



Electoral Integrity Project



Electoral Integrity Global Report 2025



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I. Report Highlights

The Electoral Integrity Project is an independent academic project founded in 2012. It measures the quality of elections around the world throughout the electoral cycle. It also considers how, when and why do elections empower or disempower citizens. The data and related projects produced from the Electoral Integrity Project enable academic research on the causes and consequences of failed elections – and how electoral integrity can be improved.

We define as a set of principles to be achieved in elections which empower the everyday citizen and help to bring about democracy (James and Garnett 2025). The four principles of electoral integrity are: contestation, participation, deliberation and adjudication.

The annual *Electoral Integrity Global Report* summarises data from the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity dataset. This data is based on a survey of academic experts for each respective country. This new report presents data on the quality of national elections around the world in 2024. It also includes historical data collected by Electoral Integrity Project teams dating back to 2012.

The release of PEI 11.0 adds the following elections:

- 57 new contests in 54 countries to the PEI dataset.
- This report explores in more detail twelve key contests in 2024: Ghana, Mauritius, Austria, Bulgaria, El Salvador, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Rwanda, United Kingdom, United States.

The **headline findings** from the 2024 elections include:

- Top 5 elections in terms of integrity in 2024: Uruguay, Lithuania, Finland, and Iceland (Presidential and Legislative)
- Bottom 5 elections in terms of integrity in 2024: Syria, Rwanda, Chad, Iran, and Belarus.
- Overall, 21 countries which held an election in 2024 saw an increase in election quality on previous years and 33 saw a decrease.
- Countries to have seen the most notable increases in overall electoral integrity in 2024, compared to their prior most recent election were: Mauritius, Madagascar, France, Venezuela, Uruguay. However, we stress that the gains made in Venezuela and Madagascar still put them among the lowest quality elections worldwide. We consider two notable cases of electoral strengthening in this report: Ghana and Mauritius.
- Countries to have seen a decline in 2024 include: Rwanda, El Salvador, Austria, Solomon Islands and United States. In this report, we highlight 4 of these, and 6 other cases (Bulgaria, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Mexico, and United Kingdom) of electoral backsliding.

Major trends of PEI data collected from 2024 include:

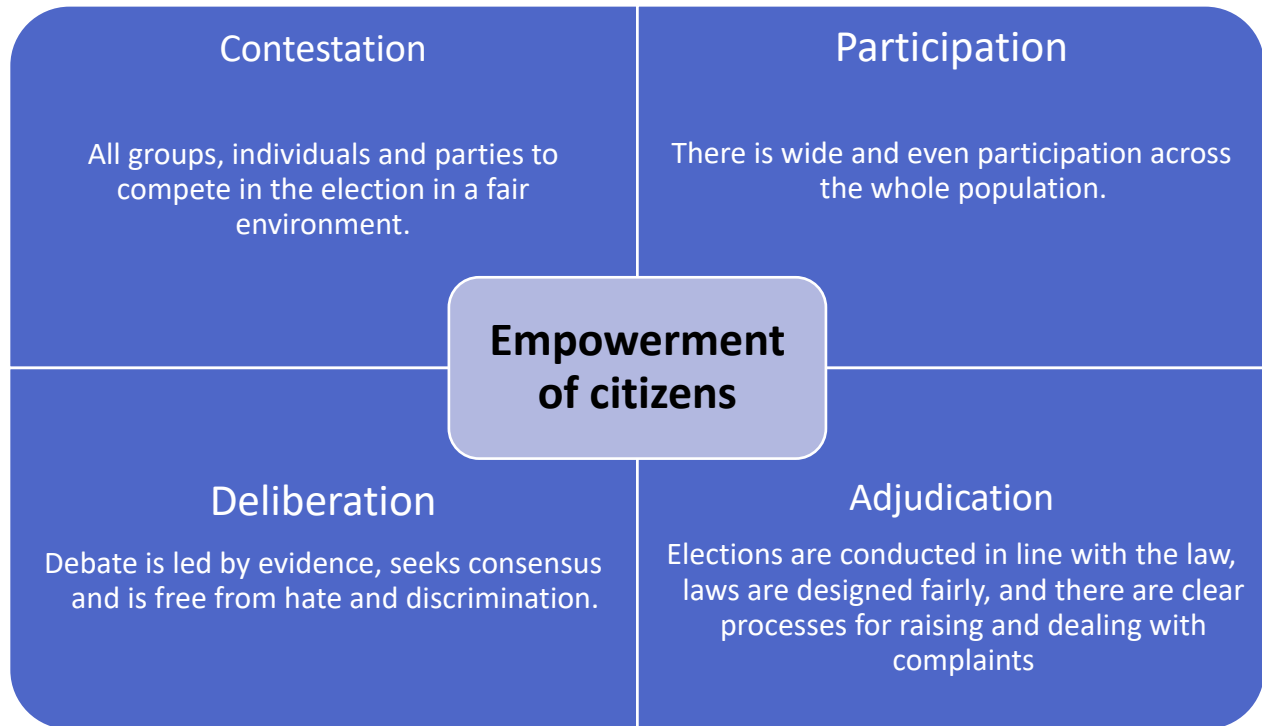
- Like in previous years, indicators of the integrity of the campaign environment were the lowest-scoring stages of the electoral cycle, with *campaign finance* and *campaign media* again at the bottom. Among the four key principles of electoral integrity, *contestation* averaged the lowest scores.
-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



II. Defining Electoral Integrity

Elections are held to empower people, giving them voice, choice over their representatives and the direction of public policy. They therefore empower the everyday citizen against would-be autocrats, party machines, media moguls and other powerful actors. They are also moments to facilitate discussion and debate about the pressing issues of the day. Elections can empower citizens when four principles are fulfilled: contestation, participation, deliberation and adjudication as illustrated In Figure 1.

Figure 1: Four Principles of Electoral Integrity

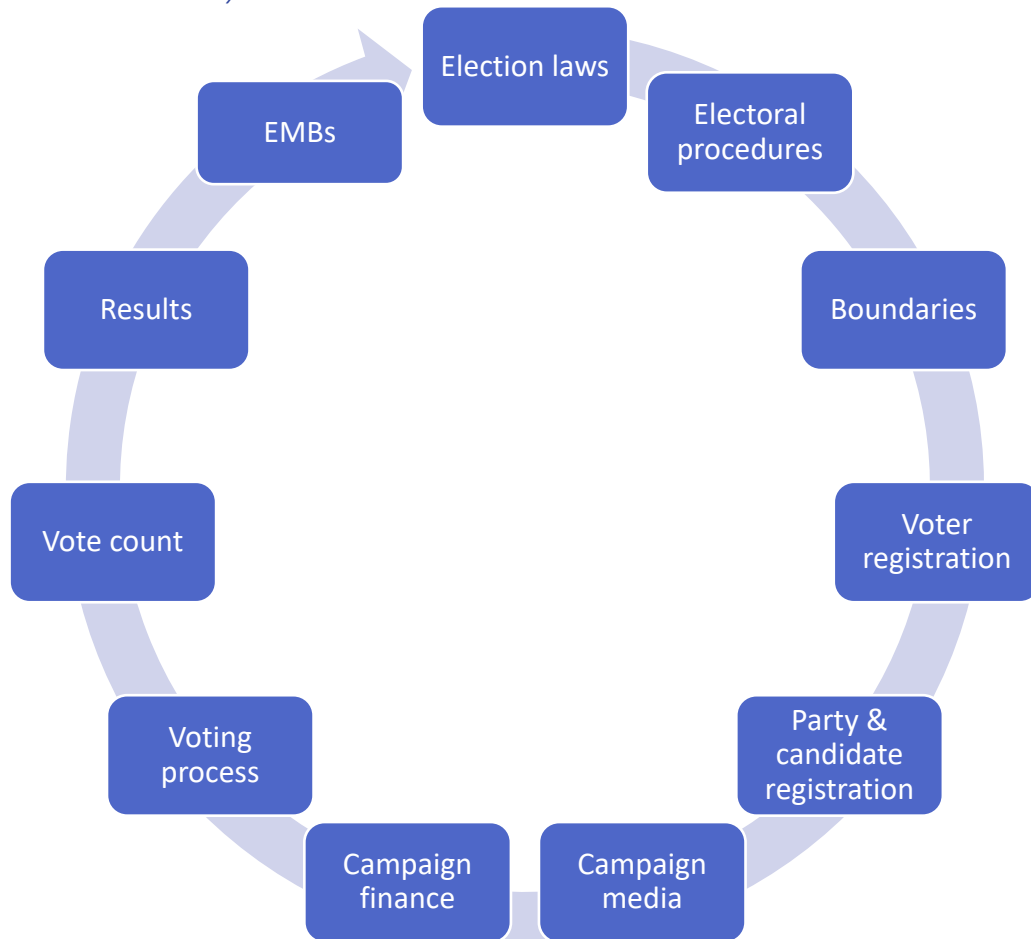


We therefore defined as a set of principles to be achieved in elections which empower the everyday citizen and help to realize the ideals of democracy (James and Garnett 2025). The four principles of electoral integrity outlined above act as mechanisms to empower people and contribute towards group equality.



The Electoral Integrity Project also takes an electoral cycle approach. Elections involve more than just election day – they involve preparation over a long period of time beginning with the design of laws. There are therefore a range of times at which elections can empower – or disempower people.

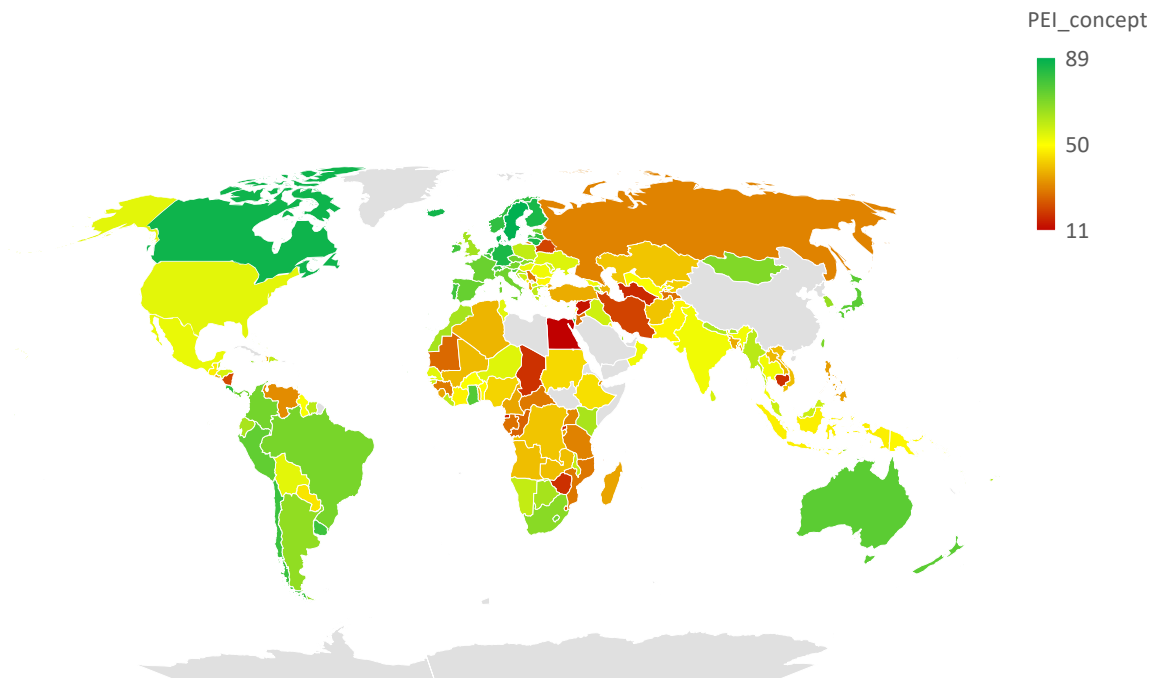
Figure 2: The Electoral Cycle



III. Data Highlights

Figure 3 provides a map of electoral integrity around the world in the last election held, up to the end of 2024. Those countries highlighted in green achieved a higher electoral integrity score. Those countries in red achieved the lowest score. The figure demonstrates that high electoral integrity scores were achieved on all continents, but with considerable global and regional variation.

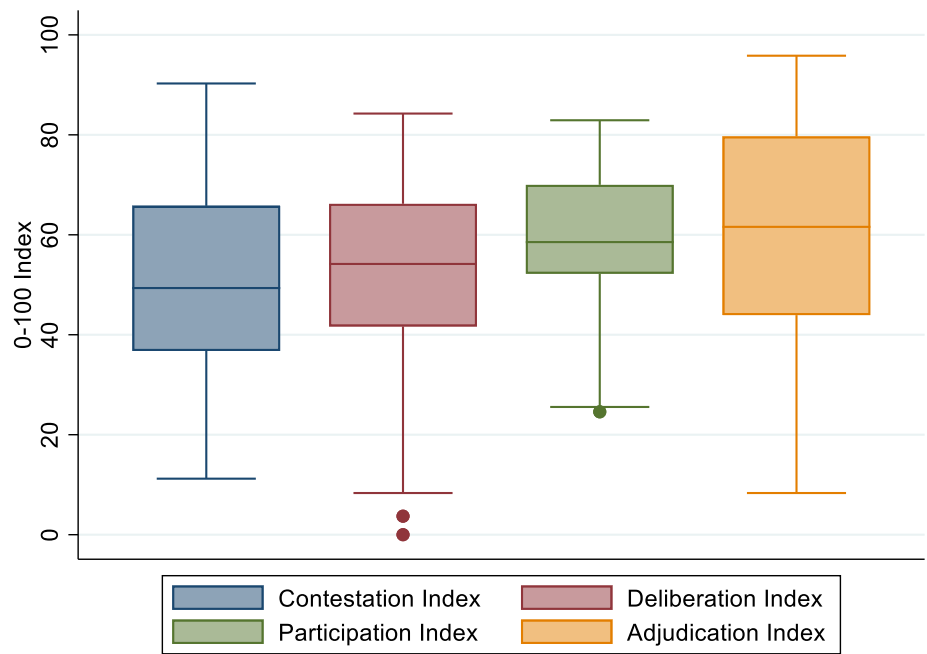
Figure 3: Overall Electoral Integrity (Most Recent Election, Concept-Based Index)



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 11.0), Concept-Index (PEI_concept), most recent election reported.



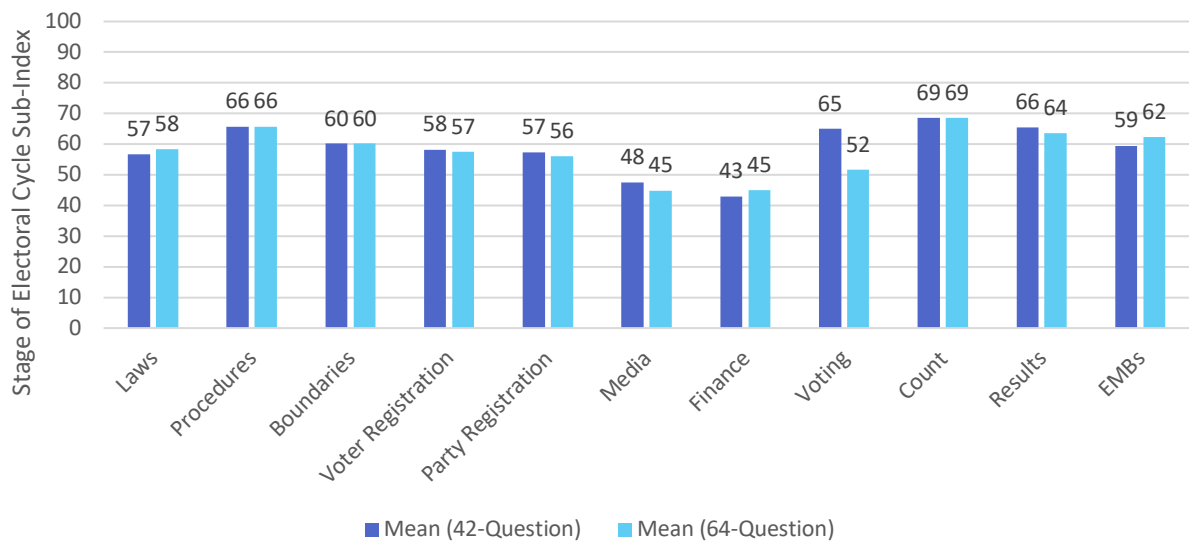
Figure 4: Four Principles of Electoral Integrity, Box plot summary of data from 2024 elections



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 2024 survey includes new variables in some of the indicators (see Technical Appendix, Table 4). Figure 5 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 challenge for electoral integrity.

Figure 5: Performance of elections across stages in the electoral cycle (2024 means)



Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 11.0), 2024 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 2012-2024. 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 Ghana	76	Costa Rica	81	Japan	75	Denmark	87	New Zealand	75
Gambia	72	Chile	80	Taiwan	70	Iceland	86	Kiribati	69
Lesotho	72	Uruguay	79	Mongolia	69	Finland	85	Vanuatu	62
Mauritius	69	Peru	74	Armenia	67	Lithuania	85	Fiji	61
South Africa	68	Panama	72	Korea, Republic of	66	Germany	84	Micronesia	59
Sao Tome and Principe	67	Colombia	71	Timor-Leste	65	Netherlands	81	Solomon Islands	51
Morocco	63	Brazil	70	Singapore	65	Norway	81	Samoa	50
Botswana	63	Grenada	68	Qatar	64	Latvia	81	Papua New Guinea	48
Kenya	63	Argentina	66	Bhutan	63	Switzerland	79	Tonga	34
Liberia	59	Jamaica	66	Nepal	62	Portugal	79		
Malawi	59	Ecuador	63	Myanmar	60	Ireland	78		
Namibia	59	Trinidad and Tobago	61	Malaysia	58	Belgium	78		
Guinea-Bissau	57	Barbados	61	Iraq	57	Slovenia	77		
Niger	54	Suriname	60	Maldives	57	Spain	73		
Senegal	54	Dominican Republic	60	Sri Lanka	56	France	72		
Tunisia	54	Belize	59	Georgia	52	Estonia	72		
Burkina Faso	50	Bahamas	58	Oman	52	Czechia	72		
Benin	49	Honduras	56	Thailand	52	Italy	72		
Côte d'Ivoire	48	Bolivia	54	India	52	Austria	71		
Ethiopia	45	United States	54	Lebanon	50	Luxembourg	68		
Sudan	44	Mexico	53	Uzbekistan	50	Slovakia	68		
Nigeria	43	Guyana	50	Pakistan	48	Cyprus	66		
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	41	Guatemala	47	Indonesia	47	United Kingdom	64		
Zambia	40	Paraguay	46	Kuwait	47	Croatia	62		
Angola	40	Antigua and Barbuda	41	Kyrgyzstan	42	Greece	60		
Togo	39	Haiti	37	Kazakhstan	41	Poland	59		
Mali	39	El Salvador	36	Afghanistan	40	Bosnia and Herzegovina	57		
Algeria	38	Venezuela	32	Vietnam	39	Moldova	57		
Burundi	37	Nicaragua	22	Laos	39	North Macedonia	57		



Cameroon	36	Azerbaijan	38	Malta	56
Madagascar	36	Bahrain	38	Ukraine	55
Sierra Leone	36	Turkey	37	Hungary	53
Djibouti	34	Bangladesh	36	Romania	52
Uganda	31	Philippines	35	Bulgaria	48
Tanzania	31	Tajikistan	28	Montenegro	47
Guinea	29	Jordan	28	Albania	36
Central African Republic	29	Iran	21	Russia	31
Mozambique	29	Cambodia	18	Serbia	29
Gabon	28	Turkmenistan	17	Belarus	21
Mauritania	27	Syria	14		
Congo, Republic of	26				
Eswatini	23				
Comoros	22				
Chad	18				
Zimbabwe	18				
Rwanda	17				
Equatorial Guinea	16				
Egypt	11				

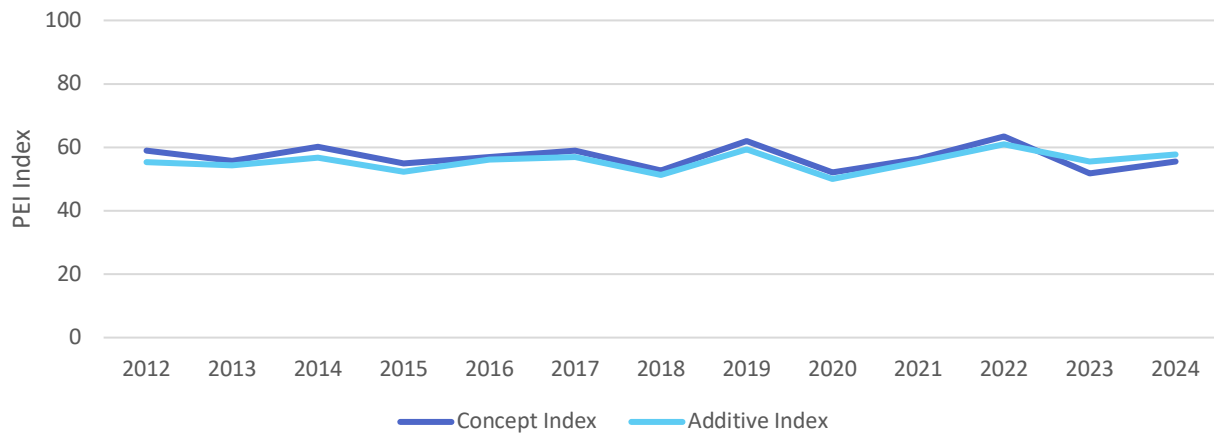
Source: *The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 11.0), Concept-Index (PEI_concept), most recent election reported.*



IV. Overall Changes in Electoral Integrity

A comparison of the PEI Indices available across the 13 years of study (from 2012-2024) does not show noticeable or statistically significant increases or decreases (Figure 6).¹ Overall, 20 countries which held an election in 2024 saw an increase in election quality on previous years and 24 saw a decrease. The non-random nature of these elections occurring means that we cannot confirm a definite trend statistically.

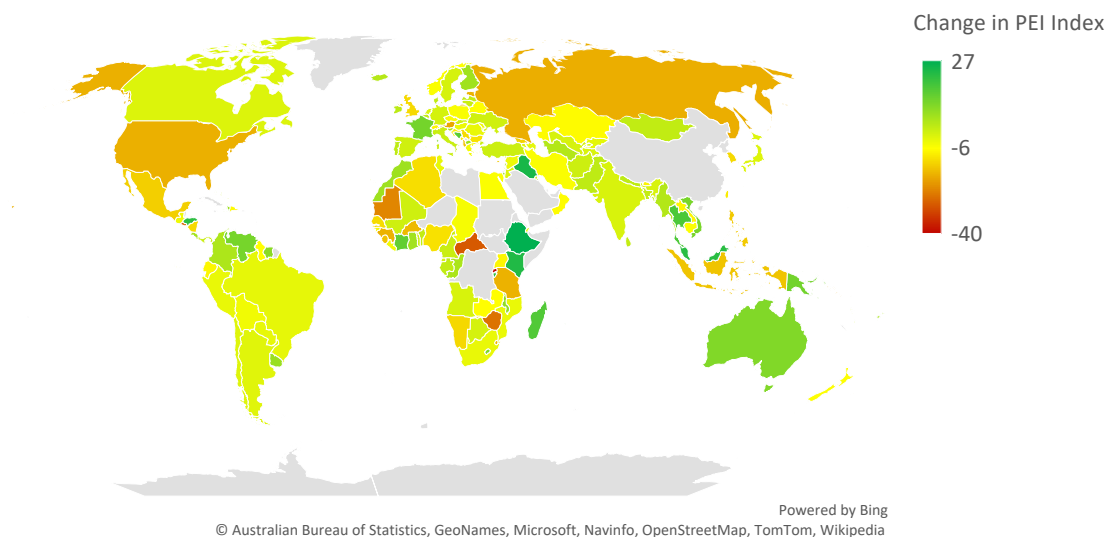
Figure 6: PEI Indices Over Time



Source: *The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 11.0)*

We do, however, note some instances of significant changes from previous elections (Figure 7), which is the focus of this section of the report.

Figure 7: 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 11.0), Most recent election – minus – second most recent election for each country with available data.*



V. Cases of Electoral Integrity Strengthening in 2024

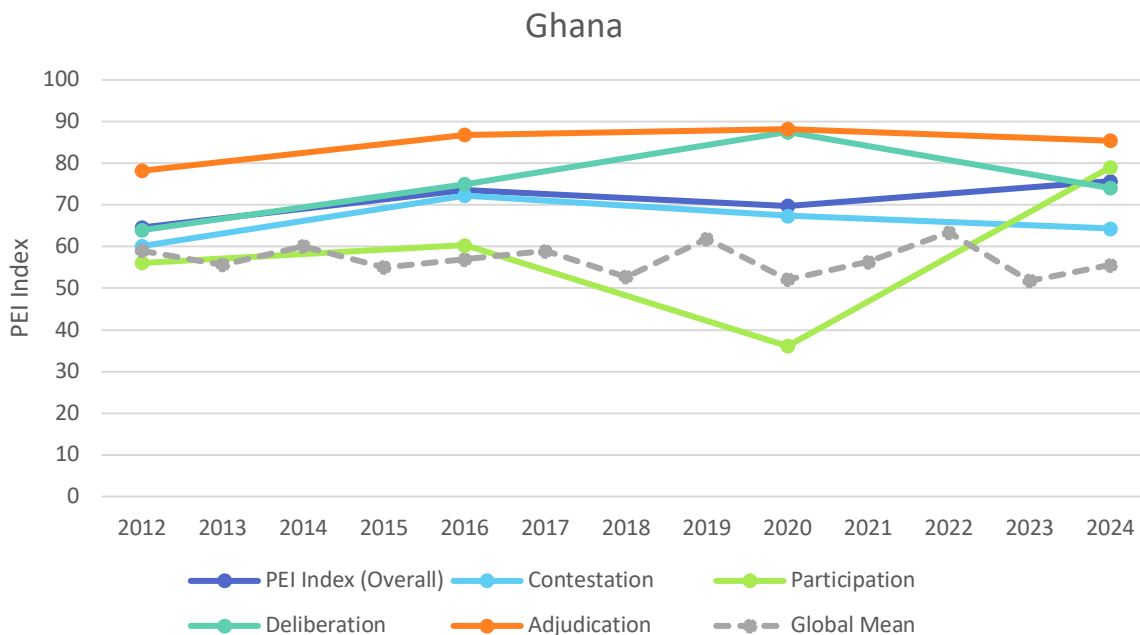
GHANA – DECEMBER 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Ghana held Presidential and legislative elections on 7 December 2024. Due to term limits, the incumbent President did not run, and despite a high number of candidates, the contest was widely considered a two-horse race between former President John Mahama (National Democratic Congress) and Mahamudu Bawumia (New Patriotic Party). John Mahama was elected President with 56.6% of votes against 41.6% for Mahamudu Bawumia (Nunoo, Nesta Kupemba, and Booty 2024).

Ghana has the highest overall electoral integrity in the African region but continued to improve in 2024. The December 2024 presidential and legislative elections saw notable improvements in the participation principle of electoral integrity and remained relatively high in the adjudication principle. Domestic observation group CODEO reported that ‘Voting and counting were done in accordance with relevant electoral laws and the Constitution, and there were no significant incidents related to the voting process’ (CODEO 2024). International observers commended the efforts of the Electoral Commission in carrying out a well-organized election (Commonwealth 2025). However, there were ‘pockets of irregularities’ were reported by CODEO (GNA 2024).

The weakest area of the electoral cycle was electoral finance, according to the PEI indicators. Observers pointed out that there was no legally prescribed limit for campaign spending by political parties and candidates. They argued that this ‘situation presents a challenge to Ghana’s democratic development as it opens the political system to unbridled monetization of politics and the commercialization of elections, with dire implications for accountability’ (Commonwealth 2025, 36).

Figure 8: Ghana – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



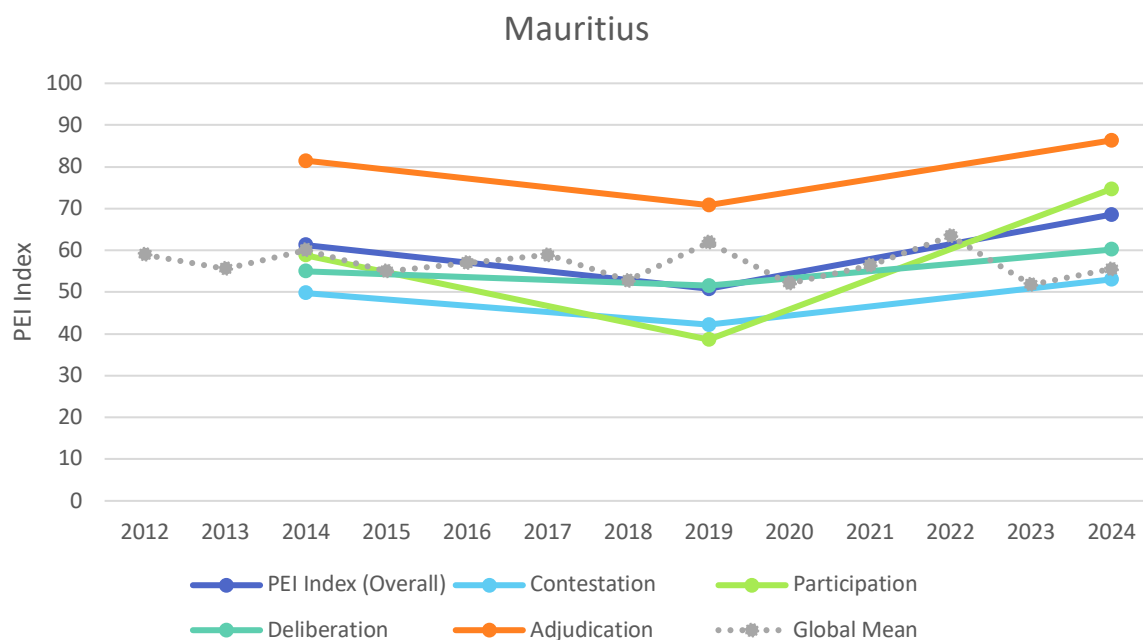
MAURITIUS – NOVEMBER 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Mauritius’ November 2024 legislative elections saw a landslide victory for the opposition Alliance of Change (International IDEA 2024b). There was an improvement in electoral integrity, especially after the 2019 elections which were widely criticized for some irregularities and difficulties in participation (Kasenally 2020).

The turnout for the elections was 79.3 per cent, which was the highest rate since 2010 (International IDEA 2025b). The Southern African Development Community’s electoral observation mission praised the elections for being ‘calm and peaceful’ and for satisfying stakeholders. The mission also highlighted the ‘increased security detail in the form of patrols following nomination day, and the advanced training and planning for deploying officers to various polling stations’ (SADC 2024).

In the wake of a political scandal, Mauritius’ communications regulator ordered a social media ban from 1 to 11 November, covering the period until after the elections (International IDEA 2024c). Private phone conversations between journalists, politicians and police had been leaked on social media, causing the regulator to ban social media on the grounds of protecting national security. Civil society and the opposition criticized the decision, and it was reversed before election day (Africa News 2024).

Figure 9: Mauritius – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores

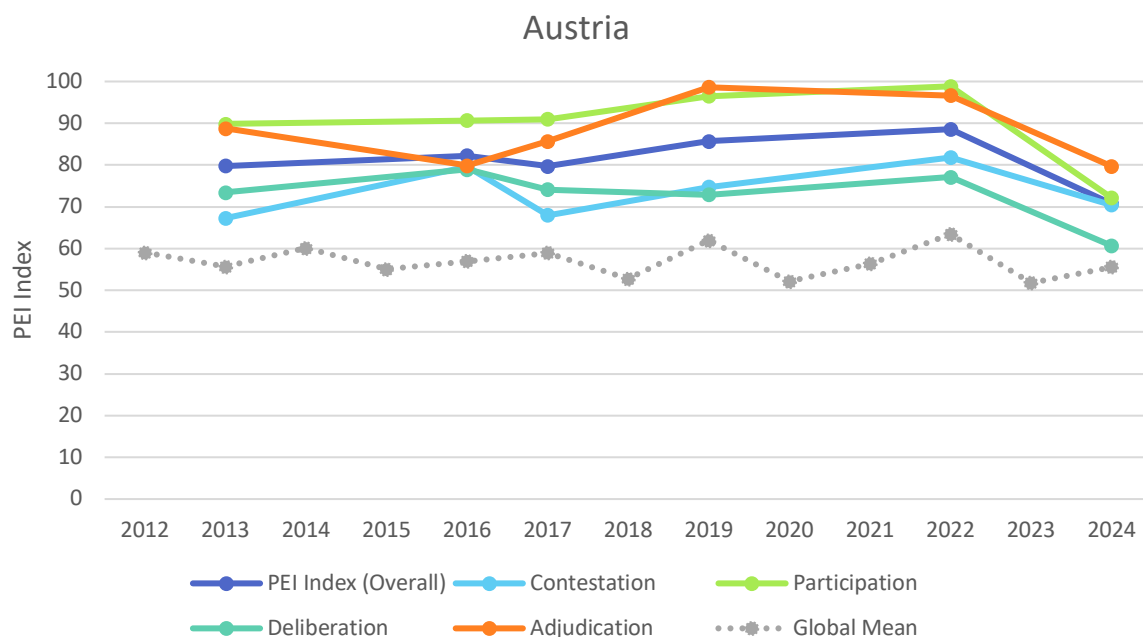


VI. Cases of Electoral Backsliding in 2024

AUSTRIA – SEPTEMBER 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Austria has typically had high-quality elections but saw a decline in electoral integrity in its September 2024 legislative elections. The far-right Freedom Party received 28.8 per cent of the vote, making it the biggest party in the lower house of parliament. A pre-election report published by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights expressed confidence in the Austrian electoral process. However, it raised concerns about negative rhetoric and disinformation on social media platforms and the risk of foreign interference (ODIHR 2024). Telegram was reported to be a source of alternative perspectives, 'frequently amplifying narratives around topics like immigration, EU policies, and election integrity' (Wahlbeobachtung.org 2024). The Freedom Party faced criticism for its alleged Nazi connections during the election campaign period (Karnitschnig 2024). Austria's electoral integrity score remained high overall but was much weaker in terms of the media environment, as evidenced by the low deliberation score in the PEI Index.

Figure 10: Austria – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



BULGARIA – JUNE AND OCTOBER 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

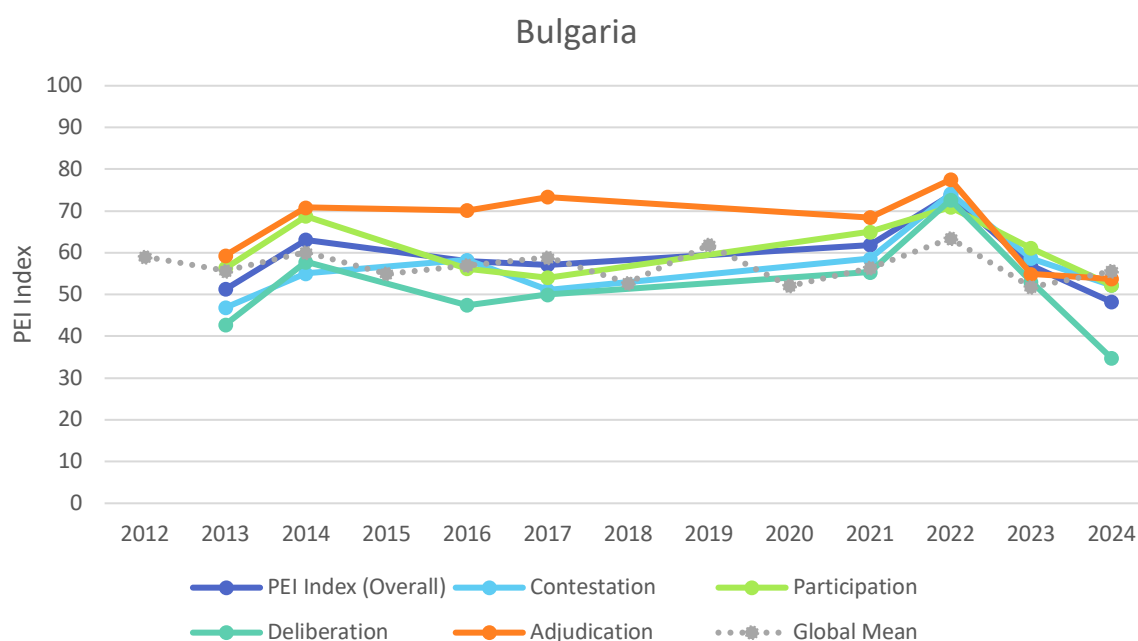
Bulgaria held two parliamentary elections in 2024—in June and October—amid a period of instability that has seen seven elections since 2021. Coalition negotiations failed to produce a government after the June elections. GERB–SDS—a two-party coalition involving Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS)—received the most votes but still needed to form an alliance with at least two other elected parties to establish a majority in the National Assembly.

ODIHR (2024, 1) stated in its final report that the June elections were competitive, with the freedoms of expression, assembly and association also respected. The Central Election Commission (CEC) was reported to have managed the process well. However, ODIHR (2024, 1) noted that the election took place amid ‘declining public trust in state institutions and strong antagonism among the major political forces’.

The European Parliament expressed ‘concern about credible reports of increased Russian attempts to interfere’ in the June election, and raised ‘strong concerns about the existence and Russian control of a network of disinformation agents active on social media platforms, in traditional media, academia, non-governmental organizations and political parties’ (European Parliament 2024).

Bulgaria’s electoral integrity score declined for the October elections, in comparison with the June elections, as numerous complaints of electoral fraud were filed with the Constitutional Court. In February 2025 the Court ordered the CEC to recalculate the results based on partial recount data (Sofia Globe 2025).

Figure 11: Bulgaria – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



Note: The November 21 Presidential Election is depicted above for 2021, and the October 27 legislative elections are depicted for 2024.



EL SALVADOR – FEBRUARY 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

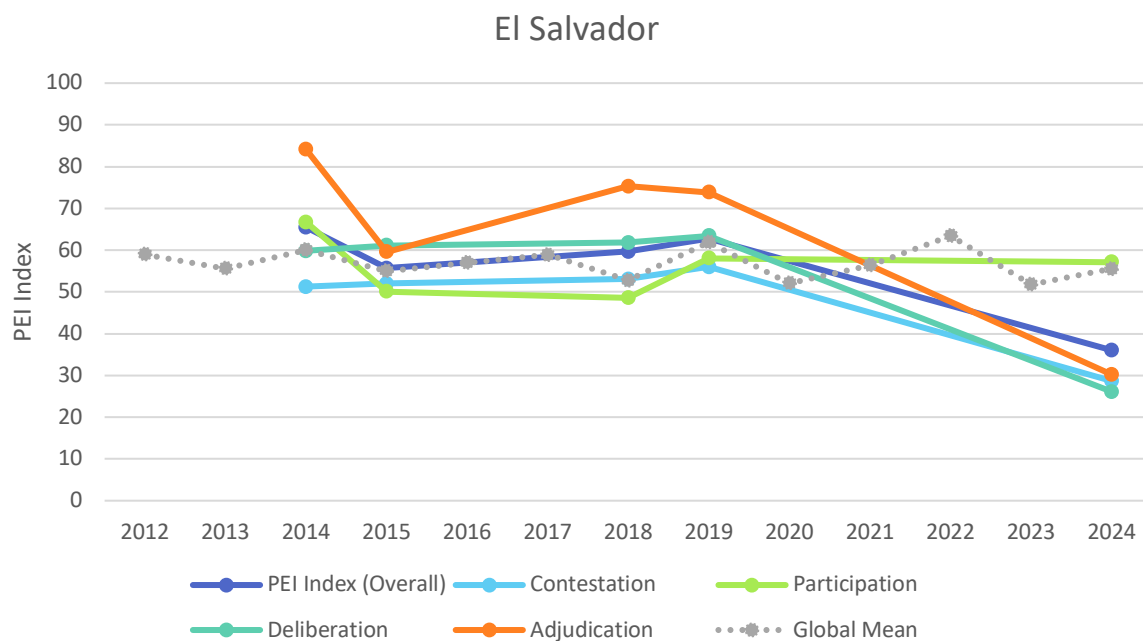
The February 2024 presidential and legislative elections in El Salvador saw notable declines in three of the four principles of electoral integrity. While participation was not down, it remains low, and there were dramatic decreases from previous Salvadoran elections in the contestation, deliberation, and adjudication principles.

The election was controversial: incumbent President Nayib Bukele was re-elected in a landslide vote following drastic constitutional changes to term limits (International IDEA 2024a). Electoral laws were also changed to reduce the number of seats in the Salvadorean Congress, this contributed to further the victory of the governing party, which has maintained a supermajority since 2021.

The Tribunal Supremo Electoral – El Salvador’s EMB – declared the election as fair, however observers noted concerning issues, such as multiple reports of voter intimidation, significant delay of the official voting results by the TSE, and issues with fraudulent IDs, among others (OAS 2024b).

Notably, while the election and President Bukele have been widely criticized internationally, he remains considerably popular domestically, particularly due to his drastic measures in policing local gangs (WOLA 2024).

Figure 12: El Salvador – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



GEORGIA – FEBRUARY 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

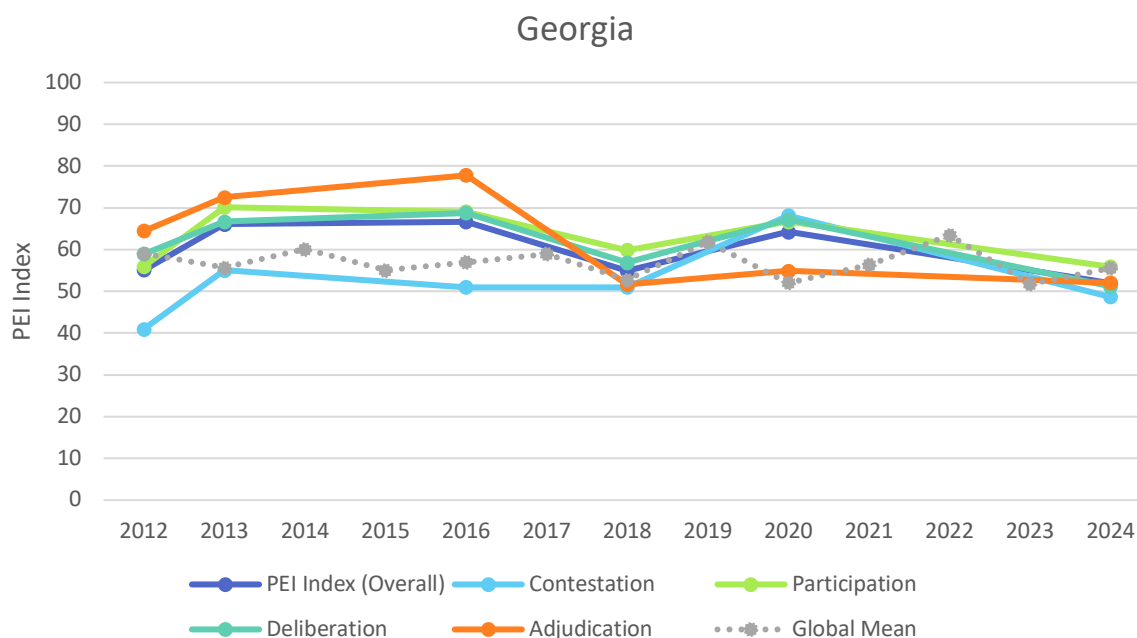
Georgia held parliamentary elections on 26 October 2024. The ruling party Georgian Dream won a fourth term in office with 53% of the vote (CEC 2024).

Georgia saw a significant overall decline from 64 to 52. This drop was strongest in the area of contestation where it fell from 68 to 48. This was underpinned by a major decline in whether the laws were unfair to smaller parties and whether electoral laws favored the governing party or parties. There was also a decline in the impartiality of the electoral authorities and an increase in violence protests.

International election observers reported that the polls were well administered with extensive voter education initiatives. There was also choice at the ballot box between a wide range of parties. However, observers also noted that there were also electoral laws passed ahead of the election without cross-party consensus which may have advantaged the incumbent (ODHIR 2024). The Law on Transparency of Foreign Influence was passed in 2024 which required nongovernmental organisations, as well as media outlets that receive over 20% of their yearly funding from a “foreign power,” to register with the Ministry of Justice as “organizations acting in the interests of a foreign power.” (Venice Commission 2024). There were protests in opposition to the law, but also after the announcement of preliminary results.

Observers also noted that there reports of pressures put on voters during the campaign who may have feared retribution (ODHIR 2024). Domestic groups also claimed that there were violations including ballot-stuffing, voter intimidation and bribery (CNBC 2024).

Figure 13: Georgia – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores

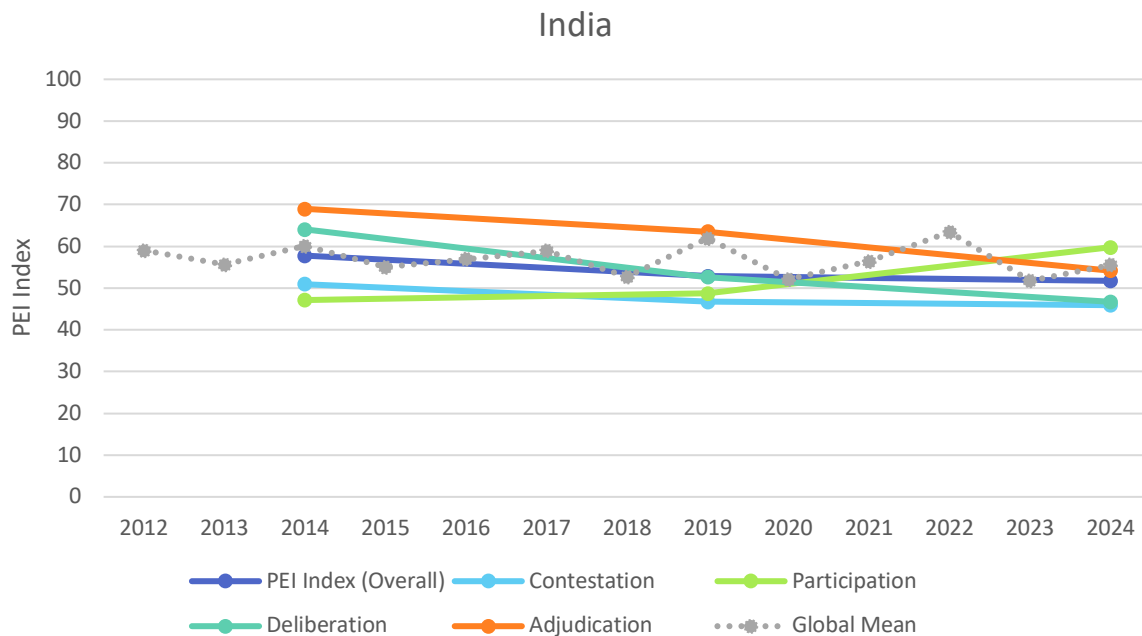


INDIA – APRIL-JUNE 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

India held elections to the Lok Sabha (Union Parliament) over a phased period of 19 April to 1 June 2024. The BJP led National Democratic Alliance headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi was elected for a third term. The BJP seat share reduced from 303 in 2019 to 240 (272 as the majority mark) which meant that Modi had to form a coalition government.

The Electoral integrity scores saw a small decline overall. The scores for the adjudication principle declined. The more specific areas of decline included scores for whether the elections were well managed and the impartiality of the election authorities. Notably India had introduced a new law in 2023 changing the way in which Election Commissioners were appointed. The Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners Act of 2023 introduced a three-member committee consisting of the Prime Minister, a Cabinet Minister and Leader of the Opposition to select the Election Commissioners prompting concerns about executive dominance over Election Management body. Two new appointments were made to the Electoral Commission shortly before the general election, following the abrupt resignation of one of a commissioner (International IDEA 2025a).

Figure 14: India – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



INDONESIA – FEBRUARY 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

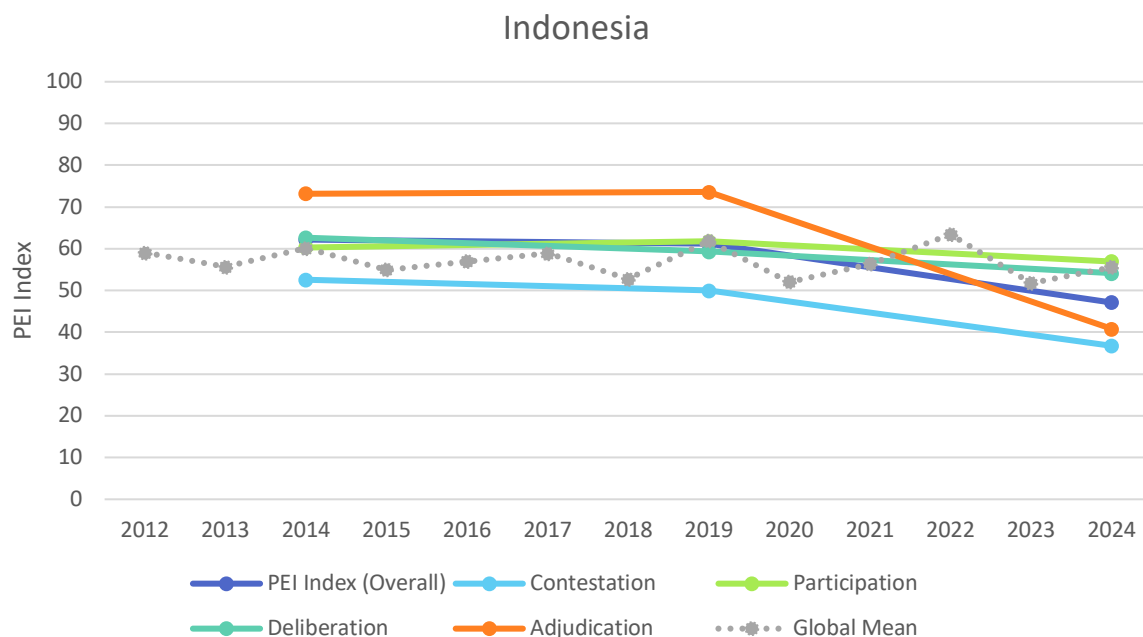
Indonesia held elections in February 2024 to elect the President, Vice-President and presidential and the People's Consultative Assembly. Defence minister and retired armed General Prabowo Subianto was elected President, alongside his running mate Gibran Rakabuming Raka as Vice-President with 59 per cent of the vote (Al Jazeera 2024). The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) remaining the largest party in the House of Representatives.

Overall, electoral integrity declined from 66 to 47. The sharpest declines were in the areas of contestation and adjudication.

The election place against the backdrop of changing legislation, with an incoming New Criminal Code which would considerably curb free speech, primarily in regard to criticism against the state. Concerns were also raised by observers over the vague and/or lacking legislation over the ages of candidates, and protocols to curb the misuse of state resources and the monitoring of social media (ANFREL 2024).

Observers also raised concerns about the role of money in the election – an area which saw a major decline in integrity score since 2019 and was the lowest in the electoral cycle. According to ANFREL, there ‘was a prevailing concern that the influence of money in politics played a role in influencing voters’ (ANFREL 2024, 2). It has been argued that the incumbent Jokowi used his control over state institutions to back loyalists and family members and block political rivals (Jaffrey and Warburton 2024).

Figure 15: Indonesia – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



MEXICO – JUNE 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

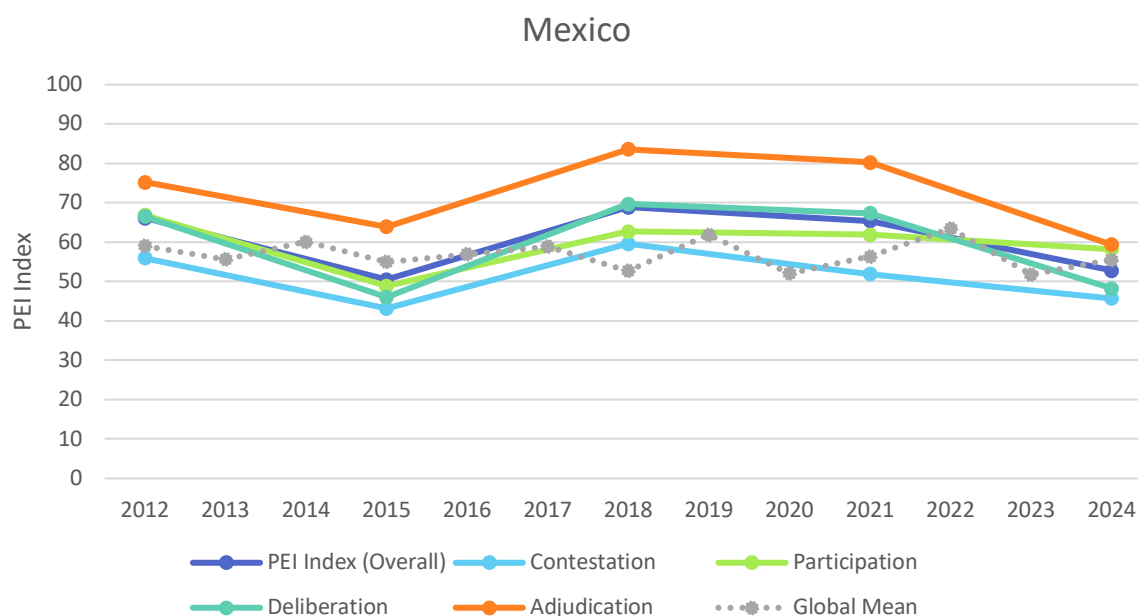
Mexico held elections for the President, all members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on 2 June 2024. The Presidential election was won by Claudia Sheinbaum – the first time that a woman had been elected as president. She succeeded fellow Morena President Andrés Manuel López Obrador in office.

There was a decline in the overall score from 65 to 53. The decline was most significant in the area of adjudication, where Mexico's traditionally high score of 84 in 2018 and 80 in 2021, dropped to 59 in 2024. In terms of areas of the electoral cycle, the declines were in the quality of electoral administration. The were lower scores for areas such as the fairness of the electoral officials, the impartiality of electoral boundaries and the use of proper use of state resources for campaigning.

Broad electoral reforms were proposed in 2022 by President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador but failed to obtain sufficient legislative support. Revised proposed, known as 'plan B' were subsequently put forward but were struck down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Reforms included reducing the budget of the National Electoral Institute, remove staff and close offices (Al Jazeera 2023). Major protests have frequently taken place across Mexico to oppose electoral reforms (PBS 2024). Protests also took place later in 2024 against the governing parties reforms which replaced Supreme Court judges with elected judges.

Cases of electoral violence were also reported throughout the campaign with the OAS observation report noting that a 'context of insecurity and fear surrounding the electoral campaign including manifestations of organized crime' was one of the most 'reiterated aspects' of their meetings with interlocutors (OAS 2024a, 6-7). A report from the OAS on the more recent election of judges and justices by popular vote, which took place on June 1, 2025 advised against replicating Mexico's model of judicial elections in other countries in the Americas and warns of the risks posed by low voter turnout and the presence of cheat sheets at polling stations.

Figure 16: Mexico – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



Note: Presidential election used for 2014



RWANDA – JULY 2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

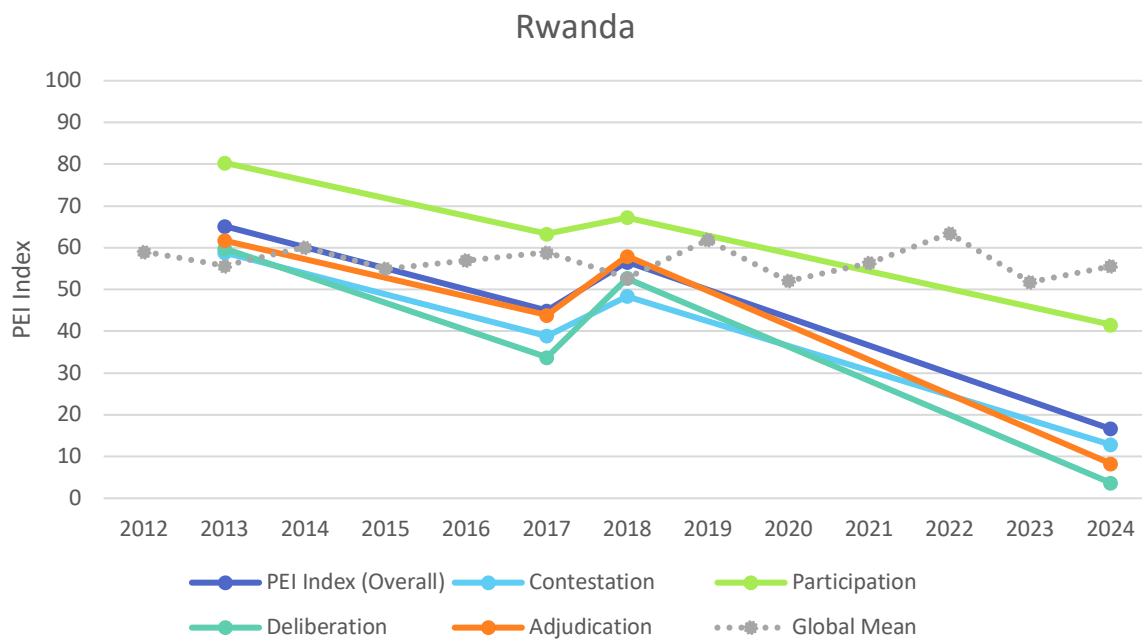
The incumbent President, Paul Kagame, won the July 2024 presidential election in Rwanda with over 99 per cent of the vote, according to the official results released by the National Electoral Commission (PBS 2024). The election result meant that Kagame would enter his fourth decade in office.

There was a large decline in election quality in 2024, compared with its previous electoral contests. Voter registration remained of high quality according to the indexes, but there was plummeting of scores in other areas. The media environment at the election was close to the lowest possible score.

Civil rights groups had claimed that the election was ‘a reflection of just how limited political space for the opposition is in Rwanda today’ (France 24 2024). Only two opposition candidates were allowed to contest the election against Kagame, with Diane Rwigara, an outspoken critic of the Rwandan President among those who were barred. Rwigara, the leader of the People Salvation Movement, claimed that she was ‘representing the vast majority of Rwandans who live in fear and are not allowed to be free in their own country’ (Muia and Bikorimana 2024).

Amnesty International reported that, in the long run-up to the polls, ‘the political opposition continue[d] to face severe restrictions to their right to freedom of association, as well as threats, arbitrary detention, prosecution on trumped-up charges, killings and enforced disappearances’ (Amnesty International 2024).

Figure 17: Rwanda – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



UNITED KINGDOM – JULY 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

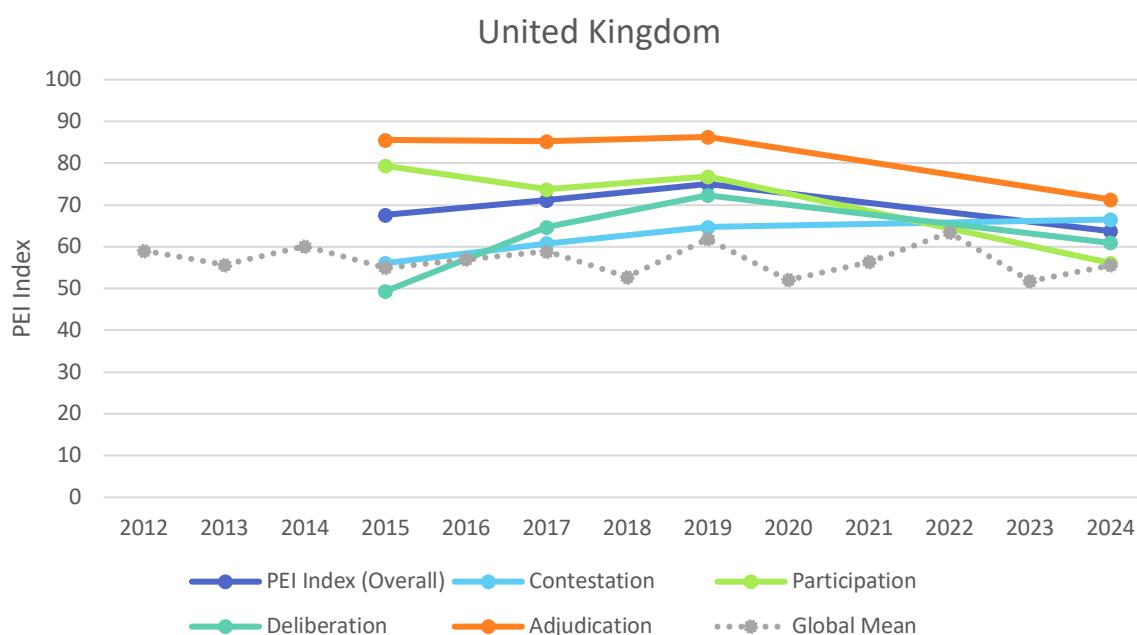
The UK held early parliamentary elections in July 2024 after the Prime Minister Rishi Sunak dissolved Parliament. He was defeated in the election by Labour's Kier Starmer who won a majority of 174 seats in the House of Commons.

Electoral integrity scores in the UK declined substantially to leave the UK in the bottom half of countries in Europe overall. The decline was most pronounced in the participation dimension. Scores were especially low for the electoral laws and voter registration aspects of the electoral cycle.

The UK has system of voter registration which has been under strain because of low levels of completeness and accuracy (Electoral Commission 2023). This has therefore been a long-term area of weakness in electoral integrity scores. This has led to calls for automatic and assisted voter registration to be implemented (James and Bernal 2020, 2025).

The Elections Act 2022 introduced compulsory photographic identification for the first time at the general election. This was thought to have made it more difficult for many citizens to vote because the UK does not have a national identity card which all citizens hold (Electoral Commission 2024). Turnout was also low with only half of adults voting (Patel and Valgarðsson 2024). The electoral system also scored poorly for fairness for small parties. The electoral system generated a very disproportional result with Labour receiving 63% of seats with only 34% of votes cast (BBC 2024).

Figure 18: United Kingdom – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



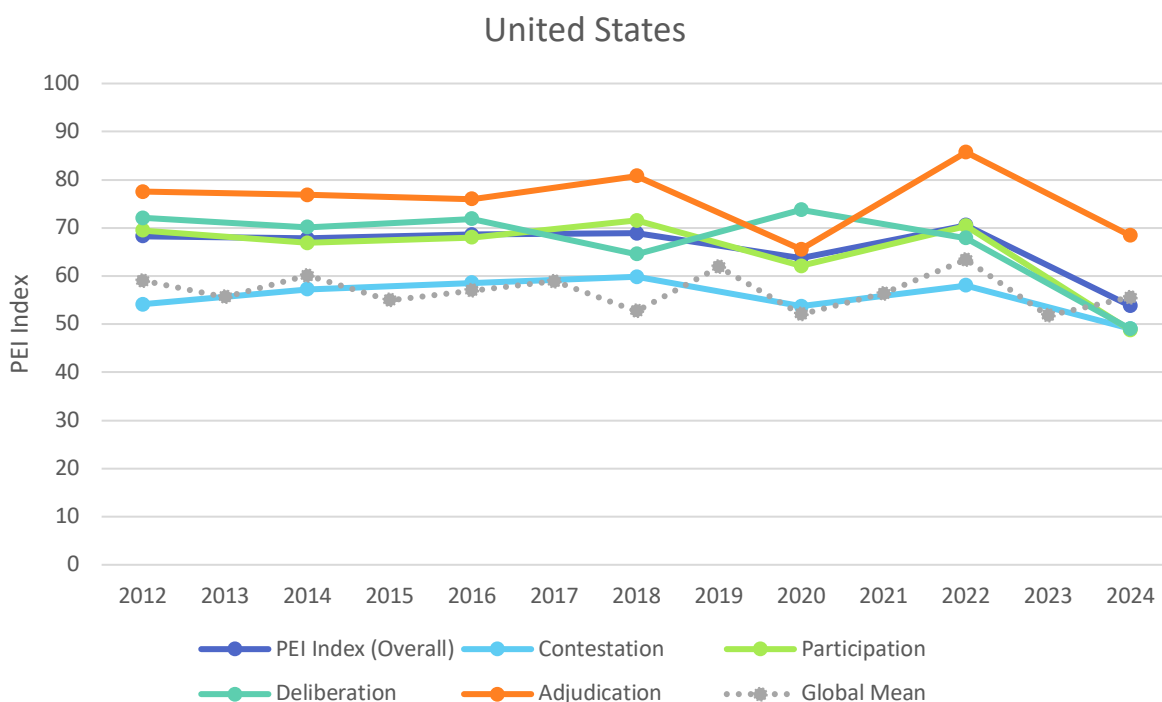
UNITED STATES – NOVEMBER 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

There were noticeable declines in electoral integrity scores in the United States during the 2024 Presidential election, after some improvements in the 2022 midterms.

Declines were seen in all four key principles of electoral integrity, with declines most notable in the participation and deliberation principles. The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity dataset suggests that the counting, results and procedural aspects of the election were strong (see Figure 19), a notable rebound in light of the challenges that occurred surrounding Trump's failure to accept the results of the 2020 election.

The main areas of weakness were electoral boundaries, media and finance. The gerrymandering of electoral districts has been a prominent problem in US elections since the country's founding. Senate malapportionment has been reported to have increased over the long term (Archer et al. 2024), and partisan battles within states about the drawing of district boundaries continue to take place (Saunders 2025). There were also concerns raised about disinformation throughout the electoral campaign (West 2024).

Figure 19: United States – Overall Electoral Integrity and Component Principal Scores



VI. Worldwide Overview of Electoral Integrity

Table 2 lists the summary scores for the most recent election in each country studied.²

Table 2: Summary Scores for Elections, Most Recent Election

Election Information				Overall Electoral Integrity Indices ³			Principle Indices				Electoral Cycle Stages										
Country	Date	Office	# responses	PEI additive 47 variable ⁴	PEI additive 62 variable ⁵	PEI Concept Index ⁶	Contestation ⁷	Participation	Deliberation	Adjudication	Laws ⁸	Procedures	Boundaries	Voter Registration	Party registration	Media	Finance	Voting	Count	Results	EMBs
AFG	28/09/2019	Pres	2	27		40	47	9	78	28	42	31	50	17	63	75	20	25	28	19	31
AGO	24/08/2022	Pres	3	31		40	29	49	48	32	19	23	56	18	32	33	24	51	30	31	32
ALB	25/04/2021	Leg	7	40		36	28	32	35	48	14	43	18	59	53	31	22	43	57	46	51
ARG	19/11/2023	Pres	13	66	69	66	61	68	59	77	78	86	60	76	70	44	42	76	87	78	81
ARM	20/06/2021	Leg	6	62		67	65	51	70	82	74	77	69	66	60	59	52	58	83	63	71
ATG	21/03/2018	Leg	2			41	28	31	47	60	50	72	38		43	48	3	42		78	41
AUS	21/05/2022	Leg	8	72		75	67	81	65	86	68	100	82	71	75	47	51	85	83	84	80
AUT	29/09/2024	Leg	6	79	76	71	70	72	61	80	93	77	92	96	68	62	61	90	79	75	89
AZE	01/09/2024	Leg	3			38	35	49	37	32	35	33	83	36	28	23	23		39	58	27
BDI	20/05/2020	Pres	5	18		37	34	37	34	37	43	35	33	45	38	33	31	31	30	41	30
BEL	09/06/2024	Leg	10	75	78	78	76	78	80	79	74	83	74	85	77	73	74	86	88	74	82
BEN	08/01/2023	Leg	3	52	52	49	43	51	50	53	42	65	72	67	45	43	25	58	65	63	50
BFA	22/11/2020	Pres	3	45		50	35	54	44	68	47	48	42	67	45	47	20	50	68	72	52
BGD	07/01/2024	Leg	9	40	40	36	32	47	31	36	59	41	51	38	39	34	21	41	42	44	35
BGR	27/10/2024	Leg	7	50	50	48	52	52	35	54	65	46	70	47	58	42	43	60	53	55	41
BHR	12/11/2022	Leg	4	44		38	30	41	38	42	25	40	25	31	38	28	34	61	54	58	34
BHS	16/09/2021	Leg	3			58	40	61	50	81	46	71	38		53	48	18	61	80	85	71
BIH	02/10/2022	Pres	10	55		57	58	60	47	65	57	58	57	40	63	46	47	63	64	48	51
BLR	25/02/2024	Leg	3	29	29	21	24	33	8	19	18	31	25	50	23	23	33	26	23	46	13
BLZ	04/11/2015	Leg	7	54		59	43	57	70	66	40	65	36	39	63	56	23	59	72	64	71
BOL	18/10/2020	Pres	9	55		54	46	60	59	50	63	64	40	49	56	46	37	59	58	51	55
BRA	30/10/2022	Pres	5	64		70	55	73	80	72	83	94	79	98	50	68	41	74	93	35	90
BRB	19/01/2022	Leg	4	62		61	60	51	59	72	54	83	62	67	76	43	41	59	83	82	69
BTN	09/01/2024	Leg	3	69	70	63	66	66	59	61	50	73	53	72	68	68	76	75	75	100	67
BWA	30/10/2024	Leg	2			63	45	56	72	79	50	91	46		63	45	15		85	72	72
CAF	27/12/2020	Pres	2	17		29	16	27	28	45	13	28	50	17	10	25	8	25	50	38	44
CAN	20/09/2021	Leg	6	81		86	81	88	81	96	65	94	82	74	86	68	83	90	96	91	96



CHE	22/10/2023	Leg	9	87	83	79	77	72	82	86	77	96	75	89	88	70	67	91	90	93	95
CHL	19/12/2021	Pres	5	83		80	75	81	76	87	83	95	88	66	75	61	66	83	82	91	93
CIV	06/03/2021	Leg	2	42		48	37	46	41	67	75	38	58	58	35	33	13	48	58	63	31
CMR	09/02/2020	Leg	5	22		36	26	45	36	37	22	34	25	20	37	24	12	48	39	29	35
COD	20/12/2023	Pres	2			41	53	49	33	28	71	34		25	63	35	23	46	18	38	31
COG	10/07/2022	Leg	2	33		26	35	24	19	25	38	34	63	33	28	38	15	33	45	53	16
COL	19/06/2022	Pres	2			71	61	66	78	79	83	78	92		55	70	65		80	88	66
COM	24/03/2019	Pres	3	4		22	23	0	13	24	19	23	33	0	15	28	0	0	20	0	6
CPV	17/10/2021	Pres	5	68		77	65	81	74	89	82	89	63	76	67	61	43	85	93	94	86
CRI	03/04/2022	Pres	4	84		81	56	91	83	94	81	95	96	100	78	50	36	95	96	95	89
CYP	12/02/2023	Pres	7	68	68	66	61	70	54	79	70	89	58	59	67	49	46	74	90	75	77
CZE	21/09/2024	Leg	3	76	74	72	81	58	66	82	81	92	72	78	93	53	75	68	95	85	90
DEU	26/09/2021	Leg	12	80		84	80	86	83	89	88	89	87	90	80	65	69	87	91	90	86
DJI	09/04/2021	Pres	3	36		34	21	36	29	48	22	44	25	33	30	23	17	38	47	53	31
DNK	01/11/2022	Leg	10	85		87	82	81	91	95	89	98	93	95	88	72	68	89	97	92	97
DOM	19/05/2024	Pres	5	50	59	60	49	64	55	70	67	83	50	49	57	31	27	74	88	68	73
DZA	07/09/2024	Pres	7	42	44	38	31	52	31	44	32	51	36	55	37	33	28	55	46	63	36
ECU	15/10/2023	Pres	8	62	64	63	55	61	62	73	77	78	64	65	58	59	52	67	76	77	70
EGY	10/12/2023	Pres	2			11	7	30	1	4	13	9		25	8	10	8	25	20	50	6
ESP	23/07/2023	Leg	16	74	76	73	68	67	67	90	64	91	59	93	77	59	64	88	93	80	91
EST	05/03/2023	Leg	10	79	79	72	81	64	78	71	83	93	79	86	87	70	68	88	90	63	90
ETH	21/06/2021	Leg	4	52		45	43	39	44	53	60	47	32	44	42	36	42	41	49	48	63
FIN	11/02/2024	Pres	6	89	86	85	84	80	81	94	97	97	83	98	89	75	74	96	96	92	89
FJI	14/12/2022	Leg	4	58		61	52	65	61	67	38	72	25	50	57	48	47	75	55	58	66
FRA	07/07/2024	Leg	7	71	71	72	67	59	67	92	70	90	63	74	69	59	71	80	99	68	84
FSM	07/03/2017	Leg	3			59	58	63	50	65	72	56	75	33	67	33	47		65	59	60
GAB	26/08/2023	Pres	3	17	21	28	16	44	18	24	11	23	25	8	43	13	8	13	13	41	13
GBR	04/07/2024	Leg	11	70	67	64	67	56	61	71	48	86	73	54	79	55	56	81	88	86	84
GEO	26/10/2024	Leg	7	51	50	52	49	56	51	52	49	58	65	52	63	49	39	53	61	29	43
GHA	07/12/2024	Pres	3	71	73	76	64	79	74	85	92	96	86	58	90	75	15	76	77	71	85
GIN	18/10/2020	Pres	2			29	30	33	31	24	33	28		25	28	35	35	38	30	38	25
GMB	09/04/2022	Leg	4	64		72	64	69	73	82	77	89	72	67	74	58	40	69	86	78	75
GNB	04/06/2023	Leg	3	56	59	57	56	61	50	60	67	60	67	61	60	51	30	65	72	69	58
GNQ	20/11/2022	Pres	2	15		16	10	18	3	31	0	13	8	25	15	10	10	17	20	47	9
GRC	25/06/2023	Leg	9	70	69	60	52	65	46	75	56	94	77	72	49	40	45	79	95	92	82
GRD	23/06/2022	Leg	2			68	63	68	59	82	58	72	58	38	75	58	38	69	93		72
GTM	20/08/2023	Pres	10	52	49	47	32	54	48	54	47	66	65	54	31	51	27	62	78	40	61
GUY	02/03/2020	Leg	4	45		50	47	47	60	51	39	49	50	42	59	66	37	47	38	34	29
HND	28/11/2021	Pres	4			56	39	53	63	72	25	49	63	53	50	52	23		75	78	63



HRV	17/04/2024	Leg	10	66	66	62	59	63	62	65	59	79	43	43	67	54	61	83	86	87	72
HTI	20/11/2016	Pres	6	32		37	32	27	46	44	42	38	35	29	36	51	26	31	39	27	39
HUN	03/04/2022	Leg	6	46		53	32	66	44	71	28	71	8	58	51	21	23	71	77	80	53
IDN	14/02/2024	Pres	5	47	44	47	37	57	54	41	37	25	50	43	44	45	20	61	55	48	44
IND	01/06/2024	Leg	12	51	53	52	46	60	47	54	50	56	66	48	53	35	36	59	66	69	48
IRL	29/11/2024	Leg	9	75	77	78	80	67	75	91	87	92	79	19	86	66	74	75	92	90	93
IRN	05/07/2024	Pres	3	63	27	21	21	26	19	19	25	17	75	25	18	38	22	28	20	31	21
IRQ	10/10/2021	Leg	3	59		57	44	54	65	66	61	75	58	38	48	46	32	65	65	36	75
ISL	30/11/2024	Leg	3	94	89	86	90	75	84	94	83	96	100	97	97	84	88	96	97	94	73
ISR	01/11/2022	Leg	4			80	75	72	80	95	81	94		100	74	58	77	77	93	82	98
ITA	25/09/2022	Leg	11	66		72	55	84	65	83	44	85	60	78	53	49	63	82	85	78	80
JAM	25/02/2016	Leg	11	66		66	64	44	68	89	72	87	68	63	73	60	45	58	85	77	82
JOR	10/09/2024	Leg	3	36	30	28	24	33	22	33	24	46	17	25	18	32	22	29	40	64	20
JPN	27/10/2024	Leg	9	80	80	75	73	70	70	87	65	92	74	93	82	64	62	88	93	95	93
KAZ	19/03/2023	Leg	3	44	46	41	42	45	35	41	31	46	49	33	51	38	25	58	55	67	38
KEN	09/08/2022	Leg	5	63		63	48	51	71	81	65	77	75	48	53	65	20	65	80	49	70
KGZ	28/11/2021	Leg	6	37		42	36	37	48	48	40	39	45	43	43	52	21	37	43	42	38
KHM	23/07/2023	Leg	4	19	23	18	9	27	9	26	2	39	31	27	10	10	1	20	34	59	16
KIR	14/04/2020	Leg	3	73		69	64	58	81	82	69	85	64	83	80	70	60	69	85	81	78
KOR	10/04/2024	Leg	6	67	69	66	55	75	58	75	57	90	52	90	58	49	49	84	91	71	83
KWT	04/04/2024	Leg	4		45	47	42	42	52	53	13	61	50	53	50	28	20	52	56	56	51
LAO	21/02/2021	Leg	2			39	20	58	0	48	8	50	25		28	18			53		19
LBN	15/05/2022	Leg	5	49		50	38	52	58	54	22	56	32	50	50	48	40	56	68	61	58
LBR	14/11/2023	Pres	3	57	57	59	60	50	57	70	75	65	63	42	68	49	38	48	78	50	67
LKA	21/09/2024	Pres	7	58	58	56	48	53	52	69	59	82	55	59	58	46	36	54	74	76	72
LSO	07/10/2022	Leg	3			72	72	57	75	83	92	75	81	58	80		53	62	82	81	75
LTU	26/05/2024	Pres	2			85	86	83	74	96	100	91	100	100	85	75	68	90	98		94
LUX	08/10/2023	Leg	4	68	68	68	65	61	69	77	60	81	42	67	74	59	56	84	80	72	75
LVA	01/10/2022	Leg	8	78		81	78	86	74	85	87	83	89	94	79	71	75	85	87	80	80
MAR	08/09/2021	Leg	5	64		63	61	54	70	68	60	66	58	63	77	71	50	68	81	73	63
MDA	03/11/2024	Pres	5	60	59	57	48	62	53	66	55	69	50	53	50	50	53	65	82	65	68
MDG	29/05/2024	Leg	4	29	31	36	30	36	39	38	27	33	44	21	44	33	10	30	42	25	25
MDV	21/04/2024	Leg	3	49	57	57	48	68	51	61	64	69	39	64	50	40	40	63	73	60	63
MEX	02/06/2024	Pres	21	58	56	53	46	58	48	59	57	60	75	72	55	44	42	61	73	58	59
MKD	08/05/2024	Pres	8	56	58	57	51	54	56	68	54	73	39	52	59	53	41	64	71	74	63
MLI	29/03/2020	Leg	2	30		39	21	38	47	50	58	22	58	25	15	25	8	38	43	31	19
MLT	26/03/2022	Leg	8	58		56	45	67	38	76	40	87	51	60	62	37	26	71	82	81	67
MMR	08/11/2020	Leg	10	58		60	52	61	70	58	53	65	64	47	47	56	50	66	66	44	64
MNE	11/06/2023	Leg	4	53	47	47	49	48	35	55	67	41	58	30	48	29	35	55	73	69	48



MNG	28/06/2024	Leg	4	66	68	69	54	74	66	80	52	81	50	69	70	65	48	71	92	74	73
MOZ	09/10/2024	Pres	5	23	24	29	21	35	39	20	25	11	44	7	28	41	14	45	14	11	3
MRT	15/09/2018	Leg	2			27	24	23	25	35	21	28		17	38	38	5	23	25	44	28
MUS	10/11/2024	Leg	3			69	53	75	60	86	78	94	61	69	62	62		79	80		81
MWI	23/06/2020	Pres	7	49		59	49	41	61	82	63	83	35	45	64	45	15	50	78	63	80
MYS	19/11/2022	Leg	7	58		58	42	67	51	70	65	79	31	82	58	43	24	75	76	76	59
NAM	27/11/2024	Pres	4	52	55	59	60	59	65	52	69	38	51	57	62	61	48	60	64	45	36
NER	20/03/2016	Pres	4	59		54	50	57	44	66	75	56	75	30	40	44	26	51	74	42	67
NGA	25/02/2023	Pres	8	42	41	43	39	35	45	52	70	47	58	34	39	58	22	30	49	36	43
NIC	07/11/2021	Pres	10	14		22	21	30	19	20	17	26	8	38	30	31	19	31	27	43	26
NLD	22/11/2023	Leg	11	89	84	81	78	81	76	90	93	93	100	89	82	72	72	91	95	85	90
NOR	13/09/2021	Leg	5	72		81	79	83	73	90	75	95	71	83	89	54	67	84	85	95	95
NPL	20/11/2022	Leg	5	57		62	50	49	70	78	70	76	65	53	50	60	37	55	77	68	78
NZL	14/10/2023	Leg	11	72	74	75	71	78	64	85	77	91	78	66	85	52	54	87	81	76	89
OMN	29/10/2023	Leg	4	52	56	52	50	63	43	51	40	72	61	54	49	36	46	64	67	65	61
PAK	08/02/2024	Leg	4			48	33	56	44	55	65	55	54	46	30	52			42	36	50
PAN	05/05/2024	Pres	6	67	69	72	65	71	66	80	76	80	70	75	63	65	53	68	82	75	75
PER	11/04/2021	Pres	8	66		74	63	86	65	81	96	80	79	83	68	40	50	86	84	46	86
PHL	09/05/2022	Pres	5	35		35	27	38	29	45	44	31	36	33	39	40	11	32	56	55	34
PNG	22/07/2022	Leg	9	44		48	56	22	63	53	67	38	59	11	73	58	27	33	54	42	55
POL	15/10/2023	Leg	17	62	64	59	56	66	51	64	59	72	49	76	74	36	46	81	80	74	69
PRT	10/03/2024	Leg	8	77	82	79	74	79	73	90	61	98	83	90	81	63	74	92	93	89	91
PRY	30/04/2023	Pres	7	46	45	46	41	51	42	49	27	53	63	44	55	30	24	59	67	34	60
QAT	02/10/2021	Leg	4			64	65	55	59	76	17	81	17	17	68	70		66	82	67	67
ROU	24/11/2024	Pres	7	56	57	52	48	67	44	49	62	59	73	72	56	36	33	80	83	53	51
RUS	19/09/2021	Leg	3	23		31	18	54	23	27	14	23	8	25	36	32	13	50	22	45	19
RWA	15/07/2024	Pres	3			17	13	42	4	8	6	34		88	18	3	10	43	22	65	9
SDN	13/04/2015	Pres	9	41		44	35	48	35	56	25	47	38	36	47	36	26	48	55	59	41
SEN	24/03/2024	Pres	2	56	54	54	43	56	65	52	71	56	67	38	43	50	33	73	75	69	69
SGP	01/09/2023	Pres	9	54	66	65	59	81	53	65	29	90	23	69	62	35	64	83	79	84	71
SLB	17/04/2024	Leg	2			51	53	50	42	61	67	78	50	33	78				95	69	94
SLE	24/06/2023	Pres	5	47	36	36	33	40	48	21	48	25	56	37	42	46	26	36	35	25	24
SLV	04/02/2024	Pres	6	38	38	36	29	57	26	30	22	42	26	30	39	37	22	53	50	73	21
SRB	17/12/2023	Leg	8	22	30	29	29	38	26	21	44	27	25	14	43	23	19	50	43	13	20
STP	18/07/2021	Pres	2			67	51	65	69	85	79	66	58	50	65	73		69	68	50	53
SUR	25/05/2020	Leg	5	60		60	52	57	71	62	58	60	58	43	63	67	36	63	54	55	63
SVK	06/04/2024	Pres	4			68	63	71	70	68	71	91		88	68	55	59	82	84	67	78
SVN	13/11/2022	Pres	5			77	73	84	69	83	84	71		91	82	46	59	83	89	92	76
SWE	11/09/2022	Leg	10	82		89	82	96	86	90	92	88	85	96	87	63	68	93	97	87	96



SWZ	29/09/2023	Leg	2			23	28	35	4	25	0	63			10	15			60		13
SYR	15/07/2024	Leg	5	18	18	14	11	34	0	9	0	15	69	8	11	3	6	22	11	46	3
TCO	06/05/2024	Pres	2	20	24	18	26	25	14	8	38	13	42	0	28	5	15	31	30	44	19
TGO	22/02/2020	Pres	4	34		39	30	39	45	43	23	48	13	35	54	36	19	49	43	23	31
THA	14/05/2023	Leg	6	48	50	52	42	60	63	43	39	66	44	56	45	51	40	67	52	60	28
TJK	01/03/2020	Leg	3	26		28	18	55	15	25	19	25	25	38	22	20	13	50	33	70	19
TKM	26/03/2023	Leg	4	24	26	17	15	30	6	16	0	22	25	13	28	8	15	53	20	79	2
TLS	21/05/2023	Leg	4	62	63	65	59	66	63	73	58	78	75	39	65	70	48	55	80	75	73
TON	18/11/2021	Leg	4	31		34	27	34	23	49	23	55	39	42	25	28	23	38	44	48	29
TTO	10/08/2020	Leg	7	53		61	59	54	63	68	66	75	46	47	71	53	38	56	56	65	67
TUN	13/10/2019	Pres	3	53		54	40	46	73	57	43	66	29	50	60	51	24	62	53	58	55
TUR	28/05/2023	Pres	5	42	41	37	23	51	36	38	32	41	51	26	33	20	9	56	60	67	50
TWN	13/01/2024	Pres	4	74	75	70	66	68	59	86	75	100	48	88	74	55	63	71	96	91	89
TZA	28/10/2020	Pres	5	29		31	24	29	40	29	13	30	44	23	36	30	26	35	31	39	26
UGA	14/01/2021	Pres	3			31	43	22	22	19	36	31	67	8	40	40	13		25	19	38
UKR	21/04/2019	Pres	10	52		55	49	53	54	63	64	66	58	39	57	47	31	57	64	63	58
URY	24/11/2024	Pres	9	81	83	79	75	81	66	95	95	99	100	87	77	56	63	77	99	94	93
USA	05/11/2024	Pres	31	57	54	54	49	49	49	68	40	75	17	50	72	44	40	70	80	72	70
UZB	27/10/2024	Leg	3	53	55	50	48	61	43	50	53	67	61	63	50	53	40	60	52	60	50
VEN	28/07/2024	Pres	10	19	28	32	26	43	43	16	23	25	19	29	36	29	18	46	25	11	21
VNM	23/05/2021	Leg	3			39	42	47	25	44	14	67		50	43	33		51	37	56	44
VUT	13/10/2022	Leg	2			62	56	39	75	79	75	75	54	25	68	73	33	56	75	69	
WSM	09/04/2021	Leg	4	49		50	45	48	47	61	33	55	50	58	49	46	41	61	54	44	61
ZAF	29/05/2024	Leg	16	67	67	68	63	66	67	75	76	75	84	64	69	63	47	73	87	61	80
ZMB	12/08/2021	Pres	2	38		40	29	23	50	57	4	38	54	25	48	30	13	48	65	72	25
ZWE	23/08/2023	Pres	5	18	19	18	16	19	25	12	22	10	5	9	26	24	7	18	17	41	20



VII. Technical Documentation

GLOBAL COVERAGE

The PEI survey of electoral integrity focuses upon independent nation-states around the world that have held direct (popular) elections for the national parliament or presidential elections. The criteria for inclusion are listed below. The elections analysed in this report cover the period from 1 July 2012 to 7 December 2024. In total, PEI 11.0 covers 643 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)
Excluded categories		
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 10.1 dataset (from mid-2012 to end-2024)	170	

EXPERT SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This report describes the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity dataset (PEI_11.0). The dataset is drawn from a rolling survey of 5,605 expert assessments of electoral integrity across 643 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 57 national elections in 54 countries, from January 7, 2024, to December 7, 2024.

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, 375 new completed responses were received in the survey (making a total of 5,605) respondents, representing a response rate of 10% in 2024.

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	1. Electoral laws	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 (introduced in 2023)	P
		1-5 Any changes in electoral rules were made by consensus (introduced in 2023)	P
		1-6 All votes held equal weight (introduced in 2023)	P
		1-7 All citizens were legally enfranchised to vote (introduced in 2023)	P
	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 inaccurate	N
		4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered	N
		4-4 Some population groups were less likely to be registered to vote (introduced in 2023)	N
	5. Party registration	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 (introduced in 2023)	P
		5-7 Candidates and/or parties were targeted with violence or hate (introduced in 2023)	N
CAMPAIGN	6. Campaign media	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 (introduced in 2023)	N
		6-7 There was informed public deliberation about key issues (introduced in 2023)	P
	7. Campaign finance	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
ELECTION DAY	8. Voting process	7-6 Voters were bribed	N
		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 (removed in 2023)	P
		8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	P



POST-ELECTION		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 (introduced in 2023)	N
		8-10 The state encouraged voting amongst low-participation groups (introduced in 2023)	P
		8-11 Voters were turned away due to lack of proper paperwork or identification (introduced in 2023)	N
	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 (introduced in 2023)	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 (introduced in 2023)	N

Note: The direction of the original items P=positive, N=negative. Core items are repeated each year.

Source: 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.

MISSING DATA

Mean substitution is used at the expert level to fill missing data. 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. 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). 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) 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) 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) 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) 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)
 - 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)
 - 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)
 - 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)

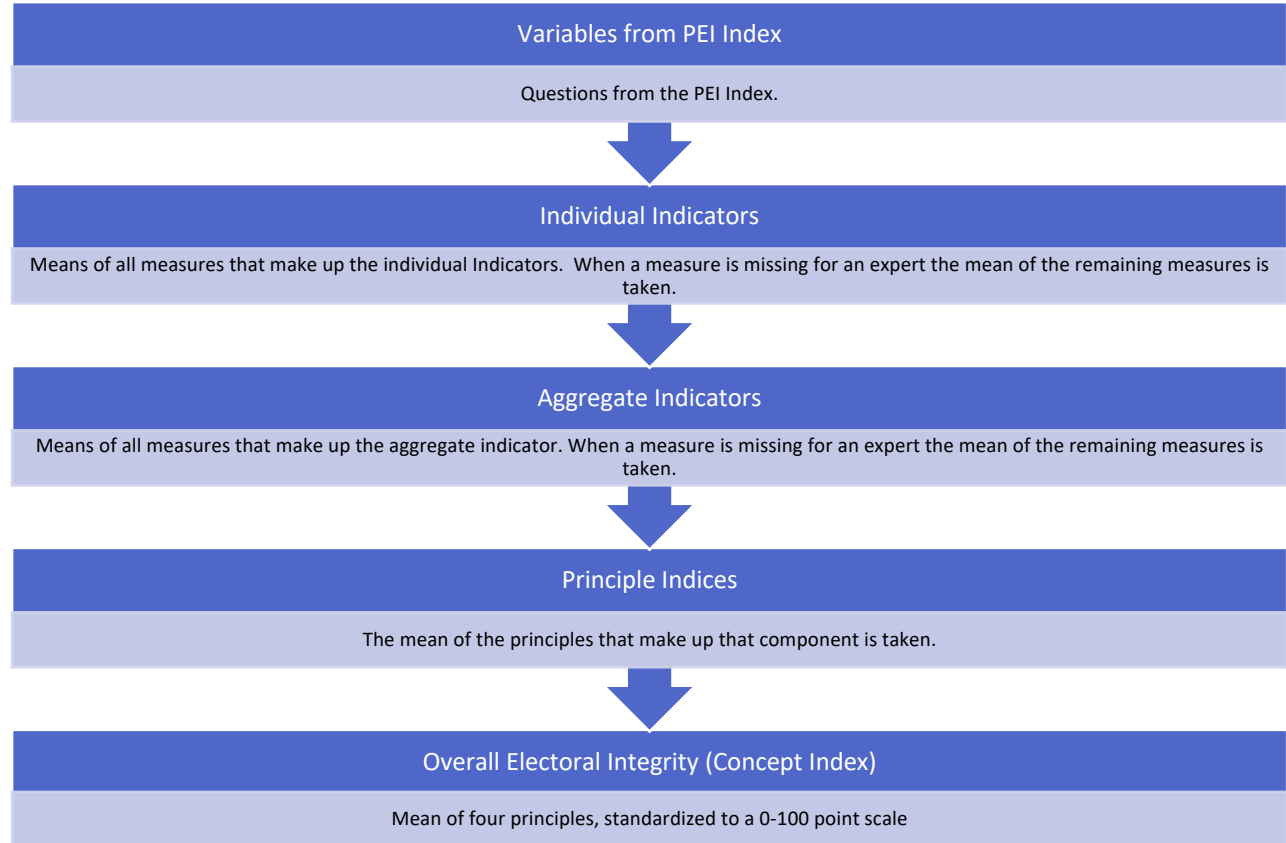


- There are fair processes that makes and changes electoral rules. Electoral rules are followed and, when needed, there is an effective system of electoral justice

Together, these four principles create the **new PEI concept index** - PEI_concept_m (with mean substitution or PEI_concept (without mean substitution)

To create the principle indices and the overall concept index, the following aggregation method was used (Figure 20).

Figure 20: 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 question introduced in 2023 (PEI 10.0)

Principle	Aggregate Indicator	Individual Indicators	Variables/PEI Index Questions
Contestation	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	leaderselect2 - 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]
	Level campaign environment		lawsunfair2 - Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties [N]
		Equitable access to media	fairaccess - Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising [P]
		No bans on campaigning	rallies2 - Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies [N]
		Equitable access to funds	donations - Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations
			Subsidies - Parties/candidates had equitable access to subsidies
			resources2 - Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning [N]
		Regulation of political finance	accounts - Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts
		Wealth does not play an inordinate influence on contestation	rich2 - Rich people can buy elections [N]
		There is no violence or hate against candidates	partytargeted2* - Candidates and parties were targeted with violence or hate [N]
Participation	All people are legally enfranchised to vote	Citizens are enfranchised to vote	enfranchised* - All citizens were legally enfranchised to vote
		Overseas electors can vote	expats - National citizens living abroad could vote
	Electors participate	Even turnout across societal groups	gaps* - There were wide gaps in levels of participation between population groups [N]
		State action to reduce inequalities	encouraged* - The state encouraged voting amongst low-participation groups
	The mechanisms of registration (if required) and voting are accessible	Voter register	reglisted2 - Some citizens were not listed in the register [N]
			reginaccurate2 - The electoral register was inaccurate [N]
			unlikely2* - Some population groups were less likely to be registered to vote [N]
		Voting process	easy - The process of voting was easy
			identification2* - Voters were turned away due to a lack of proper paperwork or identification [N]
			violence2 - Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls [N]
			disabled - Special voting facilities were available for the disabled



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

DATASETS

Two datasets are published¹:

- 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

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>.

¹ As of the 2024 release (PEI 10.0), 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.



VIII. 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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IX. Bibliography of Select EIP Publications

NEW PUBLICATIONS

EDITED SPECIAL ISSUE JOURNALS

- Masaaki Higashijima, Leontine Loeber, Holly Ann Garnett, and Toby S. James. 2025. "Challenges of Electoral Integrity in an Era of Overlapping Crises" Special Issue of Election Law Journal.
- Holly Ann Garnett and Toby S. James. 2024. "Electoral Backsliding?" Special Issue of Electoral Studies.
- Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "The Voter Experience." Special Issue of Representation.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Masaaki Higashijima, Leontine Loeber, Holly Ann Garnett, and Toby S. James. 2025. "Challenges of Electoral Integrity in an Era of Overlapping Crises" *Election Law Journal*, 24(2), pp. 99-107
- Toby S. James and Alistair Clark. 2025 "(2025) 'The value of poll worker voice in the delivery of elections' *Policy and Politics*, early view.
- Patricia Mocker and Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "Fundraising in Federal Nomination Contests in Canada." *Election Law Journal*, 23(4).
- Carla Luis, Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "The Voter Experience Around the World: Lessons for Theory and Practice." *Representation*, 1-6.
- Holly Ann Garnett. 2024. "Where do Donors Come From? Using Census Data to Predict Donations to Canadian Federal Election Candidate." *Political Geography*, 110.
- 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. 2024. Real Democracy: A Critical Realist Approach to Democracy and Democratic Theory. *New Political Science*, 46(3), 228–258.

REPORTS

- Toby S. James and Paul Bernal. 2025. [Improving Voter Registration: A Guide to Introducing Automatic Voter Registration](#). Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust.
- Toby S. James and Jamie Underwood. 2025. [What if Everyone Could Vote? Mapping unenfranchised residents across the UK](#). Migrant Democracy Project.

OTHER DATASETS

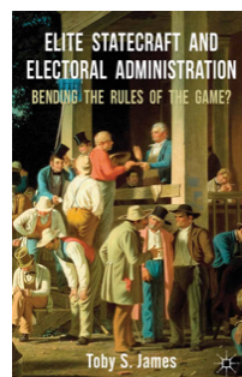
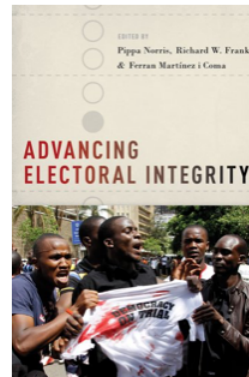
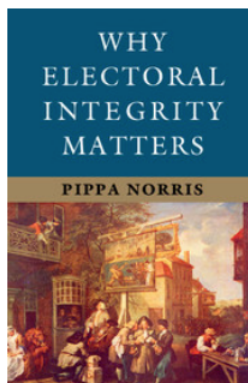
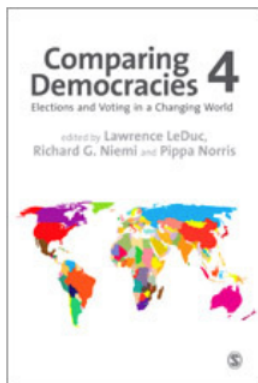
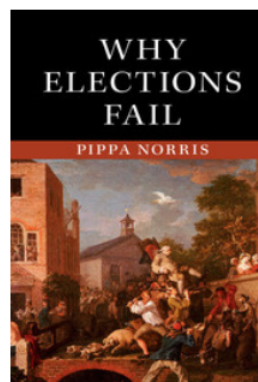
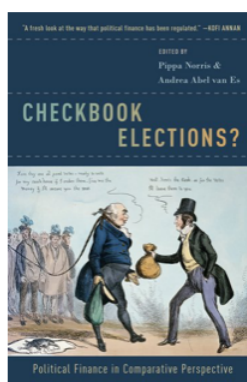
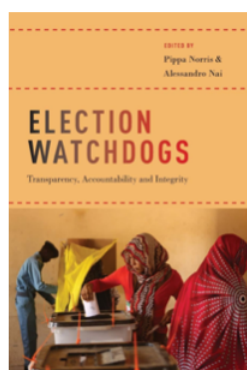
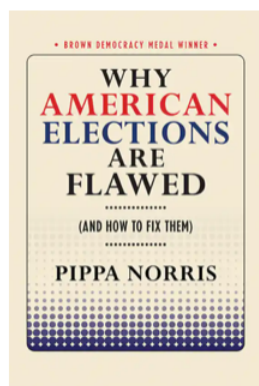
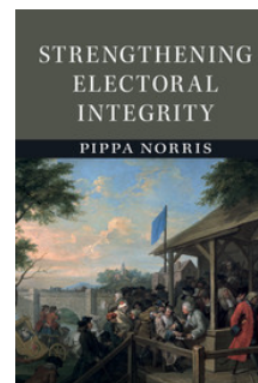
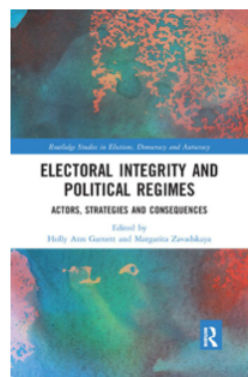
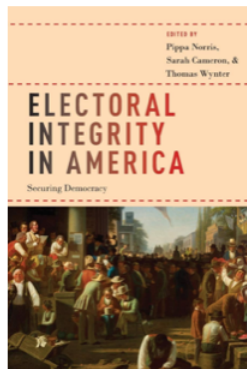
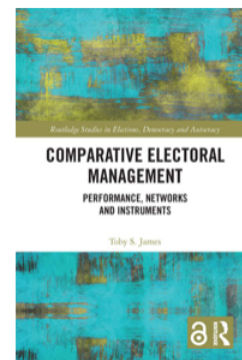
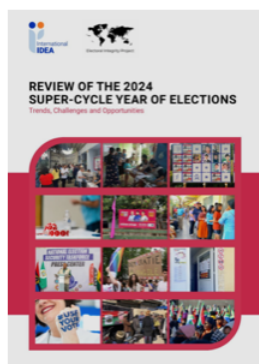
Electoral Management Survey

Most recent dataset: 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:C5AOksQAF5Dn6QOp3lI7+w== [fileUNF]

Electoral Legislation

Most recent dataset: Garnett, Holly Ann; James, Toby S.; MacGregor, Madison; Caal-Lam, Sofia, 2023, "Dataset Electoral Legislation by Country", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TH5FK>, Harvard Dataverse, V1





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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>



Electoral Integrity Project

COMING SOON – RECONCEPTUALISING ELECTION QUALITY



Electoral Integrity Project



CAMBRIDGE
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Toby S. James and Holly Ann Garnett (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>



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Notes:

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ Missing values where there were insufficient observations.

⁴ Additive Index, 47 variables, mean substitution (PEI_add_original_m)

⁵ Additive Index, 62 variables (including new variables introduced in 2023), mean substitution (PEI_add_new_m). Only available for 2023 elections onwards.

⁶ Concept-based index (PEI_concept)

⁷ Contestation Index (PEI_contestation), Participation Index (PEI_Participation), Deliberation Index (PEI_Deliberation), and Adjudication Index (PEI_Adjudication)

⁸ Electoral Cycle Sub-Indices, mean substitution (*stage*_m). See dataset for sub-indices with new questions included (*stage*_new_m).

