# Electoral Integrity & Electoral Systems

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### Conceptualizing Electoral Integrity

 'Electoral integrity' refers to international commitments and global norms, endorsed in a series of authoritative conventions, treaties, protocols, and guidelines.

 These universal standards apply to all countries worldwide throughout the electoral cycle, including during the pre-electoral period, the campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath.

 By contrast, 'electoral malpractices' refer to violations of these international commitments and global norms

### Why Might Electoral Systems Matter?

1. PR often requires power-sharing arrangements which places constraints on the power of single party executives and thus limits rule manipulation;

• The type of electoral system will be a significant predictor of general levels of electoral integrity, with PR elections having the most positive effects.

2. By maximizing the potential number of winners, PR elections build trust in the electoral process among all stakeholders;

 More contentious outcomes (indicated by party disputes about the results and peaceful or violent protests), should be evident in majoritarian systems.

### Why Might Electoral Systems Matter?

3. By increasing the incentive for parties to present balanced lists of candidates, PR contests are more inclusive for women and minority representatives;

• PR electoral systems are expected to strengthen equal opportunities for women and minority candidates.

4. Plurality ("winner-take all") elections heighten the incentive for individual candidates to seek to win through illegal, fraudulent or corrupt acts;

- PR elections should have less electoral fraud and greater fairness to minor parties
- 5. Heightened risks of partisan gerrymandering in single member districts.
  - Fewer malpractices in drawing electoral boundaries are expected under PR elections

# Measuring Electoral Integrity



- PEI 'expert' defined as a political scientist (or other social scientist) who has written about (or who has other demonstrated knowledge of) the electoral process in a particular country
- Demonstrated knowledge:
  - Membership of a relevant research group, professional network, or organized section of such a group;
  - Existing publications on electoral or other country-specific topics in books, academic journals, or conference papers; and
  - University **employment**
- Forty experts (international and domestic) contacted per election
- Mean response rate of 30%

# The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI) Expert Survey

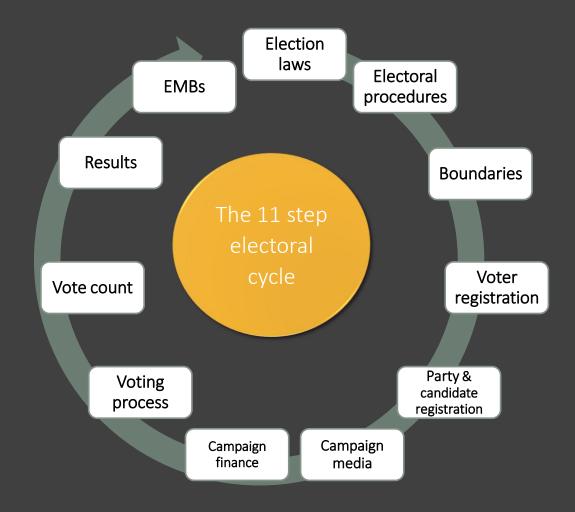
Aims to cover all national parliamentary and presidential elections held worldwide since mid-2012

Includes all countries with population above 100,000

Data gathering in progress

- Draws on responses from 9000+ experts
- PEI 4.5 covers 213 elections and 153 countries since mid-2012
- Continues on rolling basis every year
- Annual report and dataset released every Feb.
- + new sub-national surveys: Russia, Mexico, India, US, UK
- Data publicly available: <u>https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI</u>

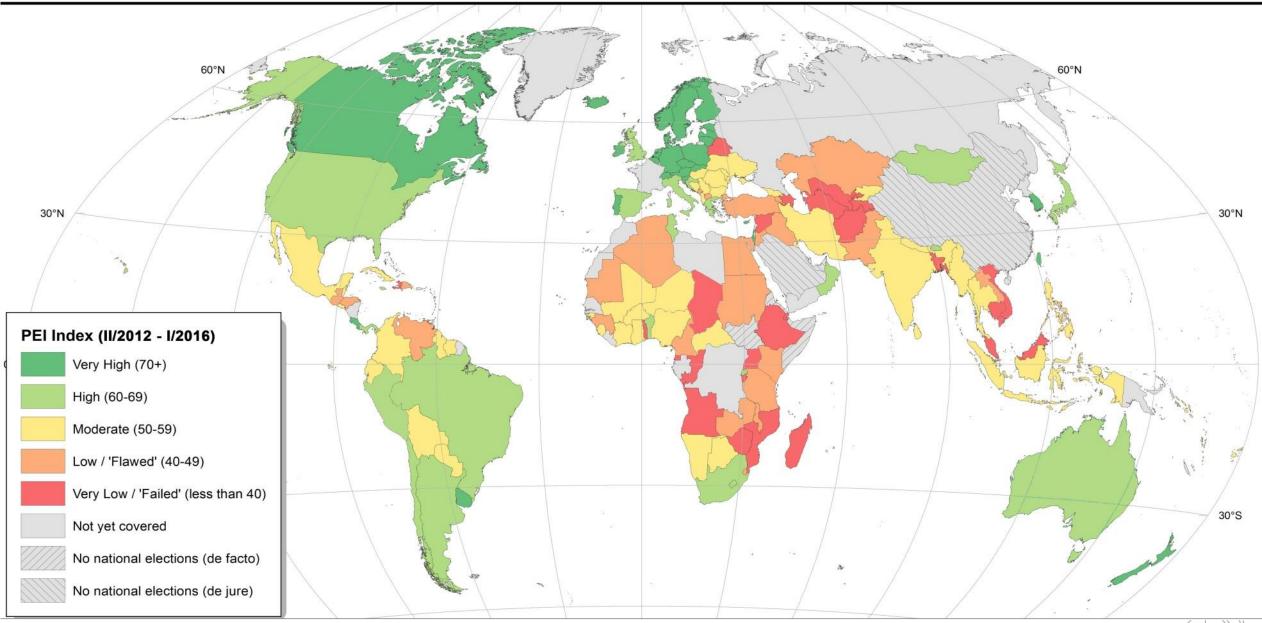
### Dimensions of Electoral Integrity



# A Total of 49 Survey Questions

#### e.g. Five-point agree-disagree scales

Dimensions	Items	Positive or				
		Negative				
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	Ν				
2. Electoral	2-1. Elections were well managed	Р				
procedures	2-2. Information about voting procedures was widely available	Р				
	2-3. Election officials were fair	Р				
	2-4. Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	Р				
3. Boundaries	3-1. Boundaries discriminated against some parties	Ν				
	3-2. Boundaries favored incumbents	Ν				
	3-3. Boundaries were impartial	Р				
4. Voter	4-1. Some citizens were not listed in the register	Ν				
registration	4-2. The electoral register was inaccurate	Ν				
	4-3. Some ineligible electors were registered	Ν				



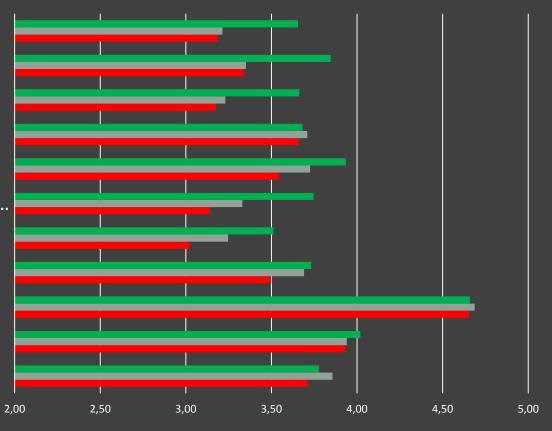
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	Middle East & North Africa			N&W Europe			Asia-Pacific			Americas			C&E Europe		Africa			
ī	Country	PEI	Global		PEI	Global	C	PEI Global		6t	PEI Glo	Global	Country	PEI	Global	Country	PEI	Global
	Country	index	rank	Country	index	rank	Country	index	rank	Country	index	rank	Country	index	rank	Country	index	rank
ſ	Israel	73	21	Denmark	86	1	Republic of Korea	77	13	Costa Rica	80	5	Estonia	79	7	Benin	69	27
	Tunisia	67	32	Finland	86	2	New Zealand	75	16	Uruguay	75	17	Lithuania	77	11	Mauritius	64	42
	Oman	61	49	Norway	83	3	Australia	70	26	Canada	75	18	Slovenia	77	14	Rwanda	64	43
	Kuwait	55	73	Sweden	81	4	Japan	68	29	Brazil	68	30	Czech Republic	76	15	South Africa	63	44
	Iran	54	74	Germany	80	6	Tonga	68	31	Chile	66	35	Poland	75	19	Lesotho	63	45
	Turkey	48	101	Netherlands	79	8	Mongolia	64	40	Grenada	66	37	Slovakia	74	20	Namibia	60	52
	Jordan	46	103	Switzerland	79	9	Micronesia	61	48	Argentina	64	41	Latvia	72	24	Cote d'Ivoire	59	56
	Iraq	44	107	Iceland	78	10	Bhutan	61	50	Barbados	62	46	Croatia	66	34	Sao Tomé & Princ.	58	57
	Algeria	43	114	Austria	77	12	India	59	55	United States	62	47	Georgia	59	54	Botswana	58	58
	Egypt	42	115	Cyprus	73	22	Solomon Islands	57	62	Panama	61	51	Serbia	58	59	Ghana	57	61
	Bahrain	38		Portugal	72	23	Maldives	57	64	Colombia	59	53	Moldova	57	63	Sierra Leone	56	67
	Afghanistan	33		Belgium	71	25	Indonesia	57	65	Mexico	57	60	Bulgaria	56	66	Guinea-Bissau	54	76
	Syria	27	135	Spain	69	28	Myanmar	54	77	Cuba	56	69	Hungary	56	68	Burkina Faso	53	83
				Italy	67	33	Nepal	54	80	Bolivia	56	70	Albania	54	75	Nigeria	53	84
				Greece	66	36	Fiji	53	81	Paraguay	55	71	Kyrgyzstan	54	78	Mali	53	87
				Malta	66		Singapore	53	86	Ecuador	55	72	Bosnia-Herz.	52	88	Comoros	49	96
				UK	65	39	Sri Lanka	52	89	El Salvador	54	79	Ukraine	51	90	Malawi	48	100
							Thailand	51	91	Belize	53	82	Romania	51	93	Cameroon	46	102
							Pakistan	49	94	Guyana	53	85	Montenegro	49	95	Swaziland	45	105
							Philippines	48	97	Suriname	51	92	Macedonia	48	99	Zambia	44	108
							Bangladesh	38	120	Guatemala	48	98	Armenia	43	111	Mauritania	44	109
							Malaysia	36	126	Venezuela	45	104	Kazakhstan	43	113	Tanzania	43	110
							Cambodia	32	132	Honduras	45	106	Uzbekistan	39	119	Sudan	43	112
										Haiti	28	134	Turkmenistan	38	121	Guinea	42	116
													Belarus	36	124	Kenya	41	117
													Tajikistan	36	125	Madagascar	39	118
													Azerbaijan	35	128	Togo	38	123
																Zimbabwe	35	127
																Angola	35	129
																Mozambique	35	130
																Congo, Rep.	31	133
																Djibouti	25	136
																Burundi	24	137
																Equatorial Guinea	23	138
																Ethiopia	22	139
Number of countries	13			17			23			24			27			35		
Regional average		49			75			56			58			56				2))
	= Very High = High = Moderate = Low ('Flawed') = Very Low ('Failed')																	

	Selected Indices	Mean Plural/ Maj	Mean Mixed	Mean PR	Eta/Sig	Sig
	1. OVERALL INTEGRITY					
1	Perceptions of Electoral Integrity summary 100-pt Index	50.3	55.0	62.3	.348	***
	2.LEGITIMACY AND PROTESTS					
2	Parties/candidates (did not) challenge the results	3.0	4.2	4.5	.161	N/s
3	The election (did not) triggered violent protests	4.3	3.4	3.8	.197	N/s
4	The election (did not lead) to peaceful protests	3.7	3.4	3.8	.177	N/s
	3.FRAUD AND BIAS					
5	Some fraudulent votes were (not) cast	2.6	2.8	3.3	.289	**
6	Electoral laws were (fair) to smaller parties	2.7	3.1	3.2	.226	N/s
7	Electoral laws (did not favor) the governing party or parties	2.5	2.9	3.3	.345	***
	4.EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES					
8	Women had equal opportunities to run for office	3.2	3.5	3.7	.329	***
9	Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office	3.1	3.3	3.6	.321	***
	5.GERRYMANDERING					
10	Boundaries (did not) discriminate against some parties	2.8	3.0	3.4	.310	**
11	Boundaries (did not) favor incumbents	2.9	3.1	3.5	.327	***
12	Boundaries were impartial	2.8	2.9	3.5	.365	* * *
	# countries	28	20	43	91	

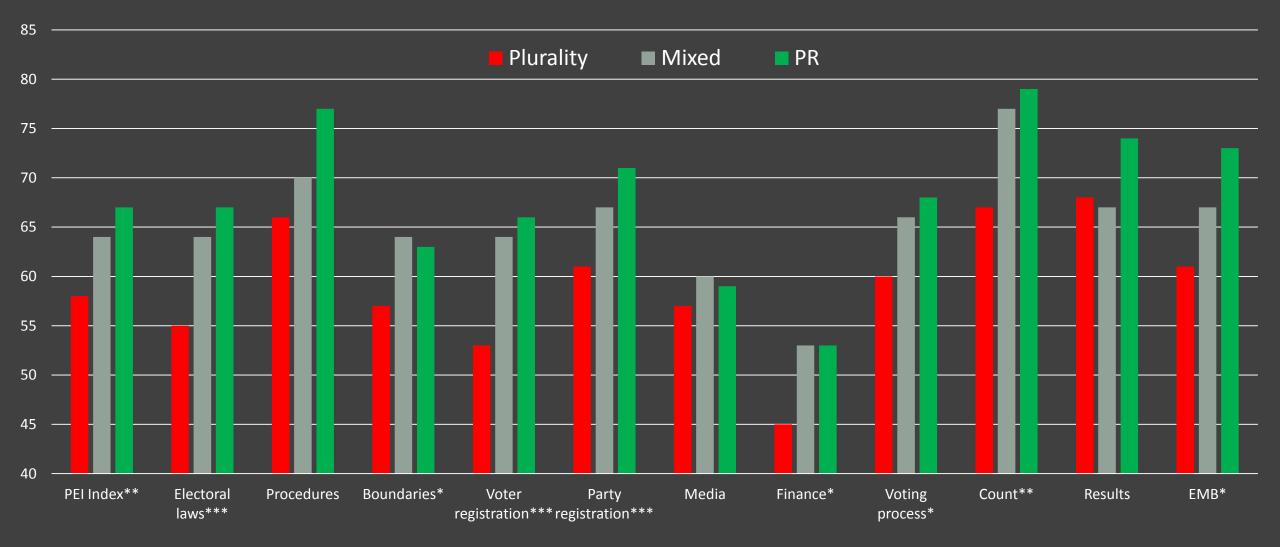
### Selected Indices, Democratic States Only

Boundaries were impartial Boundaries (did not) favor incumbents Boundaries (did not) discriminated against some parties Minorities had equal opportunities to run for office Women had equal opportunities to run for office Electoral laws (did not) favor the governing party or... Electoral laws were fair to smaller parties Some fraudulent votes were (not) cast The election (did not) trigger violent protests The election (did not lead) to peaceful protests Parties/candidates (did not) challenge the results



PR Mixed Plurality\_Majority

### Performance of Electoral Systems Across 11 Stages in the Electoral Cycle



# Key Findings

- Theories of consensus democracy emphasize the virtuous of power-sharing arrangements for multiple dimensions of democratic governance, especially in divided societies and fragile states. But are these arrangements positive for different aspects of electoral integrity?
- PR scores consistently more highly in integrity than majoritarian electoral systems across all eleven stages of the electoral cycle.
- Within the universe of democratic states, the type of electoral system makes a difference across most of the indices, with PR elections consistently displaying fewer malpractices, although the strength and size varies

### Qualifications

- Difficult to draw causal inferences about relationships between democratic institutions and electoral integrity
- Need pre-post electoral reforms to nail down causality
- Other institutions are also important; free press and independent judiciary
- Is there bias in the measurement of electoral integrity? PEI skewed/tautology?
- Yet overall majoritarian/plurality rules are consistently associated with several well-known malpractices and therefore, on balance, the available evidence favors PR
- And the findings are policy-relevant; open to advocacy and electoral design
- More details: <u>www.electoralintegrityproject.com</u>