 1 data are Complier Model, Model, Citizen Model and International-aided Model. Each of all four models has two components – Electoral government and the EMB, where the electoral government is identified as the key component of the electoral management. In the Complier Model, the electoral government lets the other component, the EMB, work

independently that produces an acceptable election. This model is generally observed in the advanced democracies. In the Intruder Model, the electoral government controls the other component, the EMB, and gets the electoral work done by the EMB as the governing party or alliance wishes. This process produces an unacceptable election, which is generally observed in non-Western countries. In the Citizen Model, the electoral government (CEG) lets the other component, the EMB, work independently that produces an acceptable election. This model has been observed in a few non-Western elections, such as the one held in 2018 in Pakistan. In the International-aided Model, the electoral government is not always in a position to let the other component, the EMB, work independently. As a result, there is a chance of both acceptable and unacceptable elections, such as the ones in East Timor and Central African Republic (see Appendix 1).

Figure 2. Characteristics of Behavioural Models of Electoral Management



Some key differences between the International IDEA Models and the Behavioural Models are noticeable. First, the International IDEA Models of Electoral Management means models of EMBs, where the electoral government is absent. But the electoral government is the key component of Behavioural Models. Second, the label of Behavioural Models is determined based on the status of the election and the category of electoral government. The status of an election (acceptable or unacceptable) is determined by the empirical status of EMBs instead of their legal-institutional status, and the empirical status of the EMB is determined by the behaviour of the electoral government. But the label of International IDEA Models is determined by the legal-institutional status of the respective EMB, which is not necessarily concerned with the practical status of elections or category of electoral government. As a result, the labels of the International IDEA Models are static for the whole electoral life of countries under the study until there is a substantial legislative change made. But the labels of Behavioural Models are subject to a change based on electoral outcomes and categories of electoral government.

## **Conclusion**

Democratisation has continued in the world, but many newly emerged democracies are still struggling with a lack of electoral integrity. Intending to dealing with the lacking, traditional studies, have focused on EMBs, such as Bangladesh Election Commission, while the electoral government as a unique political institution has so far been unresearched. This paper is the first to define, test and introduce the concept of electoral government, which is based on the power of attorney model of the representative government (see Azad, 2020). This paper explains how an electoral government is associated with an election. It reveals that there are three categories of electoral government and the behaviour of each category shapes their respective electoral



management their own way. The paper argues that the behaviour of electoral government determines the behaviour of the EMB, and then the EMB behaviour determines the acceptability or unacceptability of an election. There might be some other reasons, such as corruption in the EMB itself, but the electoral government has an impact that generally defines the electoral outcome, the empirical status of EMBs as well as the whole electoral management. Based on the behavioural pattern of electoral governments, this paper develops a set of Behavioural Models of Electoral Management (see Figure 2), using a world survey commissioned in this paper (see Appendix 1).

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APPENDIX 1

**World survey of electoral management behaviours, 1990-2018**

ID	Country name	Election year	Eectoral govt	EMB	Election
1	Albania	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
1	Albania	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
2	Antigua & Barbuda	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
3	Argentina	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
3	Argentina	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
3	Argentina	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
3	Argentina	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
3	Argentina	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
3	Argentina	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
4	Armenia	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
4	Armenia	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
5	Australia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

6	Austria	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
6	Austria	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
7	Bahamas	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
8	Bangladesh	1991	National	Independent	Acceptable
8	Bangladesh	1996	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
8	Bangladesh	1996	National	Independent	Acceptable
8	Bangladesh	2001	National	Independent	Acceptable
8	Bangladesh	2008	National	Independent	Acceptable
8	Bangladesh	2014	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
9	Barbados	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
9	Barbados	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
10	Belgium	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
11	Belize	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
11	Belize	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
11	Belize	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
11	Belize	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
11	Belize	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
11	Belize	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
12	Benin	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
12	Benin	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable



12	Benin	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
12	Benin	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
12	Benin	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
12	Benin	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
13	Bhutan	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
13	Bhutan	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
13	Bhutan	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
14	Bolivia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
15	Botswana	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
15	Botswana	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
15	Botswana	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
15	Botswana	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
15	Botswana	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
16	Brazil	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
17	Bulgaria	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
17	Bulgaria	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
17	Bulgaria	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
17	Bulgaria	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
17	Bulgaria	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
18	Burundi	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
18	Burundi	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
18	Burundi	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
18	Burundi	2015	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
19	Canada	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
19	Canada	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
20	Cape Verde	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable

20	Cape Verde	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
20	Cape Verde	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
20	Cape Verde	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
20	Cape Verde	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
21	C. African Republic	1992	International-aided	Mixed	Unacceptable
21	C. African Republic	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
21	C. African Republic	1998	International-aided	Mixed	Acceptable
21	C. African Republic	2005	International-aided	Mixed	Acceptable
21	C. African Republic	2011	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
21	C. African Republic	2016	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
22	Chile	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
22	Chile	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
23	Colombia	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
23	Colombia	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
23	Colombia	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
23	Colombia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
24	Comoros	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
24	Comoros	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
24	Comoros	1999	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
24	Comoros	2002	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
24	Comoros	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
24	Comoros	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
24	Comoros	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
25	Congo	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
25	Congo	2002	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
25	Congo	2009	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
25	Congo	2016	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
26	Costa Rica	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
26	Costa Rica	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

27	Croatia	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
27	Croatia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
28	Cyprus	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
29	Czech Republic	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
30	Denmark	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
30	Denmark	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
31	Dominica	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
31	Dominica	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
31	Dominica	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
31	Dominica	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
31	Dominica	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
31	Dominica	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
32	Dominican Republic	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
33	East Timor	2002	International-aided	Mixed	Acceptable
33	East Timor	2007	International-aided	Mixed	Acceptable

33	East Timor	2012	International-aided	Mixed	Acceptable
33	East Timor	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
34	Ecuador	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
35	El Salvador	1994	International-aided	Independent	Acceptable
35	El Salvador	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
35	El Salvador	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
35	El Salvador	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
35	El Salvador	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
36	Estonia	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
37	Fiji	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
37	Fiji	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
37	Fiji	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
37	Fiji	2001	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
37	Fiji	2006	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
37	Fiji	2014	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
38	Finland	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
38	Finland	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
39	France	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
39	France	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
39	France	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
39	France	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
39	France	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
39	France	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
40	Georgia	1995	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
40	Georgia	2000	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable

40	Georgia	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
40	Georgia	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
40	Georgia	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
40	Georgia	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
41	Germany	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
41	Germany	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
42	Ghana	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
42	Ghana	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
42	Ghana	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
42	Ghana	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
42	Ghana	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
42	Ghana	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
42	Ghana	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
43	Greece	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
43	Greece	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
44	Grenada	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
45	Guatemala	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
46	Guinea	1993	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable

46	Guinea	1998	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
46	Guinea	2003	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
46	Guinea	2010	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
46	Guinea	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	1994	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	2009	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
47	Guinea-Bissau	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
48	Guyana	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
48	Guyana	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
48	Guyana	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
48	Guyana	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
48	Guyana	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
49	Honduras	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
50	Hungary	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
50	Hungary	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
51	Iceland	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
52	India	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
52	India	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
52	India	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
52	India	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
52	India	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

52	India	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
53	Indonesia	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
53	Indonesia	1997	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
53	Indonesia	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
53	Indonesia	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
53	Indonesia	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
53	Indonesia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
54	Ireland	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
54	Ireland	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
54	Ireland	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
54	Ireland	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
54	Ireland	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
54	Ireland	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
55	Israel	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
55	Israel	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
56	Italy	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
56	Italy	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
57	Jamaica	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
58	Japan	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
58	Japan	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable

58	Japan	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
59	Kenya	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
59	Kenya	1997	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
59	Kenya	2002	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
59	Kenya	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
59	Kenya	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
59	Kenya	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
60	Kiribati	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	1995	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	2000	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
61	Kyrgyzstan	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
62	Latvia	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
63	Lesotho	1993	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
63	Lesotho	1998	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
63	Lesotho	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
63	Lesotho	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
63	Lesotho	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
63	Lesotho	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
64	Liberia	1997	International-aided	Independent	Unacceptable
64	Liberia	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
64	Liberia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
64	Liberia	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable



65	Liechtenstein	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
65	Liechtenstein	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
66	Lithuania	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
67	Luxembourg	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
68	Macedonia	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
68	Macedonia	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
68	Macedonia	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
68	Macedonia	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
68	Macedonia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
69	Madagascar	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
69	Madagascar	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
69	Madagascar	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
69	Madagascar	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
69	Madagascar	2010	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
69	Madagascar	2013	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
69	Madagascar	2018	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
70	Malawi	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
70	Malawi	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
70	Malawi	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
70	Malawi	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
70	Malawi	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
71	Malaysia	1990	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
71	Malaysia	1995	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
71	Malaysia	1999	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
71	Malaysia	2004	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
71	Malaysia	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
71	Malaysia	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
71	Malaysia	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
72	Maldives	1993	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
72	Maldives	1998	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
72	Maldives	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

72	Maldives	2013	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
72	Maldives	2018	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
73	Mali	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
73	Mali	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
73	Mali	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
73	Mali	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
73	Mali	2013	Occupier incumbent	Mixed	Unacceptable
73	Mali	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
74	Malta	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
74	Malta	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
75	Marshall Islands	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
76	Mauritius	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
77	Mexico	1994	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
77	Mexico	1997	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
77	Mexico	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
77	Mexico	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
77	Mexico	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
77	Mexico	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
78	Moldova	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
79	Monaco	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
79	Monaco	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
79	Monaco	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable

79	Monaco	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
79	Monaco	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
79	Monaco	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
80	Mongolia	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
81	Nauru	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
81	Nauru	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
82	Nepal	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
82	Nepal	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
82	Nepal	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
82	Nepal	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
82	Nepal	2013	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
82	Nepal	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
83	Netherlands	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

84	New Zealand	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
84	New Zealand	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
85	Nicaragua	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
86	Niger	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
86	Niger	1996	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
86	Niger	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
86	Niger	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
86	Niger	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
86	Niger	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
87	Nigeria	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
87	Nigeria	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
87	Nigeria	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
87	Nigeria	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
87	Nigeria	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
88	Norway	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
88	Norway	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	2002	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
89	Pakistan	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	2013	National	Independent	Acceptable
89	Pakistan	2018	National	Independent	Acceptable
90	Palau	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
90	Palau	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
90	Palau	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
90	Palau	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
90	Palau	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
91	Panama	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
91	Panama	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
91	Panama	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

91	Panama	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
91	Panama	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
92	PNG	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
93	Paraguay	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
94	Peru	1990	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
94	Peru	1995	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
94	Peru	2000	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
94	Peru	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
94	Peru	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
94	Peru	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
94	Peru	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
95	Philippines	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
95	Philippines	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
95	Philippines	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
95	Philippines	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
95	Philippines	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
96	Poland	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
97	Portugal	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
97	Portugal	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
98	Romania	1990	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

98	Romania	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
98	Romania	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
99	St. Kitts & Nevis	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
100	Saint Lucia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
101	St. Vincent & Grenadines	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
102	Samoa	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
102	Samoa	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
103	San Marino	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
103	San Marino	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
104	Sao Tome & Principe	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
104	Sao Tome & Principe	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable

104	Sao Tome & Principe	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
104	Sao Tome & Principe	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
104	Sao Tome & Principe	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
104	Sao Tome & Principe	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
105	Senegal	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
105	Senegal	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
105	Senegal	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
105	Senegal	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
106	Serbia	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
106	Serbia	1992	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
106	Serbia	1996	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
106	Serbia	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
106	Serbia	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
106	Serbia	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
106	Serbia	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
106	Serbia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
106	Serbia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
107	Sierra Leone	1996	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
107	Sierra Leone	2002	International-aided	Independent	Acceptable
107	Sierra Leone	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
107	Sierra Leone	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
107	Sierra Leone	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
108	Slovakia	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
109	Slovenia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
110	Solomon Islands	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
111	South Africa	1994	International-aided	Independent	Acceptable

111	South Africa	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
111	South Africa	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
111	South Africa	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
111	South Africa	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
112	South Korea	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
113	Spain	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
113	Spain	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
114	Sri Lanka	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
114	Sri Lanka	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
114	Sri Lanka	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
114	Sri Lanka	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
114	Sri Lanka	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
115	Suriname	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
116	Sweden	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
116	Sweden	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
117	Switzerland	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable



118	Taiwan	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
118	Taiwan	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
119	Thailand	2014	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	1990	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	1993	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	1996	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	1999	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	2002	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	2005	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	2008	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
120	Tonga	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
120	Tonga	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
120	Tonga	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2003	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
121	Trinidad & Tobago	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
122	Tunisia	1994	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
122	Tunisia	1999	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
122	Tunisia	2004	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
122	Tunisia	2009	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
122	Tunisia	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

123	Turkey	2007	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
123	Turkey	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
124	Tuvalu	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
125	Ukraine	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
125	Ukraine	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
125	Ukraine	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
125	Ukraine	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
125	Ukraine	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	1997	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	2001	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	2005	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	2010	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
126	United Kingdom	2017	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	1992	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	2000	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
127	United States	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Government	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	1994	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	1999	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	2009	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	2014	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
128	Uruguay	2018	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	1995	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	2002	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	2004	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	2008	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable
129	Vanuatu	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Mixed	Acceptable

130	Venezuela	1993	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
130	Venezuela	1998	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
130	Venezuela	2000	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
130	Venezuela	2006	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
130	Venezuela	2012	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
130	Venezuela	2013	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
130	Venezuela	2018	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
131	Zambia	1991	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
131	Zambia	1996	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
131	Zambia	2001	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
131	Zambia	2006	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
131	Zambia	2008	Occupier incumbent	Independent	Unacceptable
131	Zambia	2011	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
131	Zambia	2015	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable
131	Zambia	2016	Outgoer incumbent	Independent	Acceptable

Sources: This appendix is developed based on the data collected from different sources. Out of 217 the countries and territories surveyed and divided into three categories of electoral management bodies by International IDEA (Catt et al, 2014), 131 countries are chosen for this study. The election year data are collected mostly from Cruz, Keefer and Scartascini, (2018), IPU Parline (ND) and BBC Country Profiles (ND). About the latest elections such as the ones held in 2018, data are collected by conducting web searches, using keywords like ‘Singapore elections’ or ‘Singapore election 2018.’ Based on the definition described in the ‘Theory’ and ‘Variables and Data’ sections of this paper, the data about Outgoer and Occupier electoral government and whether an election is acceptable or unacceptable are collected from Przeworski et al. (2000) data extended by Cheibub et al. (2010) and then by Bjørnskov and Rode (2018). National electoral government data are collected from Ahmed, 2011; Azad and Crothers, 2012; Malik, 2013; Sikander, 2018. The data about International-aided EG are collected from UN Peacekeeping (ND) and Previous Reports of the UN Secretary-General (UN Reports, ND). The EMB data are according to the world survey of EMBs conducted by Catt et al. (2014, pp. 374-395).