



Electoral Integrity Project

# Electoral Integrity Global Report 2024



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PEI 10.0 - July 2024

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Cover photo: "Congolese man voting during the 2023 general election (53428307341)" by MONUSCO Photos



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# I. Report Highlights

The release of PEI 10 presents a number of **changes to the methodology** of aggregating the overall PEI Indices. This follows a move to measure electoral integrity in terms of whether elections empower citizens and deliver democracy. There are now some additional questions in the survey designed to capture whether elections achieve this. <sup>1</sup>

As a result:

- There are 13 new questions added to the core battery, which facilitates a new measurement of each stage of the electoral cycle and two new aggregated indices based on a) 47 (2012-2023) and b) 62 indicators (2023 only).
- New concept-based indices are introduced for four principles of electoral integrity: contestation, deliberation, participation and adjudication, as well as overall electoral integrity (available 2012-2023).
- Removal of multiple imputation methods, in favour of mean substitution, and, where appropriate, leaving missing data as missing.

The release of PEI 10.0 **adds the following elections**:

- 42 new contests in 42 countries to the PEI dataset.
- This report explores in more detail eight key contests in 2023: general elections in Zimbabwe, Turkey, Argentina, Nigeria, and Thailand, the presidential election in Egypt, and legislative elections in the Netherlands and Poland.

**Highlights from 2023 elections** include:

- Top 5 elections in terms of integrity in 2023: Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland, Czechia, and New Zealand.
- Bottom 5 elections in terms of integrity in 2023: Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Cambodia, Turkmenistan, Egypt.

**Major trends** of PEI data include:

- Like in previous years, indicators of the integrity of the campaign environment were the lowest-scoring stages of the electoral cycle, with campaign finance and campaign media again at the bottom. Among the four key principles of electoral integrity, the deliberative environment likewise averaged the lowest scores.
- Election procedures, the vote count, and the results stages of the electoral cycle were on average the top-scoring.



## II. Data Highlights

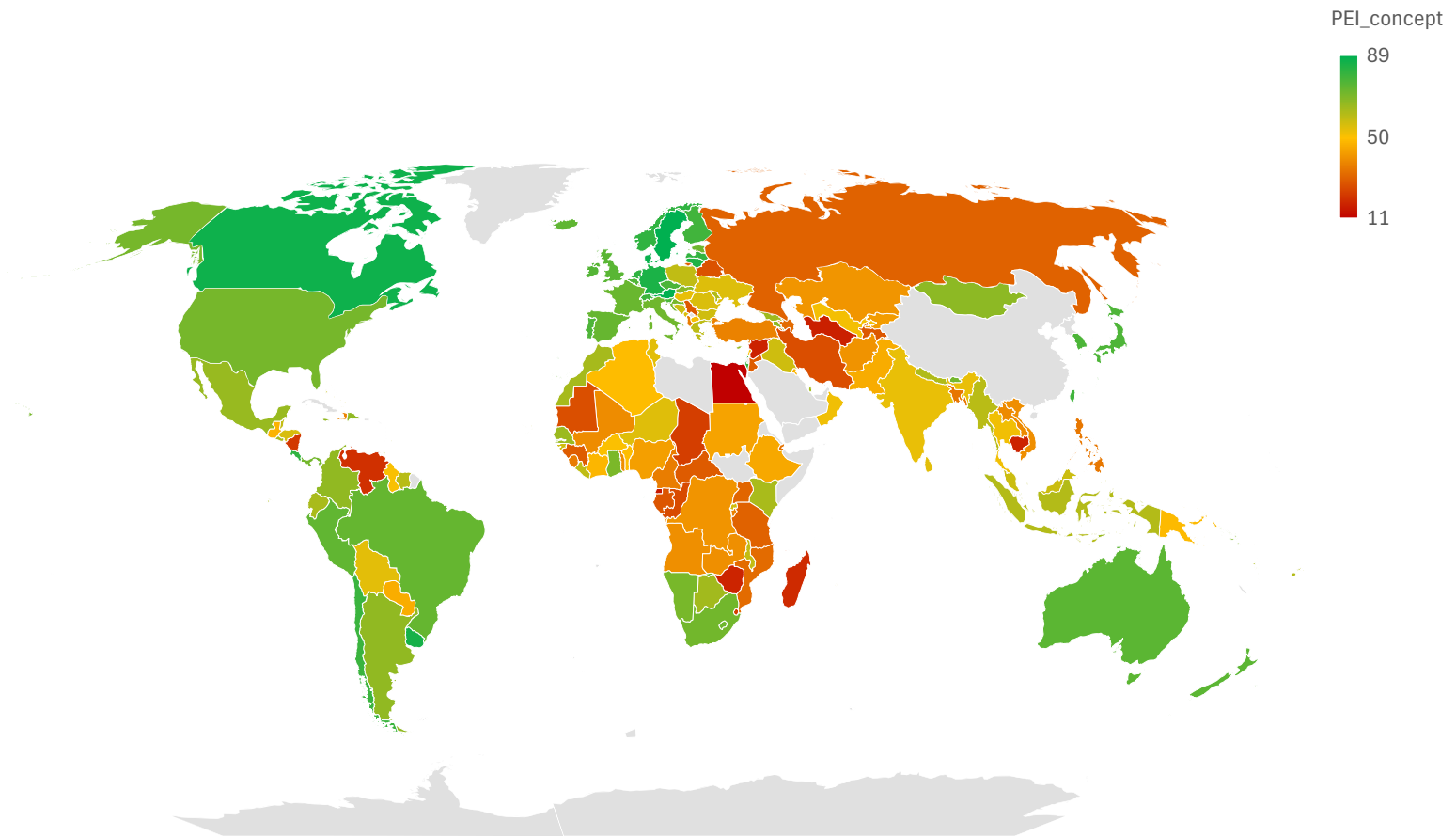
### NEW ELECTORAL INTEGRITY INDICES

The PEI 10 release includes three new options for overall electoral integrity indices, which can be employed based on the user’s preferences (Figure 1). For more on the measurement of each of these indices, see Section V (Technical Documentation Methodological Changes in PEI 10) or the associated codebook for this dataset. We recommend using the concept-based indices for cross-national comparisons of overall electoral integrity, which will be used in the remainder of the report to measure electoral integrity, unless otherwise specified.

Figure 1: Overall Electoral Integrity Indices



Figure 2: Overall Electoral Integrity (Most Recent Election, Concept-Based Index)



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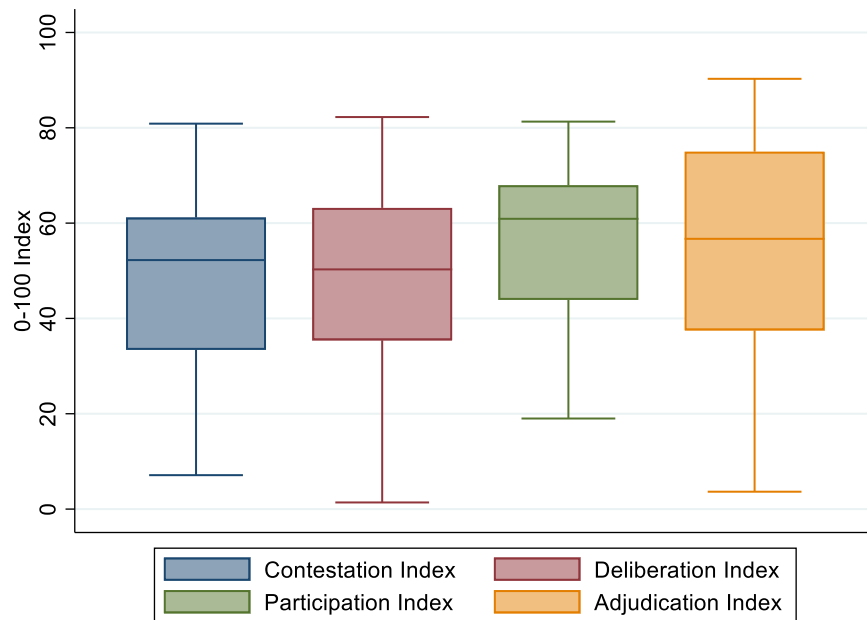
**Source:** *The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0), Concept-Index (PEI\_concept), most recent election reported.*



The new **principle indices** allow for comparison across the four key principles of electoral integrity (Figure 3).<sup>2</sup>

- **Contestation** - All candidates/parties can meaningfully contest the election in a level campaign environment
- **Participation** – All people are legally enfranchised to vote, with accessible mechanisms of registration and voting. Electors participate and all votes have equal weight. Votes represent the will of the voter
- **Deliberation** – Meaningful choices offered, with access to accurate, unbiased information and high-quality of debate and deliberation
- **Adjudication** – There are fair processes that make and change electoral rules. Electoral rules are followed and when needed, there is an effective system of electoral justice

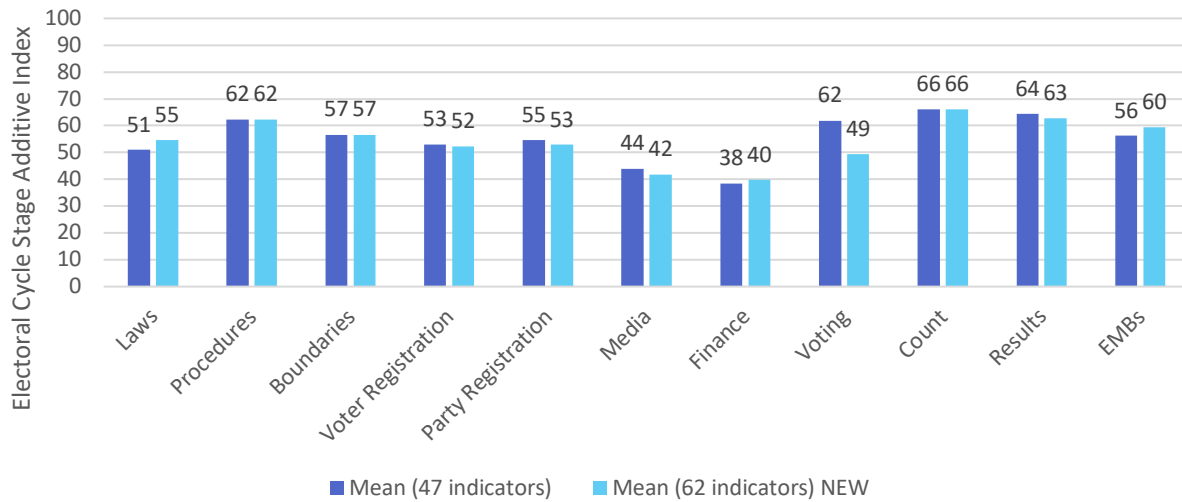
*Figure 3: Four Principles of Electoral Integrity, Box plot summary of data from 2023 elections*



The 11-stage **electoral cycle** sub-indices allows for the study of each stage of an election, from the pre-electoral period to election day. The 2023 survey includes new variables in some of the indicators (see Technical Appendix, Table 4). Figure 4 describes expert scores across the eleven dimensions of the electoral cycle, from the legal framework to the role of the electoral authorities.

- As in previous years, campaign finance and media remain the areas with the overall lowest sub-component indices, suggesting that the campaign environment remains a threat to elections.
- We also note that the inclusion of additional questions for the voting index, which refer to wide and equal participation, brings down the mean of the voting index considerably.

Figure 4: Performance of elections across stages in the electoral cycle (2023 means)



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0), 2023 electoral cycle sub-index means.

## ELECTORAL INTEGRITY ACROSS REGIONS

Table 1 provides an overview of the state of electoral integrity around the world by region, presenting the PEI Index score for the most recent national elections held in each country from 2012-2023. As in previous reports, the data show a wide variation in electoral integrity in most regions.

Table 1: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Concept-Based Index by country and region

Africa	Americas	Asia	Europe	Oceania					
Cape Verde	77	Canada	86	Israel	80	Sweden	89	Australia	75
The Gambia	72	Uruguay	85	Taiwan	79	Austria	89	New Zealand	75
Lesotho	72	Chile	82	Republic of Korea	77	Denmark	87	Kiribati	69
South Africa	71	Costa Rica	76	Japan	77	Germany	84	Solomon Islands	69
Namibia	70	Peru	74	Bhutan	71	Lithuania	84	Vanuatu	62
Ghana	70	Brazil	73	Mongolia	67	Netherlands	81	Fiji	61
Sao Tome and Principe	67	Panama	71	Armenia	67	Norway	81	Micronesia	59
Senegal	65	United States	71	Maldives	67	Latvia	81	Samoa	50
Botswana	64	Grenada	68	Timor Leste	65	Switzerland	79	Papua New Guinea	48
Morocco	63	Dominican Republic	67	Singapore	65	Finland	79	Tonga	34
Kenya	63	Argentina	66	Georgia	64	Czechia	77		
Liberia	59	Colombia	66	Qatar	64	Portugal	77		
Malawi	59	Jamaica	66	Nepal	62	Belgium	76		
Guinea-Bissau	57	Mexico	65	Indonesia	61	Ireland	76		
Rwanda	57	El Salvador	63	Myanmar	60	United Kingdom	75		





Niger	54	Ecuador	63	Malaysia	58	Iceland	74
Tunisia	54	Trinidad and Tobago	61	Iraq	57	Spain	73
Mauritius	51	Barbados	61	Sri Lanka	54	France	73
Burkina Faso	50	Surinam	60	India	53	Slovenia	73
Benin	49	Belize	59	Oman	52	Estonia	72
Algeria	49	Bahamas	58	Thailand	52	Italy	72
Ivory Coast	48	Honduras	56	Uzbekistan	51	Croatia	71
Ethiopia	45	Bolivia	54	Lebanon	50	Luxembourg	68
Sudan	44	Guyana	50	Kuwait	46	Slovakia	68
Nigeria	43	Guatemala	47	Pakistan	45	Cyprus	66
Democratic Republic of Congo	41	Paraguay	46	Kyrgyzstan	45	Moldova	62
Zambia	40	Antigua and Barbuda	41	Kazakhstan	41	Greece	60
Angola	40	Haiti	37	Afghanistan	40	Poland	59
Togo	39	Nicaragua	22	Vietnam	39	Bosnia and Herzegovina	57
Mali	39	Venezuela	20	Laos, People's Republic	39	Bulgaria	57
Burundi	37			Bahrain	38	Malta	56
Cameroon	36			Turkey	37	Romania	55
Sierra Leone	36			Philippines	35	Ukraine	55
Djibouti	34			Bangladesh	35	Hungary	53
Mozambique	32			Azerbaijan	32	North Macedonia	51
Uganda	31			Jordan	29	Montenegro	47
Tanzania	31			Tajikistan	28	Albania	36
Guinea	29			Iran	26	Russia	31
Central African Republic	29			Cambodia	18	Serbia	29
Gabon	28			Syria	17	Belarus	27
Mauritania	27			Turkmenistan	17		
The Congo	26						
Chad	23						
Eswatini	23						
Comoros	22						
Madagascar	19						
Zimbabwe	18						
Equatorial Guinea	16						
Egypt	11						

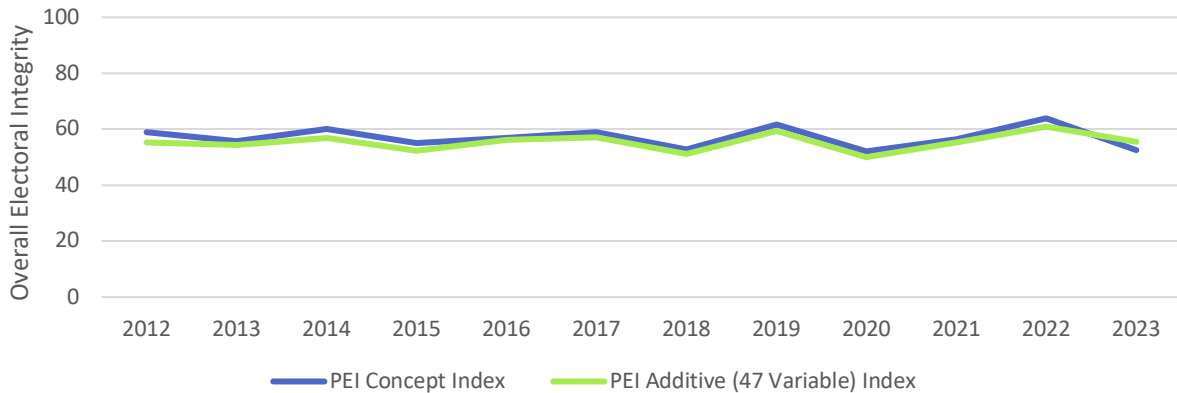
**Source:** The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0), Concept-Index (PEI\_concept), most recent election reported.



## ELECTORAL INTEGRITY OVER TIME

A comparison of the PEI Indices available across the 12 years of study (from 2012-2023) does not show noticeable or statistically significant increases or decreases (Figure 5).<sup>3</sup>

Figure 5: PEI Indices Over Time

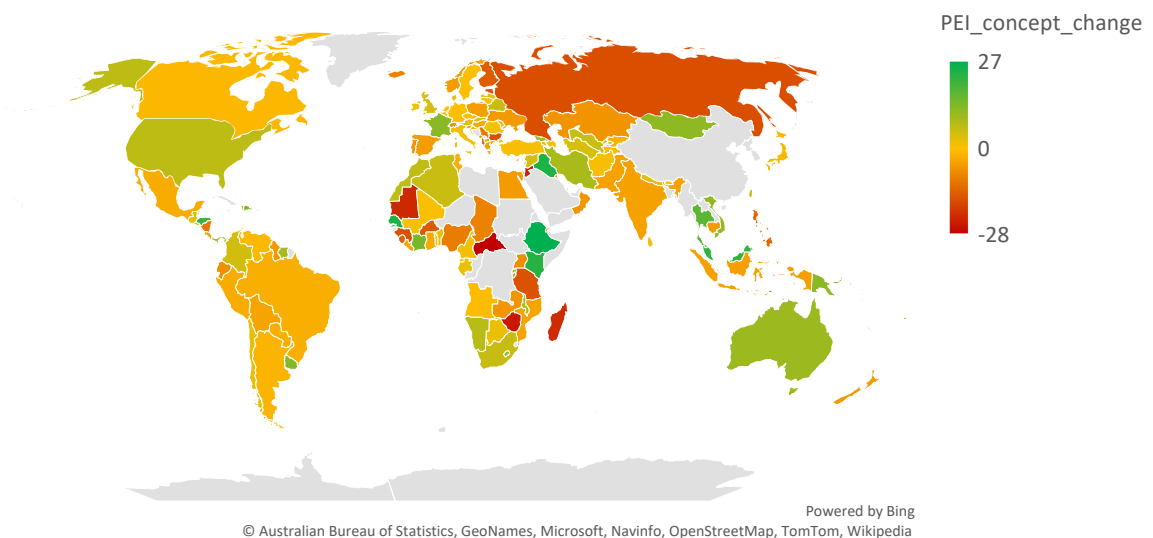


Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)

## COUNTRY-LEVEL CHANGES IN ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

We note some instances of significant changes from previous elections (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Change in PEI Concept Index between the most recent election and the preceding election



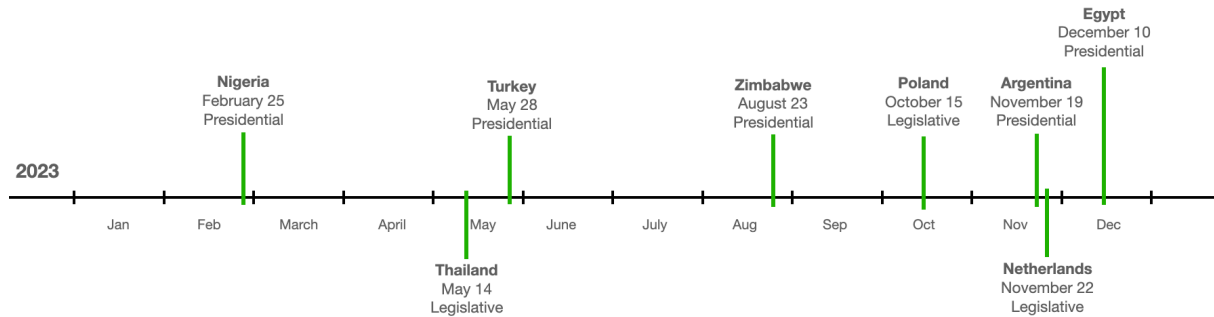
Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0), Most recent election – minus – second most recent election for each country with available data.

**Zimbabwe's** 2023 general elections saw incumbent president Emmerson Mnangagwa win a second term with 52.6% of the vote, after coming to power following a coup in 2017. It also saw one of the largest declines in electoral integrity with a 25-point overall drop.<sup>4</sup> This decline was most noticeable for the *adjudication* principle of electoral integrity. The largest opposition party, the Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC), refused to sign the final tally, and made accusations of vote-rigging and voter intimidation. Another issue concerned the electoral boundaries. In the months before the election, the Zimbabwe Election Commission was tasked with redrawing the country's electoral boundaries, with a final draft to be completed six months before the election date. They failed to meet this date, however, causing tensions prior to election day.<sup>5</sup> The election faced many delays, primarily due to issues with the printing of ballot papers in many districts, including opposition strongholds, as well as accusations of vote-rigging and suppression by opposing parties and foreign observers.<sup>6</sup>

One notable increase in electoral integrity was found in **Thailand's** 2023 general elections.<sup>7</sup> The previous elections in 2019, which were the first held after the 2014 military coup, were widely seen as biased towards the coup leaders. The 2023 contest saw some increased openness, with increases in the PEI principle indices of *contestation* and *deliberation*. The campaign was reported to be safer and more transparent than in 2019, with no reports of serious or violent incidents. Although there was difficulty among the parties to form a new government, the results were widely accepted, as evidenced in the increases in the PEI electoral cycle sub-index on results. Thailand's electoral system continues to face challenges, however, in the administration procedures and impartiality of their election management body.<sup>8</sup>

### III. Key Contests

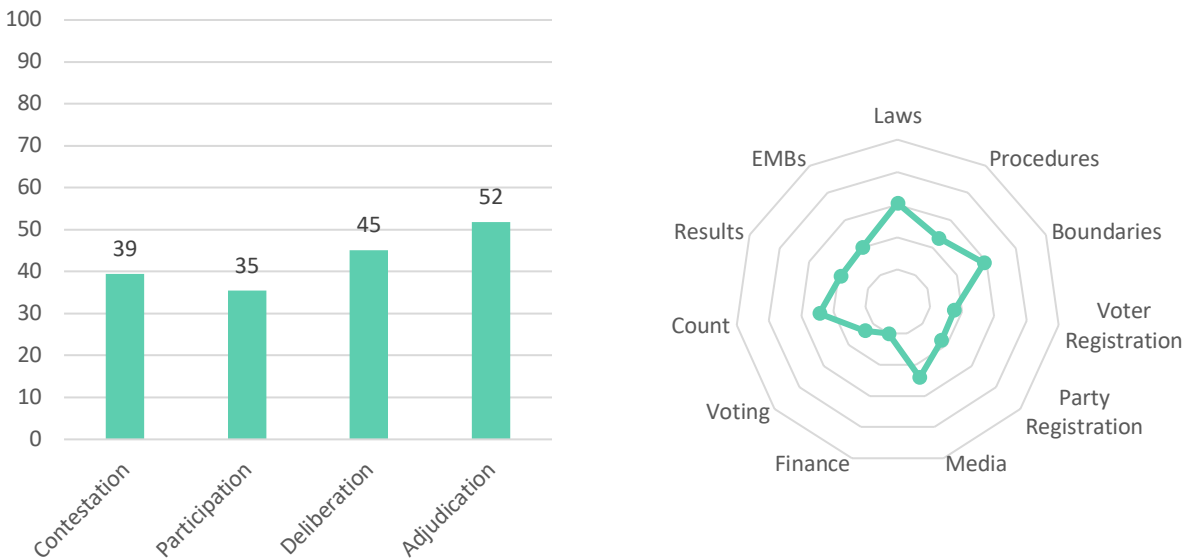
Figure 7: Timeline of Key Contests



### NIGERIA’S FEBRUARY 25TH GENERAL ELECTION

Nigeria’s February 2023 elections saw the incumbent All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate Bola Tinubu win his first term with 36.6% of the vote. Opposition parties disputed the results of the election, calling it a ‘sham.’ The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was heavily scrutinized for its failure to properly prepare for this election. The opening of polls was delayed, and many were understaffed. Violence was also reported at many polling stations. These issues resulted in just a 25.7 percent voter turnout, the lowest in the country’s democratic history.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 8: Nigeria’s 2023 General Elections, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle

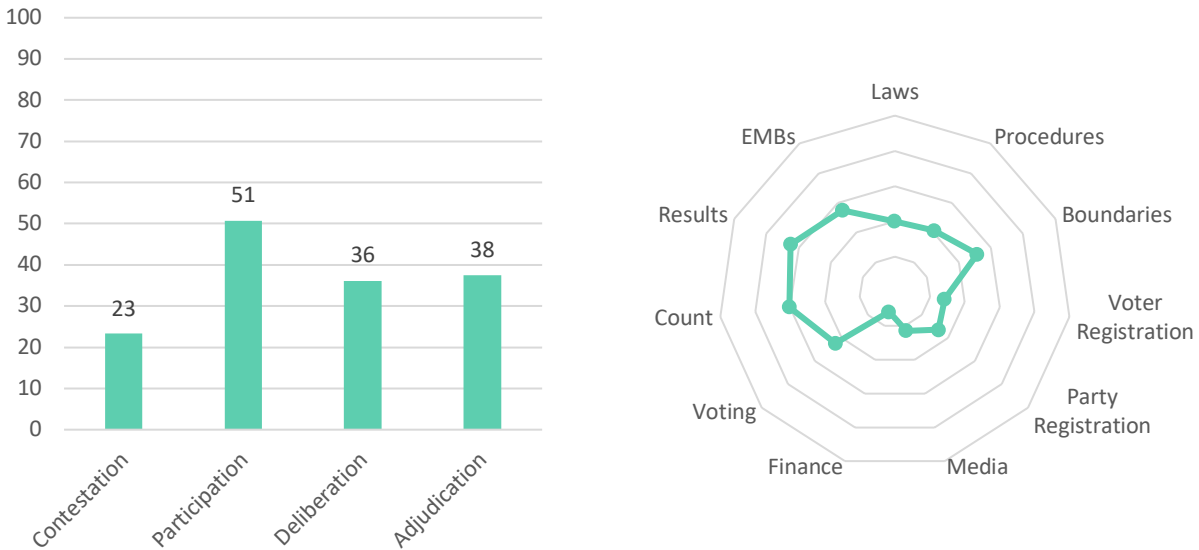


Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)

## TURKEY'S MAY 28TH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Turkey's 2023 Presidential elections went to a run-off on May 28<sup>th</sup>, with incumbent President Erdoğan receiving 52.1% percent of the vote and his third term in office. The campaign was reported as fierce and featured many personal attacks and allegations between the two front-runners. Because of a lack of regulation of spending and few transparency requirements, political financing was, by far, the lowest-performing stage of the electoral cycle.<sup>10</sup>

Figure 9: Turkey's 2023 General Elections, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle



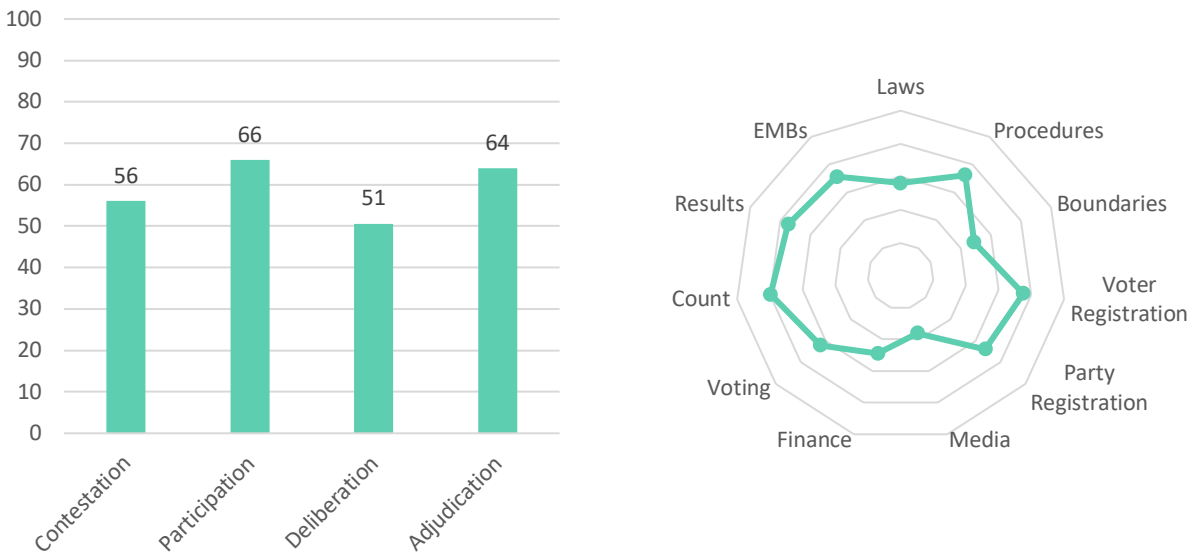
Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)

## POLAND'S OCTOBER 15TH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

Poland's incumbent Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki, under the banner of the right-wing Law and Justice Party, sought a third term and won a plurality of votes with 43.6% of the overall turnout, winning 194 seats, but 37 short of the 231 needed for a majority. As a result, the Law and Justice Party lost a vote of confidence on December 11th, and Civic Platform Party leader Donald Tusk was able to form government nearly two months after the election.

The election saw its highest scores for the principle of *participation*, and the stages of voter registration and the voting process. The vote had a near 75% percent turnout, up almost 13% from the last election. The quality of electoral boundaries was recognized as one of the weakest stages of the electoral cycle by the experts, in part because the allocation of parliamentary seats has not been adjusted to reflect the shifting population of the country, resulting in urban populations being underrepresented and rural populations being overrepresented.<sup>11</sup>

Figure 10: Poland's 2023 Parliamentary Election, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle

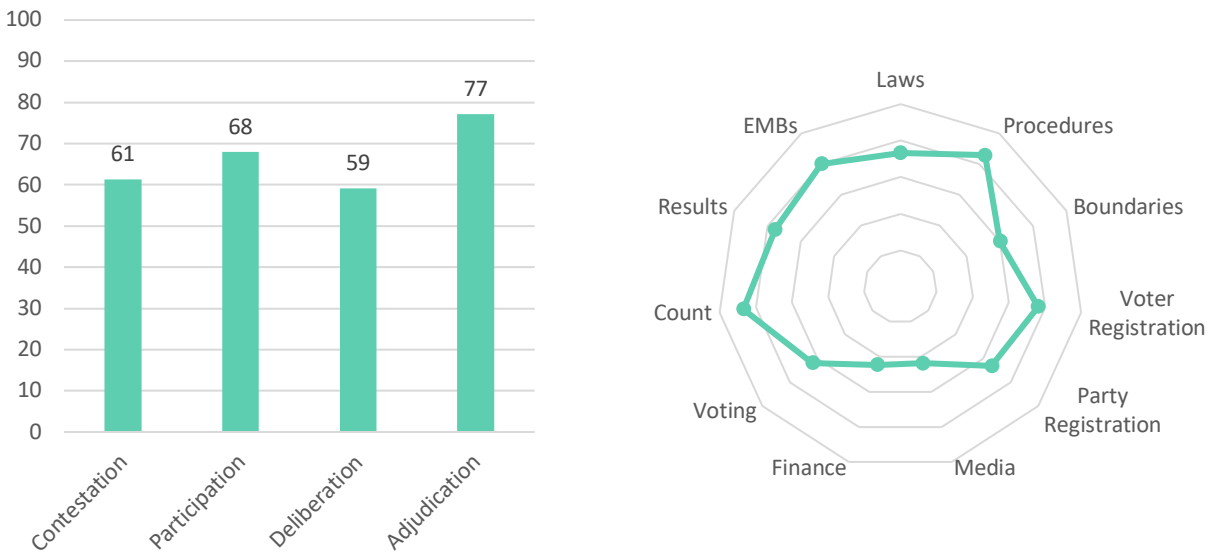


Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)

## ARGENTINA’S OCTOBER 22ND - NOVEMBER 19TH GENERAL ELECTIONS

Argentina’s Relative newcomer Javier Milei was elected as President of Argentina with 55.65% of the vote after a runoff (second round) election in November 2023. Two areas of the electoral cycle that rated quite poorly in Argentina are the campaign finance and media stages. Notably, Milei has been criticized for his hostility to some media organizations and has vowed to privatize public media in the country.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 11: Argentina’s 2023 Elections, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle

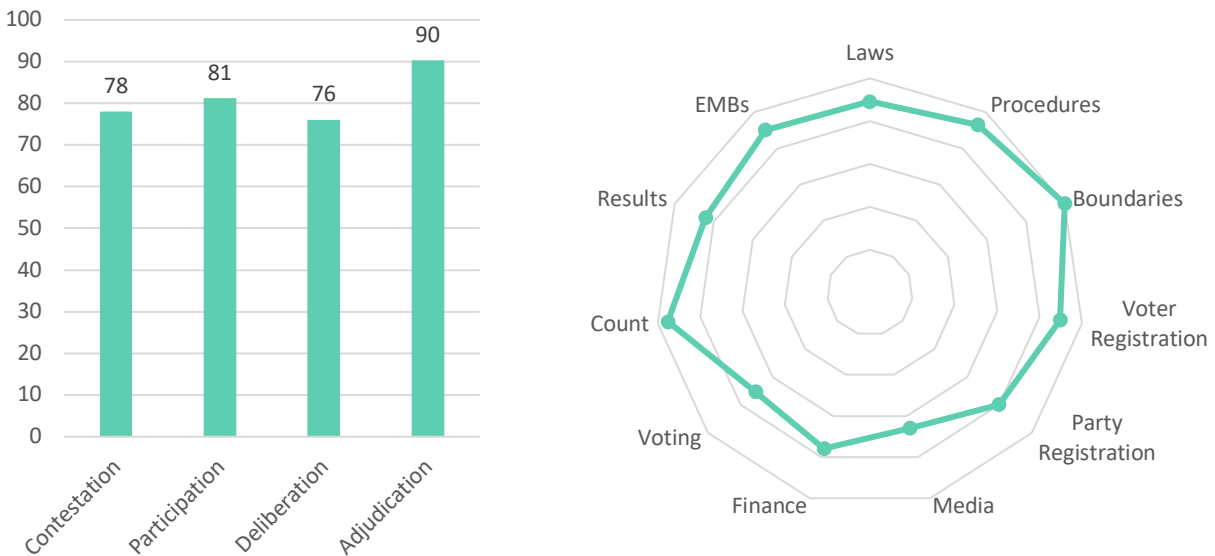


Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)

## THE NETHERLANDS' NOVEMBER 22ND GENERAL ELECTION

The Netherlands' 2023 General Election was one of the highest rated of 2023 with an overall PEI concept-based index of 81. In what has been described as a 'major upset,' Geert Wilders' far-right, anti-immigration Party for Freedom (PVV) won a plurality with 37 of a possible 150 seats and 23.5% of the popular vote.<sup>13</sup> However, at the time of writing this report, he has yet to form a coalition government to reach the 76-member majority necessary to begin his rule as Prime Minister.

Figure 12: The Netherlands' 2023 General Elections, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle



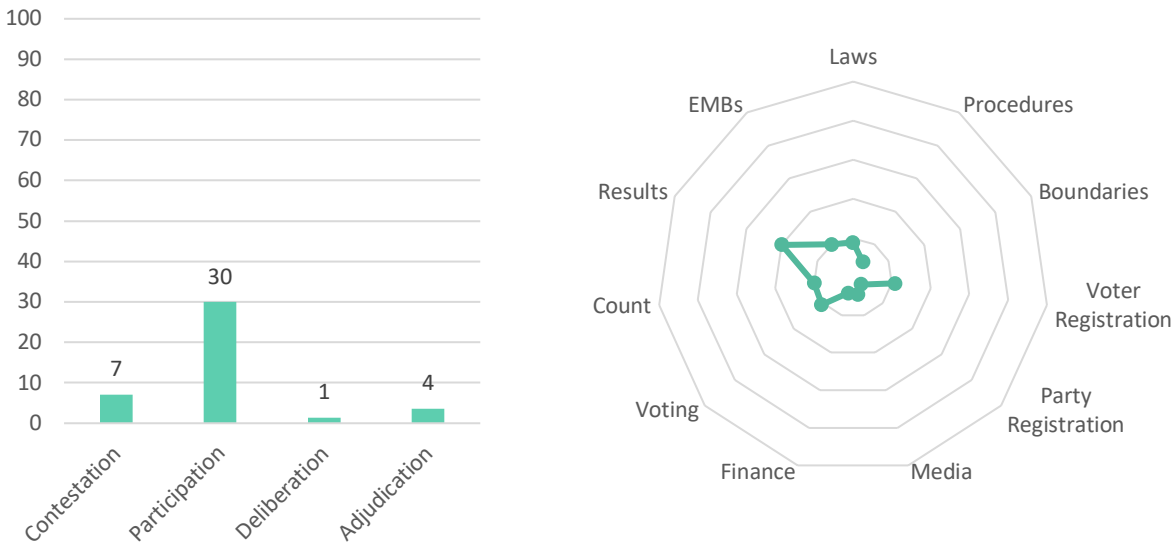
Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0)



## EGYPT'S DECEMBER 10TH-12TH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Egypt's 2023 Presidential election saw low score across the four principles of electoral integrity and the 11 stages of the electoral cycle. It was the lowest overall rated election of 2023. The *deliberative* environment, including the electoral cycle stages of party registration, campaign finance and campaign media, were the lowest. This is unsurprising given the lack of fair contest against incumbent president Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, who won third term with 89.6% of the vote, albeit against no serious challengers.<sup>14</sup>

Figure 13: Egypt's 2023 Presidential Election, Integrity by Stage of Electoral Cycle



**Source:** The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 10.0), Note: Boundaries not reported due to missing data.

## IV. Worldwide Overview of Electoral Integrity

Table 2 lists the summary scores for the most recent election in each country studied.<sup>15</sup>

*Table 2: Summary Scores for Elections, Most recent election*

Election Information				Overall Electoral Integrity Indices <sup>16</sup>			Principle Indices				Electoral Cycle Stages										
Country	Date	Office	# responses	PEI additive 47 variable <sup>17</sup>	PEI additive 62 variable <sup>18</sup>	PEI Concept Index <sup>19</sup>	Contestation <sup>20</sup>	Participation	Deliberation	Adjudication	Laws <sup>21</sup>	Procedures	Boundaries	Voter Registration	Party registration	Media	Finance	Voting	Count	Results	EMBs
AFG	9/28/2019	Pres	2	27		40	47	9	78	28	42	31	50	17	63	75	20	25	28	19	31
AGO	8/24/2022	Pres	3	31		40	29	49	48	32	19	23	56	18	32	33	24	51	30	31	32
ALB	4/25/2021	Leg	7	40		36	28	32	35	48	14	43	18	59	53	31	22	43	57	46	51
ARG	11/19/2023	Pres	13	66	69	66	61	68	59	77	78	86	60	76	70	44	42	76	87	78	81
ARM	6/20/2021	Leg	6	62		67	65	51	70	82	74	77	69	66	60	59	52	58	83	63	71
ATG	3/21/2018	Leg	2			41	28	31	47	60	50	72	38		43	48	3	42		78	41
AUS	5/21/2022	Leg	8	72		75	67	81	65	86	68	100	82	71	75	47	51	85	83	84	80
AUT	10/9/2022	Pres	9	85		89	82	99	77	97	95	100	98	100	82	58	72	96	100	91	90
AZE	2/9/2020	Leg	2	36		32	37	58	25	9	42	28	75	42	43	30	33	44	28	53	13
BDI	5/20/2020	Pres	5	18		37	34	37	34	37	43	35	33	45	38	33	31	31	30	41	30
BEL	5/26/2019	Leg	10	70		76	68	83	71	84	68	94	65	76	70	54	70	85	85	80	84
BEN	1/8/2023	Leg	3	52	52	49	43	51	50	53	42	65	72	67	45	43	25	58	65	63	50
BFA	11/22/2020	Pres	3	45		50	35	54	44	68	47	48	42	67	45	47	20	50	68	72	52
BGD	1/5/2014	Leg	16	35		35	32	29	32	45	40	46	40	46	38	48	21	27	48	38	34
BGR	4/2/2023	Leg	11	60	61	57	59	61	53	55	66	64	67	52	65	54	52	68	71	76	59
BHR	11/12/2022	Leg	4	44		38	30	41	38	42	25	40	25	31	38	28	34	61	54	58	34
BHS	9/16/2021	Leg	3			58	40	61	50	81	46	71	38		53	48	18	61	80	85	71
BIH	10/2/2022	Pres	10	55		57	58	60	47	65	57	58	57	40	63	46	47	63	64	48	51
BLR	8/9/2020	Pres	6	26		27	36	52	18	5	24	20	63	11	36	29	34	46	13	9	16
BLZ	11/4/2015	Leg	7	54		59	43	57	70	66	40	65	36	39	63	56	23	59	72	64	71
BOL	10/18/2020	Pres	9	55		54	46	60	59	50	63	64	40	49	56	46	37	59	58	51	55
BRA	10/2/2022	Leg	10	74		73	67	80	73	73	90	94	76	97	64	50	49	77	96	47	99
BRB	1/19/2022	Leg	4	62		61	60	51	59	72	54	83	62	67	76	43	41	59	83	82	69
BTN	4/20/2023	Leg	8	69	72	71	70	69	70	74	68	80	59	69	64	68	69	75	78	86	83
BWA	10/23/2019	Pres	6	58		64	48	70	60	80	45	83	46	69	67	47	36	71	78	55	66
CAF	12/27/2020	Pres	2	17		29	16	27	28	45	13	28	50	17	10	25	8	25	50	38	44
CAN	9/20/2021	Leg	6	81		86	81	88	81	96	65	94	82	74	86	68	83	90	96	91	96



CHE	10/22/2023	Leg	9	87	83	79	77	72	82	86	77	96	75	89	88	70	67	91	90	93	95
CHL	11/21/2021	Pres	8	82		82	73	85	78	90	87	95	63	69	76	66	70	85	95	89	92
CIV	3/6/2021	Leg	2	42		48	37	46	41	67	75	38	58	58	35	33	13	48	58	63	31
CMR	2/9/2020	Leg	5	22		36	26	45	36	37	22	34	25	20	37	24	12	48	39	29	35
COD	12/20/2023	Pres	2			41	53	49	33	28	71	34		25	63	35	23	46	18	38	31
COG	7/10/2022	Leg	2	33		26	35	24	19	25	38	34	63	33	28	38	15	33	45	53	16
COL	3/13/2022	Leg	2			66	58	60	72	75	54	63		50	68	65	45	56	60	81	50
COM	3/24/2019	Pres	3	4		22	23	0	13	24	19	23	33	0	15	28	0	0	20	0	6
CPV	10/17/2021	Pres	5	68		77	65	81	74	89	82	89	63	76	67	61	43	85	93	94	86
CRI	2/6/2022	Leg	5	77		76	58	82	71	91	72	93	89	94	69	47	37	85	91	92	85
CYP	2/12/2023	Pres	7	68	68	66	61	70	54	79	70	89	58	59	67	49	46	74	90	75	77
CZE	1/27/2023	Pres	5	81	79	77	77	79	66	87	81	86	67	98	88	65	69	85	88	68	88
DEU	9/26/2021	Leg	12	80		84	80	86	83	89	88	89	87	90	80	65	69	87	91	90	86
DJI	4/9/2021	Pres	3	36		34	21	36	29	48	22	44	25	33	30	23	17	38	47	53	31
DNK	11/1/2022	Leg	10	85		87	82	81	91	95	89	98	93	95	88	72	68	89	97	92	97
DOM	7/5/2020	Pres	4	70		67	60	66	64	76	73	75	97	66	70	54	38	63	78	83	67
DZA	12/12/2019	Pres	4	50		49	42	64	40	57	27	59	75	63	48	46	39	53	53	56	52
ECU	10/15/2023	Pres	8	62	64	63	55	61	62	73	77	78	64	65	58	59	52	67	76	77	70
EGY	12/10/2023	Pres	2			11	7	30	1	4	13	9		25	8	10	8	25	20	50	6
ESP	7/23/2023	Leg	16	74	76	73	68	67	67	90	64	91	59	93	77	59	64	88	93	80	91
EST	3/5/2023	Leg	10	79	79	72	81	64	78	71	83	93	79	86	87	70	68	88	90	63	90
ETH	6/21/2021	Leg	4	52		45	43	39	44	53	60	47	32	44	42	36	42	41	49	48	63
FIN	4/2/2023	Leg	13	82	83	79	80	76	73	86	82	98	73	96	92	69	70	92	95	86	93
FJI	12/14/2022	Leg	4	58		61	52	65	61	67	38	72	25	50	57	48	47	75	55	58	66
FRA	4/24/2022	Pres	3	64		73	63	84	65	79	47	85	33	65	80	40	52	85	93	79	83
FSM	3/7/2017	Leg	3			59	58	63	50	65	72	56	75	33	67	33	47		65	59	60
GAB	8/26/2023	Pres	3	17	21	28	16	44	18	24	11	23	25	8	43	13	8	13	13	41	13
GBR	12/12/2019	Leg	7	71		75	65	77	72	86	52	89	54	61	71	55	67	83	85	85	85
GEO	10/31/2020	Leg	4	58		64	68	67	67	55	88	58	71	63	75	53	49	72	69	30	47
GHA	12/7/2020	Pres	4	63		70	67	36	88	88	79	80	83	44	88	78	29	59	81	28	75
GIN	10/18/2020	Pres	2			29	30	33	31	24	33	28		25	28	35	35	38	30	38	25
GMB	4/9/2022	Leg	4	64		72	64	69	73	82	77	89	72	67	74	58	40	69	86	78	75
GNB	6/4/2023	Leg	3	56	59	57	56	61	50	60	67	60	67	61	60	51	30	65	72	69	58
GNQ	11/20/2022	Pres	2	15		16	10	18	3	31	0	13	8	25	15	10	10	17	20	47	9
GRC	6/25/2023	Leg	9	70	69	60	52	65	46	75	56	94	77	72	49	40	45	79	95	92	82
GRD	6/23/2022	Leg	2			68	63	68	59	82	58	72	58	38	75	58	38	69	93		72
GTM	8/20/2023	Pres	10	52	49	47	32	54	48	54	47	66	65	54	31	51	27	62	78	40	61
GUY	3/2/2020	Leg	4	45		50	47	47	60	51	39	49	50	42	59	66	37	47	38	34	29
HND	11/28/2021	Pres	4			56	39	53	63	72	25	49	63	53	50	52	23		75	78	63



HRV	7/5/2020	Leg	6	66		71	61	78	57	86	64	84	46	46	65	55	58	79	88	90	69
HTI	11/20/2016	Pres	6	32		37	32	27	46	44	42	38	35	29	36	51	26	31	39	27	39
HUN	4/3/2022	Leg	6	46		53	32	66	44	71	28	71	8	58	51	21	23	71	77	80	53
IDN	4/17/2019	Pres	2	56		61	50	62	59	74	42	75	58	54	63	45	48	63	68	47	75
IND	5/19/2019	Leg	26	56		53	47	49	53	64	63	68	72	45	54	41	31	57	69	66	59
IRL	2/8/2020	Leg	10	72		76	75	52	84	91	74	87	69	30	79	67	68	69	94	87	83
IRN	6/18/2021	Pres	3	42		26	10	59	8	29	8	46	33	39	0	22	10	49	51	75	31
IRQ	10/10/2021	Leg	3	59		57	44	54	65	66	61	75	58	38	48	46	32	65	65	36	75
ISL	9/25/2021	Leg	7	68		74	72	92	73	59	60	52	46	100	90	61	58	87	58	57	59
ISR	11/1/2022	Leg	4			80	75	72	80	95	81	94		100	74	58	77	77	93	82	98
ITA	9/25/2022	Leg	11	66		72	55	84	65	83	44	85	60	78	53	49	63	82	85	78	80
JAM	2/25/2016	Leg	11	66		66	64	44	68	89	72	87	68	63	73	60	45	58	85	77	82
JOR	11/10/2020	Leg	4	38		29	23	29	30	36	11	41	14	20	29	31	28	37	38	39	41
JPN	7/10/2022	Leg	9	74		77	68	82	74	83	64	94	64	88	71	57	67	84	89	85	82
KAZ	3/19/2023	Leg	3	44	46	41	42	45	35	41	31	46	49	33	51	38	25	58	55	67	38
KEN	8/9/2022	Leg	5	63		63	48	51	71	81	65	77	75	48	53	65	20	65	80	49	70
KGZ	1/10/2021	Pres	5	36		45	32	52	49	47	30	46	17	47	39	46	25	56	66	56	51
KHM	7/23/2023	Leg	4	19	23	18	9	27	9	26	2	39	31	27	10	10	1	20	34	59	16
KIR	4/14/2020	Leg	3	73		69	64	58	81	82	69	85	64	83	80	70	60	69	85	81	78
KOR	3/9/2022	Pres	6	70		77	67	82	72	87	76	89	69	96	75	53	57	83	89	73	82
KWT	6/6/2023	Leg	5	50	46	46	39	36	53	59	33	58	35	45	45	43	20	48	58	67	55
LAO	2/21/2021	Leg	2			39	20	58	0	48	8	50	25		28	18			53		19
LBN	5/15/2022	Leg	5	49		50	38	52	58	54	22	56	32	50	50	48	40	56	68	61	58
LBR	11/14/2023	Pres	3	57	57	59	60	50	57	70	75	65	63	42	68	49	38	48	78	50	67
LKA	8/5/2020	Leg	5	44		54	44	41	65	67	75	78	50	55	51	44	28	51	73	56	76
LSO	10/7/2022	Leg	3			72	72	57	75	83	92	75	81	58	80		53	62	82	81	75
LTU	10/25/2020	Leg	13	76		84	79	89	79	88	78	87	73	82	84	67	69	90	91	83	82
LUX	10/8/2023	Leg	4	68	68	68	65	61	69	77	60	81	42	67	74	59	56	84	80	72	75
LVA	10/1/2022	Leg	8	78		81	78	86	74	85	87	83	89	94	79	71	75	85	87	80	80
MAR	9/8/2021	Leg	5	64		63	61	54	70	68	60	66	58	63	77	71	50	68	81	73	63
MDA	7/11/2021	Leg	4	61		62	53	66	56	72	60	69	33	58	70	49	41	70	83	78	66
MDG	11/16/2023	Pres	3	20	24	19	17	23	20	15	8	25	46	25	27	33	7	24	28	25	18
MDV	9/30/2023	Pres	2	71	68	67	52	79	64	73	46	84	83	75	63	43	45	81	88	75	69
MEX	6/6/2021	Leg	9	63		65	52	62	67	80	69	80	77	80	51	55	41	62	88	75	82
MKD	7/15/2020	Leg	5	49		51	45	51	59	49	32	49	42	28	56	43	41	56	49	54	42
MLI	3/29/2020	Leg	2	30		39	21	38	47	50	58	22	58	25	15	25	8	38	43	31	19
MLT	3/26/2022	Leg	8	58		56	45	67	38	76	40	87	51	60	62	37	26	71	82	81	67
MMR	11/8/2020	Leg	10	58		60	52	61	70	58	53	65	64	47	47	56	50	66	66	44	64
MNE	6/11/2023	Leg	4	53	47	47	49	48	35	55	67	41	58	30	48	29	35	55	73	69	48



MNG	6/9/2021	Pres	3			67	49	64	73	82	64	83	67	39	52	55	40	76	86		82
MOZ	10/15/2019	Pres	4	30		32	28	34	55	13	28	20	44	19	32	44	28	51	29	30	19
MRT	9/15/2018	Leg	2			27	24	23	25	35	21	28		17	38	38	5	23	25	44	28
MUS	11/7/2019	Leg	4	50		51	42	39	52	71	63	50	38	33	50	51	26	62	71	55	67
MWI	6/23/2020	Pres	7	49		59	49	41	61	82	63	83	35	45	64	45	15	50	78	63	80
MYS	11/19/2022	Leg	7	58		58	42	67	51	70	65	79	31	82	58	43	24	75	76	76	59
NAM	11/27/2019	Pres	4	67		70	61	67	70	82	71	75	56	50	73	71	44	71	74	68	66
NER	3/20/2016	Pres	4	59		54	50	57	44	66	75	56	75	30	40	44	26	51	74	42	67
NGA	2/25/2023	Pres	8	42	41	43	39	35	45	52	70	47	58	34	39	58	22	30	49	36	43
NIC	11/7/2021	Pres	10	14		22	21	30	19	20	17	26	8	38	30	31	19	31	27	43	26
NLD	11/22/2023	Leg	11	89	84	81	78	81	76	90	93	93	100	89	82	72	72	91	95	85	90
NOR	9/13/2021	Leg	5	72		81	79	83	73	90	75	95	71	83	89	54	67	84	85	95	95
NPL	11/20/2022	Leg	5	57		62	50	49	70	78	70	76	65	53	50	60	37	55	77	68	78
NZL	10/14/2023	Leg	11	72	74	75	71	78	64	85	77	91	78	66	85	52	54	87	81	76	89
OMN	10/29/2023	Leg	4	52	56	52	50	63	43	51	40	72	61	54	49	36	46	64	67	65	61
PAK	7/25/2018	Leg	24	41		45	37	41	55	49	59	52	51	50	32	49	30	47	42	40	47
PAN	5/5/2019	Pres	4	72		71	59	73	64	88	63	83	79	79	71	60	39	74	91	92	89
PER	4/11/2021	Pres	8	66		74	63	86	65	81	96	80	79	83	68	40	50	86	84	46	86
PHL	5/9/2022	Pres	5	35		35	27	38	29	45	44	31	36	33	39	40	11	32	56	55	34
PNG	7/22/2022	Leg	9	44		48	56	22	63	53	67	38	59	11	73	58	27	33	54	42	55
POL	10/15/2023	Leg	17	62	64	59	56	66	51	64	59	72	49	76	74	36	46	81	80	74	69
PRT	1/30/2022	Leg	8	63		77	66	81	74	85	65	89	75	60	73	63	67	84	87	80	79
PRY	4/30/2023	Pres	7	46	45	46	41	51	42	49	27	53	63	44	55	30	24	59	67	34	60
QAT	10/2/2021	Leg	4			64	65	55	59	76	17	81	17	17	68	70		66	82	67	67
ROU	12/6/2020	Leg	12	52		55	50	63	44	65	53	65	56	49	54	35	47	64	69	68	54
RUS	9/19/2021	Leg	3	23		31	18	54	23	27	14	23	8	25	36	32	13	50	22	45	19
RWA	9/3/2018	Leg	7	55		57	48	67	53	58	43	69	41	80	50	51	49	70	81	68	63
SDN	4/13/2015	Pres	9	41		44	35	48	35	56	25	47	38	36	47	36	26	48	55	59	41
SEN	7/31/2022	Leg	3	59		65	51	70	67	71	47	69	61	63	53	53	48	75	73	69	56
SGP	9/1/2023	Pres	9	54	66	65	59	81	53	65	29	90	23	69	62	35	64	83	79	84	71
SLB	4/3/2019	Leg	3	64		69	58	60	81	76	86	73	83	58	65	66	30	70	80	56	79
SLE	6/24/2023	Pres	5	47	36	36	33	40	48	21	48	25	56	37	42	46	26	36	35	25	24
SLV	2/3/2019	Pres	7	57		63	56	58	63	74	79	74	71	47	61	46	36	67	73	76	69
SRB	12/17/2023	Leg	8	22	30	29	29	38	26	21	44	27	25	14	43	23	19	50	43	13	20
STP	7/18/2021	Pres	2			67	51	65	69	85	79	66	58	50	65	73		69	68	50	53
SUR	5/25/2020	Leg	5	60		60	52	57	71	62	58	60	58	43	63	67	36	63	54	55	63
SVK	9/30/2023	Leg	6	70	71	68	61	69	62	79	64	89	71	77	69	62	61	82	85	81	80
SVN	4/24/2022	Leg	5	67		73	65	79	68	79	78	70	77	81	67	48	70	83	87	86	73
SWE	9/11/2022	Leg	10	82		89	82	96	86	90	92	88	85	96	87	63	68	93	97	87	96



SWZ	9/29/2023	Leg	2			23	28	35	4	25	0	63			10	15			60		13
SYR	5/26/2021	Pres	5	15		17	16	28	20	6	15	7	6	15	20	24	12	31	15	43	11
TCD	4/11/2021	Pres	3	26		23	24	23	25	21	14	27	28	11	36	28	23	17	42	27	39
TGO	2/22/2020	Pres	4	34		39	30	39	45	43	23	48	13	35	54	36	19	49	43	23	31
THA	5/14/2023	Leg	6	48	50	52	42	60	63	43	39	66	44	56	45	51	40	67	52	60	28
TJK	3/1/2020	Leg	3	26		28	18	55	15	25	19	25	25	38	22	20	13	50	33	70	19
TKM	3/26/2023	Leg	4	24	26	17	15	30	6	16	0	22	25	13	28	8	15	53	20	79	2
TLS	5/21/2023	Leg	4	62	63	65	59	66	63	73	58	78	75	39	65	70	48	55	80	75	73
TON	11/18/2021	Leg	4	31		34	27	34	23	49	23	55	39	42	25	28	23	38	44	48	29
TTO	8/10/2020	Leg	7	53		61	59	54	63	68	66	75	46	47	71	53	38	56	56	65	67
TUN	10/6/2019	Leg	5	53		57	45	65	55	64	52	63	50	60	56	36	33	73	72	60	69
TUR	5/28/2023	Pres	5	42	41	37	23	51	36	38	32	41	51	26	33	20	9	56	60	67	50
TWN	1/11/2020	Pres	3	81		79	77	69	69	100	81	96	72	100	93	67	65	79	100	85	100
TZA	10/28/2020	Pres	5	29		31	24	29	40	29	13	30	44	23	36	30	26	35	31	39	26
UGA	1/14/2021	Pres	3			31	43	22	22	19	36	31	67	8	40	40	13		25	19	38
UKR	4/21/2019	Pres	10	52		55	49	53	54	63	64	66	58	39	57	47	31	57	64	63	58
URY	11/24/2019	Pres	3	72		72	69	67	73	80	86	92	72	97	75	48	55	72	78	83	88
USA	11/8/2022	Leg	7	58		71	58	70	68	86	30	85	19	54	83	48	47	71	73	68	75
UZB	7/9/2023	Pres	4	58	53	51	38	66	45	54	44	52	42	44	47	50	37	56	68	71	56
VEN	12/6/2020	Leg	5	26		20	16	33	16	16	5	16	40	48	16	34	11	33	33	55	13
VNM	5/23/2021	Leg	3			39	42	47	25	44	14	67		50	43	33		51	37	56	44
VUT	10/13/2022	Leg	2			62	56	39	75	79	75	75	54	25	68	73	33	56	75	69	
WSM	4/9/2021	Leg	4	49		50	45	48	47	61	33	55	50	58	49	46	41	61	54	44	61
ZAF	5/8/2019	Leg	11	65		71	63	68	69	83	72	82	70	44	70	60	38	71	83	73	77
ZMB	8/12/2021	Pres	2	38		40	29	23	50	57	4	38	54	25	48	30	13	48	65	72	25
ZWE	8/23/2023	Pres	5	18	19	18	16	19	25	12	22	10	5	9	26	24	7	18	17	41	20



## V. Technical Documentation and Methodological Changes in PEI 10

### GLOBAL COVERAGE

The PEI survey of electoral integrity covers independent nation-states around the world which have held direct (popular) elections for the national legislative or presidential elections. The criteria for inclusion are listed below. The elections analyzed in this report cover the period from 1 July 2012 to 20 December 2023. In total, PEI 10.0 covers 586 elections in 170 countries.

*Table 3: Country coverage*

Criteria for inclusion in the survey	#	Definition and source
Total number of independent nation-states	194	Membership of the United Nations (plus Taiwan)
<b>Excluded categories</b>		
Micro-states	10	Population less than 100,000 as of 2024: Andorra, Dominica, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, Monaco, Nauru, Palau, San Marino, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Tuvalu.
Without de jure direct (popular) elections for the lower house of the national legislature	4	Brunei Darussalam, China, UAE, and Saudi Arabia
State has constitutional provisions for direct (popular) elections for the lower house of the national legislature, but none have been held since independence or within the last 30 years ( <i>de facto</i> ).	3	Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan
State has direct elections for the lower house of the national legislature but only candidates for the ruling party have ballot access, excluding independents and candidates for any other party.	2	North Korea, Cuba
Not yet included in the survey	5	Seychelles, Libya, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Yemen.
Covered to date in the PEI 10.0 dataset (from mid-2012 to end-2023)	170	

### EXPERT SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This report describes the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity dataset (PEI\_10.0). The dataset is drawn from a rolling survey of 5230 expert assessments of electoral integrity across 586 elections in 170 countries around the world. The cumulative study covers national presidential and parliamentary elections from July 1, 2012, to December 20, 2023. This release covers an additional year of elections from the previous release, adding 42 national elections in 42 countries, from January 8, 2023, to December 20, 2023.

The project identified at least forty experts (where possible) per election, defined as a political scientist (or other social scientists in a related discipline) who had demonstrated knowledge of the electoral process in a particular country (such as through publications, membership of a relevant research group or network, or university employment). In total, 276 new completed responses were received in the survey (making a total of 5,230) respondents, representing a response rate of 13% in 2023.

Perceptions of electoral integrity are measured by experts for each country approximately one month after polls close. Experts are asked to assess the quality of national elections on eleven sub-dimensions: electoral laws; electoral procedures; district boundaries; voter registration; party registration; media coverage; campaign finance; voting process; vote count; results; and electoral authorities.



## QUESTIONNAIRE

Table 4: PEI Core Survey Questions

	Sections	Performance indicators	Direction
PRE-ELECTION	<b>1. Electoral laws</b>	1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties	N
		1-2 Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties	N
		1-3 Election laws restricted citizens' rights	N
		1-4 There was certainty about electoral rules and procedures (NEW)	P
		1-5 Any changes in electoral rules were made by consensus (NEW)	P
		1-6 All votes held equal weight (NEW)	P
		1-7 All citizens were legally enfranchised to vote (NEW)	P
	<b>2. Electoral procedures</b>	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
	<b>3. Boundaries</b>	3-1 Boundaries discriminated against some parties	N
		3-2 Boundaries favored incumbents	N
		3-3 Boundaries were impartial	P
	<b>4. Voter registration</b>	4-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register	N
		4-2 The electoral register was inaccurate	N
		4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered	N
		4-4 Some population groups were less likely to be registered to vote (NEW)	N
	<b>5. Party registration</b>	5-1 Some opposition candidates were prevented from running	N
		5-2 Women had equal opportunities to run for office	P
5-3 Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office		P	
5-4 Only top party leaders selected candidates		N	
5-5 Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies		N	
5-6 All citizens had an equal opportunity to run for office (NEW)		P	
5-7 Candidates and/or parties were targeted with violence or hate (NEW)		N	
CAMPAIGN	<b>6. Campaign media</b>	6-1 The media (formerly 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
		6-6 Disinformation and/or misinformation was spread on social media (NEW)	N
		6-7 There was informed public deliberation about key issues (NEW)	P
	<b>7. Campaign finance</b>	7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public political 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 bought elections	N
		7-5 Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning	N
		7-6 Voters were bribed	N
ELECTION DAY	<b>8. Voting process</b>	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
		<del>8-5 Postal ballots were available (REMOVED)</del>	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
		8-9 There were wide gaps in levels of participation between population groups (NEW)	N
		8-10 The state encouraged voting amongst low-participation groups (NEW)	P
		8-11 Voters were turned away due to lack of proper paperwork or identification (NEW)	N





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. Results	10-1 Parties/candidates challenged the results	N
		10-2 The election led to peaceful protests	N
		10-3 The election triggered violent protests	N
		10-4 Any disputes were resolved through legal channels	P
		10-5 There was an effective procedure for citizens to make complaints about the electoral process (NEW)	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
		11-5 Electoral officials were targeted with violence or hate (NEW)	N

**Note:** The direction of the original items P=positive, N=negative. Core items are repeated each year.  
Source: [www.electoralintegrityproject.com](http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com)

### MEASUREMENT

The electoral integrity items in the survey were recoded so that a higher score consistently represents a more positive evaluation. The PEI Codebook provides detailed description of all variables and imputation procedures for these data. A copy of all the data can be downloaded from <https://thedata.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI>.

### MISSING DATA

Multiple imputation is no longer used to fill missing data. Instead, mean substitution is used at the expert level. All indices are now available with original data (with more missing variables due to lack of observations) or with mean substitution. ‘\_m’ is added to any variable name where mean substitution is used.

This change was made due to increased concerns about the reliability of the imputed data. While mean substitution may inflate agreement among experts, the original data without mean substitution are available at the expert level (and for indices at the election level)

Users may also notice that without the use of multiple imputation, some indices may be missing. This is because if all experts in a country did not respond to a question, there was no attempt to fill these data in using imputation. Instead, the indicator is marked missing, and therefore will cause the entire additive index to be missing. Please see concept index for a full set of overall electoral integrity indices by election (created using another method, see below).

### OVERALL INDICES

#### ADDITIVE INDICES

- Two **additive indices** are now available
- **47 variable additive index**- PEI\_add\_original\_m (with mean substitution (*RECOMMENDED*)) or PEI\_add\_original (without mean substitution)

- This includes 47 of the 49 original PEI index variables. The two deleted variables are: postal; internet. These were removed since we do not believe them to be essential to electoral integrity, since a variety of convenience voting methods are available in countries. Please see the new question replacing this measure of convenience voting among the new variables introduced in PEI 10. This index is available for all years.
- **62 variable additive index** - PEI\_add\_new\_m (with mean substitution (*RECOMMENDED*)) or PEI\_add\_new (without mean substitution)
  - This includes the new questions introduced in PEI 10, thus it is only available for 2023 (PEI 10) data and not previous years

Electoral Cycle Stage Indices – available for 11 stages of the electoral cycle

- **Original Indices** – \*stage\*\_m (with mean substitution (*RECOMMENDED*)) or \*stage\* (without mean substitution)
  - includes the original variables, minus the two deleted variables mentioned above (postal and internet)
- **New indices** – \*stage\*\_new\_m (with mean substitution (*RECOMMENDED*)) or \*stage\*\_new (without mean substitution)
  - includes the original and newly added variables for PEI 10, thus it is only available for 2023 (PEI 10) data and not previous years

## CONCEPT-BASED INDICES

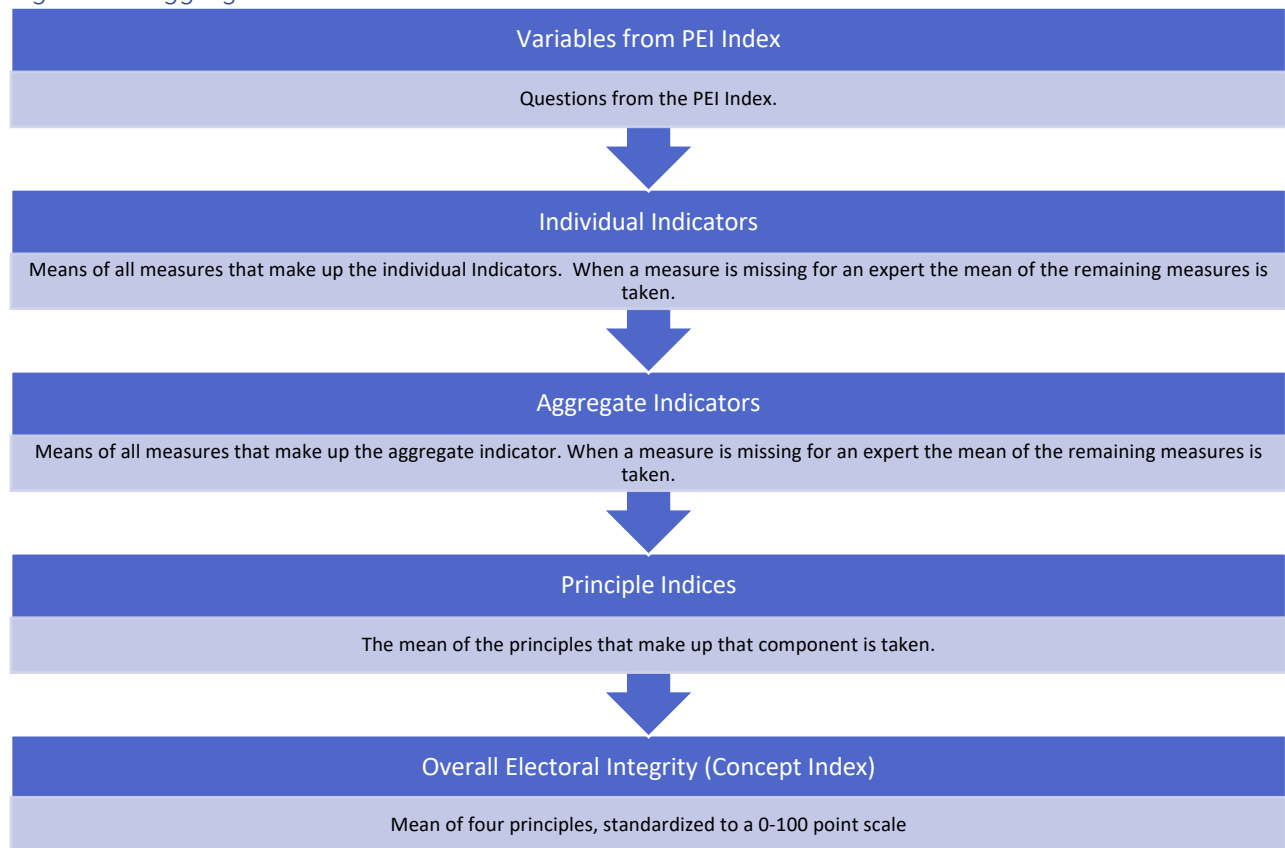
In addition, new concept indices are created based on the work of James & Garnett (Forthcoming), which understands electoral integrity as comprised of four key principles:

- **Contestation** – PEI\_contestation\_m (**with mean substitution**) or PEI\_contestation (**without mean substitution**) *RECOMMENDED*
  - All candidates/parties can meaningfully contest the election in a level campaign environment
- **Participation** – PEI\_participation\_m (with mean substitution) or PEI\_participation (without mean substitution) *RECOMMENDED*
  - All people are legally enfranchised to vote, with accessible mechanisms of registration and voting. Electors participate and all votes have equal weight. Votes represent the will of the voter
- **Deliberation** – PEI\_deliberation\_m (with mean substitution) or PEI\_deliberation (without mean substitution) *RECOMMENDED*
  - Meaningful choices offered, with access to accurate, unbiased information and high-quality of debate and deliberation
- **Adjudication** – PEI\_adjudication\_m (with mean substitution) or PEI\_adjudication (without mean substitution) *RECOMMENDED*
  - There are fair processes that makes and changes electoral rules. Electoral rules are followed and, when needed, there is an effective system of electoral justice

Together, these four principles create the **new PEI concept index** - PEI\_concept\_m (with mean substitution (*RECOMMENDED*)) or PEI\_concept (without mean substitution)

To create the principle indices and the overall concept index, the following aggregation method was used (Figure X).

Figure 14: Aggregation Method



Each principle is comprised of the following variables and indicators. The means of each individual indicator is aggregated to create an aggregate indicator, which is then aggregated to principle, which is aggregated to the concept index.

Table 5: Principles, Aggregate Indicators, Individual Indicators, Variables

\* Indicates new question added for PEI 10 release

Principle	Aggregate Indicator	Individual Indicators	Variables/PEI Index Questions
<b>Contestation</b>	All candidates/parties can meaningfully contest the election	No Bans on standing for election	oppprevent2 - Some opposition candidates were prevented from running [N]
		All, including equity-deserving groups, are able to run for office	womenopp - Women had equal opportunities to run for office minorityopp - Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office
		Contestation is permitted within parties	leadersselect2 - Only top party leaders selected candidates [N]
		Electoral boundaries do not favour one party or candidate over another	bfavored2- Boundaries favored incumbents [N]
			bdiscrim2 -Boundaries discriminated against some parties [N]
		Rules do not favour the governing party	favoredincumbent2- Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties [N]



			lawsunfair2 - <i>Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties [N]</i>
	Level campaign environment	Equitable access to media	fairaccess - <i>Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising [P]</i>
		No bans on campaigning	rallies2 - <i>Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies [N]</i>
		Equitable access to funds	donations - <i>Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations</i>
			Subsidies - <i>Parties/candidates had equitable access to subsidies</i>
			resources2 - <i>Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning [N]</i>
		Regulation of political finance	accounts - <i>Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts</i>
		Wealth does not play an inordinate influence on contestation	rich2 - <i>Rich people can buy elections [N]</i>
		There is no violence or hate against candidates	partytargted2* - <i>Candidates and parties were targeted with violence or hate [N]</i>
<b>Participation</b>	All people are legally enfranchised to vote	Citizens are enfranchised to vote	enfranchised* - <i>All citizens were legally enfranchised to vote</i>
		Overseas electors can vote	expats - <i>National citizens living abroad could vote</i>
	Electors participate	Even turnout across societal groups	gaps* - <i>There were wide gaps in levels of participation between population groups [N]</i>
		State action to reduce inequalities	encouraged* - <i>The state encouraged voting amongst low-participation groups</i>
	The mechanisms of registration (if required) and voting are accessible	Voter register	reglisted2 - <i>Some citizens were not listed in the register [N]</i>
			reginaccurate2 - <i>The electoral register was inaccurate [N]</i>
			unlikely2* - <i>Some population groups were less likely to be registered to vote [N]</i>
		Voting process	easy - <i>The process of voting was easy</i>
			identification2* - <i>Voters were turned away due to a lack of proper paperwork or identification [N]</i>
			violence2 - <i>Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls [N]</i>
			disabled - <i>Special voting facilities were available for the disabled</i>
	All votes have equal weight	Votes matter equally (i.e. no wasted votes)	equal* - <i>All votes held equal weight</i>
Votes cast represent the will of the voter	No fraud	fraudulent2 - <i>Some fraudulent votes were cast [N]</i>	
	Bribery	bribed2 - <i>Voters were bribed [N]</i>	
	No violence pressing people	violence2 - <i>Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls [N]</i>	
<b>Deliberation</b>	Electors have access to accurate, unbiased information	Access to information	balanced <i>The media provided balanced election news (originally "newspapers")</i>
		Unbiased information	tv2 - <i>TV news favored the governing party [N]</i>
		Disinformation and misinformation	disinformation2* - <i>Disinformation and misinformation was spread on social media [N]</i>
	Electors are offered meaningful choices	Choice	choice - <i>Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box</i>
There is a high quality of debate and deliberation	Deliberation	deliberation* <i>There was informed public deliberation about key issues</i>	



<b>Adjudication</b>	There are fair processes that makes and changes electoral rules	Consensual mechanisms for the changing of electoral rules and procedures	changes* - Any changes in electoral rules were made by consensus	
	Electoral rules are followed	Law was followed	legalelections - Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	
	Scrutiny/Oversight	EMB Scrutiny		scrutiny -The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance
		International observers		intlmonitors2 -International election monitors were restricted [N]
		Domestic observers		domesticmonitors2 -Domestic election monitors were restricted [N]
	There is an effective system of electoral justice	Legal dispute processed was available for parties		disputes -Any disputes were resolved through legal channels
Citizens could make complaints			effective* -There was an effective procedure for citizens to make complaints about the electoral process.	

**DATASETS**

Only two datasets are now published:

- Expert level, which includes the original data (without mean substitution of missing variables, thus missing variables are left blank), as well as indices created with and without mean substitution
- Election level, which includes the mean data (without mean substitution) for each indicator, and with and without mean substitutions for indices
- Country-level data is no longer available. Since the PEI has now been conducted for 12 years, there has been considerable change in some countries from year to year. Thus, it is no longer prudent to present country means. Researchers are welcome to create their own country means by creating the mean of the election data for each country.

Full details are available in the codebook associated with this dataset. All electronic data can be downloaded, at the levels of experts, elections, and countries, from <http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI>.

**VI. Acknowledgments**

The dataset and report were produced by the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), based at the Royal Military College, Queen’s University and the University of East Anglia. The research would not have been possible without the contributions of the thousands of experts who kindly spent time and effort in responding to our requests for information.

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The authors would like to acknowledge Pippa Norris, founding director of the Electoral Integrity Project, and all previous authors of the PEI datasets for their invaluable work creating the original PEI dataset.

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## VII. Bibliography of Select EIP Publications

### NEW PUBLICATIONS

#### BOOKS

- James, Toby S., Clark, Alistair and Asplund, Eric. 2023. Elections during Emergencies and Crises. Online: International Foundation for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

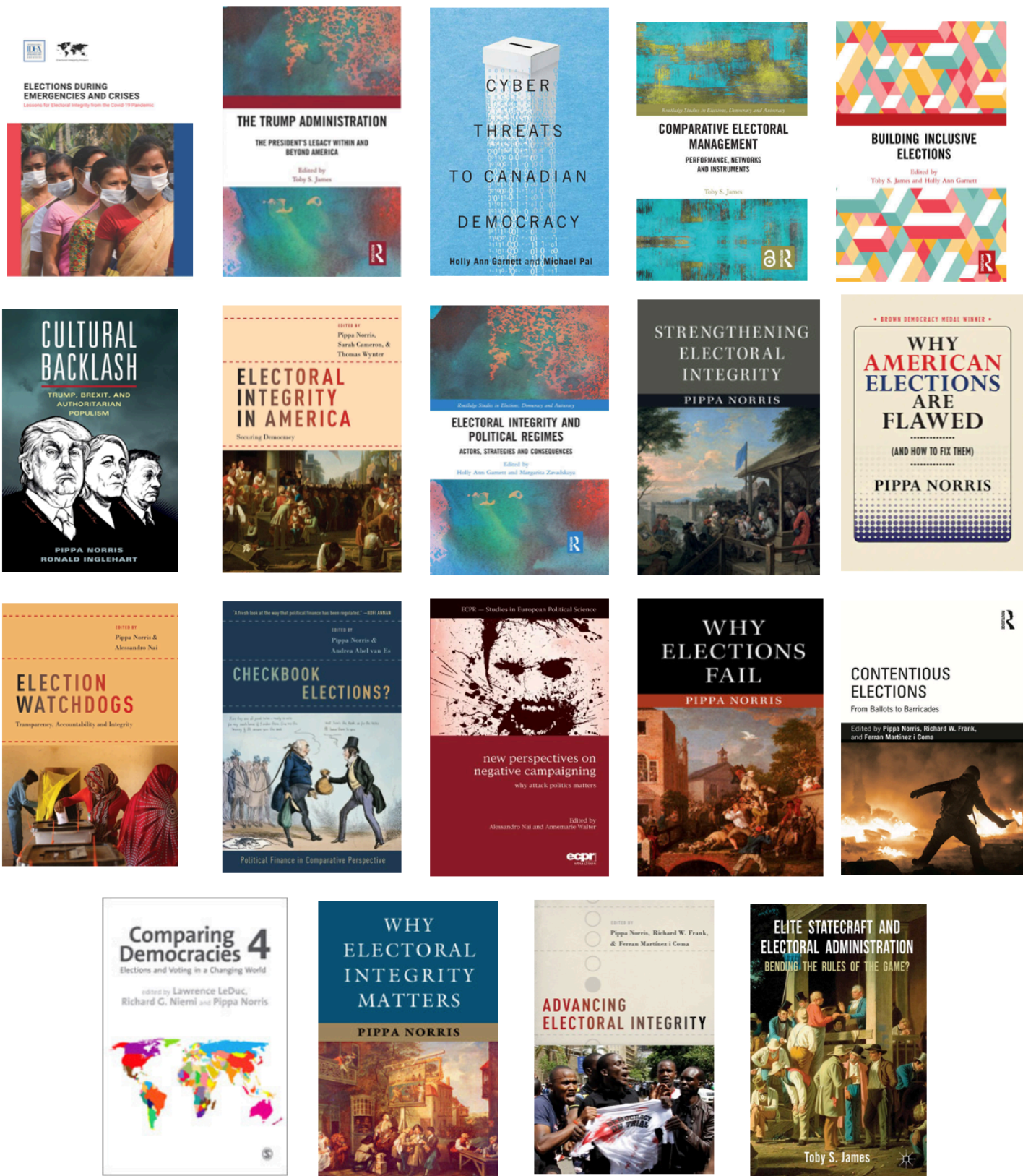
#### EDITED SPECIAL ISSUE JOURNALS

- Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "The Voter Experience." Special Issue of *Representation*.
- Holly Ann Garnett and Toby S. James. 2023. "Electoral Backsliding?" Special Issue of *Electoral Studies*.
- Toby S. James, Victor Shale, and Khabele Matlosa. 2023. "Safeguarding Election Management Bodies in The Age of Democratic Recession." Special Issue of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES

- James, Toby S. and Alistair Clark. 2023. 'Electoral Administration and the Problem of Poll Worker Recruitment: Who Volunteers, and Why?' *Public Policy and Administration*. 38(2): 188-208.
- Carla Luis, Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. (2024) "The Voter Experience Around the World: Lessons for Theory and Practice." *Representation*.
- Jean-Nicolas Bordeleau and Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "Does the Framing of Information Regarding Foreign Election Interference Matter? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Canada." *Election Law Journal*. 23 (1), 39-54
- Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2023. "The Voter Experience Around the World: A Human Reflexivity Approach" *Representation*.
- Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2023. "Are polarized elections the hardest to deliver? Explaining global variations in electoral management body performance." *South African Journal of International Affairs*.
- Holly Ann Garnett and Toby S. James. 2023. "Electoral backsliding? Democratic divergence and trajectories in the quality of elections worldwide." *Electoral Studies* (86).
- Toby S. James, Holly Ann Garnett, Erik Asplund, Sonali Campion. 2023. "Election Staff Training: Tracing Global Patterns of Institutionalisation." *South African Journal of International Affairs*.
- Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2023. "The Determinants of Electoral Registration Quality: A Cross-National Analysis." *Representation*.
- Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "Where do Donors Come From? Using Census Data to Predict Donations to Canadian Federal Election Candidate." *Political Geography*.
- Holly Ann Garnett, Jean-Nicolas Bordeleau, Allison Harrell and Laura Stephenson. 2023. "Contagious Elections: The Influence of COVID-19 on Comfort in Voting in Canadian Provincial Elections." *Election Law Journal*. 22(2).





COMING SOON



Electoral Integrity Project



OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Holly Ann Garnett and Toby S. James (eds) (in development) *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Integrity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Elections are indispensable for the democratic process, yet the quality of elections can vary enormously between and within countries. Elections can often be marred by problems such as disinformation spread on social media, gerrymandered electoral districts, claims of voter fraud, electoral violence and intimidation and low public confidence in voting technology. These concerns about election quality have therefore been central to debates about democratization and democratic backsliding – one of the pressing concerns of our time.

Scholarship over the last ten years has led to enormous advances in defining and measuring this important concept, using the terms “free and fair” elections, “electoral malpractice” (Birch, 2011) and most recently, “electoral integrity”. This work has demonstrated the crucial consequences of electoral integrity for democratic outcomes – from citizen participation and trust in government, to local and global security and peace. Researchers have thus sought to use a variety of academic methods to evaluate how the policies, practices and programmes designed to impact electoral integrity have affected elections around the globe, and advanced or threatened democratic ideals.

The *Oxford Handbook on Electoral Integrity* is designed to consolidate existing research on electoral integrity for both scholars and practitioners, and launch new research agendas on emerging issues, including the role of emergency preparedness, cyber-security, and civic literacy. As a field that has expanded and diversified greatly in the past ten years, both among academics and in public discourse, this volume will be a timely contribution to our knowledge of electoral integrity around the globe. It will be an essential map and tool for academics and practitioners.

Find out more: <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/oxford-handbook>







**Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett (2025, in development) *What is Electoral Integrity? Reconceptualising Election Quality in an Age of Complexity* (Cambridge University Press).**

Elections are indispensable for democracy. They give citizens an opportunity to elect their representatives, hold governments to account and shape policy making. Recent scholarship on electoral integrity has led to enormous advances in understanding the policy mechanisms for delivering better elections and consequences of good quality elections. However, there is a longstanding debate about how to conceptualise electoral integrity. Should they be judged based on international agreements? Public perceptions of what constitutes a ‘fair’ election? Or should our conceptions of electoral integrity be connected to normative theory?

This debate has become even more pressing in light of new forms of autocratic adaption, foreign interference from subversive actors, the challenges of delivering elections as the digital era progresses, and other threats such as global health emergencies and climate change.

This book argues that we live in an age of complexity in which there are new risks to elections. To respond to this pressing concern, the book introduces a new conceptual framework for understanding electoral integrity by drawing from democratic theory. This is proposed as an alternative normative framework for evaluating election quality and will be used by the authors to measure electoral integrity in the future through a revised version of the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index. This book will provide important lessons for prescribing best practices to defend and enrich democracy, as well as major scholarly implications for the study of democracy, democratisation, comparative politics and beyond.

Find out more: <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/cambridge-book>



## OTHER DATASETS

- James, Toby S.; Garnett, Holly Ann, 2023, "Electoral Management Survey, (EMS-2.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/Z7XVMC>, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:C5AOKsQAF5Dn6QOp3II7+w== [fileUNF]
- Garnett, Holly Ann; James, Toby S.; MacGregor, Madison; Caal-Lam, Sofia, 2023, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, (PEI-8.5)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/KMZIU4>, Harvard Dataverse, V1
- Garnett, Holly Ann; James, Toby S.; MacGregor, Madison; Caal-Lam, Sofia, 2023, "Dataset - Electoral Legislation by Country", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TIH5FK>, Harvard Dataverse, V1
- Holly Ann Garnett; Mark V. Keir; Madison MacGregor, 2022, "Provincial Laws Governing Municipal Elections in Canada", <https://doi.org/10.5683/SP3/OFMLHV>, Borealis, V1.
- Holly Ann Garnett; Toby S James; Madison MacGregor, 2022, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, (PEI-8.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/YSNYXD>, Harvard Dataverse, V1.
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- Norris, Pippa, Max Grömping, and Holly Ann Garnett. 2019. "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity- US 2018 (PEI\_US\_2018)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/METZ3U>, Harvard Dataverse, V1.
- Norris, Pippa; Nai, Alessandro; Grömping, Max, 2016, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity- US 2016 (PEI\_US\_1.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/YXUV3W>, Harvard Dataverse, V1.
- Norris, Pippa; Martinez i Coma, Ferran; Nai, Alessandro; Grömping, Max, 2016, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity-Mexico, (PEI-Mexico 2.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/YJW0AQ>, Harvard Dataverse, V1.
- Norris, Pippa; Martinez i Coma, Ferran; Nai, Alessandro; Grömping, Max, 2015, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity-Russia, (PEI-Russia 1.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/8LYUAY>, Harvard Dataverse, V1.
- Norris, Pippa; Martinez i Coma, Ferran; Nai, Alessandro; Grömping, Max, 2015, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity-Mexico, (PEI-Mexico 1.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/O6UCIM>, Harvard Dataverse, V5.
- Norris, Pippa; Martinez i Coma, Ferran; Nai, Alessandro; Grömping, Max, 2015, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity-UK, (PEI-UK 1.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/U6OYK9>, Harvard Dataverse, V2.



## Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> This will be published in full in: Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett (forthcoming) *What is Electoral Integrity? Reconceptualising Election Quality in an Age of Complexity* (Cambridge University Press).

<sup>2</sup> See: Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett (forthcoming) *What is Electoral Integrity? Reconceptualising Election Quality in an Age of Complexity* (Cambridge University Press).

<sup>3</sup> Over time trends must be taken with some caution due to the new questions introduced in 2023, however, the 47-indicator aggregate index (consistent across all years) shows a similar trend on stable levels of electoral integrity over time.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/27/zimbabwes-president-mnangagwa-wins-second-term-opposition-rejects-result>; [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/08/28/zimbabwe-s-opposition-challenges-election-results\\_6111819\\_4.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/08/28/zimbabwe-s-opposition-challenges-election-results_6111819_4.html); <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/zimbabwes-mnangagwa-wins-presidential-election-electoral-commission-2023-08-26/>

<sup>5</sup> For domestic analysis, see, for example, <https://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/ZESN-Position-Paper-on-Delimitation-ahead-of-2023.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> See <https://data.ipu.org/parliament/ZW/ZW-LC01/election/ZW-LC01-E20230823/>

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/2023-thai-election-results-opposition-win-unclear-path-ahead>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/2/party-that-won-thai-elections-blocked-from-forming-coalition-government>

<sup>8</sup> See: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/18681034231190940>

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2023/03/nigerias-election-results-put-disenfranchisement-spotlight>; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/1/bola-tinubu-wins-controversial-nigerian-presidential-election>;

<sup>10</sup> For more, see, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/28/turkey-presidential-election-results-3> and [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/1/537636\\_0.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/1/537636_0.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> For more, see: <https://www.gmfus.org/news/how-integrity-polands-elections-undermined> and <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9951/>

<sup>12</sup> For more, see: [https://www.cjr.org/the\\_media\\_today/milei\\_public\\_media\\_argentina.php](https://www.cjr.org/the_media_today/milei_public_media_argentina.php) and <https://buenosairesherald.com/politics/its-official-javier-milei-announced-as-argentinas-next-president-in-the-senate>

<sup>13</sup> For more, see: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/the-shocking-dutch-election-is-done-the-political-maneuvering-is-just-beginning/>

<sup>14</sup> For more, see: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/19/egypt-2023-presidential-election-results-abdel-fattah-al-sisi-wins-no-challengers>

<sup>15</sup> Two elections did not have sufficient responses to be included in the 2023 dataset: Federated States of Micronesia's legislative election on 07/03/2023, and Montenegro Presidential election on 02/04/2023. Additional elections with insufficient responses dropped in previous years of data releases.

<sup>16</sup> Missing values where there were insufficient observations.

<sup>17</sup> Additive Index, 47 variables, mean substitution (PEI\_add\_original\_m)

<sup>18</sup> Additive Index, 62 variables (including new variables introduced in 2023), mean substitution (PEI\_add\_new\_m). Only available for 2023 elections.

<sup>19</sup> Concept-based index (PEI\_concept)

<sup>20</sup> Contestation Index (PEI\_contestation), Participation Index (PEI\_Participation), Deliberation Index (PEI\_Deliberation), and Adjudication Index (PEI\_Adjudication)

<sup>21</sup> Electoral Cycle Sub-Indices, mean substitution (\*stage\*\_m). See dataset for sub-indices with new questions included (\*stage\*\_new\_m).

