



Electoral Integrity Project

Electoral Integrity Global Report 2023

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PEI 9.0

www.ElectoralIntegrityProject.com

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Electoral Integrity Around the World

REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

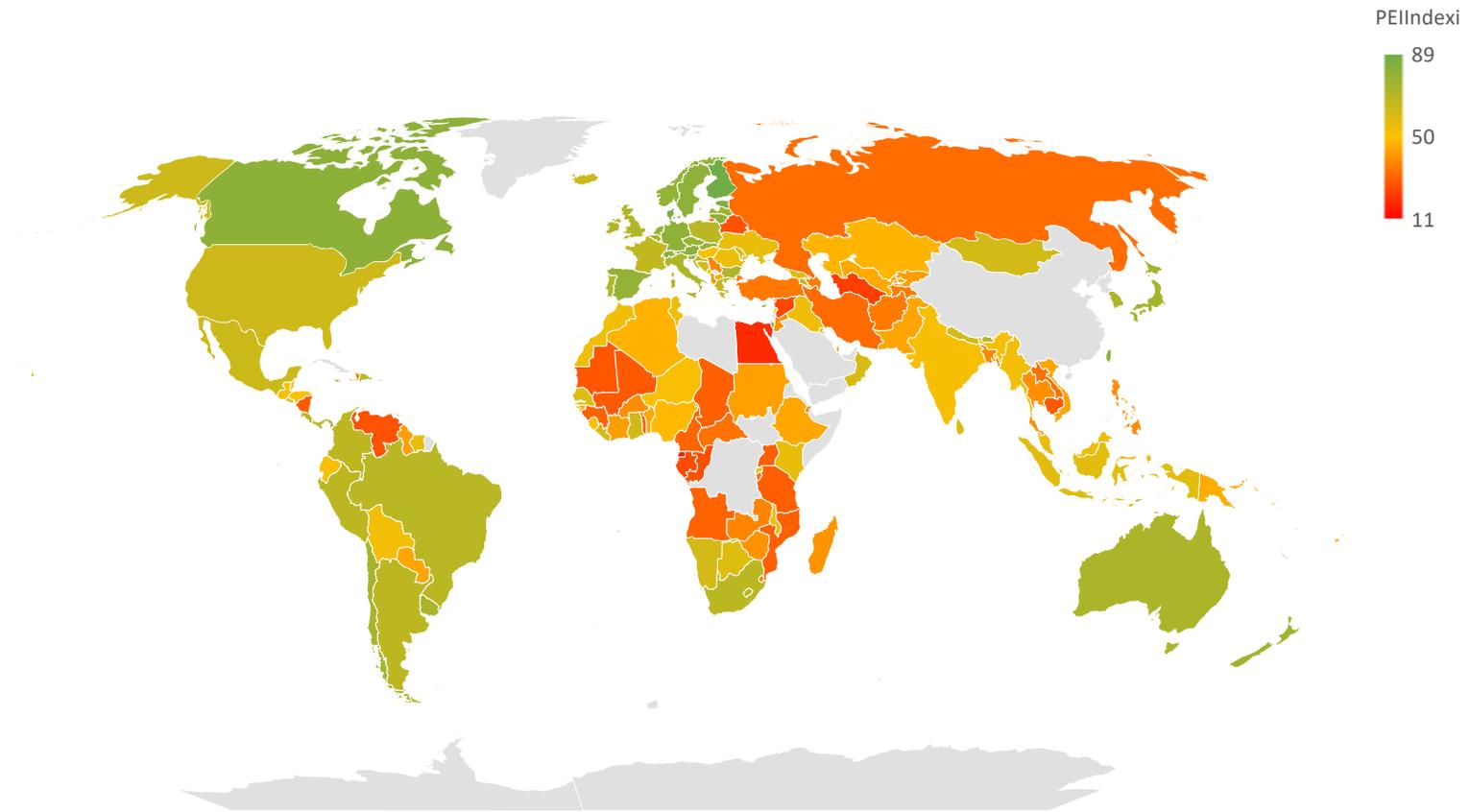
- The release of PEI 9.0 adds 49 new contests in 44 countries to the PEI dataset. This report explores four key contests in 2022: the mid-term elections in the United States, general elections in Kenya and Brazil, and the legislative elections in Hungary.
- Elections with the highest levels of electoral integrity are once again in Western Europe, with Nordic countries Denmark (87) and Sweden (81) having some of the top-rated elections of 2022, alongside Austria (83) and Slovenia (80). Rounding out the top five elections was Israel's 2022 legislative elections (83).
- Elections with the lowest levels of electoral integrity included contests in countries from Sub-Saharan Africa, with the Republic of Congo (27), Angola (31) and Equatorial Guinea (16) having some of the lowest rated elections. These countries particularly struggled with electoral laws, the voting process, and/or the performance of electoral authorities. Outside of Africa, contests in Serbia (38) and Turkmenistan (23) were also included in the bottom five elections of 2022.
- Regional variation continues, with the Nordic countries and Western Europe demonstrating consistently high electoral integrity, while regions like Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Sub-Saharan Africa showcase a range of challenges and opportunities for improvement of electoral processes.
- Like in previous years, indicators of the integrity of campaign environment were the lowest scoring stages of the electoral cycle, with campaign finance and campaign media again at the bottom. Conversely, the election procedures, vote count and results had high overall means.

METHODOLOGY

This report describes the Perceptions of Electoral Integrity dataset (PEI_9.0). The dataset is drawn from a rolling survey of 4722 expert assessments of electoral integrity across 497 elections in 169 countries around the world. The cumulative study covers national presidential and parliamentary elections from July 1, 2012 to December 14, 2022. This release covers an additional year of elections from the previous release, adding 49 national elections in 44 countries, from January 19, 2022 to December 14, 2022.

Perceptions of electoral integrity are measured by experts for each country approximately one month after polls close.¹ 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. These items sum to an overall Electoral Integrity Index scored from 0 to 100. 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>.

FIGURE 1: ELECTORAL INTEGRITY WORLDWIDE, MOST RECENT ELECTION



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Source: *The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 9.0), most recent election reported.*

I. Data Highlights

REGIONAL COMPARISONS

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 2012-2022. As in previous reports, the data show a wide variation in electoral integrity in most regions.

TABLE 1: THE PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY INDEX BY COUNTRY AND REGION

Africa		Americas		Asia		Europe		Oceania	
São Tomé and Príncipe	74	Uruguay	83	Israel	83	Finland	89	Kiribati	76
Lesotho	70	Canada	81	Cyprus	83	Denmark	87	New Zealand	75
South Africa	69	Chile	74	Taiwan	81	Estonia	85	Australia	73
Gambia	64	Panama	70	Japan	75	Austria	83	Solomon Islands	63
Ghana	63	Costa Rica	69	Republic of Korea	73	Switzerland	82	Vanuatu	61
Namibia	62	Brazil	69	Timor-Leste	71	Sweden	81	Micronesia	57
Liberia	62	Peru	68	Bhutan	71	Germany	81	Fiji	55
Senegal	59	Colombia	68	Singapore	65	Lithuania	80	Samoa	49
Botswana	59	Argentina	68	Qatar	65	Slovenia	80	Papua New Guinea	46
Rwanda	58	Grenada	67	Mongolia	62	Norway	79	Tonga	41
Sao Tome and Principe	56	Dominican Republic	67	Nepal	62	Slovakia	79		
Kenya	56	Barbados	67	Oman	61	Netherlands	78		
Guinea Bissau	55	Jamaica	67	Sri Lanka	60	Czech Republic	78		
Morocco	54	Ecuador	66	Georgia	59	Latvia	77		
Cape Verde	54	Trinidad and Tobago	66	Maldives	59	Luxembourg	76		
Ivory Coast	54	Mexico	64	India	59	Belgium	75		
Malawi	54	United States	64	Indonesia	58	Spain	74		
Niger	52	El Salvador	60	Malaysia	56	Italy	72		
Sierra Leone	50	Suriname	56	Kuwait	54	Bulgaria	72		
Nigeria	49	Bahamas	56	Iraq	54	Portugal	72		
Algeria	47	Bolivia	54	Myanmar	54	Ireland	72		
Mauritius	47	Belize	53	Lebanon	51	United Kingdom	71		
Tunisia	47	Honduras	50	Kazakhstan	48	Poland	69		
Benin	45	Guatemala	50	Uzbekistan	45	France	67		
Ethiopia	45	Antigua and Barbuda	48	Pakistan	44	Armenia	67		



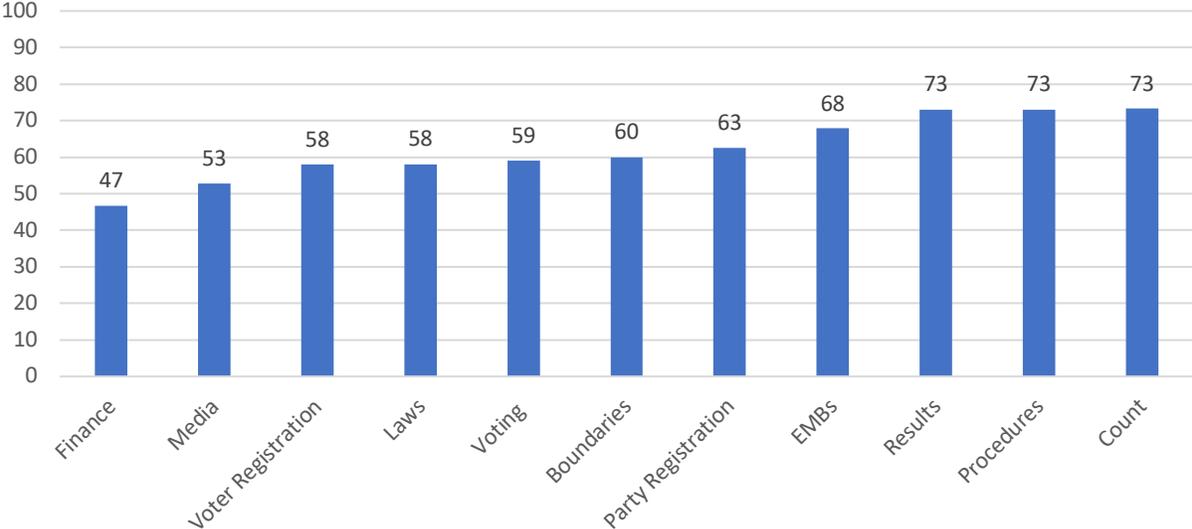
Africa		Americas		Asia		Europe		Oceania
Sudan	43	Paraguay	44	Vietnam	44	Greece	66	
Côte D'Ivoire	43	Guyana	43	Kyrgyzstan	43	Croatia	65	
Madagascar	41	Haiti	35	Bahrain	41	Iceland	64	
Zimbabwe	41	Nicaragua	29	Thailand	40	Bosnia and Herzegovina	62	
Burkina Faso	40	Venezuela	28	Jordan	40	Moldova	61	
Zambia	38			Philippines	39	Malta	60	
Eswatini	38			Bangladesh	38	Ukraine	56	
Djibouti	36			Afghanistan	36	Romania	55	
Central African Republic	34			Tajikistan	36	Hungary	51	
Burundi	32			Azerbaijan	36	Montenegro	51	
Congo, Rep.	32			Turkey	35	Macedonia	48	
Togo	32			Laos, People's Republic	33	North Macedonia	46	
Cameroon	31			Cambodia	29	Albania	42	
Angola	31			Syria	25	Serbia	38	
Guinea	31			Turkmenistan	23	Russia	33	
Chad	31					Belarus	27	
Mozambique	30							
Tanzania	30							
Uganda	30							
Mali	29							
Mauritania	29							
Republic of Congo	27							
Gabon	26							
Egypt	20							
Equatorial Guinea	16							
Comoros	11							
Area Mean	44		60		52		67	59

Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 9.0), most recent election reported.

SCORES ACROSS THE ELECTORAL CYCLE

The PEI’s 11-stage electoral cycle approach allows for comparisons between stages of the electoral cycle, from the pre-electoral period to election day. 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. The transparent reporting of financial accounts was among the lowest average question for the 2022 dataset.

FIGURE 2: PERFORMANCE OF ELECTIONS ACROSS STAGES IN THE ELECTORAL CYCLE (2022 MEANS)

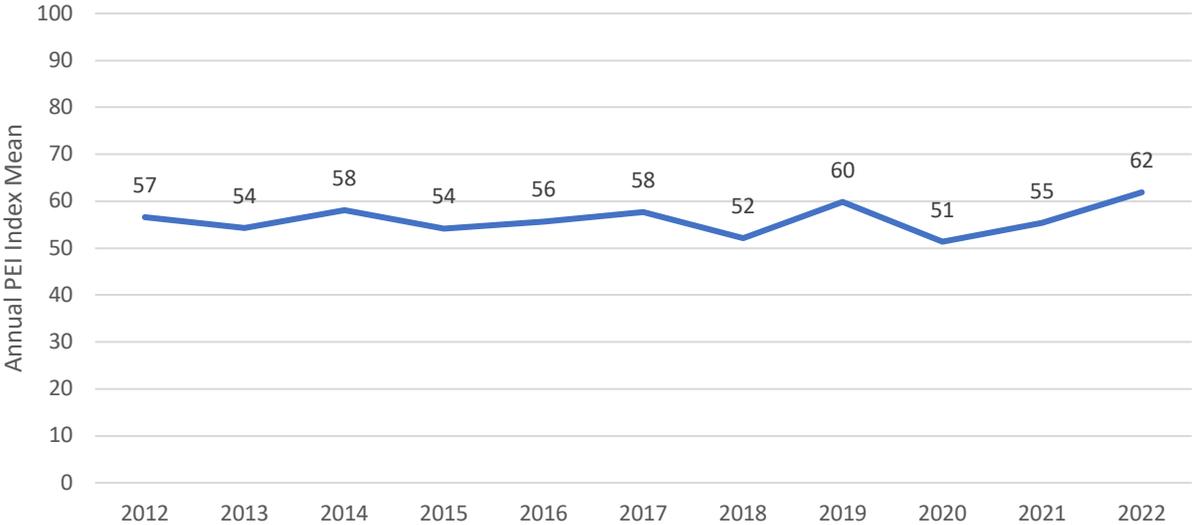


Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level, 2022 election means (PEI 9.0)

PEI INDEX OVER TIME

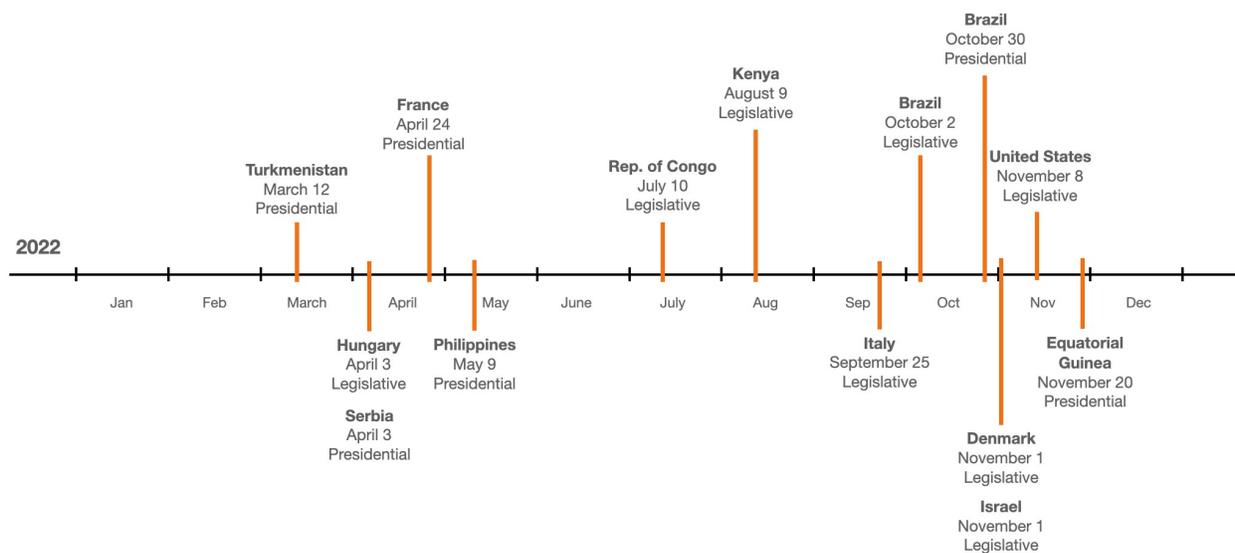
A comparison of the PEI Index over the 11 years of study (from 2012-2022) do not show noticeable or statistically significant increases or decreases. This suggests that any currently narratives of electoral backsliding are not borne out in the PEI Index data.²

FIGURE 3: PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY INDEX OVER TIME



II. Key Contests

FIGURE 4: TIMELINE OF KEY CONTESTS



HUNGARY'S APRIL 3RD LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Prime Minister Victor Orbán maintained his seat of power after the April 3 elections in Hungary. These elections were heavily scrutinized by the international community. The OSCE observation mission [concluded](#) the election was “well administered and professionally managed but marred by the absence of a level playing field.” Perceptions of Electoral Integrity data supports these conclusions: A decline in electoral integrity in Hungary not stemming from the voting or results processes specifically, but from lack of a “level playing field” caused at least in part by the poor delineation of electoral boundaries, a lack of media and finance regulation, and electoral laws that are unfair, favoring the incumbent.

KENYA'S AUGUST 9TH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Despite the president-hopeful Raila Odinga's contestation of the election results, this election continued the upward trend in electoral integrity Kenya has seen since 2013, notably following the 2011 [Kenya Election Act](#). Experts showed support for legitimacy of the Supreme Court's decision to affirm the credibility of the election, after the vote count was challenged by Odinga. The voting process, vote count, and results in the election maintained or improved their rating from 2017.

BRAZIL'S OCTOBER 30TH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Despite the [storming of the capitol](#) from Bolsonaro supporters, the 2022 presidential election in Brazil saw general stability in terms of electoral integrity across the board. Though we do see a drop in the results section due to the choice of unlawful actions over confronting issues with the results within the bounds of the legal system, most other aspects of the election saw an improvement from the 2018 election, and were on par with the 2014 Brazil election.



UNITED STATES' NOVEMBER 8TH MID-TERM ELECTIONS

The 2022 midterm elections in the United States showed an improvement from the 2020 presidential election. The results section, which includes questions such as whether parties or candidates challenged results, and whether legal channels were used for these challenges, improved drastically, as the January 6 insurrection damaged the electoral integrity of the previous election quite starkly. However, despite the improvement in this area, as well as in voter registration, campaign finance, party registration, and vote count, democracy in other key electoral areas continued to erode, notably with regards to laws, media, and electoral management bodies. Taken together, the disaggregated scores paint a picture of a democracy struggling to maintain equilibrium. Despite major challenges (and likely only because of the lack of a dramatic struggle over the results of this election) the US managed to climb up a few more points from last year— though still dropping a few points from 2018.



III. Performance Worldwide

Table 3 lists the summary scores for PEI across the 11 dimensions for all elections covered from 2012-2022.

Each election was assigned a unique code consisting of the three-letter ISO abbreviation for the name of the country, followed by the date of the election (DD-MM-YYYY), the type of election (Presidential, P, or Legislative, L), and the round (1 or 2). For example, the second round of Presidential elections in Guatemala on August 11, 2019, would be coded as “GTM_11082019_P2.” The first round of Legislative elections in Morocco that occurred September 8, 2021 would be coded as “MAR_08092021_L1.”

TABLE 2: SUMMARY SCORES FOR ELECTIONS, 2022

Election Code	Type	Year	PEI Index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	Voting district boundaries	Voter registration	Party and candidate registration	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results index	Electoral authorities	Number of responses
AGO_24082022_P1	Pres	2022	31	19	23	56	27	25	33	29	42	30	31	23	3
AUS_21052022_L1	Leg	2022	73	68	100	82	71	75	42	62	78	60	91	80	8
AUT_09102022_P1	Pres	2022	83	62	100	73	100	81	63	70	86	99	90	90	8
BGR_02102022_L1	Leg	2022	72	61	84	85	64	92	64	60	60	69	81	82	8
BHR_12112022_L1	Leg	2022	41	25	58	62	20	42	28	28	43	51	63	34	4
BIH_02102022_P1	Pres	2022	62	57	64	65	53	73	58	48	60	72	75	52	10
BRA_02102022_L1	Leg	2022	73	90	94	70	89	74	49	49	67	92	47	99	10
BRA_30102022_P2	Pres	2022	69	83	94	76	80	50	68	43	66	93	35	90	5
BRB_19012022_L1	Leg	2022	67	54	83	90	36	76	62	63	63	83	50	69	4
COG_10072022_L1	Leg	2022	27	38	34	63	8	28	36	27	11	12	62	3	2
COL_13032022_L1	Leg	2022	57	54	63	60	50	68	65	44	46	60	81	50	2
COL_19062022_P2	Pres	2022	68	78	78	69	27	55	70	58	74	80	88	66	2
CRI_03042022_P2	Pres	2022	69	57	95	71	80	54	49	17	77	87	95	89	4
CRI_06022022_L1	Leg	2022	72	72	93	73	81	69	50	37	73	85	90	85	5
CZE_24092022_L1	Leg	2022	78	82	99	88	93	86	67	63	63	91	85	69	5
DNK_01112022_L1	Leg	2022	87	89	98	81	95	88	75	86	79	93	89	94	10
FJI_30112022_L1	Leg	2022	55	38	72	45	41	57	37	59	60	56	58	66	4
FRA_19062022_L2	Leg	2022	67	53	88	60	54	63	52	65	59	89	69	84	2
FRA_24042022_P2	Pres	2022	68	47	85	42	60	80	40	52	72	93	81	83	3
GMB_09042022_L1	Leg	2022	64	77	89	70	55	64	58	34	50	86	72	75	4



GNQ_20112022_P1	Pres	2022	16	0	13	8	25	15	10	10	16	20	47	9	2
GRD_23062022_L1	Leg	2022	67	58	72	51	51	79	62	59	56	98	75	72	2
HUN_03042022_L1	Leg	2022	51	19	71	40	61	53	17	23	61	77	78	53	5
ISR_01112022_L1	Leg	2022	83	81	94	68	91	74	83	88	70	87	94	98	4
ITA_25092022_L1	Leg	2022	72	44	85	66	90	53	50	71	74	90	84	91	11
JPN_10072022_L1	Leg	2022	75	64	94	60	86	71	72	67	69	84	76	82	9
KAZ_20112022_P1	Pres	2022	48	31	49	52	52	25	35	53	51	57	77	39	4
KEN_09082022_L1	Leg	2022	56	65	83	76	39	49	62	29	51	53	49	73	5
KOR_09032022_P1	Pres	2022	73	76	86	57	76	75	56	58	69	86	79	86	6
KWT_29092022_L1	Leg	2022	54	67	66	53	50	59	50	52	42	58	57	58	4
LBN_15052022_L1	Leg	2022	51	22	56	32	51	50	46	24	49	72	62	71	4
LSO_07102022_L1	Leg	2022	70	92	75	81	51	80	70	53	55	82	79	73	3
LVA_01102022_L1	Leg	2022	77	78	80	67	77	77	70	72	77	84	79	80	8
MLT_26032022_L1	Leg	2022	60	40	87	49	87	59	26	25	61	81	88	73	8
MYS_19112022_L1	Leg	2022	56	65	79	31	54	64	42	13	66	65	68	59	7
NPL_20112022_L1	Leg	2022	62	70	76	65	70	50	72	33	47	77	72	78	5
PHL_09052022_P1	Pres	2022	39	18	31	60	43	39	40	14	30	59	74	34	5
PNG_22072022_L1	Leg	2022	46	62	38	63	17	60	61	31	36	54	38	55	9
PRT_30012022_L1	Leg	2022	72	65	89	59	61	61	61	62	73	93	79	79	8
SEN_31072022_L1	Leg	2022	59	47	69	61	50	53	55	50	60	73	69	56	3
SRB_03042022_P1	Pres	2022	38	48	21	48	17	59	23	28	42	45	53	31	4
STP_25092022_L1	Leg	2022	74	83	94	75	65	74	95	36	74	65	83	75	1
SVN_13112022_P2	Pres	2022	80	84	71	57	77	87	73	87	73	89	86	95	5
SVN_24042022_L1	Leg	2022	69	78	70	68	80	67	47	40	69	85	94	73	5
SWE_11092022_L1	Leg	2022	81	92	60	64	95	82	65	76	83	97	89	96	10
TKM_12032022_P1	Pres	2022	23	12	28	35	6	3	10	0	29	27	86	25	2
TLS_19042022_P2	Pres	2022	71	78	88	41	50	95	57	56	60	88	96	77	3
USA_08112022_L1	Leg	2022	64	30	85	19	57	83	40	56	71	87	66	75	7
VUT_13102022_L1	Leg	2022	61	72	75	54	25	68	73	33	52	75	69	75	2



IV: Technical Appendix: Indicators, Coverage, and Methods

Concepts: The idea of electoral integrity is defined by the project to refer to agreed international conventions and global norms, applying universally to all countries worldwide through the election cycle, including during the pre-election period, the campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath.³

Measurement: To measure this concept, the PEI survey questionnaire includes 49 items on electoral integrity (see Table 5) ranging over the whole electoral cycle. These items fell into eleven sequential sub-dimensions. 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>.

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 14 December 2022. In total, PEI 9.0 covers 546 elections in 169 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	11	Population less than 100,000 as of 2021: Andorra, Dominica, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, Monaco, Nauru, Palau, San Marino, Seychelles, 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	Democratic Republic of the Congo, Libya, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Yemen.
Covered to date in the PEI 9.0 dataset (from mid-2012 to end-2022)	169	

Respondents: The project identified at least forty experts (where possible) per election, defined as a political scientist (or other social scientist 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, 258 new completed responses were received in the survey (making a total of 4,981) respondents, representing a response rate of 11% in 2022.

The electoral integrity items in the survey were recoded so that a higher score consistently represents a more positive evaluation. Missing data was estimated based on multiple imputation by chained equations in groups composing of the eleven sub-dimensions. The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) Index is an additive function of the 49 imputed variables, standardized to 100-points. Sub-indices of the eleven sub-dimensions in the electoral cycle are summations of the imputed individual variables.⁴

Validity and reliability tests: For further information regarding validity and reliability, please see: Norris, Pippa, Richard W. Frank, and Ferran Martinez I. Coma. 2014. "Measuring Electoral Integrity around the



World: A New Dataset." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47 (4):789-798. doi: 10.1017/S1049096514001061; and Martínez i Coma, Ferran and Carolien Van Ham. 2015. "Can experts judge elections? Testing the validity of expert judgments for measuring election integrity." *European Journal of Political Research* 54(2) 305-325. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12084.



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
	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
	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	
CAMPAIGN	6. Campaign media	6-1 Newspapers provided balanced election news	P
		6-2 TV news favored the governing party	N
		6-3 Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising	P
		6-4 Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections	P
		6-5 Social media were used to expose electoral fraud	P
	7. Campaign finance	7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public 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	8. Voting process	8-1 Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls	N
		8-2 Some fraudulent votes were cast	N
		8-3 The process of voting was easy	P
		8-4 Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box	P
		8-5 Postal ballots were available	P
		8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	P
		8-7 National citizens living abroad could vote	P
		8-8 Some form of internet voting was available	P
POST-ELECTION	9. Vote count	9-1 Ballot boxes were secure	P
		9-2 The results were announced without undue delay	P
		9-3 Votes were counted fairly	P
		9-4 International election monitors were restricted	N
		9-5 Domestic election monitors were restricted	N
	10. 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
	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

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

Source: www.electoralintegrityproject.com



V: Acknowledgments

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The full dataset and codebook are available for download from <http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI>.

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VII: Notes

¹ See Codebook for more details regarding the process for the 2022 elections.

² See: Holly Ann Garnett and Toby S. James, 'Electoral backsliding? Democratic divergence and trajectories in the quality of elections worldwide', introduction to the forthcoming special issue of *Electoral Studies*

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⁴ See the PEI Codebook for further information on the PEI 8.0 dataverse:

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