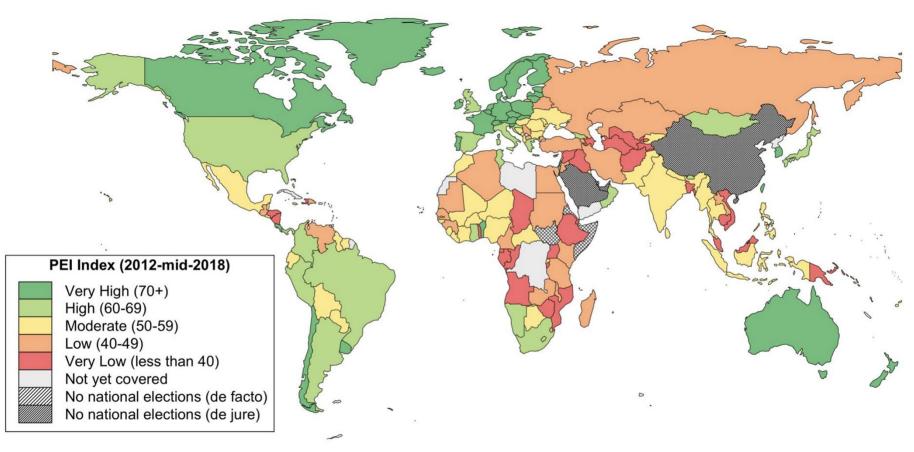
Democracy at Risk

Jeffrey Karp Brunel University London www.jkarp.com

The Importance of Electoral Integrity

- Public confidence in the integrity of elections is fundamental to the legitimacy of the democratic process.
- While electoral malpractice has been a frequent problem in new democracies and hybrid regimes, concerns about the integrity of elections are also undermining confidence in well established democracies.
- These concerns present serious challenges to the administration of elections everywhere;
- And threaten to undermine current efforts to reform elections aimed at addressing declining voter participation.

Measuring Electoral Integrity (2012-18)



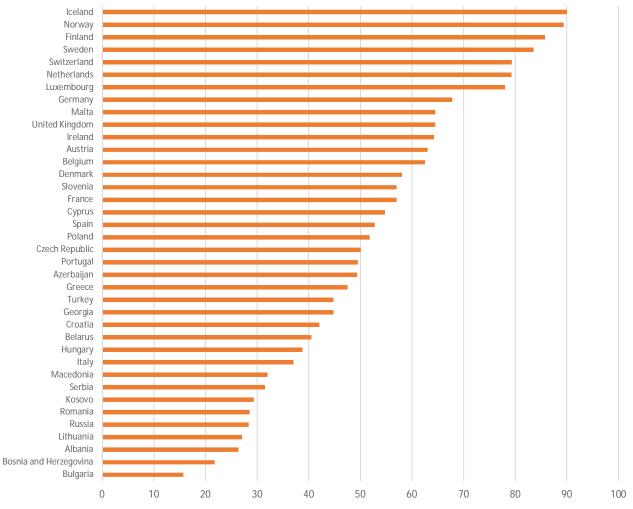
Notes: The categories are constructed from the average score for each country in national presidential and parliamentary elections from 2012-2017 in the 100-point Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey (PEI 6.5), country-level www.electoralintegrityproject.com

The Problem of Voter Confidence

- Even when experts agree that elections meet international norms, voters may have different perceptions
- Competitive elections can expose problems with electoral administration
- Voter experience at the polls can influence confidence
- Legal challenges and recounts can further undermine confidence
- Media coverage of elections can also undermine confidence (to the extent that coverage focuses on problems)
- Electoral outcomes have a strong influence (winning and losing)
- Disinformation and problems with social media
- Foreign intervention in elections



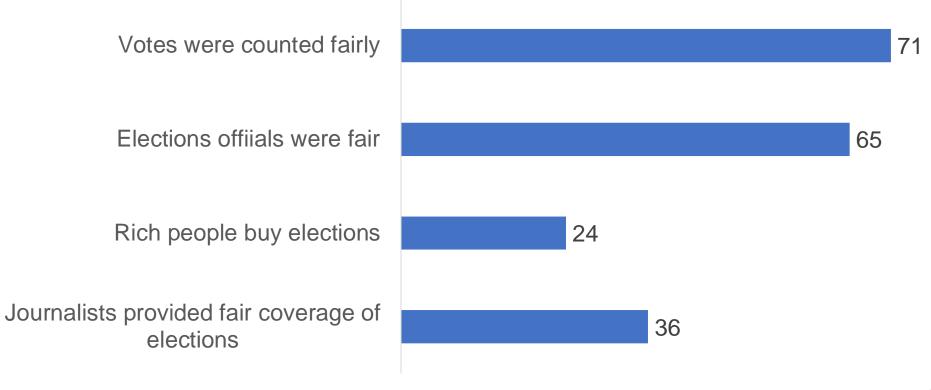
Confidence in the Honesty of Elections Across Europe (2012-15)



Source: World Gallup Poll (2012-15)

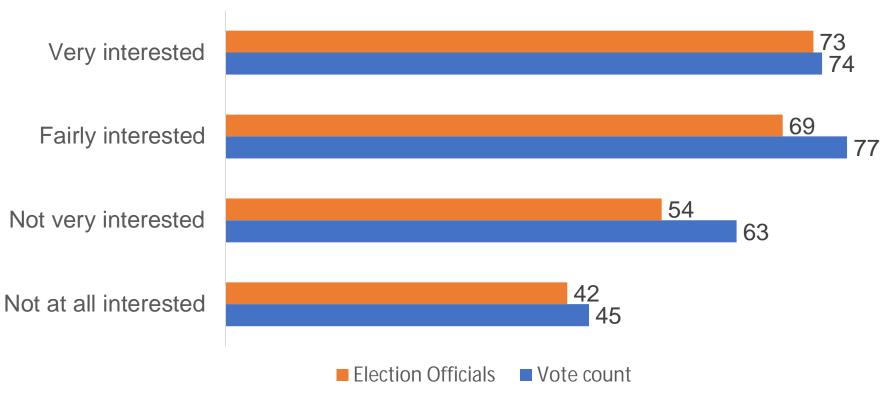
Opinions about Electoral Integrity

(UK General Election 2017)



Source: British Election Study (2017)

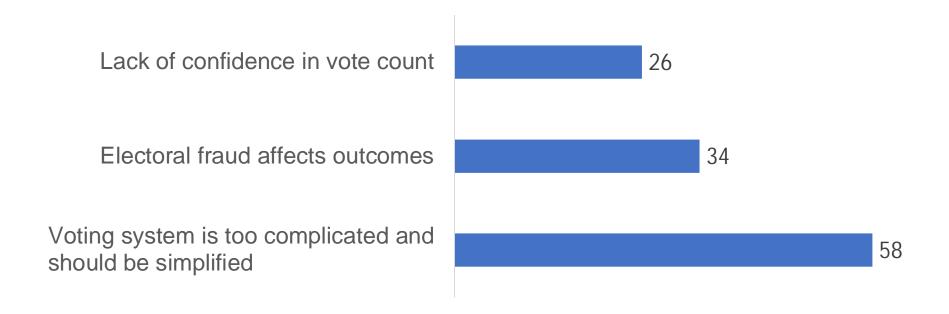
Confidence in Electoral Integrity by Political Interest (UK General Election 2017)



Source: British Election Study (2017)

Concerns about Accuracy of Electoral Outcomes

(Australian Federal Election 2016)



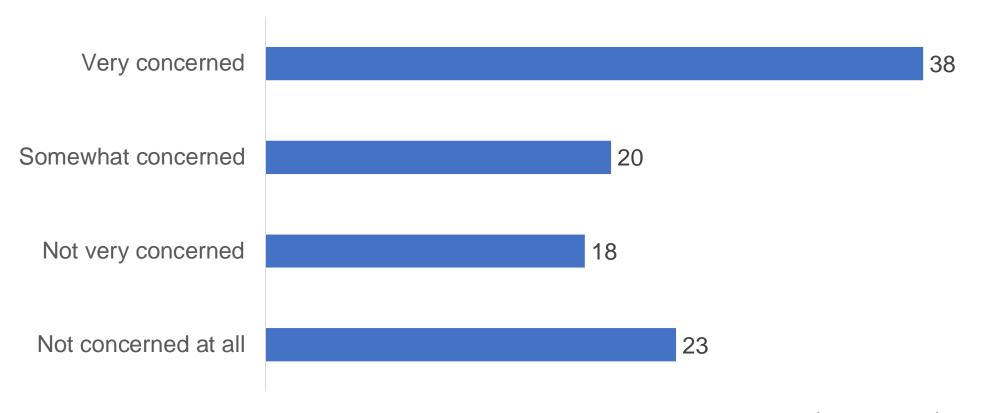
Source: The Australian Voter Experience (2016)

How Serious of a Problem is Voter Fraud? U.S. Presidential Election (2016)

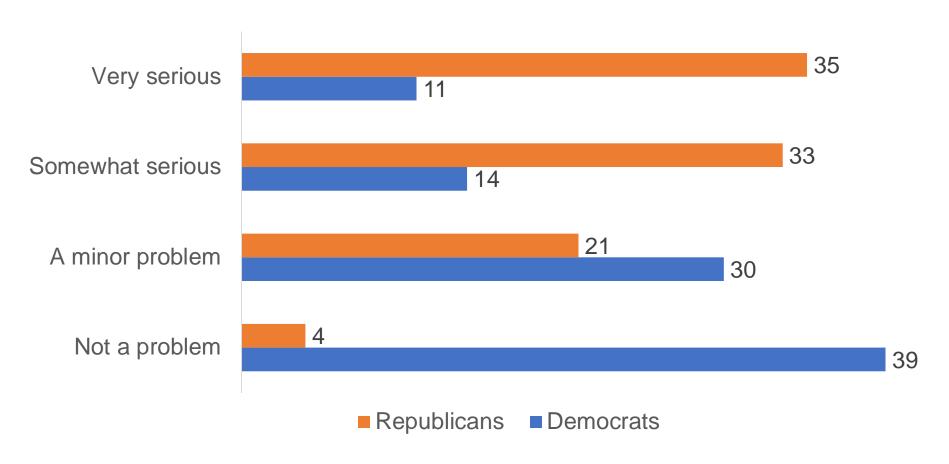


Fears of Fraudulent Votes Being Cast

U.S. Presidential Election (2016)



Fears of Fraudulent Votes Being Cast (by Party)

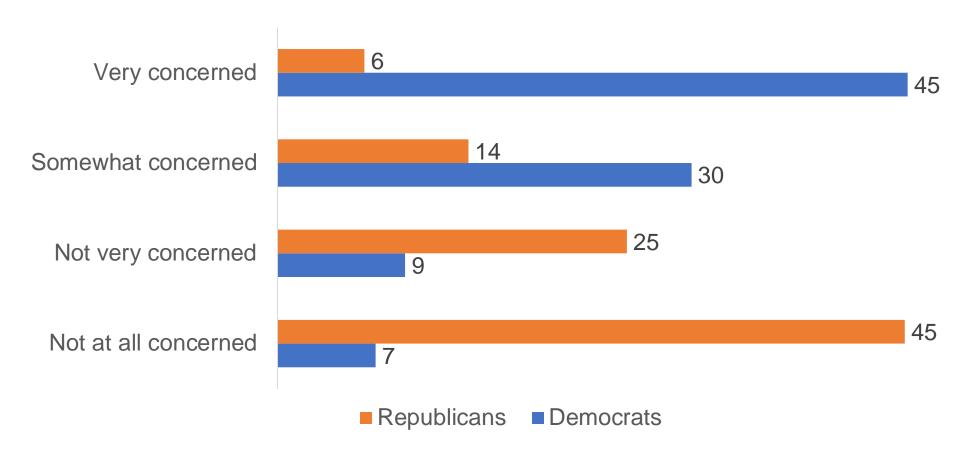


Fears of Russian Influence

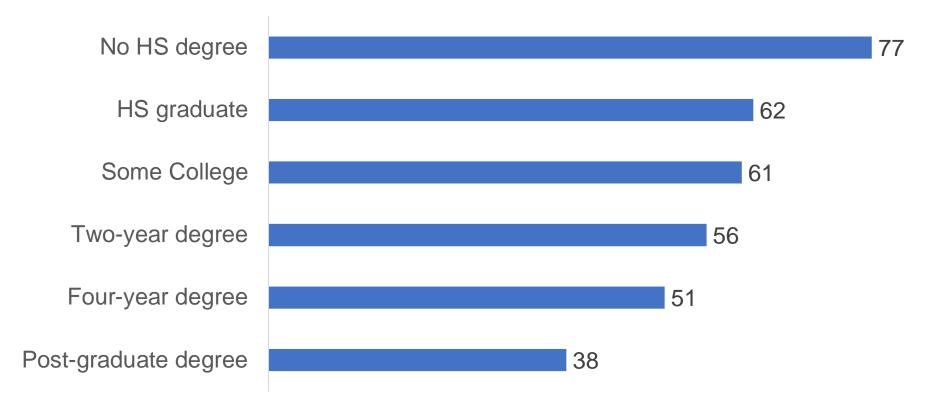
U.S. Presidential Election (2016)



Fears of Russian Influence (by party)



Who is Afraid of Fraud? U.S. Presidential Election (2016)



The Challenge of Democracy

- Voter turnout in many countries is on the decline.
- We know that certain types of people (ie. education, age, income) are more likely to vote than others.
- The lower the level of participation the more unequal the turnout.
- This has implications not just for policy but also for political legitimacy.

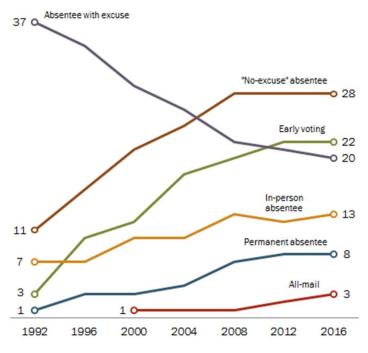
Mobilizing Democracy

- There are a number of things that can be done to ensure broad participation
- Voting can be made more convenient
- Examples include reforms designed to make voting more convenient; ie extending polling hours through early voting, postal voting, online voting, holding elections on weekends or holidays.
- But efforts to make voting more convenient may be particularly difficult in the context of fears about the integrity of elections.

The Rise of Convenience Voting in the U.S.

As fewer states require excuses to vote absentee, use of other nontraditional methods expands

Number of states offering nontraditional voting types, 1992-2016



Note: Totals include the District of Columbia.

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, American Enterprise Institute, Federal Election Commission and state election commissions.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER





Many mostly Democrat States refused to hand over data from the 2016 Election to the Commission On Voter Fraud. They fought hard that the Commission not see their records or methods because they know that many people are voting illegally. System is rigged, must go to Voter I.D.

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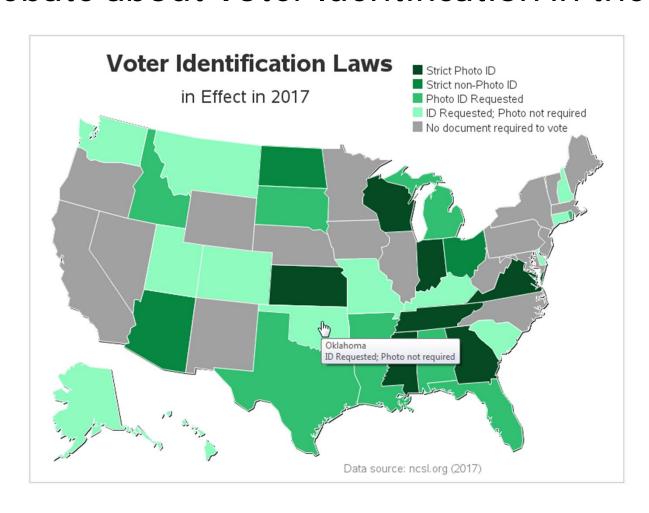








The Debate about Voter Identification in the U.S.







Voter ID requirements limit the number of voters who are able to cast a ballot.







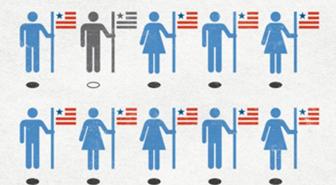




STATES PASSED VOTER ID LAWSIN 2011.

ALL VOTERS

Approximately 1 in 10 Americans do not have government-issued photo ID.1



AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTERS

Approximately 1 in 4 African-Americans do not have government-issued photo ID.²



Minority Voters at the State Level

In South Carolina, 81, 938 minority voters lack government-issued ID; minority voters are 20 PERCENT MORE LIKELY to lack photo ID issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles than white voters.



Impact on Low-Income Voters

ACLU Sources 1, 2, 4 | Brennan Center for Justice 3 | Department of Justice

ACLU.org/Vote

The Use of Electronic Voting



- Electronic voting attracts support because it is seen as improving accuracy and a cost saving measure.
- It is also viewed as a possible way to increase turnout by making voting more convenient particularly for marginalized groups such as the disabled (in the case of online voting).
- Internet voting was first introduced nationally in Estonia and other countries (ie. Australia) have experimented with the system but it remains controversial due to security concerns.
- Electronic voting machines are used in some of the world's biggest democracies such as Brazil (most studied), India, and the Philippines.
- Attacks by foreign states are now a credible threat to a national online voting system

Conclusions

- Making voting more convenient is one way to ensure inclusivity and facilitate high participation
- Parties, however, may politicize attitudes about reforms
- The challenge is to introduce reforms and manage elections effectively in a context where voters lack confidence.
- How can this be achieved?