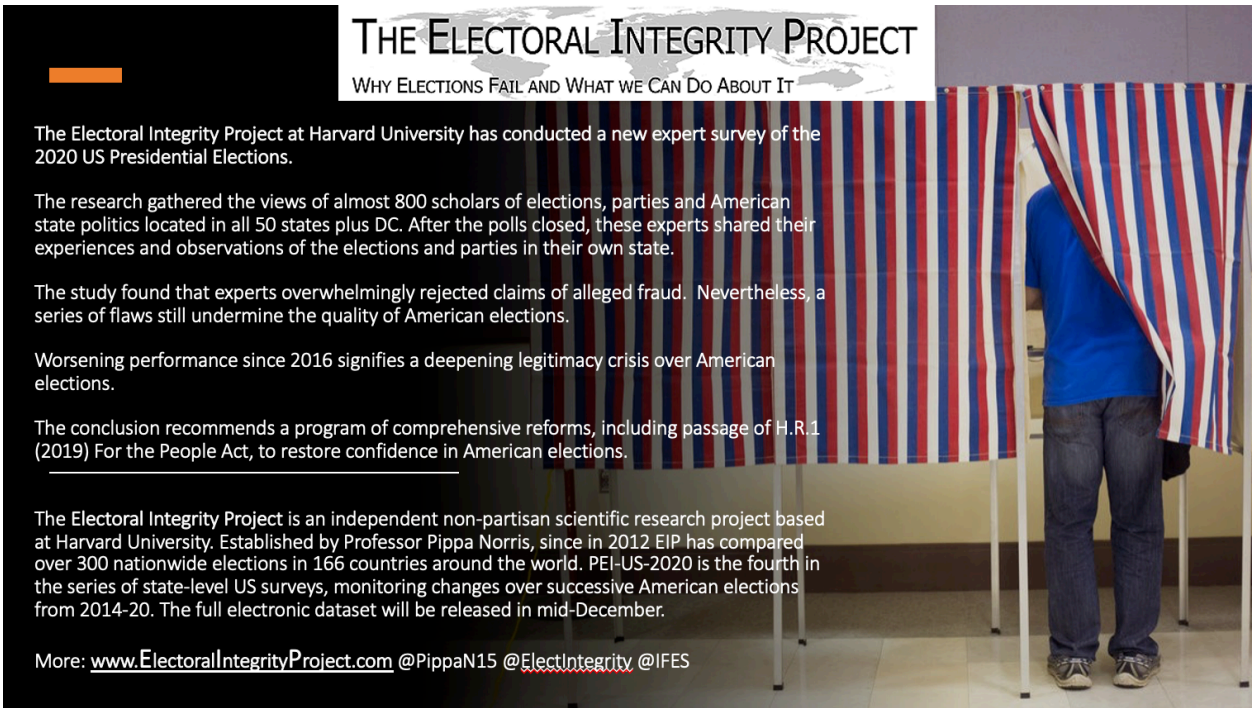
The Electoral Integrity Project

Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It

Electoral Integrity in the 2020 U.S. Elections

Pippa Norris

Harvard University



1 December 2020

www.electoralintegrityproject.com

John F. Kennedy School of Government
79 JFK Street
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

HARVARD Kennedy School
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

Email: eip@HKS.Harvard.edu
Web: http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com
Dataverse: http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI
Twitter: https://twitter.com/ElectIntegrity
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/electoralintegrity

Copyright © Pippa Norris 2020. All rights reserved.

Citation: Pippa Norris. 2020. *Electoral Integrity in the 2020 American Elections (PEI-US-2020).* Electoral Integrity Project: Cambridge, MA.

Bio: Pippa Norris is the Maguire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School for Government, Founding Director of the Electoral Integrity Project, Director of the Global Party Survey, Co-Director of the TrustGov Project, and Executive Member of the World Values Survey. The author of around 50 widely cited books, her work has been recognized internationally by numerous major honors, including the Skytte prize, Karl Deutsch Award, the Sir Isiah Berlin award, the Charles Merriam award, and fellowship of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, among others. See www.pippanorris.com and @PippaN15.

Contents

I: Executive Summary **4**

II: Background **6**

III: Methods and Evidence **8**

IV: Key Findings **11**

1. Expert assessments of voter fraud in the 2020 election 11
2. What were the major challenges to electoral integrity in U.S. elections? 12
3. Has electoral integrity in America got worse – or better - over time? 16

V: Conclusions and Recommendations **18**

VI: Technical Appendix **19**

Table A1: Survey Questions in the 2020 PEI index 21

VII: Selected EIP publications **22**

VIII: Notes and References **23**

I: Executive Summary

There is widespread concern that disputes over the 2020 U.S. elections have generated a legitimacy crisis for American democracy. For weeks after Election Day, President Trump denied the outcome, refused to concede, and claimed he had won if the count took account of alleged voting irregularities. His team filed at least three dozen lawsuits around the country, challenging legal ballots cast in majority-Black cities in several swing states, and attempted to delay recounts in Wisconsin and block vote certification in Michigan, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In defeat after defeat, judges dismissed the lawsuits and appeals for lack of credible proof. Despite pressures and personal threats, state and local Republican electoral officials testified that the balloting and vote count process was carried out in strict accordance with the law, with the certified vote outcome reflecting the will of the people.

The protracted challenges to the election from President Trump and his allies are likely to have important consequences. Not surprisingly, confidence in American elections tumbled and a series of polls suggest that millions of Republicans falsely believe that Trump won. For example, YouGov report that by late-November, following weeks of rightwing misinformation and conspiracy theories, around 78% of Trump voters expressed little or no confidence that the 2020 presidential election was held fairly, 79% thought that Trump should *not* concede, while 85% believe that Biden did not legitimately win the election.[1] To a certain extent, some dissatisfaction reflects a common reaction among 'sore losers'.[2] If doubts about the legitimacy of American elections persist and even deepen among citizens, however, comparative evidence suggests that these have the capacity to corrode civic engagement and undermine public faith in the principles and practices of liberal democracy.[3] The fruitless quest to overturn the results also matters for public policy by initially delaying the presidential transition, as well as exacerbating Us-Them party polarization in Congress, and reducing prospects for bipartisan cooperation designed to tackle the urgent challenges facing America ranging from COVID-19 to the economy, racial justice, and climate change.

Performance evaluations of elections across America by 800+ election experts

Most media coverage after Election Day has focused on the results and litigation over alleged fraud cases in several swing states – but how did the 2020 election perform more generally across America? Did other serious problems commonly arise, such as voter suppression for communities of color, barriers facing women seeking elected office, difficulties in safely voting during the pandemic, or lack of transparency in campaign finance? This report, the first to address these sorts of broader concerns, presents new systematic evidence concerning three questions:

1. ***Did experts detect any evidence of incidents of widespread voting fraud in their state during the election?***

2. ***More generally, beyond fraud, what are the overall strengths – and weaknesses—of elections in all 50 states across America?***

3. ***And, finally, has the overall performance of American elections got better – or worse – over time?***

For the last eight years, the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) has gathered evidence about the performance of elections across states in America and among countries around the globe. Based at Harvard University and the University of Sydney, EIP was first established in 2012 by Professor Pippa Norris as a scientific research project involving a team of international scholars. Since then, EIP has evaluated the strengths and flaws of over 300

parliamentary and presidential elections in 166 nations around the world. As part of this research, EIP monitored the performance of American elections across 50 states after the 2014, 2016 and 2018 contests.[4]

Extending this series, this report summarizes the results of the new EIP expert survey monitoring the performance of the 2020 U.S. elections. The study (PEI-US-2020) was conducted among political scientists based in American universities and colleges in all 50 states across the country. Experts were selected as knowledgeable about American elections and parties, as demonstrated through their formal qualifications, teaching and research specialization, professional affiliations and publication record (see Part III and the Technical Appendix for details). After the close of polls, participants were invited to complete a questionnaire with 120 items designed to provide a multidimensional assessment of the electoral performance of the state where they were registered to vote. At least 20 political scientists were invited to participate in each of the 50 U.S. states plus DC. Responses were collected online from 6th to 23rd November 2020. In total, **789 experts completed the survey**, generating a 20% response rate, meeting the target of around 15 experts per state. Internal validity tests indicate that performance ratings of electoral integrity in each state were not significantly influenced by the personal characteristics of the experts, including their partisanship, socio-economic and demographic characteristics (except for race), ideological values, and level of familiarity with elections in their state (see Part III).

Key findings and recommendations

The report suggests three key findings:

1. **Election experts overwhelmingly rejected claims of widespread fraud occurring in their state during the balloting and vote tabulation stages of the 2020 U.S. elections.** These assessments are fully consistent with evidence from the courts and the series of reports by state officials, federal agencies, and other authoritative sources.
2. **At the same time, this does not imply that experts believe that the performance of all stages in the 2020 American elections should be given a clean bill of health.** Many commentators have been too quick to assume that if claims of voter fraud are baseless, and turnout rose, then other stages of the contest are likely to have worked equally well across all states. But election experts identified a series of structural problems undermining American democracy. As repeatedly highlighted in previous EIP reports,[5] these include: Electoral laws and gerrymandered districts favoring incumbents; campaign coverage by local press and TV news lacking fairness and balance while social media amplified misinformation; campaign finance lacking transparency and equitable access; communities of color experiencing difficulties in registering and voting; women and minorities candidates encountering barriers to elected office; and, the declaration of results generating lengthy disputes. At the same time, several strengths in the electoral process were also identified, namely: the fair and efficient management of electoral procedures and voting processes, and the professional performance of electoral authorities.
3. Finally, expert assessments also indicate that **compared with 2016, the performance of this contest displays several warning flags**, namely worsening confidence in the integrity of American elections and falling public trust, challenges to legitimacy arising from threats of campaign violence, legal disputes about the process and results, and public protests about the outcome, as well as growing attempts at voter suppression. Some of the worst fears of foreign meddling and outright violence did not materialize during the election and its immediate aftermath, although these potential risks persist.

To prevent further deterioration of public confidence in future elections, this report recommends that structural weaknesses should be addressed by a program of comprehensive reforms, thereby restoring feelings of

legitimacy in the electoral process.[6] The incoming Biden-Harris administration should work with Congress, federal and state officials, independent organizations, and academic experts to identify effective ways to strengthen American elections and democracy. This includes passing H.R.1 (2019) "*For the People Act*" which would strengthen democracy by making it easier to vote, limiting partisan gerrymandering, fixing the campaign finance system, and strengthening ethics rules.[7]

To support these recommendations, *Part II* of this report goes on to summarize the background to the 2020 US elections and concerns raised by both Republicans and Democrats about the process and outcome. *Part III* describes the survey methods, evidence and validity tests. *Part IV* highlights the key findings. *Part V* presents the conclusions and recommendations.

II: Background

Recent years have seen growing debate whether U.S. elections meet standards of electoral integrity. These issues are far from new; given deep division over the expansion of Civil Rights in earlier eras. More recently, ever since the 2000 Bush v. Gore US presidential election, America has experienced increasing partisan polarization and litigation over basic electoral procedures and voting rights.[8] Even before he was elected in 2016, and in speeches and Tweets throughout the 2020 campaign, Mr. Trump has long complained loudly about voter fraud and rigged elections. Acrimonious disputes about electoral integrity in the aftermath of the 2020 campaign reflect the logical culmination of this rhetoric. President Trump, leading members of his administration, and right-wing allies have sought to litigate alleged irregularities concerning 'voter fraud', 'rigged counts', and 'stolen' elections. The Associated Press declared victory for Joe Biden at 11.25 a.m. EST on Saturday 7th November 2020, after projecting his winning Pennsylvania. President-Elect Biden has a comfortable lead estimated to be around 80 million popular votes (6 million more than Trump), winning 306 Electoral College votes, comfortably above the 270 threshold.

Legal challenges concerning alleged voter fraud

Nevertheless, for weeks after AP and networks projected the result, President Trump sought to block the transition, invalidate votes, delay certification, and overturn the popular vote count in several states to let state legislatures name a new set of presidential electors.[9] In a blizzard of Tweets, the President repeatedly claimed to have won. His team of lawyers alleged that voting irregularities occurred in swing states like Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Georgia, particularly in communities of color which voted heavily Democrat, like Wayne County in Detroit. When legal suits failed, Michigan state legislators were summoned to DC and reportedly pressured by the president to discard the vote count and delay accreditation. In press conferences, the president's lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, spread bizarre conspiracy stories about nefarious plots to stuff ballot boxes and undermine the Trump victory.

A series of court cases litigated the President's complaints and judges dismissed almost three dozen lawsuits for lack of credible proof.[10] Agencies responsible for maintaining the integrity and security of American elections issued public statements rejecting the president's concerns, including the federal Election Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council and cybersecurity experts in the Department of Homeland Security.[11] Both Democratic and Republican Governors pushed back on the Trump campaign's claims, as did Secretaries of State in charge of running elections.[12] International election observers from the OSCE reported that the contests were free of fraud in the balloting and vote tabulation processes, noting that baseless allegations of systematic deficiencies by the president harmed public trust in democratic institutions.[13] Journalists fact-checked the president's claims, with the Associated Press and news divisions in all major networks and newspapers reporting that they were baseless (although commentators within Fox News were divided). Some technical errors were uncovered during the recount, including some previously uncounted legal

ballots in Georgia. But minor flaws in the process were incapable of overturning the declared popular vote winner in any single state, still less letting President Trump suddenly gain enough Electoral College votes to win back the White House.

Despite the lack of evidence, persistent and repeated allegations of voter fraud from President Trump, his spokespersons, and his army of lawyers continue to challenge the voting process and count for weeks after polling day. On 21st November, two weeks after the polls closed, Trump tweeted that "…*my investigators have found hundreds of thousands of fraudulent votes, enough to 'flip' at least four States, which in turn is more than enough to win the Election.*"[14] And a week later, after many states have already certified their votes: *"Biden can only enter the White House as President if he can prove that his ridiculous "80,000,000 votes" were not fraudulently or illegally obtained. When you see what happened in Detroit, Atlanta, Philadelphia & Milwaukee, massive voter fraud, he's got a big unsolvable problem!"*[15] In three weeks after Election Day, Trump posted around 300 Tweets, two-thirds of which sought to challenge the integrity of the election.[16] This string of unverified complaints was subsequently amplified through conservative allies, such as One America News Network, right-wing talk radio, and social media platforms without content moderation policies, like Perler.[17] After the race was called by AP, prior to the completion of the certification process on 14th December, a trickle of senior Republicans challenged the White House narrative. But most remained silent during November, or they expressed uncertainty about the final outcome. This continued despite the delay in the transition period for the new Biden-Harris administration, violating core democratic norms about a peaceful transfer of power where the election losers graciously concede defeat.

The rhetoric may be political theatre, but the barrage of repeated allegations has the capacity to sow confusion and harm public faith in U.S. elections and democracy. Conspiratorial beliefs about fraud persist, despite pushback against these claims from major media outlets, the string of court defeats, and statements endorsing the integrity of the process and outcome by federal, state, and local election officials. Doubts about electoral integrity among ordinary citizens have the capacity to undermine general satisfaction with the electoral process and how democracy works.[18] The General Services Administration delayed the transition to President Elect Biden for around two weeks after the outcome had been called by all major media outlets, hindering the handover. Disputes may damage the image of American democracy abroad. Democratic anger over Republican reluctance to acknowledge the winner is also likely to further exacerbated party polarization in Congress. Legal disputes in this election have also laid the groundwork for passage of new state laws and further challenges to integrity in future contests.

Other potential risks to electoral integrity

The immediate aftermath of the election has been dominated by legal disputes about alleged irregularities in the balloting and vote counting process. But the challenges of maintaining integrity in any election are manifold, compounded by the additional difficulties of holding any contests safely during a pandemic. The primary concern among Democrats in recent years has focused on claims of voter suppression where states restrict voting rights, especially in poorer communities of color. This includes where state laws have implemented restrictive registration procedures and voter ID requirements, purged voter rolls, limited access to mail ballots and advance voting, closed polling places, and generated excessively long wait lines for citizens to cast advance ballots in person.[19] There was also concern during the campaign about the effectiveness of get-out-the-vote efforts, given restrictions on local in-person canvassing and rallies in a pandemic. In fact, however, intense polarization and mobilization efforts in the election generated record levels of voter turnout, rising by 6 percentage points to 67% of the eligible electorate.[20]

Following threats detected in 2016, national security officials had expressed fears that American elections remained vulnerable to foreign attack and cybersecurity risks. [21] In 2018 Congress appropriated $380 million to help states improve election cybersecurity. During the runup to the 2020 election, the Department of Homeland Security worked closely with many state and local electoral officials to tighten computer defenses against foreign

meddling. These efforts appear to have paid off; after the polls closed, experts on cybersecurity in the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency in the Department of Homeland Security reported that the 2020 election was the 'most secure in American history'.[22] Nevertheless, the campaign saw a flood of domestic misinformation, amplified through official channels like White House briefings and presidential rallies, as well as through legacy and social media.[23] Debate continues about issues of free speech, especially the role and effectiveness of major social media platforms in restricting or flagging sensitive political content.

Additional concerns in the run up to polling day involved a climate of intense polarization and protests, with law enforcement officials responding by developing contingency plans to deal with potential threats of intimidation and violent protests disrupting the contest, and cities prepared for riots or looting, with stores boarded up. In fact, other than sporadic reports of scattered incidents like robocalls designed to mislead voters, polling day and its immediate aftermath passed largely peacefully, without major incidents. All these issues can be understood to be important aspects of electoral integrity throughout the campaign and its aftermath, above and beyond any claims of fraudulent ballots cast or vote count irregularities.

III: Methods and Evidence

The Electoral Integrity Project

In the light of all these concerns, what additional systematic evidence is available to evaluate the overall integrity of the 2020 elections across America? Were there indeed widespread problems of illegal voting, fraudulent ballots or inaccurate vote counts capable of determining the outcome, as President Trump and his allies have claimed, or indeed evidence for other major malpractices, including the systematic suppression voting rights in communities of color, as alleged by many Democrats. These issues should also be understood in a broader context since there has also been concern for many years about broader flaws in U.S. elections, such as district boundaries gerrymandered to favor incumbents, barriers restricting opportunities for women and ethnic minorities when running for office, mechanical and technical flaws in balloting arising from the localized process of electoral administration, foreign interference and domestic misinformation, and the undue impact of unequal access to money and media in American campaigns.[24]

Since 2012 the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), a scientific research initiative at Harvard University among a team of international scholars, has gathered new evidence providing insights into these issues. Since it was established by the Director, Pippa Norris (McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government), the project has conducted expert surveys among senior academic scholars of elections and parties. The EIP methodology has been used to evaluate the strengths and flaws of over 300 parliamentary and presidential elections in 166 nations around the world. As part of this research, the project has also used this technique to compare elections at sub-national levels, including since 2014 in contests every two years in 50 states across America.

EIP supplements this evidence with many other forms of data collection, including monitoring public opinion towards electoral integrity in America and more than 80 societies worldwide, in conjunction with the 6th and 7th waves of the World Values Survey.[25] EIP's scientific research program also collaborates closely with national election surveys like the ANES and BES, hold regular workshops with national and international professional associations, as well as consulting with a wide range of electoral assistance organizations such as International IDEA, IFES, OAS, OSCE, UNDP, and the Carter Center, and advising national election management bodies in several countries, like Australia and the UK. Over the last eight years, the research program has published a series of datasets, books, journal research papers, and policy reports.[26] The expert survey of the 2020 US elections was conducted by EIP in collaboration with the International Federation of Electoral Systems, a

leading organization in the field of electoral assistance, as well as being generously assisted by the American Political Science Association, the primary professional network of political scientists in the US.

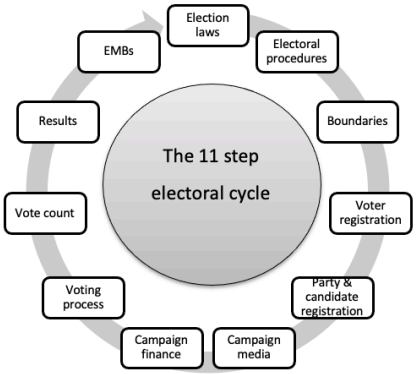
Perception of Electoral Integrity expert surveys

This report summarizes the initial key results of the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey (PEI-US-2020), which monitored the 2020 elections across all 50 U.S. states plus DC. Expert surveys have rapidly become a common data-gathering technique in the social sciences used to evaluate a wide range of complex phenomena, like ranking countries worldwide in their ratings on human rights, civil society, media freedom, or democracy. A study recently documented almost a hundred international rating indices and rankings produced by this method, which is most common where directly observable empirical indicators are lacking, as exemplified by Transparency International's Perception of Corruption Index and the Varieties of Democracy project at the University of Gothenburg.[27] Like any technique, measurements derived from expert surveys have advantages but also limits, and ideally any estimates should be used in conjunction with other sources of national or state-level data, such as public opinion and social surveys, international observer reports, electoral forensics, case-studies, experimental studies, and news media reports.

Expert respondents

To gather the data, after the polls closed, the survey invited selected political scientists to complete a comprehensive questionnaire. Scholars were invited if they were teaching or studying political science at American universities and colleges. Within the discipline, experts on elections, political parties and state politics were identified through their research, publications, teaching, and professional membership affiliations. The survey aimed to gather respondents' experience and observations of the process of elections in the state where they were registered to vote. A minimum of 20 experts on American elections, parties and state politics were invited to participate from each state and DC. Qualtrics was used to administer the survey online. After the polls closed, one emailed invitation and two reminders were distributed from 6th to 12th November 2020 to the selected participants.

Figure 1: The 11-stages in the electoral cycle



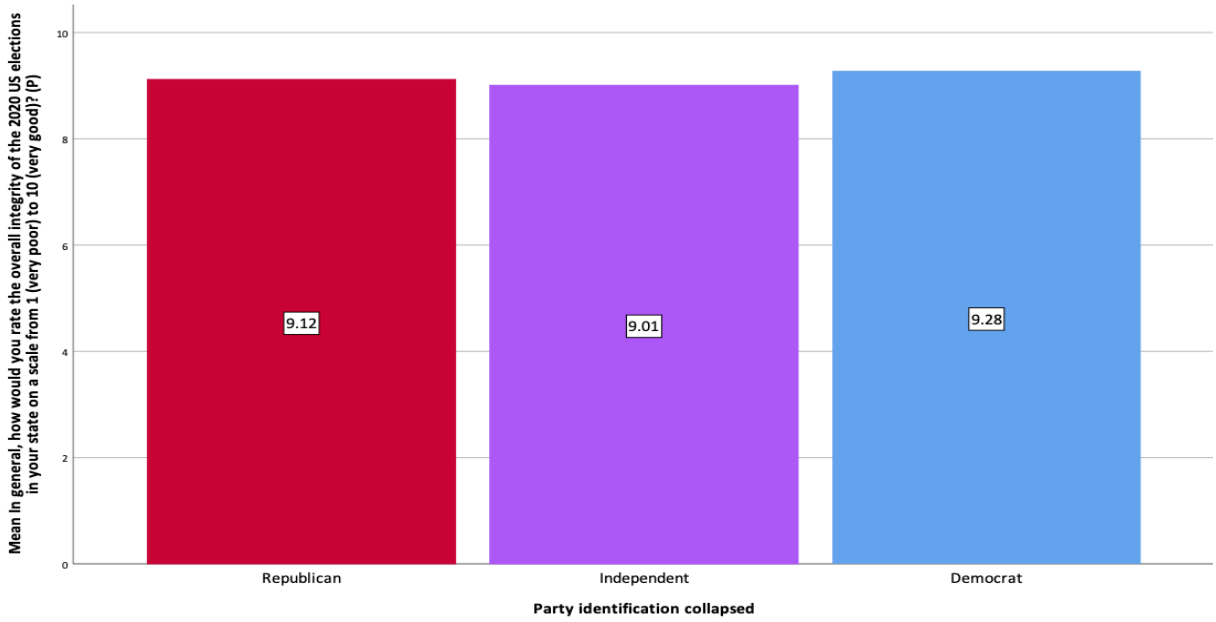
Perceptions of the integrity of the 2020 US elections were gathered across all stages of the electoral cycle using a comprehensive questionnaire with around 120 items. The international community has long recognized that problems in elections can arise at any stage of the process, so it is better to monitor integrity throughout the long-term electoral cycle, rather than focusing attention exclusively upon polling day and its immediate aftermath. The 11-steps in the electoral cycle are illustrated above, ranging from election laws and procedures which may be established years in advance of the event, to the conduct of the campaign, and then the voting and tabulation process. The questionnaire was designed to monitor all stages of this cycle.

The survey was completed in total by **789 political scientists**. This represents a response rate of 20% from those contacted with valid email addresses, comparable to several previous expert surveys. The study generated completed replies from around 15 experts on average per state and DC, meeting our target, although considerable caution is still needed when interpreting the results in smaller states, given the lower number of responses and thus the larger margin of error. The number of respondents per state reflects differences in state population size and the geographical location of departments of political science in American universities and colleges. The majority of respondents (51%) were senior faculty employed as full professors of political science. Most others were faculty employed as Associate Professors, Assistant Professors, or Lecturers, while 6% were advanced-level graduate students completing their PhD research.

Validity tests

It is important to check whether the data is valid and reliable. In particular, social scientists might be expected to be biased in their perceptions of the quality of elections, given the well-known skew towards liberal and leftwing values in academia.[28] In fact, however, *no significant differences were evident when Democrats, Independents and Republicans were asked to rate the overall integrity of elections in their own state*, using on a 10-point scale from low to high. As Figure 2 shows, similarly positive ratings were given by each group of partisan identifiers.

Figure 2: Expert evaluations of the integrity of elections in their state by party identification



Note: Q: "*In general, how would you rate the overall integrity of the 2020 US elections in your state on a scale from 1 (very poor) to 10 (very good)?*"
Source: PEI-US-2020 Expert level N. 789.

To explore further, OLS regression models tested whether several social and political characteristics predicted respondents' ratings of electoral integrity in their own state. Models included the 3-category collapsed scale of partisanship and also respondents' self-identified position on 10-point scales measuring Left-Right economic values and Liberal-Conservative social values. Standard controls included age, gender, race (White), and also indicators of levels of expertise, including respondent's familiarity with elections in their own state, the length of time they had lived in the state where they are currently registered, and their reported difficulty in completing the survey.

Figure 3: Validity tests predicting expert evaluations of electoral integrity

	B	Std. Error	Standardized Beta	Sig.
Party identification 3-categories collapsed	0.04	0.10	0.02	0.730
Age (in years)	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.273
Gender	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.704
Race: White/Other	0.45	0.16	0.12	0.004
Left-Right position towards economic values scale	-0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.689
Liberal-Conservative position towards social value scale	-0.04	0.04	-0.06	0.351
How familiar are you with elections in your state?	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.093
How long have you lived in the state where you are currently registered to vote?	0.02	0.07	0.01	0.791
Overall, how easy or difficult did you find the questions?	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.346
(Constant)	8.24	0.57		0.000
Adjusted R^2	0.024			
Number of respondents	575			

Note: Q: "*In general, how would you rate the overall integrity of the 2020 US elections in your state on a scale from 1 (very poor) to 10 (very good)?*"
Source: PEI-US-2020 Expert level

The results suggest that, almost *none of these factors were statistically significant predictors of evaluations of electoral integrity*. The important exception of race where White respondents were significantly more positive than those from other ethnic groups, for reasons which remain unclear, although this may relate to the historical legacy of racial disparities in voter suppression in America. By contrast, perhaps surprisingly in an age of deep polarization, *values and partisanship did not matter*; there was similar ratings of electoral integrity among Democrats, Independents, and Republicans

IV: Key Findings

1. EXPERT ASSESSMENTS OF VOTER FRAUD IN THE 2020 ELECTION

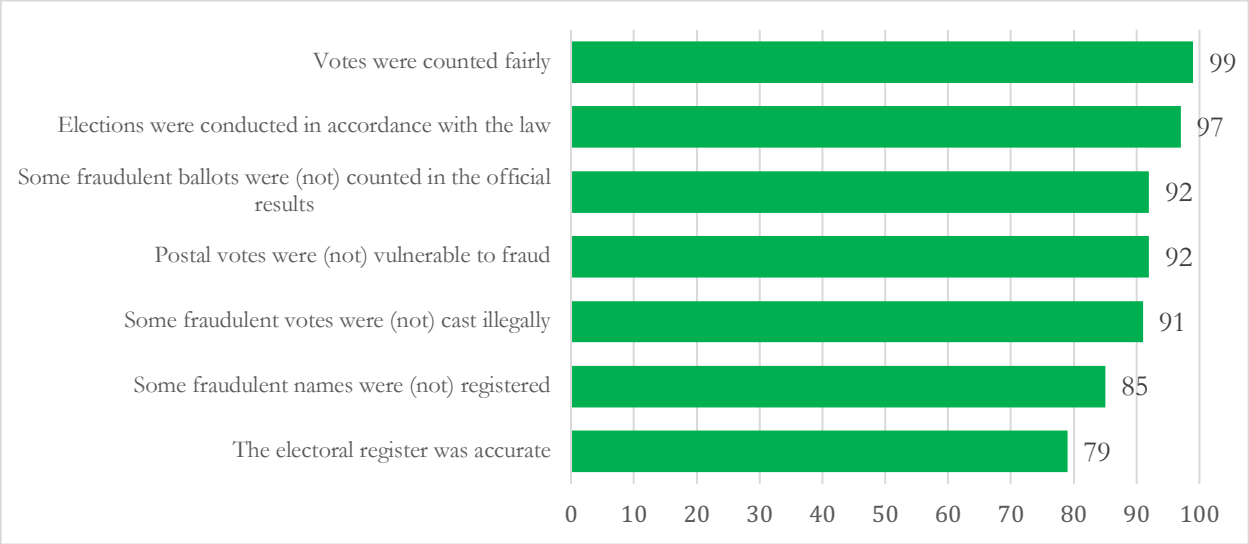
The most heated disputes after the polls closed concern the Trump campaign's claims of extensive voter fraud where illegal ballots are alleged to have been cast or counted on sufficient scale to determine the outcome in several swing states. Figure 3 illustrates expert assessments of a series of common statements about problems of fraud.

The results suggest that election experts overwhelmingly rejected claims of widespread fraud occurring during the 2020 elections. As Figure 4 shows, respondents overwhelmingly agreed that the vote count was fair and elections were conducted in accordance with the law in their own state. More than three quarters of the election experts also thought the electoral register was accurate, and journalists provided fair coverage.

By contrast, there was almost universally disagreement with statements that some fraudulent votes were cast illegally, postal ballots were vulnerable to fraud, some fraudulent ballots were counted in the official results, and some fraudulent names were registered to vote.

These assessments correspond with the conclusions reached by a series of news media investigative reports, the statements issued by election observers, official agencies, and state authorities, and the judicial reaction tossing litigation in almost three dozen court cases. A series of public opinion polls show that Trump supporters believe that Joe Biden only won through fraud. Evidence in PEI-US-2020 from a wide range of experts on American elections suggests that these concerns are groundless.

Figure 4: Expert assessments of fraud and fairness in their state during the 2020 elections



Note: Q: *"In your state, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"* Responses were measured on a 5-point 'Agree-Disagree' scale, recoded to reflect positive assessments. The figure shows the % who 'Agree' or 'Agree Strongly', excluding the DKs. **Source**: PEI-US-2020

2. WHAT WERE THE MAJOR CHALLENGES TO ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN U.S. ELECTIONS?

At the same time, this does not mean that U.S. elections should be given an automatic clean bill of health. Electoral integrity involves multiple stages during the whole electoral cycle. Contests can be flawed by many malpractices which do not involve voter fraud, for example, if state laws restrict minor parties from ballot access, if gerrymandered boundaries favor incumbents, if elections lack equitable access to campaign money or media, or if the electoral authorities fail to be fair and impartial.

Since 2012, a series of annual reports by EIP have examined electoral integrity in over 300 contests in 166 nations worldwide. The comparisons suggest that, even before the 2020 disputes, the conduct and procedures used in a series of previous American presidential and mid-term elections fall short. On average, in elections from 2012-2018, the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) Index ranked the U.S. 57th out of 165 countries around the globe. The PEI Index in America was worse than most liberal democracies in affluent post-industrial societies such as Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany, as well as worse than in newer democracies like Estonia, Taiwan, and Costa Rica.[29]

Strengths and weaknesses in American elections

How did experts evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of multiple aspects of the 2020 American elections in their own state? Respondents were asked whether a series of 54 statements applied to the 2020 contest in their state, using a 5-point agree-disagree response scale. Responses were re-coded in direction for consistent comparison across the items, so that a higher mean score in Figure 5 represents a more positive assessment.

The results in Figure 5 largely confirm the strengthens and weaknesses of American elections repeatedly observed in previous reports.[30] The primary challenges to the integrity during the 2020 electoral cycle center upon the stages of electoral laws, district boundaries, campaign media and campaign finance.

Several specific flaws were also highlighted, (scoring on average less than 3 on the 5-point scale), including district boundaries that unfairly benefitted incumbents and discriminated against minority communities, misinformation disseminated by social media platforms, problems of equitable access to campaign finance for parties and candidates, and difficulties of voting for communities of color. By contrast, experts assessed several other stages of the campaign more positively, including the performance of electoral authorities, the use of fair and well-managed electoral procedures, the availability of convenient voting facilities, and the accuracy and transparency of the ballot tabulation process.

This evidence therefore highlights several stages where we should be genuinely concerned about the integrity of American elections – especially the roles of money and media during the campaign.[31] But as already noted, problems of fraud in voting and the count, the focus of Republican concern and recent attempts at litigation, are not regarded by experts as the key challenges of electoral integrity facing America.

State performance

But, of course, there can be wide variations in the performance of elections across all US states. Even if the average record of voter fraud or tabulation irregularities in American elections is positive, this does not rule out the possibility that a few 'bad apples' with serious malpractices can still exist in certain states.

To examine this further, Figure 6 breaks down the expert assessment by state using a summary 100-point index for the performance of each stage of the electoral cycle, standardized to 100-point scales, for ease of comparison. The overall PEI Index is also listed in the first column, using multiple imputation where for any missing data. Minor differences in scores among states should be treated with due caution, given the size of the standard errors and confidence intervals. Certain states which each had fewer than the minimum of four respondents were dropped from the analysis in this table, namely Delaware, North Dakota, South Dakota, and West Virginia.

The results in Figure 6 confirm that the stages of greatest concern across many states involve the process of determining district boundaries, electoral laws, and campaign media and finance. By contrast, once again the stages of the vote count and electoral procedures are given a relatively clean bill of health across America. There are also some important contrasts in state performance which need to be explored further to explain how far the variations relate to state electoral laws and procedures, and to learn lessons from high integrity states.

Figure 5: Expert assessments of the 2020 election

	Component	Mean	Std. Deviation	N Experts
Electoral laws	Electoral laws restricted citizens' rights	**3.4**	1.37	750
	Electoral laws were unfair to minor parties	**3.0**	1.29	712
	Electoral laws favored incumbents	**2.9**	1.25	728
Electoral procedures	Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	**4.7**	0.66	744
	Election officials were fair	**4.6**	0.73	724
	Information about voting procedures was widely available	**4.5**	0.78	749
	Elections were well managed	**4.5**	0.78	754
District boundaries	Boundaries discriminated against minority communities	**2.8**	1.28	637
	Boundaries were impartial	**2.3**	1.21	661
	Boundaries favored incumbents	**2.1**	1.07	658
Voter registration	Some fraudulent names were registered	**4.2**	0.86	485
	The electoral register was accurate	**3.9**	0.90	497
	Some eligible citizens were not listed in the register	**3.1**	1.22	400
Candidates	Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies	**4.0**	1.04	598
	Women had equal opportunities to run for office	**4.0**	1.01	701
	Minority candidates had equal opportunities to run for office	**3.8**	1.09	702
	Some minor party or independent candidates were prevented from running	**3.7**	1.15	592
	Women candidates faced harassment or threats of violence	**3.5**	1.22	561
	Minority candidates faced harassment or threats of violence	**3.5**	1.21	561
Campaign media	Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections	**3.9**	0.93	678
	Parties/candidates had fair access to political advertising	**3.9**	0.96	606
	Local newspapers provided balanced election news	**3.7**	0.99	643
	Local TV news favored incumbents	**3.2**	0.96	545
	Social media spread misinformation about the elections in my state	**2.1**	1.12	579
Campaign finance	Some voters were bribed	**4.5**	0.74	564
	Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning	**3.7**	1.02	507
	Rich people bought the election	**3.5**	1.07	663
	Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations	**3.2**	1.20	596
	Parties/candidates published transparent financial accounts	**3.2**	1.12	490
	Parties/ candidates had equitable campaign funds	**2.7**	1.16	571
Voting process	Some form of absentee voting was easily available	**4.5**	0.84	696
	Postal ballots were not vulnerable to fraud	**4.4**	0.84	680
	Faudulent votes were not cast illegally	**4.4**	0.78	598
	National citizens living abroad could vote	**4.4**	0.59	572
	Postal ballots were easily available	**4.3**	1.08	691
	Voters were offered a genuine choice	**4.2**	1.04	706
	The process of voting was easy	**4.1**	1.03	707
	Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	**4.1**	0.86	477
	Voters were threatened with violence at the polls	**4.0**	1.06	602
	Citizens from communities of color faced greater difficulties in voting	**2.9**	1.26	632
Vote tabulation	Votes were counted fairly	**4.6**	0.57	678
	Ballots were secure	**4.6**	0.67	683
	Some fraudulent ballots were counted in the official results	**4.4**	0.80	568
	Domestic election monitors were unduly restricted	**4.3**	0.94	506
	The results were announced without undue delay	**4.2**	1.01	693
	International election monitors were unduly restricted	**4.0**	1.06	259
Declaration of results	The election triggered violent protests	**4.3**	0.83	635
	Any disputes in your state were resolved through legal channels	**4.1**	0.84	472
	Parties/ candidates challenged the results in court	**3.8**	1.31	595
	The election led to peaceful protests	**3.1**	1.27	616
Electoral authorities	The election authorities performed well	**4.4**	0.72	672
	The authorities distributed timely information to citizens	**4.4**	0.80	677
	The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance	**4.3**	0.78	625
	The election authorities were impartial	**4.3**	0.89	668

Note: Q. **"***When thinking about …in your state, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"* Responses used 1-5 point scales from 'Strongly agree' to 'Strongly disagree', which were recoded so that a higher mean score consistently reflects a more positive assessment. **Source:** PEI-US-2020 www.electoralintegrityproject

Figure 6: Expert assessments of state performance in the 2020 US elections

State name	PEI index 2020	Electoral law index	Electoral procedures index	District boundaries index	Voter register index	Candidate index	Media index	Campaign finance index	Voting process index	Vote count index	Vote results index	Electoral authorities index
Alabama	76	45	86	31	75	75	68	66	72	78	85	77
Alaska	72	61	86	40	58	77	64	66	79	70	64	80
Arizona	77	59	94	48	65	73	63	68	86	82	53	96
Arkansas	75	52	88	44	73	74	67	68	73	87	85	76
California	81	64	94	62	74	74	65	66	86	85	79	89
Colorado	85	85	98	62	80	83	69	76	89	89	82	94
Connecticut	87	68	94	62	81	80	75	80	88	90	79	88
DC	81	66	92	62	76	82	71	70	85	80	75	86
Florida	75	48	88	37	67	72	65	64	79	82	72	80
Georgia	74	48	87	39	68	72	65	64	77	82	61	80
Hawaii	84	67	96	71	84	81	74	69	89	94	89	95
Idaho	82	73	94	52	81	73	71	72	85	91	88	88
Illinois	78	60	94	41	73	69	64	64	84	89	76	88
Indiana	73	48	83	35	66	62	63	64	71	84	77	75
Iowa	78	54	84	73	65	75	67	71	80	91	78	78
Kansas	71	41	76	52	65	70	67	71	75	84	77	77
Kentucky	81	59	98	42	77	72	75	76	88	94	94	91
Louisiana	82	75	95	55	77	81	69	75	79	87	88	85
Maine	86	78	96	66	82	79	72	76	88	89	85	91
Maryland	83	69	93	52	73	76	70	68	85	87	81	90
Massachusetts	82	73	93	57	75	78	69	73	87	87	83	89
Michigan	77	64	95	37	72	70	68	69	81	89	59	93
Minnesota	80	74	94	57	76	70	68	73	83	85	67	94
Mississippi	71	52	88	34	74	77	66	68	76	94	91	83
Missouri	75	47	82	42	65	69	64	65	76	84	85	85
Montana	77	62	95	63	80	68	61	55	81	81	75	85
Nebraska	79	54	96	36	79	68	56	69	84	89	86	93
Nevada	77	66	91	51	84	76	59	68	84	79	61	86
New Hampshire	87	71	98	54	80	86	63	75	86	94	86	96
New Jersey	82	64	94	50	78	77	68	71	87	86	79	90
New Mexico	81	81	87	58	70	84	76	74	86	80	73	79
New York	77	60	90	49	74	72	66	68	79	83	74	83
North Carolina	78	57	93	32	74	76	71	70	85	82	71	90
Ohio	74	49	85	33	67	71	64	64	78	85	81	77
Oklahoma	81	57	89	35	71	72	58	64	77	90	82	85
Oregon	86	76	97	54	88	76	75	67	89	95	80	93
Pennsylvania	74	55	91	43	69	67	64	67	78	81	59	87
Rhode Island	81	73	93	56	87	79	65	67	85	88	72	91
South Carolina	78	59	89	31	75	75	67	68	78	86	84	83
Tennessee	70	36	86	35	66	67	62	64	71	85	74	78
Texas	72	45	83	35	70	69	66	66	71	83	75	79
Utah	78	61	87	32	73	64	67	68	84	84	83	86
Vermont	89	79	93	69	87	80	77	80	93	95	89	96
Virginia	83	68	95	46	80	79	67	71	84	87	81	85
Washington	88	81	100	71	85	80	70	78	91	91	81	97
Wisconsin	73	49	93	23	70	63	62	62	80	92	60	89
Wyoming	79	74	90	53	71	76	62	64	83	87	77	90
Total	79	62	91	48	75	75	67	69	82	87	78	87

Note: The standardized 100-point indexes are calculated by summing the imputed values for the items listed for each sub-category and for all items in Figure 5.

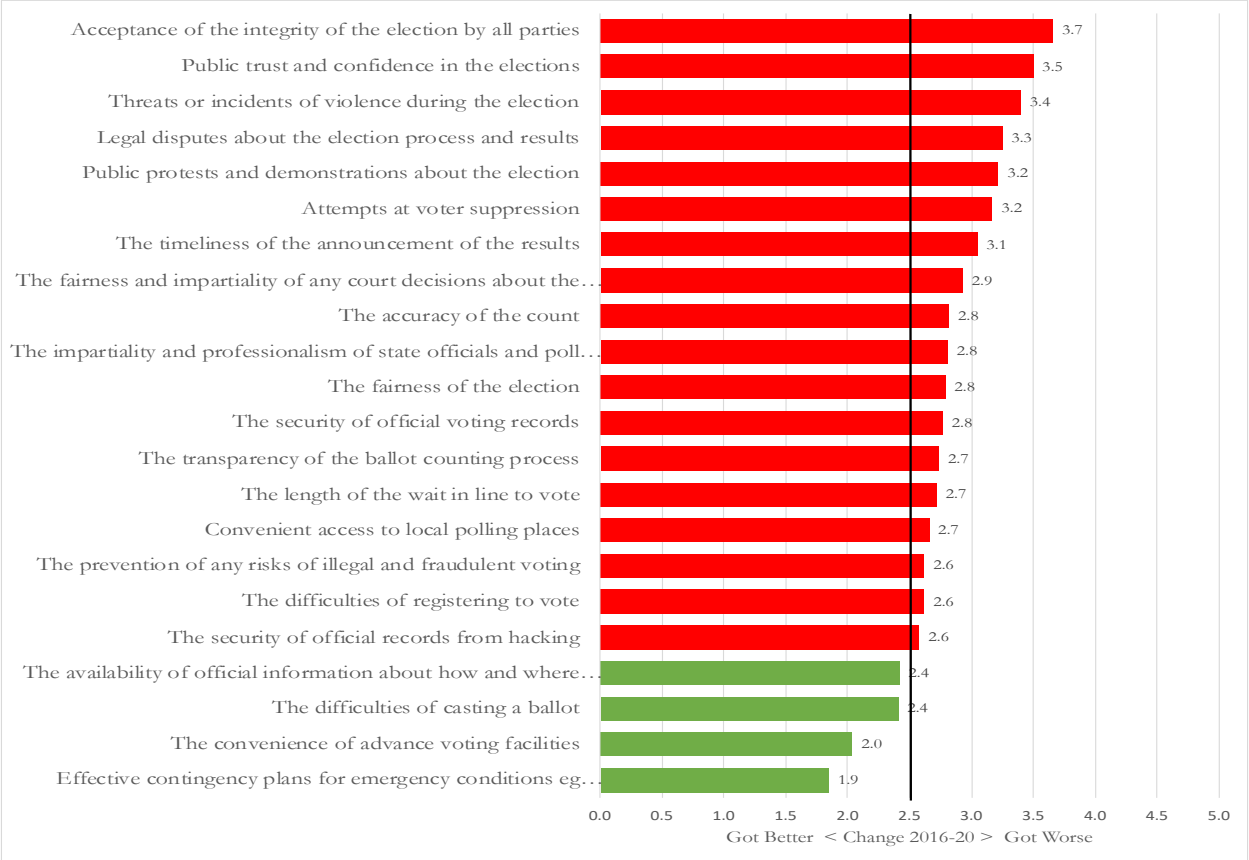
Source: PEI-US-2020 www.electoralintegrityproject

3. HAS ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN AMERICA GOT WORSE – OR BETTER - OVER TIME?

The historical challenges of holding free and fair election are far from novel, and there has been growing contention over electoral laws during the last two decades. Nevertheless, a prevailing zeitgeist suggests that the 2020 election pose a stress-test for the resilience of American democracy. To gauge the degree of change compared with the previous presidential elections in 2016, experts were asked to say whether they thought that a series of issues had got better or worse in 2020. Figure 7 displays the mean scores on these items, each scaled 1-5, where a higher score indicates perceptions of growing problems.

The results suggest deteriorating confidence in the quality of presidential contests, notably the challenges to the integrity of the election by all parties, falling public trust and confidence in elections, threats or incidents of violence during the election, legal disputes about the process and results, as well as public protests and attempts at voter suppression. By contrast there are only a few areas where certain improvements were noted, including the convenience of advance voting facilities, reducing the difficulties of casting a ballot, and the contingency plans to keep citizens and poll workers safe during emergency conditions.

Figure 7: Expert assessment of changes to US elections from 2016 to 2020

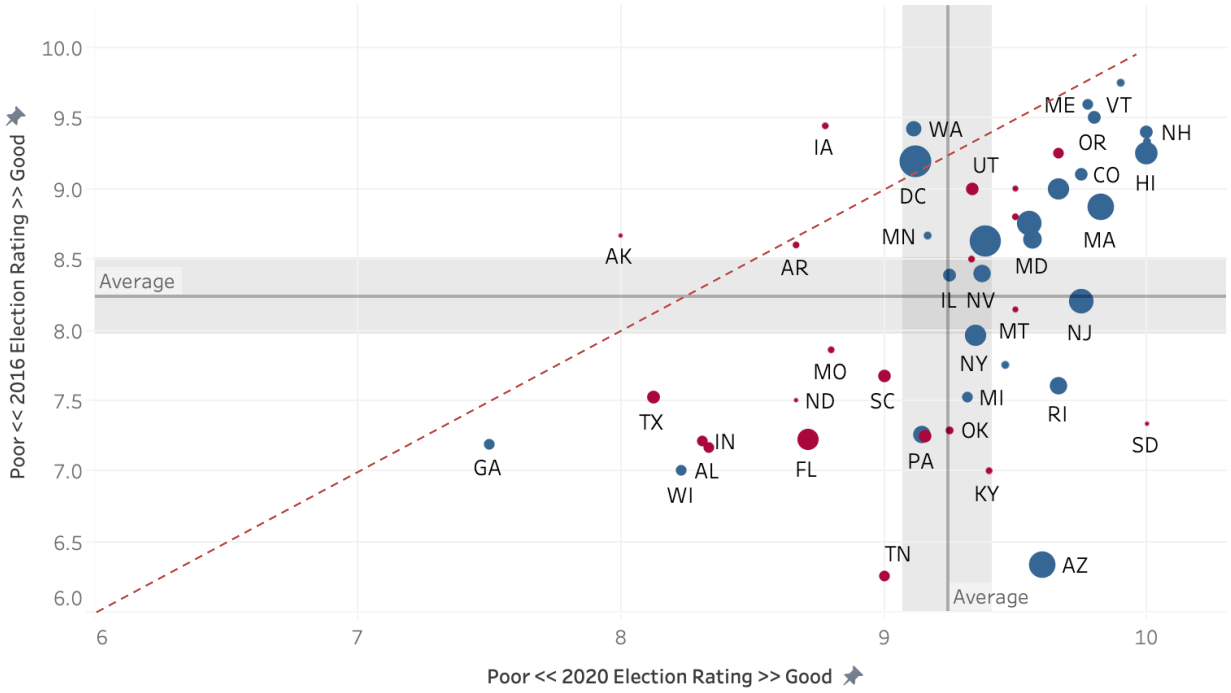


Note: *Q. 'And we would like to ask you a few questions about the conduct of the election in your state…Thinking about the 2020 election, in your view were the following aspects better or worse than in 2016?' Responses were coded from Much better (1) to much worse (5). N. 789 respondents.* **Source:** PEI-US-2020 www.electoralintegrityproject

Comparing the 2016 and 2020 election ratings

For comparisons of changes over time, the ratings experts gave to the integrity of elections in their own state can be compared in the 2016 and 2020 surveys. The question asked respondents to rate the overall performance of their state using a 10-point scale, displayed below. The dotted red line reflects no change in ratings between elections. The results show that the ratings of many states deteriorated significantly, probably reflecting contentious legal disputes ocurring both during and after the 2020 contest. The decline was particularly marked in Arizona, but falls can be observed in most other states.

Figure 8: Changes in electoral integrity ratings in each state, 2016-2020



Note: Q: "*In general, how would you rate the overall integrity of the US elections in your state on a scale from 1 (very poor) to 10 (very good)?"* The dotted red line represents no change in state ratings from 2016-2020. The colored symbols show the state's 2020 presidential winner and population size. Source: PEI-US-2016 and PEI-US-2020.

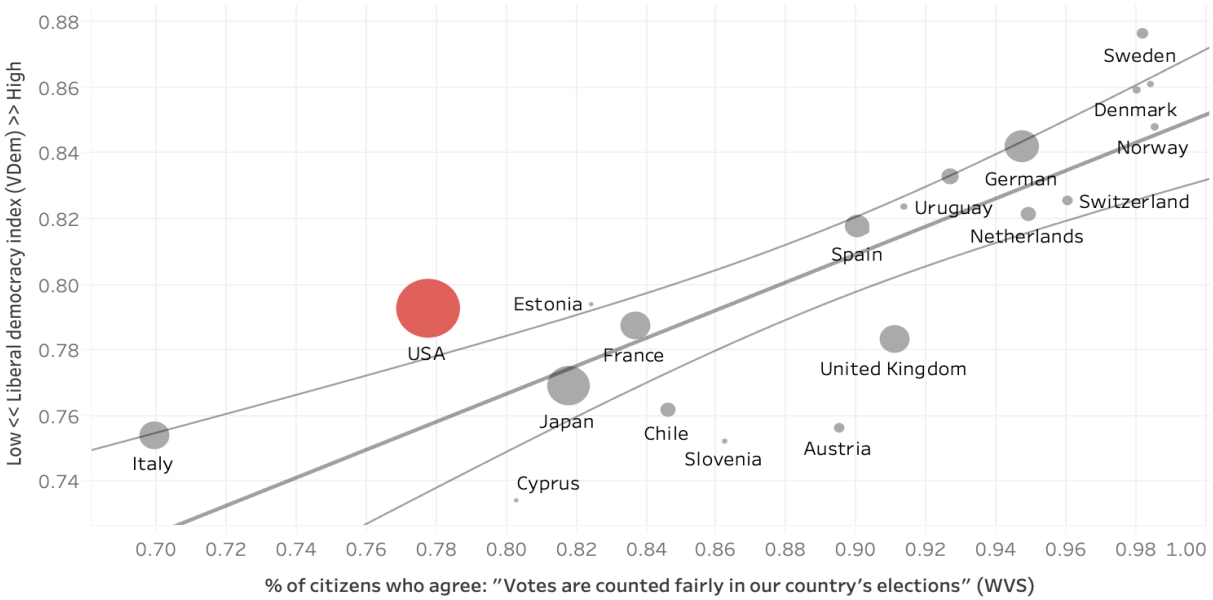
Confidence in American elections in comparative perspective

Finally, how does public confidence in American elections compare with similar post-industrial democracies? During the last decade, the 6th and 7th waves of the World Values Study have monitored this issue by including a battery of items about electoral integrity. The latest WVS survey in the United States was conducted in 2017, well before recent disputes. Figure 9 compares public beliefs about how often vote counts are fair in their national elections in 27 liberal democracies.

Attitudes vary substantially across liberal democracies. Citizens are overwhelmingly confident about fair vote counts in Scandinavia and several countries in North Europe, including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. The United States falls well below all these; 78%

of Americans expressed similar trust in fair vote counts, with only Italy proving more cynical in these societies. Therefore, compared with equivalent liberal democracies, American confidence in the vote count was exceptionally low in 2017, *before* the 2020 presidential elections.

Figure 9: Public views of how often votes are counted fairly in their national elections, 27 liberal democracies



Notes: Q. "*How often are votes counted fairly in your national elections?*" % of citizens responding 'very' or 'fairly' often. WVS (waves 6 & 7) with 47,180 respondents in 27 liberal democracies. The Liberal Democracy Index is from the Varieties of Democracy project (V-Dem). **Sources:** www.worldvaluessurvey.org; https://www.v-dem.net/

V: Conclusions and Recommendations

To prevent further deterioration of public confidence in future elections, this report recommends that structural weaknesses should be addressed by a program of comprehensive reforms designed to restore confidence and trust in the electoral process. The incoming Biden-Harris administration should work Congress, federal and state officials, democracy and electoral assistance NGOs, and academic experts to identify effective ways to strengthen American elections and democracy. Many practical steps have the capacity to strengthen American elections, learning from many other democracies. This includes expanding secure *and* convenient registration and balloting facilities, improving the independence and professional standards of electoral management, and strengthening impartial dispute resolution mechanisms.[32] In particular, this includes passing H.R.1 (2019) "*For the People Act*" which would strengthen democracy by making it easier to vote, limiting partisan gerrymandering, fixing the campaign finance system, and strengthening ethics rules.[33] American elections survived a major legitimacy crisis in 2020 -- but not without incurring real damage. Given continued party polarization and the bitter legacy of this contest, unless comprehensive reforms are implemented by federal, state and local agencies, it is by no means apparent that public confidence in American democracy will survive another repetition.

VI: Technical Appendix

Conceptual framework

The concept of 'electoral integrity' refers to international standards and global norms governing the appropriate conduct of elections throughout the electoral cycle, including during the pre-election period, the campaign, polling day, and its aftermath.[34] These standards have been endorsed in a series of authoritative conventions, treaties, protocols, and guidelines by agencies of the international community, notably by the decisions of the UN General Assembly, by regional bodies such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the African Union (AU), and by member states in the United Nations.

The survey is designed to measure the concept of electoral integrity, understood as only one component of liberal democracy. Democratic procedures involving free and fair elections are essential to the concept of liberal democracy, but many other political rights and civil liberties are also essential, as the basis for institutional checks and balances on the powers of the executive, including independent courts, effective and inclusive legislatures, freedom of information and association, a level playing field for party competition, a vibrant civil society, and opportunities for political participation. Thus, elections may meet standards of integrity without other conditions being present for liberal democratic governance to work well.

Measurement

As discussed earlier, the empirical evidence is gathered by EIP from rolling expert surveys gauging Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) globally since 2012, and across US states since 2014. The EIP has also conducted similar sub-national surveys across regions in Mexico, Russia, India, and the United Kingdom.

To measure this concept, the PEI-US-2020 questionnaire included 54 items on electoral integrity (see Table A1) ranging over the whole electoral cycle. These items fall into eleven sequential sub-dimensions. Most attention in detecting fraud focuses upon the final stages of the voting process, such as the role of observers in preventing ballot-stuffing, vote-rigging and manipulated results. Drawing upon the notion of a 'menu of manipulation',[35] however, the concept of an electoral cycle suggests that failure in even one step in the sequence, or one link in the chain, can undermine electoral integrity. The electoral integrity items in the survey were recoded, where a higher score consistently represents a more positive evaluation. Missing data was estimated based on multiple imputation. The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) Index is an additive function of the imputed variables, standardized to 100-points. Sub-indices of the eleven sub-dimensions in the electoral cycle are summations of the imputed individual variables.[36] The PEI index provides one way to summarize the overall integrity of the election. Alternatively, measures for each of the eleven dimensions can be analyzed, or for any of the individual indicators to explore specific issues.

The selection of experts

Participation was by invitation only. For each US state, the project identified a minimum of 20 election experts, defined as a political scientist based at a US university, who had demonstrated knowledge of the electoral process (such as through publications, membership of a relevant research group or network, or university employment). Experts were asked to complete an online survey. In particular, experts were selected if they were political scientist based at an American university or college who met the following criteria: (1) membership of a relevant research group, professional network, or organized section of such a group (such as 'Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior' at the American Political Science Association); (2) or by existing publications on elections and parties in books, academic journals, or conference papers; and (3) advanced graduate study or employment as a political scientist at a university or college.

In total, 789 completed questionnaires were received for this survey, representing a response rate 20%. On average, responses were received from 15 experts per state, although this varied across states.

Experts were initially invited to participate on Nov 6th, 2020 with two additional reminders sent on 9th and 12th November. Fieldwork closed on 23rd November. Respondents completed an online questionnaire lasting approximately 14 minutes. Raw scores are given across the separate measures and multiple imputation was used to deal with missing data in constructing the composite PEI standardized Index. The items contained in the summary 100-point PEI Index is listed in Table A1. The questionnaire is available for download from the project website.

Given the margin of error arising from the limited number of respondents in each state, minor differences between any two states should be treated with considerable caution. It is more useful to look at the overall distribution of responses from the pooled dataset.

Validity and reliability tests:

A series of previous studies have examined the *external* validity of the PEI estimates by comparing them with other standard datasets, such as the Varieties of Democracy project national-level measures of clean elections, and with suitable measures of electoral integrity across US states. [37]

Internal validity tests for PEI-US-2020 were run using OLS regression models to predict whether the estimates of electoral integrity in each state were significantly associated with several characteristics of the respondents, including their partisan identities, ideological values, and socio-demographic characteristics, including sex, age, race, partisan identity, ideological values, and familiarity with the election in their state. The results, presented earlier in Figure 3, suggest that none of these factors were significant except for race.

More information

The PEI-US-2020 Questionnaire provides detailed descriptions of all survey questions and response codes. These are available with this report via the project website, www.electoralintegritysurvey.com.

The PEI-US-2020 datasets at expert and state levels and the Codebook will be released in mid-December 2020 for download from EIP's Dataverse at https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI

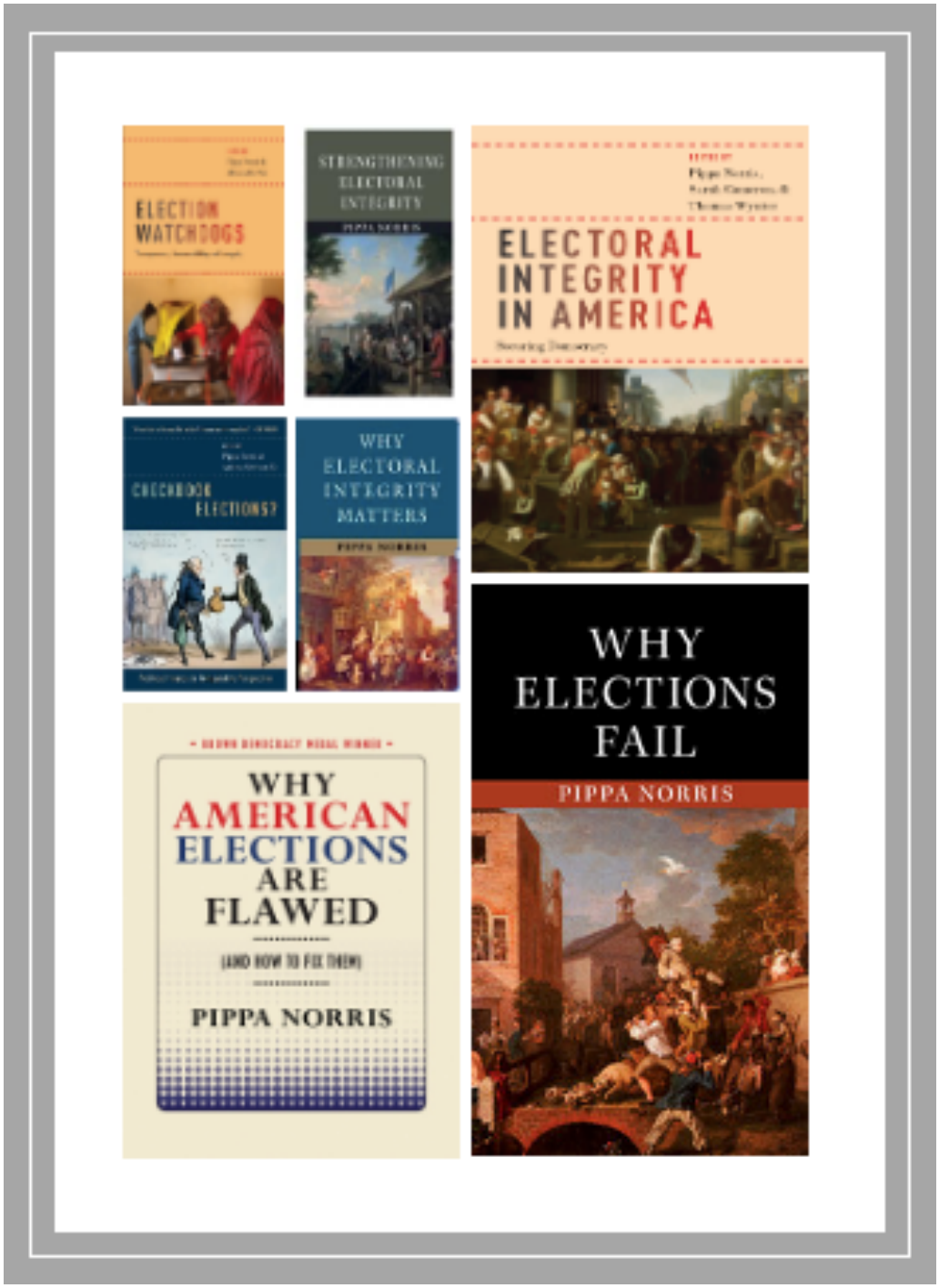
Previous EIP global and sub-national datasets are also available from EIP's Dataverse.

TABLE A1: SURVEY QUESTIONS IN THE 2020 PEI INDEX

Q: In your state, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Sections	Performance indicators	Direction
PRE-ELECTION	**1. Electoral laws**	1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties	N
		1-2 Electoral laws favored the incumbent	N
		1-3 Election laws restricted citizens' rights	N
	2. Electoral procedures	2-1 Elections were well managed	P
		2-2 Information about voting procedures was widely available	P
		2-3 Election officials were fair	P
		2-4 Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	P
	3. Boundaries	3-1 Boundaries discriminated against some parties	N
		3-2 Boundaries favored incumbents	N
		3-3 Boundaries were impartial	P
	4. Voter registration	4-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register	N
		4-2 The electoral register was accurate	P
		4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered	N
	5. Party registration	5-1 Some candidates/parties were prevented from running	N
		5-2 Women had equal opportunities to run for office	P
		5-3 Minorities had equal opportunities to run for office	P
		5-4 Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies	N
		5.5 Women candidates faced harassment or threats of violence	N
		5-5 Minority candidates faced harassment or threats of violence	N
CAMPAIGN	**6. Campaign media**	6-1 Newspapers provided balanced election news	P
		6-2 TV news favored the governing party	N
		6-3 Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising	P
		6-4 Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections	P
		6-5 Social media were used to expose electoral fraud	P
	7. Campaign finance	7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public subsidies	P
		7-2 Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations	P
		7-3 Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts	P
		7.4 Rich people buy elections	N
		7-5 Some states resources were improperly used for campaigning	N
ELECTION DAY	**8. Voting process**	8-1 Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls	N
		8-2 Some fraudulent votes were cast	N
		8-3 The process of voting was easy	P
		8-4 Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box	P
		8-5 Postal ballots were available	P
		8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	P
		8-7 National citizens living abroad could vote	P
		8-8 Some form of internet voting was available	P
POST-ELECTION	**9. Vote count**	9-1 Ballot boxes were secure	P
		9-2 The results were announced without undue delay	P
		9-3 Votes were counted fairly	P
		9-4 International election monitors were restricted	N
		9-5 Domestic election monitors were restricted	N
	10.Post-election	10-1 Parties/candidates in [STATE] challenged the results	N
		10-2 The election led to peaceful protests in [STATE]	N
		10-3 The election triggered violent protests in [STATE]	N
		10-4 Any disputes in [STATE] were resolved through legal channels	P
	11. Electoral authorities	11-1 The election authorities were impartial	P
		11-2 The authorities distributed information to citizens	P
		11-3 The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance	P
		11-4 The election authorities performed well	P

VII: Selected EIP publications



www.electoralintegrityproject.com

VIII: Notes and References

EIP is most grateful to all colleagues who generously spent time and effort responding to our requests. The survey was conducted in collaboration with IFES and with the assistance of the American Political Science Association.

[1] The Economist/YouGov poll of 1500 registered voters. Nov 21-24 2020. www.yougov.com
[2] Christopher J. Anderson et al. 2005. *Loser's Consent*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[3] Pippa Norris. 2014. *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. NY: Cambridge University Press; Pippa Norris. 2019. 'Do perceptions of electoral malpractice undermine democratic satisfaction? The US in comparative perspective.' *International Political Science Review* 40(1): 5-22.
[4] See, Pippa Norris, Holly Ann Garnett and Max Gromping. Eds. 2919. *Electoral Integrity in the 2018 American Elections*. Sydney: EIP. www.electoralintegrityproject.com
[5] Pippa Norris, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in America*. New York: Oxford UP.
[6] Pippa Norris. 2017. *Why American Elections are Flawed (and How to Fix Them)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
[7] https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/ensure-every-american-can-vote/voting-reform/hr-1-democracy-reform
[8] See Pippa Norris, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in America*, NY: OUP.
[9] https://www.scotusblog.com/election-litigation/
[10] https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-legal-challenges-explained-63bb3909a0af7a781a229cb523806fc0
[11] https://www.cisa.gov/news/2020/11/12/joint-statement-elections-infrastructure-government-coordinating-council-election
[12] https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/10/us/politics/voting-fraud.html
[13] OSCE. November 2020. *International election observation mission: United States of America – General Elections, 3 November 2020. Statement of preliminary findings and conclusions*. Warsaw: OSCE https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/6/469437.pdf
[14] https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1330319748660416513
[15] @RealDonaldTriump Tweet 27th November 2020.
[16] Estimates by the *New York Times* from analyzing Trump's Twitter feed from 3-23 November 2020.
[17] https://www.politico.com/news/2020/11/22/parler-maga-election-echo-chamber-439056
[18] Pippa Norris. 2019. 'Do perceptions of electoral malpractice undermine democratic satisfaction? The US in comparative perspective.' *International Political Science Review* 40(1): 5-22.
[19] https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/ensure-every-american-can-vote/vote-suppression
[20] http://www.electproject.org/
[21] Office of the Director of National Intelligence 2017. *Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections*. https://www.scribd.com/document/335885580/Unclassified-version-of-intelligence-report-on-Russian-hacking-during-the-2016-election#from_embed
[22] See Pippa Norris and Max Gromping. 2019. *Electoral Integrity Worldwide: PEI 7.0*. Sydney: EIP. www.electoralintegrityproject.com
[23] https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/2020-election-misinformation-distortions
[24] Pippa Norris, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in America*. New York: Oxford UP.
[25] www.worldvaluessurvey.org
[26] See www.electoralintegrityproject.com
[27] See Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder. Eds. 2015. *Ranking the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
[28] Pippa Norris. 2020. 'Closed Minds? Is a cancel culture stifling academic freedom and intellectual debate in political science?' HKS Working Paper RWP20-025 https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3671026
[29] Pippa Norris. 2015. *Why Elections Fail*. New York: Cambridge University Press
[30] See, Pippa Norris, Holly Ann Garnett and Max Gromping. Eds. 2919. *Electoral Integrity in the 2018 American Elections*. Sydney: EIP. www.electoralintegrityproject.com
[31] See Pippa Norris and Andreas Abel van Es. Eds. 2016. *Checkbook Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press; Pippa Norris and Alessandro Nai. Eds. 2017. *Election Watchdogs*. New York: Oxford UP; Pippa Norris, Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter. Eds. 2019. *Electoral Integrity in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[32] Pippa Norris. 2017. *Why American Elections are Flawed (and How to Fix Them)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
[33] https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/ensure-every-american-can-vote/voting-reform/hr-1-democracy-reform
[34] Pippa Norris. 2013. 'The new research agenda studying electoral integrity.' Special issue of *Electoral Studies* 32(4).
[35] Andreas Schedler. 2002. 'The menu of manipulation.' *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 36-50.
[36] See the codebook for further information. https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI
[37] Ferran Martínez i Coma & Carolien Van Ham. 2015. 'Can Experts Judge Elections? Testing the Validity of Expert Judgments for Measuring Election Integrity'. *European Journal of Political Research* doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12084; Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank & Ferran Martínez i Coma. 2014. 'Measuring Electoral Integrity around the World' *PS: Political Science & Politics,* 47(4): 789-798.