



# **European Commission United Nations Development Programme International IDEA**

***Advanced Training on  
Effective Electoral Assistance***

**Constitutions, Electoral Systems and Conflict**



“One of the most serious problems with the Two Round System (TRS) is its implications for divided societies. In Angola in 1992, in what was supposed to be a peacekeeping election, rebel leader Jonas Savimbi came second in the first round of a TRS presidential election with 40% as opposed to dos Santos’s 49%. As it was clear he would lose the run-off phase, he had little incentive to play the democratic opposition game and immediately restarted the civil war in Angola.”

- **Powersharing?**



# Constitutions

- Presidential or parliamentary system
- How much power vested in presidency – checks and balances
- How much power devolved to regions
- Minority rights – self determination, autonomy, federalism, linguistic and cultural rights
- Human rights commission?
- **IMPACTS ON ELECTORAL STAKES?**
- **IMPACTS ON EXCLUSION?**
- **IMPACTS ON GOVERNANCE?**



## **Electoral systems and conflict**

- **Representation – voice**
- **Accountability – good governance**
- **Bridging societal cleavages**
- **Stakes and incentives**

**Trade offs?**

**Tension between short and long term conflict prevention?**



# Electoral systems

## Example 1: Parliamentary election

Party	Votes
Party A	9,552,436
Party B	8,784,915
Party C	5,985,454
Party D	487,042
Party E	412,267
Party F	241,856
Party G	174,838
Party H	174,530
Party I	125,626

*Guess the outcome*





# Electoral systems

## Example 1: Parliamentary election First Past The Post

Party	Votes	%	Seats	%	$\Delta$
Party A	9,552,436	35.2	355	54.9	19.7
Party B	8,784,915	32.4	198	30.6	(1.8)
Party C	5,985,454	22.0	62	9.6	(12.4)
Party D	487,042	1.8	4	0.6	(1.2)
Party E	412,267	1.5	6	0.9	(0.6)
Party F	241,856	0.9	9	1.4	0.5
Party G	174,838	0.6	3	0.5	(0.1)
Party H	174,530	0.6	5	0.8	0.2
Party I	125,626	0.5	3	0.5	-

*Guess the outcome*



# Electoral systems

## Example 1: Parliamentary election First Past The Post

House of Commons, United Kingdom, 5 May 2005

Party		Votes	%	Seats	%	$\Delta$
Party A	Labour	9,552,436	35.2	355	54.9	19.7
Party B	Conservative	8,784,915	32.4	198	30.6	(1.8)
Party C	Lib Dem	5,985,454	22.0	62	9.6	(12.4)
Party D	Other	487,042	1.8	4	0.6	(1.2)
Party E	SNP	412,267	1.5	6	0.9	(0.6)
Party F	D.U.P.	241,856	0.9	9	1.4	0.5
Party G	Plaid Cymru	174,838	0.6	3	0.5	(0.1)
Party H	Sinn Fein	174,530	0.6	5	0.8	0.2
Party I	SDLP	125,626	0.5	3	0.5	-

*Guess the outcome*



# Electoral systems

## Example 1: Parliamentary election

House of Commons, United Kingdom, 5 May 2005

Party		Votes	%	FPTP	Seats PR
Party A	Labour	9,552,436	35.2		227
Party B	Conservative	8,784,915	32.4		208
Party C	Extremists	5,985,454	22.0		141
Party D	Other	487,042	1.8		0
Party E	SNP	412,267	1.5		0
Party F	D.U.P.	241,856	0.9		0
Party G	Plaid Cymru	174,838	0.6		0
Party H	Sinn Fein	174,530	0.6		0
Party I	SDLP	125,626	0.5		0

*Guess the outcome*





# Electoral systems

## Example 2: Presidential election

President, Peru, 9 April and 4 June 2006

Candidate	Votes	2nd Round Votes
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Candidate A	Ollanta Humala Tasso - Union for Peru (Unión por el Perú)	3,758,258	6,270,080
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Candidate B	Alan García Pérez - Peruvian Aprista Party (Partido Aprista Peruano)	2,985,858	6,965,017
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Candidate C	Lourdes Flores Nano - National Unity (Unidad Nacional)	2,923,280	
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*Guess the outcome*



# Electoral systems

## Example 2: Presidential election

Candidate	Votes
Candidate A	3,758,258
Candidate B	2,985,858
Candidate C	2,923,280
Candidate D	912,420
Candidate E	706,156
Candidate F	537,564
Candidate H	76,105
Candidate I	65,636
Candidate J	60,955
Candidate K	49,332
Candidate L	38,212
Candidate M	33,918
Candidate N	24,584
Candidate O	24,518
Candidate P	22,892
Candidate Q	13,965
Candidate R	11,925
Candidate S	10,857
Candidate T	10,539
Candidate U	8,410

*Guess the outcome*

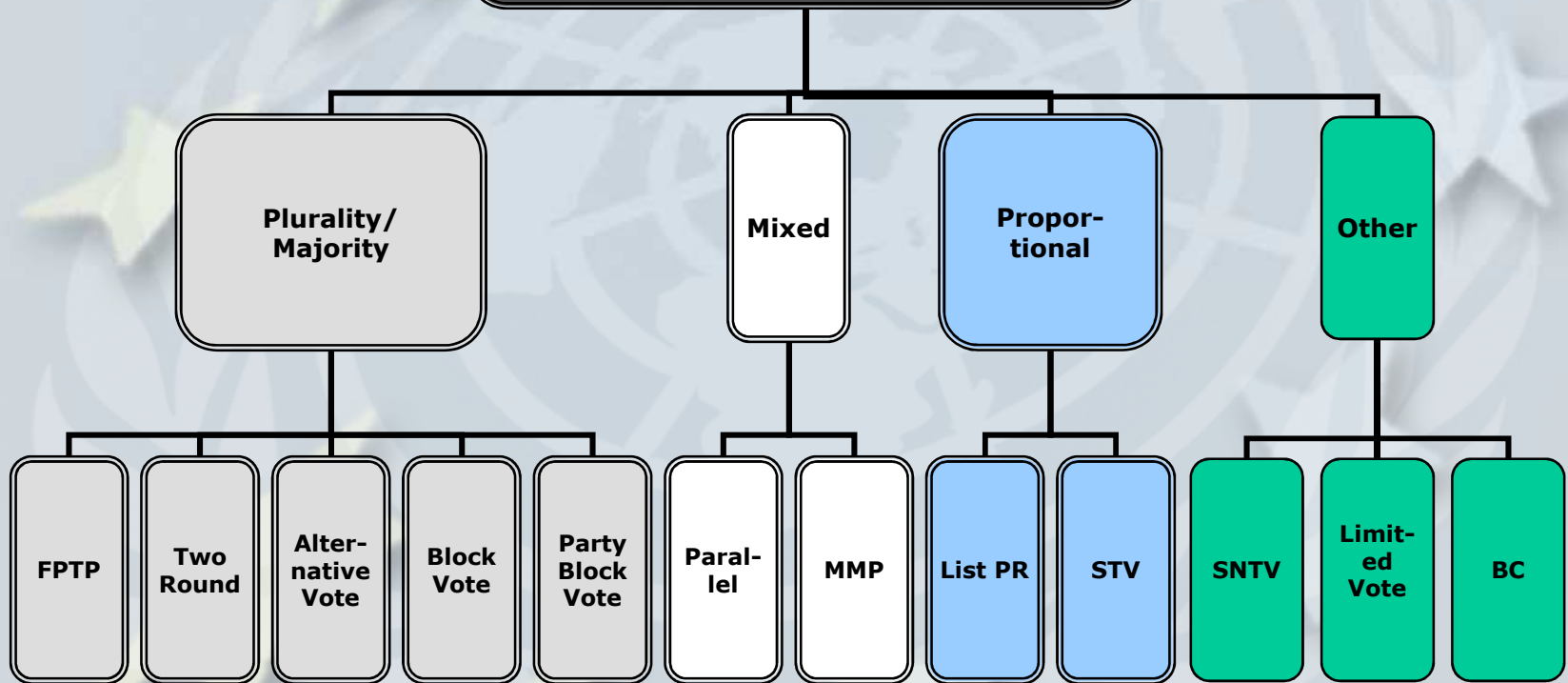


# SNTV

Ballot Order	Candidate Name	Candidate ID	Votes	Percentage of Votes
359	Haji Mohammad Mohaqeq	01-40-0022	52686	13.84%
383	Mohammad Younus Qanuni	01-39-0050	34225	8.20%
121	Bashar Dost	01-39-0068	30794	8.09%
30	Haji Mohammad Arif Zarif	01-39-0035	9934	2.61%
324	Ustad Abdrab Alrasoul Sayaf	01-39-0030	9806	2.58%
158	Sayed Mustafa Kazimi	01-39-0054	8884	2.33%
24	Engineer Abbas	01-39-0085	4645	1.22%
39	Mullah Taaj Mohammad Mojahed	01-42-0023	4624	1.21%
173	Haji Sayed Jan	01-35-0003	3992	1.05%
285	Malalai Shinwari	01-37-0045	3869	1.02%
356	Doctor Kabir Ranjbar	01-41-0004	3333	0.88%
361	Haji Mohammad Baqir Shaikhzada	01-41-0010	3200	0.84%
334	Doctor Naematullah	01-40-0028	3165	0.83%
162	Mir Ahmad Juyenda	01-36-0009	3105	0.82%
56	Mohammad Ismael Safdari	01-39-0037	3083	0.81%
41	Haji Mohammad Dawood Kalakani	01-41-0022	2900	0.76%
191	Anwar Khan Ooriakhail	01-40-0016	2885	0.76%
1	Haji Najibullah Kabuli	01-42-0010	2867	0.75%
219	Mohammad Senkin Tawakalzai	01-38-0017	2808	0.74%
160	Jamil Karzai	01-37-0006	2602	0.68%
284	Al-haj Baidar Zazai	01-40-0012	2415	0.63%
80	Alami Balkhi	01-38-0031	2324	0.61%
226	Fatima Nazary	01-38-0045	2322	0.61%
376	Shukria Barakzai	01-39-0004	2201	0.58%
223	Mohammad Ibrahim Qasimi	01-36-0022	2171	0.57%
79	Erfanullah Erfan	01-37-0032	2157	0.57%
97	Sayed Dawood Hashemi	01-35-0039	2130	0.56%
136	Shinkai Zahin Karukhail	01-38-0068	2107	0.55%
8	Shahla Atta	01-40-0074	2040	0.54%
178	Abdul Hakim Noorzai	01-36-0004	2014	0.53%
215	Ezatullah Atef	01-42-0006	1966	0.52%
25	Qudriva Ibrahim Yazdan Parast	01-39-0016	1960	0.51%
364	Abdul Hafiz Mansoor	01-35-0040	1898	0.50%
301	Ustad Saifi	01-36-0023	1893	0.50%
269	Haji Janatgul Hussainkhail	01-40-0037	1822	0.48%
214	Bashir Bezhan	01-40-0030	1820	0.48%
327	Sabrina Sageb	01-41-0073	1785	0.47%
16	Mohammad Allem Mashhoor ba Zabet Shenkay	01-37-0001	1779	0.47%



# Legislative Electoral System Families



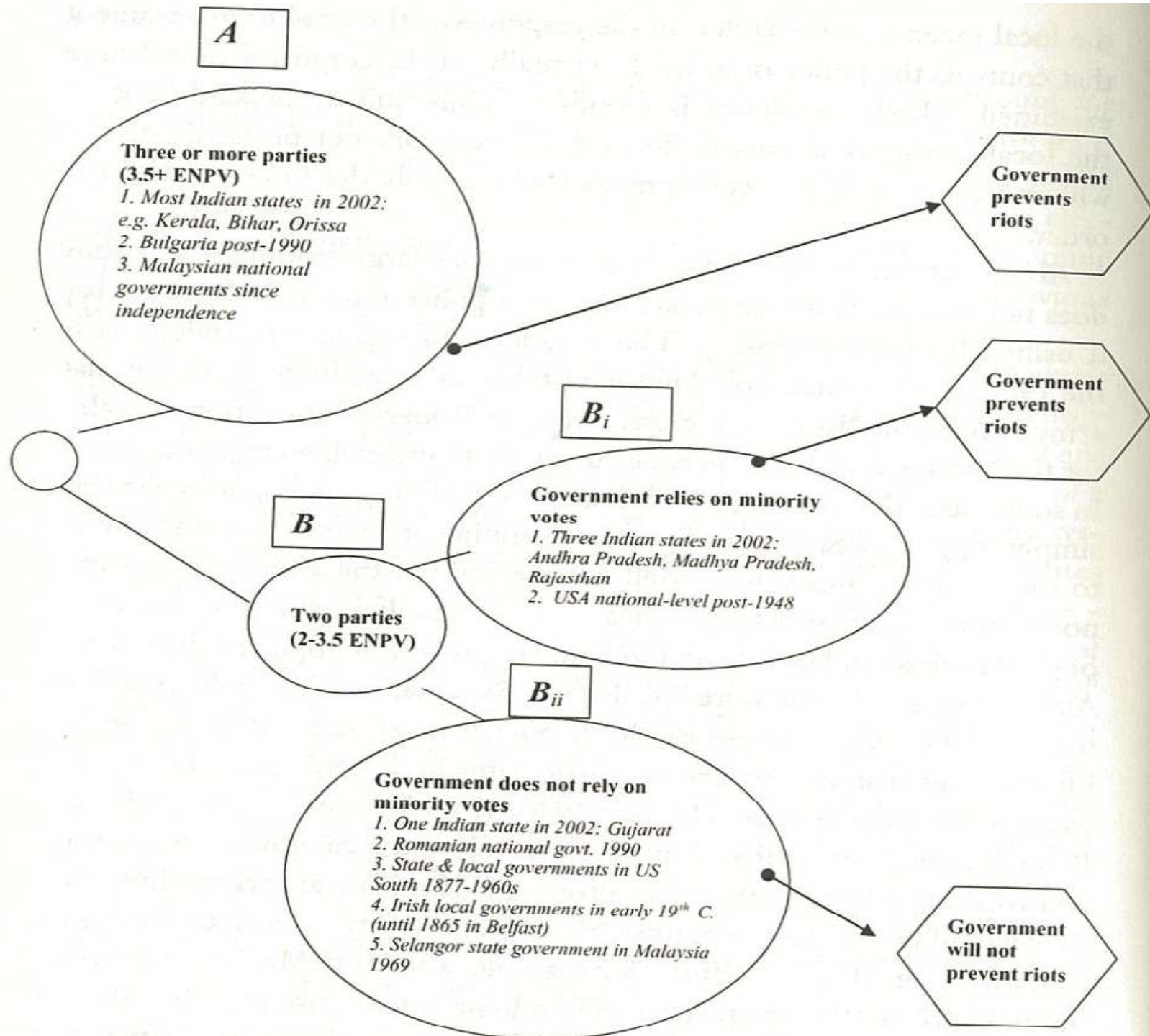




# First Past the Post (FPTP) and violence

- Single member districts, voters vote for one candidate (constituency-based)
  - The winning candidate is the person with the most votes
1. **Tend to advance links between voter and representative (accountability) and allow the highest vote winner to form a strong government. But they tend to compromise fair representation (inclusion).**
  2. **More difficult to guarantee women's representation**
  3. **Narrow vote margins**
  4. **BUT – facilitates representation for parties (minorities) with strong regionally-based support**
  5. **Tends to increase power of local strongmen – contests are local**
  6. **Good opportunities for independent candidates**
  7. **Delimitation (drawing boundaries) v. important and contentious**
  8. **Primaries?**







# Proportional Representation (List PR) and violence

- Each party presents a list of candidates in multimember districts
  - Voters vote for a party and the parties receive seats in proportion to their votes
  - (closed/open lists, formulas, thresholds)
1. **Tend towards the best correspondence between valid votes cast and seats won, but limit links between voters and representatives and can lead to unstable coalition governments.**
  2. **Representative -- proportional (can facilitate power sharing)**
  3. **Facilitate minority parties (without strong regional bases) access to representation – inclusion (platform for extremists)**
  4. **Can entrench societal divisions**
  5. **Can give small parties a disproportionate amount of power**
  6. **Can lead to less accountability, difficult for independents, increases control of central party apparatus**



# Mixed systems and violence

- PR and majoritarian component (usually FPTP)
  - PR component compensates for disproportionality in districts (MMP)
  - PR component doesn't compensate for disproportionality (Parallel)
- 1. Praised (and criticised!) for combining the pros and cons of the other two families.**
  - 2. Accountability in the constituencies**
  - 3. Proportionality – representation**



## Countries experiencing electoral violence and their electoral systems

Afghanistan	SNTV
Bangladesh	FPTP
Burundi	List PR
Cambodia	List PR
Central African Republic	TRS
Colombia	List PR
Guyana	List PR
Egypt	TRS
Ethiopia	FPTP
Iraq	List PR
Kenya	FPTP
Nigeria	FPTP
Pakistan	Parallel
Philippines	Parallel
Zimbabwe	FPTP

FPTP – 5 countries  
 List PR – 5 countries  
 TRS – 2 countries  
 Parallel – 2 countries  
 SNTV – 1 country





## **Electoral systems and conflict**

- **Representation – voice**
- **Accountability – good governance**
- **Bridging societal cleavages**
- **Stakes and incentives**





# Example 5: The Palestinian parallel system

**Palestinian Legislative Council 132 members**  
**66 elected according to list PR in single national constituency**  
**66 according to block vote in districts**





## The second 2006 PLC elections The final distribution of PLC seats

	Political affiliation	No. of seats in the lists	No. of seats in the districts	Total No. of seats
1	Change and Reform	29	45	74
2	Fatah Movement	28	17	45
3	Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	3	0	3
4	The Third Way	2	0	2
5	The Alternative	2	0	2
6	Independent Palestine	2	0	2
7	Independents	0	4	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>132</b>





Electoral district: Hebron		District No.: 11	No. of candidates: 46	
Total No. of seats: 9				
No.	Candidate	Political affiliation	No. of votes	Remarks
1	NAIF RAJOB	Change and Reform	59,885	Successful Candidate
2	SAMEER AL KADI	Change and Reform	59,841	Successful Candidate
3	AZIZ DWEIK	Change and Reform	55,649	Successful Candidate
4	AZZAM SALHAB	Change and Reform	53,720	Successful Candidate
5	MOHAMMAD ABU JHESHEH	Change and Reform	52,027	Successful Candidate
6	NIZAR RAMADAN	Change and Reform	51,891	Successful Candidate
7	HATEM KAFEEESHE	Change and Reform	50,485	Successful Candidate
8	BASIM ZAAREER	Change and Reform	49,236	Successful Candidate
9	MOHAMMAD AL TEL	Change and Reform	47,353	Successful Candidate
10	NABIL AMIR	Fatah movement	41,293	
11	JEMAL SHOBKY	Fatah movement	39,672	
12	JEBREEL RJOUB	Fatah movement	38,367	
13	RAFIQ AL NATSHEH	Fatah movement	37,558	
14	ZUHAIR ALMANASREH	Fatah movement	35,919	
15	MOSA ABDU SABHA	Fatah movement	35,860	
16	SLUIMAN TAHA ABU SNAINEH	Fatah movement	35,008	
17	M TAYSEIR RIFAI	Fatah movement	33,432	
18	DR GHAZI ABU-SHARKH	Fatah movement	31,923	
19	ISSA ABO-EHRAM	Independent	10,028	
20	ABDELALEEM DANA	The Popular Fron for the Liberation of Palestine	8,541	
21	SAMI AWLAD MOHAMAD	The Popular Fron for the Liberation of Palestine	7,519	
22	MAHMOUD MOHAMED ABUAYAASH	Independent	6,589	
23	KHALED BADWI	The Popular Fron for the Liberation of Palestine	6,495	
24	AYMAN KAWASMEH	Independent	6,346	
25	ABDULHAMID ABU TURKEY	Independent	6,304	
26	REZEQ NAMOORA	The Popular Struggle Front	5,649	
27	ALI ABU ZNAID	Independent	5,570	
28	SAMIH ABUE ISHEH	Independent	5,457	
29	ZHRAN ABUQBETA	Independent	5,400	
30	MUSA AJWEH	Independent	5,281	
31	MOHAMMED RSHAD DWAIK	Independent	5,055	
32	FAHMI SHAHEEN	Independent	4,959	
33	OSAMA NAJJAR	Independent	4,943	
34	ABRAHEEM ABUOZHREH	Independent	4,562	
35	AHMED AL HORAINY	Independent	4,368	
36	FARID SARAHNA	Independent	4,090	
37	ISHAQ IBHEIS	The Arab Palestinian Front	3,446	
38	MAHMOUD EBHAIS	The Pales. Democratic Union	3,257	
39	MOHAMMED ABU-ARAR	Independent	3,255	





Table 2: Electoral Systems for National Legislatures

	Number of Countries/ Territories		Total Population		Established Demo- cracies		Population		New Demo- cracies		Population		Other Countries		Population	
	1		2	3	4		5	6	7		8	9	10		11	
FPTP	47	23.6%	2 148 870 177	43.5%	22	32.4%	1 458 403 073	70.3%	4	13.0%	205 865	0.1%	21	21.0%	690 261 239	27.0%
BV	15	7.5%	32 102 545	0.6%	8	11.8%	1 515 622	0.1%	0	0	0	0	7	7.0%	30 586 923	1.2%
PBV	4	2.0%	30 423 015	0.6%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4.0%	30 423 015	1.2%
AV	3	1.5%	26 214 298	0.5%	2	2.9%	25 333 424	1.2%	0	0	0	0	1	1.0%	880 874	0.0%
TRS	22	11.1%	409 376 918	8.3%	3	4.4%	60 534 006	2.9%	2	6.5%	14708 102	4.8%	17	17.0%	334 134 810	13.1%
List PR	70	35.2%	1 181 718 922	23.9%	21	30.9%	195 051 175	9.4%	19	61.3%	168 528 219	55.0%	30	30.0%	818 139 528	32.2%
STV	2	1.0%	4 366 409	0.1%	2	2.9%	4 366 409	0.2%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0
MMP	9	4.5%	298 619 263	6.0%	4	5.9%	153 200 059	7.4%	1	3.2%	10 032 375	3.3%	4	4.0%	135 386 829	5.3%
Parallel	21	10.6%	773 091 334	15.7%	2	2.9%	175 931 177	8.5%	5	16.1%	112 701 569	36.8%	14	14.0%	484 458 588	18.9%
SNTV	4	2.0%	34 327 534	0.7%	2	2.9%	202 655	0.0%	0	0	0	0	2	2.0%	34 124 879	1.3%
Modified BC	1	0.5%	12 809	0.0%	1	1.5%	12 809	0.0%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0
LV	1	0.5%	27 833	0.0%	1	1.5%	27 833	0.0%	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0
Total	199		4 939 151 057		68		2 074 578 242		31		306 176 130		100		2 558 396 685	





# What is an electoral system?

District size  
Ballot structure  
+ Formula

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How **votes** translate into **results** (seats/office)



# Preferential voting and violence

- Each party presents a list of candidates in multimember districts
  - Voters vote for a party and the parties receive seats in proportion to their votes
  - (closed/open lists, formulas, thresholds)
  - Latin America, some African countries, Europe
1. **Tend towards the best correspondence between valid votes cast and seats won, but limit links between voters and representatives and can lead to unstable coalition governments.**
  2. **Representative -- proportional**
  3. **Facilitate minority parties (without strong regional bases) access to representation – inclusion (platform for extremists)**
  4. **Can give small parties a disproportionate amount of power**
  5. **Facilitate power sharing**
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# Different types of electoral systems

## Majoritarian systems

**First past the post (FPTP)**

**Two round system**

**Alternative vote**

**Block vote**

**Single non-transferable vote**

**Limited vote**

**Mixed Member Proportional**

**Parallel vote**

## Proportional systems

**List Proportional**

**Open list**

**Closed list**

**Single Transferable vote**



# Systems and their consequences

## Mixed systems

### Advantages

Retains proportionality while linking to geographic districts

### Disadvantages

Coalition governments

Destabilising fragmentation of party system

Platform for extremists – Holland

Governing coalitions with insufficient common ground “coalitions of convenience”

Small parties getting disproportionate amount of power

No accountability

Voters don't understand





# How the most common systems work

FPTP	Single member districts, voters vote for one candidate The winning candidate is the person with the most votes Used in UK, Canada, India, other countries with historic UK influence
TRS	Single member districts, voters vote for one candidate Either: if no candidate wins more than a percentage of votes then 2nd round Or: any candidate with more than a percentage of votes competes in 2nd round France, other countries with historic French influence
Block vote	Plurality voting in multimember districts. Voters have as many votes as there are seats. Candidates with most votes win. Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Laos
List PR	PR and majoritarian component (usually FPTP) PR component does not compensate for disproportionality in districts Japan, Armenia, Pakistan, Russian, South Korea
Parallel	Each party presents a list of candidates in multimember districts Voters vote for a party and the parties receive seats in proportion to their votes (closed/open lists, formulas, thresholds) Latin America, some African countries, Europe
MMP	PR and majoritarian (usually FPTP) component. PR seats compensate for disproportionality in districts. Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Venezuela, Mexico, Hungary, Lesotho





# Systems and their consequences

## First Past the Post

### Advantages

Simplicity

Clear cut choice voters

Strong, coherent government

One loyal opposition

Advantages broadly based political parties

Encourages "broad churches"

Excludes extremists

Strong accountability

Chose between people not parties

Independent candidates

### Disadvantages

Excludes minorities

Excludes smaller parties

Excludes women

Can encourage political parties based on clan or region (Malawi and Kenya)

No incentives to appeal to other groups

Exaggerates regional fiefdoms

Many wasted votes

Delimitation very important



# Systems and their consequences

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# Different types of electoral systems

## Single member districts

First past the post (FPTP)

Two round system

Alternative vote

## Multimember districts

Limited vote

Block vote

List Proportional

Open list

Closed list

Single Transferable vote

Single non-transferable vote

Mixed Member Proportional

Parallel vote



## **Electoral systems and conflict**

### System aims

- Representation
- Accountability
- Bridging cleavages

### Causes of conflict

Socio-economic inequality  
Exclusion, marginalisation  
Discrimination  
Bad governance  
Corruption  
Dominance of one group  
Control over resources  
Injustice over land distribution  
Food, water scarcity  
Effective governance  
Deep societal divisions

**Links?**

**Trade offs?**

**Tension between short and long term conflict prevention?**





# Electoral systems consequences

## First Past The Post (FPRP)





# Conventional wisdom

- Quote about proportionality – Lipz and other-
- FPTP
- Links to exclusion!
- But
- With FPTP regionally-concentrated minorities can do well.
- With PR, high thresholds can lead to exclusion of small parties.



# Bosnia

- Entrench ethnic divisions
- Sead
- David Horowitz, Ben Reilly – preferential voting



Think back to how the systems work and  
potential for conflict

FPTP







# Different systems – different results

## FPTP

	Seats							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Seats won	Total (%)
Parties	Votes per seat							
Happiness	70	70	70	5	3	70	4	288 (30%)
Love	15	15	15	123	15	15	1	198 (20,6%)
Joy	15	7	25	30	100	7	1	184 (19,2%)
Friendship	30	13	47	1	35	13	0	139 (14,5%)
Health	30	55	3	1	7	55	0	151 (15,7%)
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>		<b>960 (100%)</b>



## **Constitutions, electoral systems and conflict**

### **Power**

- How it is won
- How it is exercised
- How it is divided – branches, institutions and periphery



# List PR

<b>Seats: 6</b>		
	<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>Seats won</b>
<b>Parties</b>		
Happiness	<b>288 (30%)</b>	<b>2</b>
Love	<b>198 (20,6%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Joy	<b>184 (19,2%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Friendship	<b>139 (14,5%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Health	<b>151 (15,7%)</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>960 (100%)</b>	



# Parallel

	District seats				PR seats		
	1	2	3	District seats	Total (%)	PR seats	Total seats
Parties	Votes per seat						
Happiness	140	75	73	1	288 (30%)	1	2
Love	30	138	30	1	198 (20,6%)	1	2
Joy	22	55	107	1	184 (19,2%)	1	2
Friendship	43	48	48	0	139 (14,5%)	0	0
Health	85	4	62	0	151 (15,7%)	0	0
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>320</b>		<b>960 (100%)</b>		



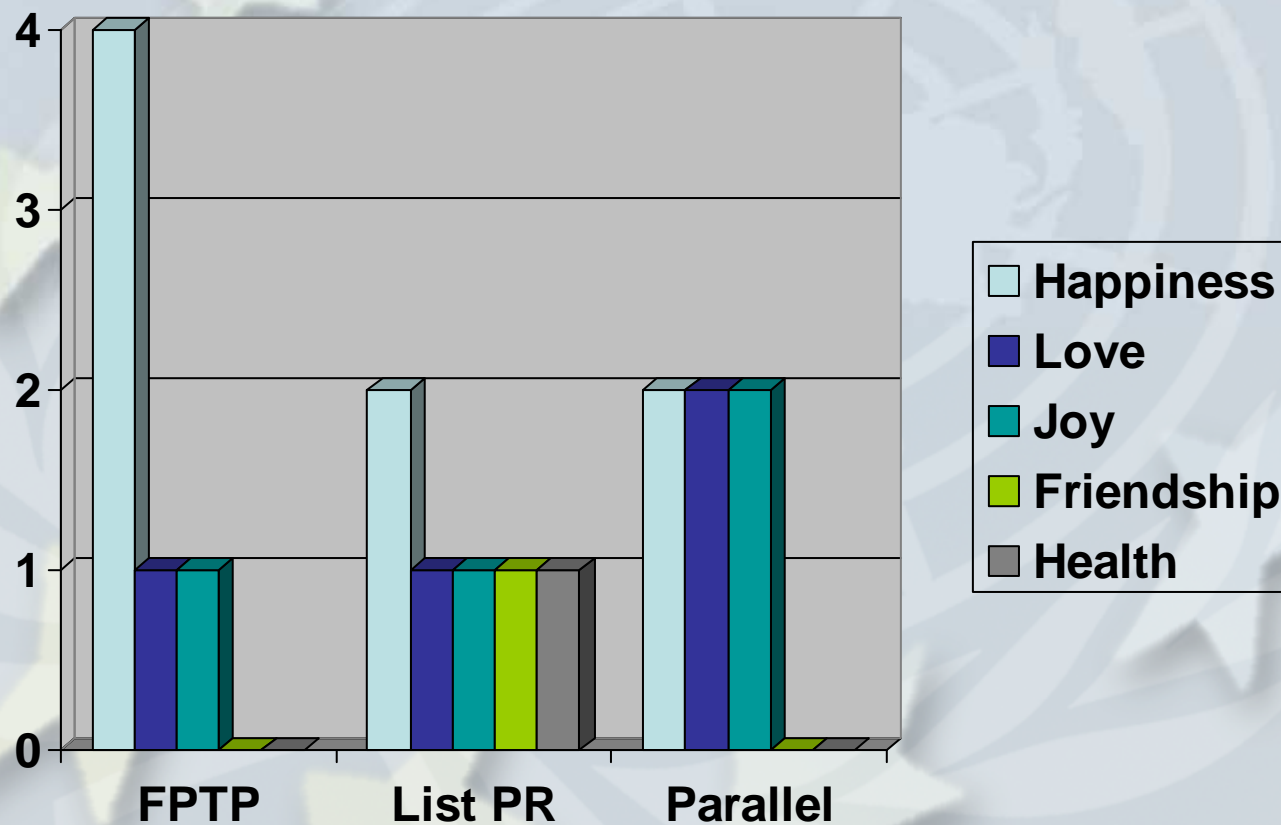


# Different systems – different results

Parties	Seats under the different electoral systems		
	FPTP	List PR	Parallel
Happiness	4	2	2
Love	1	1	2
Joy	1	1	2
Friendship	0	1	0
Health	0	1	0
<b>Total seats</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>

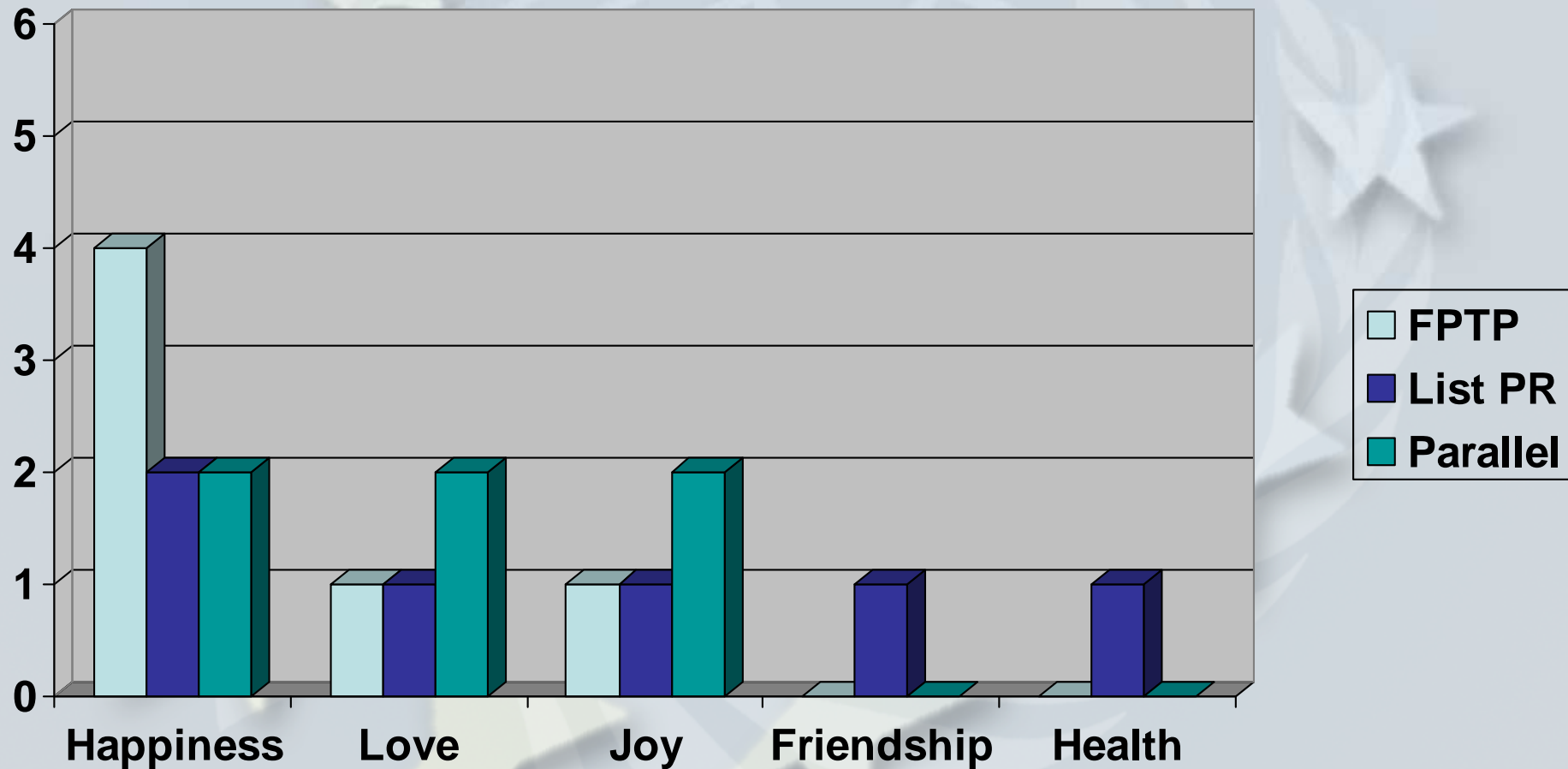


# Different systems – different results





# Different systems – different results





# **Advantages/disadvantages of different legislative systems**

## **Proportional systems**

tend towards the best correspondence between valid votes cast and seats won, but limit links between voters and representatives and can lead to unstable coalition governments.

## **Plurality/majority systems**

tend to advance links between voter and representative and allow the highest vote winner to form a strong government. But they tend to compromise fair representation.

## **Mixed systems**

have been praised (and criticised!) for combining the pros and cons of the other two families.

**All systems have advantages and disadvantages. There is no perfect electoral system!**





# Advantages/disadvantages of different legislative systems

## Proportional systems

, but limit links between voters and representatives and can lead to unstable coalition governments.

tend towards the best correspondence between valid votes cast and seats won	tend towards the best correspondence between valid votes cast and seats won
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## **System reform**

### **Criteria for choosing a system of representation**

IDEA Handbook lists 10:

Providing representation; Making elections accessible and meaningful; Providing incentives for conciliation; Facilitating stable and efficient government; Holding government accountable; Holding individual representatives accountable; Encouraging political parties; Promoting legislative opposition and oversight; Making the election process sustainable; Taking into account "international standards."

With another 14 criteria later and an additional 8 criteria for minority representation on pp. 77-78. These are more specifically focused on the problems often found in post-conflict situations.

*Choosing a system of representation*



## A simplified set of criteria

1. Feasibility
2. Simplicity (for voters, parties, and administrators)
3. Tactical voting and fraud
4. Representation (politicians' accountability)
5. Acceptance and fairness
6. Effective governance
7. *Conflict termination*

**System choice is a fundamentally political process**  
**Systems can be unpredictable (even to experts). The advantage of an electoral system in one country can be its disadvantage in another**

**Don't underestimate the importance of the system, but at the same time don't expect too much of it**



## **Operational and timeline implications of electoral systems**

Delimitation and voter registration

Voter education implications?

Political entity registration

Challenges to candidate or party eligibility

Ballot design, procurement and delivery

Specifications for other electoral materials (large ballot boxes?)

Number of voters per polling station

Number of polling days

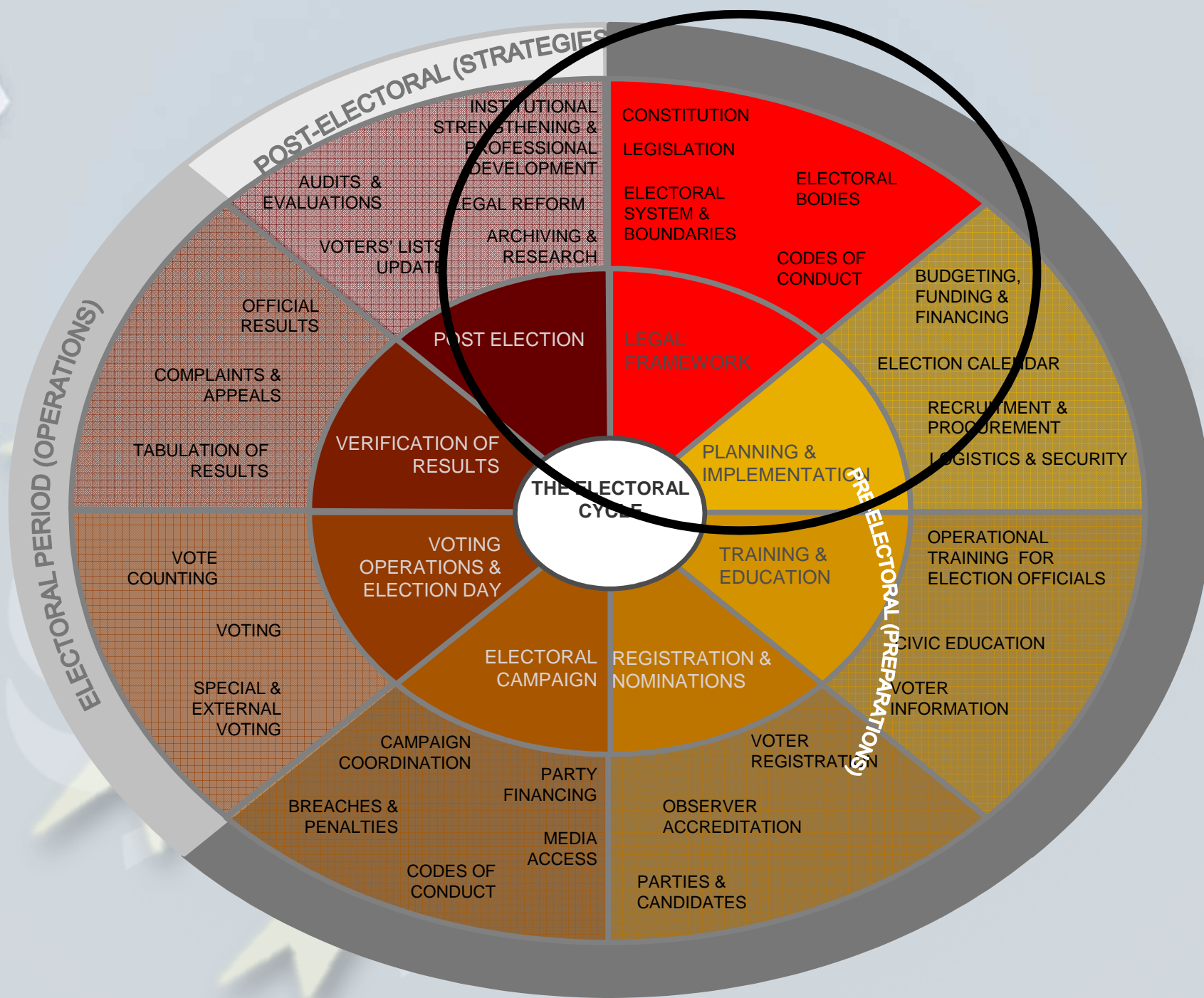
Ballot counting

Implications for results management

By-elections?

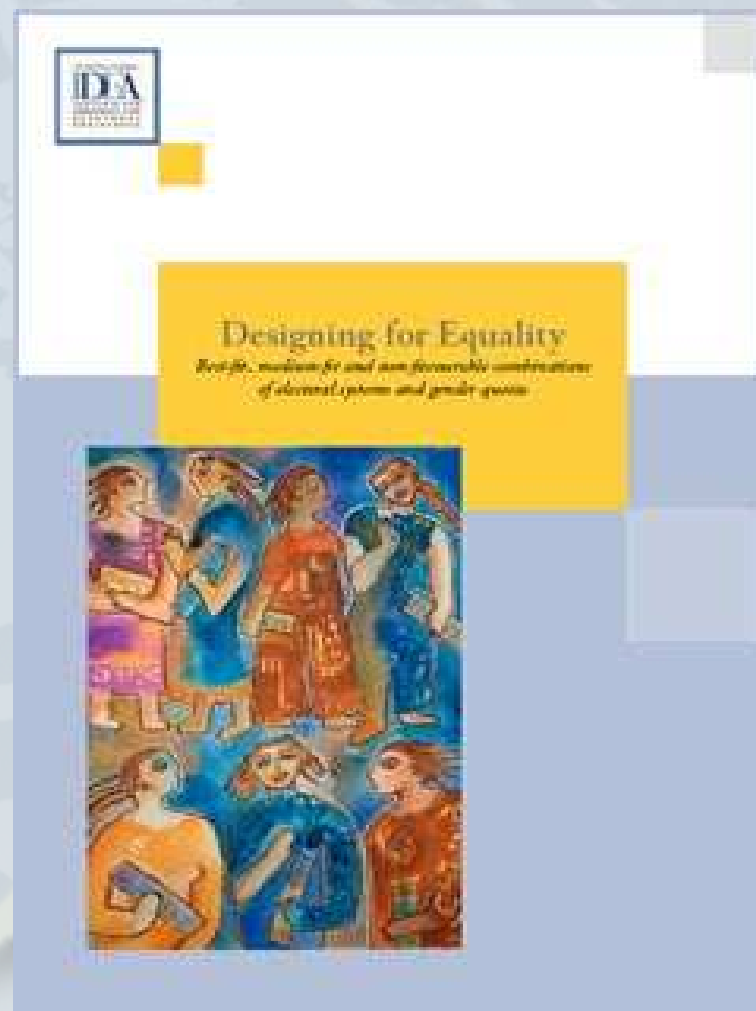
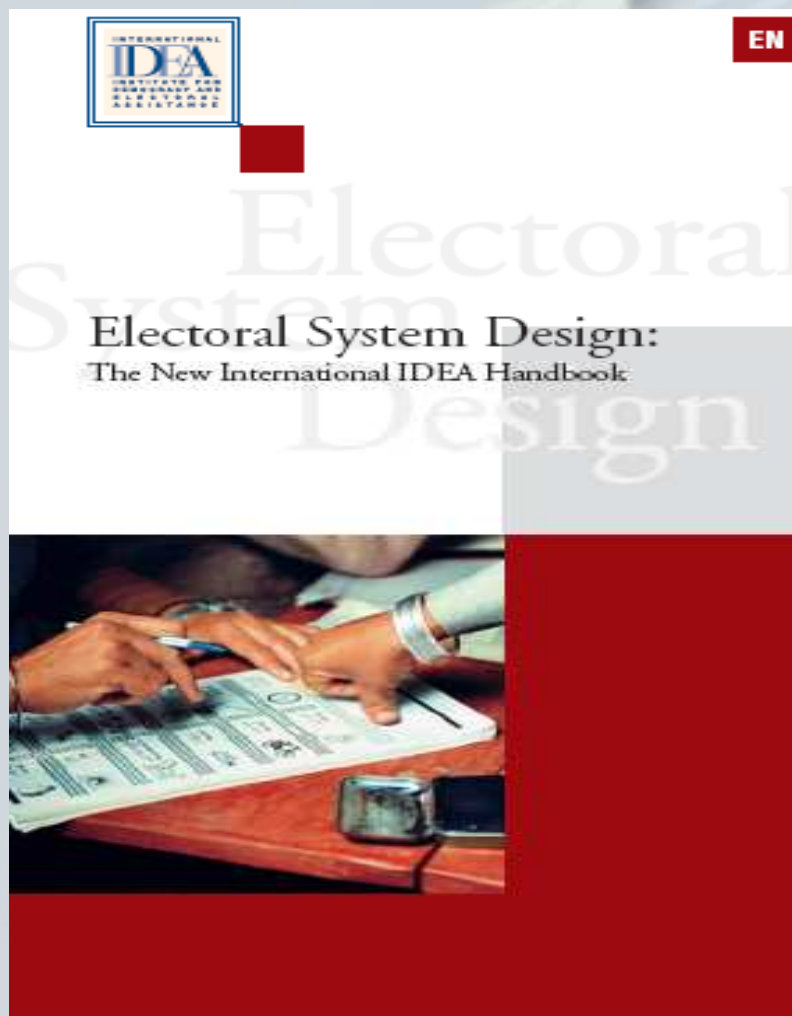
May a second round be required?







# IDEA's Publications on Electoral System Design





# Exercise 1

A parliament is debating moving from a closed list proportional system in a nation-wide constituency to FPTP. The election commission has been asked to present to the legislative committee of the Lower House, responsible for drafting new legislation, on some of the implications of the change of system.

The Chief Commissioner has asked you to prepare some notes, both on potential political implications and on operational and budgetary implications.



## Exercise 2

Mongala is in West Africa. It is majority (about 60%) Mongal, but with two minority ethnic groups. The Tarcoli minority (about 15%) are concentrated in the country's south. The Giaki minority (about 25%) are spread across the country.

Since independence, the Mongali parliament has been elected according to FPTP. Because of their regional concentration in the south, the Tarcoli have consistently won a reasonable proportion of the seats in parliament. The Giaki, however, been underrepresented.

The Mongali election commission's legal department has been asked to look at ways of ensuring more proportionate representation for all Mongala's ethnic groups. Prepare a short set of options for the legal department. Each option should list potential advantages and disadvantages.





# Exercise 3

- ☐ **Ethnically or religiously divided societies tend to have electoral systems that encourage, rather than combat, that same ethnic or religious conflict.**
- ☐ **Attempts by outsiders to impose an electoral system that combats ethnic or religious conflict often fail.**
- ☐ **Constitutional arrangements often work with electoral systems to ensure the victory of parties that promote ethnic and religious disharmony**
- ☐ **Often times, electoral systems that appear neutral work in the interests of those parties promoting ethnic and religious disharmony**
- ☐ **Sometimes, proactive attempts by the designers of electoral systems to be inclusive of ethnic minorities backfire, and enflame antagonisms against that minority**



# Exercise 3

- 1. The minority Atwoodi party have 4 seats in the 120 seat Parliament in McCannistan, This representation is well below their 15% share of the national population. Atwoodis are detached from the political structures in McCannistan and there is a history of hostile relations between Atwoodis and the larger McCannistan population.**
- 2. As part of a deal to get the Atwoodis to support the formation of a government, the new government has agreed in principle to pass a national minorities law that will reserve 12 seats in Parliament for ethnic Atwoodis. The draft law has been reviewed and deemed in line with the Constitution by the Attorney General.**
- 3. Outline some of the legal and operational/technical challenges that need to be addressed in order to implement this law in time for the next elections, and some of the possible consequences of the law.**



# **Electoral Systems and Ethnic and Religious Conflict**

- ☐ **Ethnically or religiously divided societies tend to have electoral systems that encourage, rather than combat, that same ethnic or religious conflict.**
- ☐ **Attempts by outsiders to impose an electoral system that combats ethnic or religious conflict often fail.**
- ☐ **Constitutional arrangements often work with electoral systems to ensure the victory of parties that promote ethnic and religious disharmony**
- ☐ **Often times, electoral systems that appear neutral work in the interests of those parties promoting ethnic and religious disharmony**
- ☐ **Sometimes, proactive attempts by the designers of electoral systems to be inclusive of ethnic minorities backfire, and enflame antagonisms against that minority**



# Electoral systems exercise

## 1. Legal, operational and technical challenges

1. Is the right to elect the Atwoodi voters restricted to Atwoodi voters?
2. Can candidates declare themselves Atwoodis or do they have to “prove” their ethnic status?
3. Can Atwoodi voters choose not to vote in the “Atwoodi election” and instead vote in the “regular” election?
4. Are citizens already identified as Atwoodis in either the documents they will use to identify them on polling day, or the database used to generate the voters list?
5. Is a separate voter registration exercise required to determine how many Atwoodi voters there are, and how to identify them on polling day?
6. How can we know how many Atwoodi voters will vote in the “Atwoodi election” on polling day?
7. Do we have to supply Atwoodi ballots to every polling station in the country?
8. Shall there be a separate Atwoodi voters list, or voters will be identified as Atwoodis on the overall voters list?





Ballot Order	Candidate Name	Candidate ID	Votes	Percentage of Votes
359	Haji Mohammad Mohaqeq	01-40-0022	52686	13.84%
383	Mohammad Younus Qanuni	01-39-0050	31225	8.20%
121	Bashar Dost	01-39-0068	30794	8.09%
30	Haji Mohammad Arif Zarif	01-39-0035	9934	2.61%
324	Ustad Abdrab Alrasoul Sayaf	01-39-0030	9806	2.58%
158	Sayed Mustafa Kazimi	01-39-0054	8884	2.33%
24	Engineer Abbas	01-39-0085	4645	1.22%
39	Mullah Taaj Mohammad Mojahed	01-42-0023	4624	1.21%
173	Haji Sayed Jan	01-35-0003	3992	1.05%
285	Malalai Shinwari	01-37-0045	3869	1.02%
356	Doctor Kabir Ranjbar	01-41-0004	3333	0.88%
361	Haji Mohammad Baqir Shaikhzada	01-41-0010	3200	0.84%
334	Doctor Naematullah	01-40-0028	3165	0.83%
162	Mir Ahmad Juyenda	01-36-0009	3105	0.82%
56	Mohammad Ismael Safdari	01-39-0037	3083	0.81%
41	Haji Mohammad Dawood Kalakani	01-41-0022	2900	0.76%
191	Anwar Khan Ooriakhail	01-40-0016	2885	0.76%
1	Haji Najibullah Kabuli	01-42-0010	2867	0.75%
219	Mohammad Senkin Tawakalzai	01-38-0017	2808	0.74%
160	Jamil Karzai	01-37-0006	2602	0.68%
284	Al-haj Baidar Zazai	01-40-0012	2415	0.63%
80	Alami Balkhi	01-38-0031	2324	0.61%
226	Fatima Nazary	01-38-0045	2322	0.61%
376	Shukria Barakzai	01-39-0004	2201	0.58%
223	Mohammad Ibrahim Qasimi	01-36-0022	2171	0.57%
79	Erfanullah Erfan	01-37-0032	2157	0.57%
97	Sayed Dawood Hashemi	01-35-0039	2130	0.56%
136	Shinkai Zahin Karukhail	01-38-0068	2107	0.55%
8	Shahla Atta	01-40-0074	2040	0.54%
178	Abdul Hakim Noorzai	01-36-0004	2014	0.53%
215	Ezatullah Atef	01-42-0006	1966	0.52%
25	Qudriya Ibrahim Yazdan Parast	01-39-0016	1960	0.51%
364	Abdul Hafiz Mansoor	01-35-0040	1898	0.50%
301	Ustad Saifi	01-36-0023	1893	0.50%
269	Haji Janatgul Hussainkhail	01-40-0037	1822	0.48%
214	Bashir Bezhan	01-40-0030	1820	0.48%
327	Sabrina Sageb	01-41-0073	1785	0.47%
16	Mohammad Allem Mashhoor ba Zabet Shenkay	01-37-0001	1779	0.47%



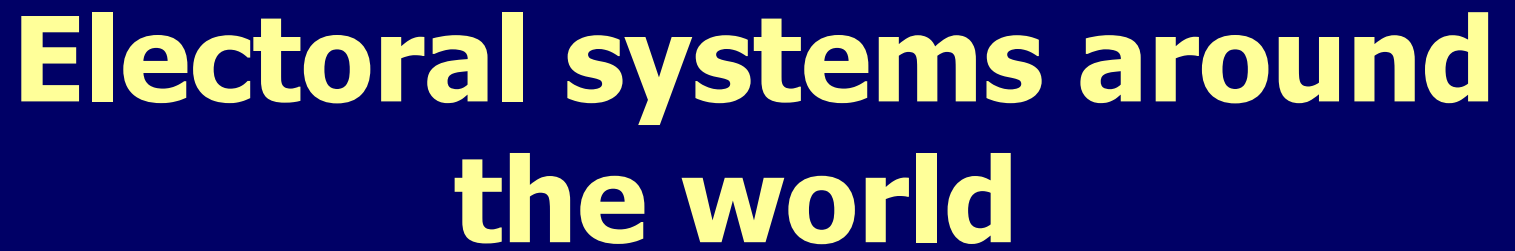


# Electoral Systems Exercise

## 1. Possible consequences?

1. Greater participation by Atwoodi voters in the elections and the wider democratic process?
2. Greater “ghetto-isation” of Atwoodis in McCannistan political life? (people now identified as minorities)
3. Risk of discrimination and hostility towards Atwoodi voters on polling day?
4. Risk of Atwoodi voters choosing to vote in the “regular” election *en masse* and thus making the “cost of an Atwoodi mandate” much “cheaper” than the cost of a “regular” mandate?









# Systems general knowledge

**Plurality/Majority**

FPTP

Tend towards proportional results

List PR

TRS

**Mixed**

Parallel  
MMP

Most common?

Usually more wasted votes

Used in the UK and U.S.  
legislatures and some  
countries with former UK  
influence

**Proportional**

Tend towards strong  
voter/representative  
links

STV



# Different systems – different results

## FPTP

	Seats							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Seats won	Total (%)
Parties	Votes per seat							
Happiness	70	70	70	5	3	70	4	288 (30%)
Love	15	15	15	123	15	15	1	198 (20,6%)
Joy	15	7	25	30	100	7	1	184 (19,2%)
Friendship	30	13	47	1	35	13	0	139 (14,5%)
Health	30	55	3	1	7	55	0	151 (15,7%)
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>160</b>		<b>960 (100%)</b>



# List PR

<b>Seats: 6</b>		
	<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>Seats won</b>
<b>Parties</b>		
Happiness	<b>288 (30%)</b>	<b>2</b>
Love	<b>198 (20,6%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Joy	<b>184 (19,2%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Friendship	<b>139 (14,5%)</b>	<b>1</b>
Health	<b>151 (15,7%)</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>960 (100%)</b>	



# Parallel

	District seats				PR seats		
	1	2	3	District seats	Total (%)	PR seats	Total seats
Parties	Votes per seat						
Happiness	140	75	73	1	288 (30%)	1	2
Love	30	138	30	1	198 (20,6%)	1	2
Joy	22	55	107	1	184 (19,2%)	1	2
Friendship	43	48	48	0	139 (14,5%)	0	0
Health	85	4	62	0	151 (15,7%)	0	0
<b>Total votes</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>320</b>		<b>960 (100%)</b>		



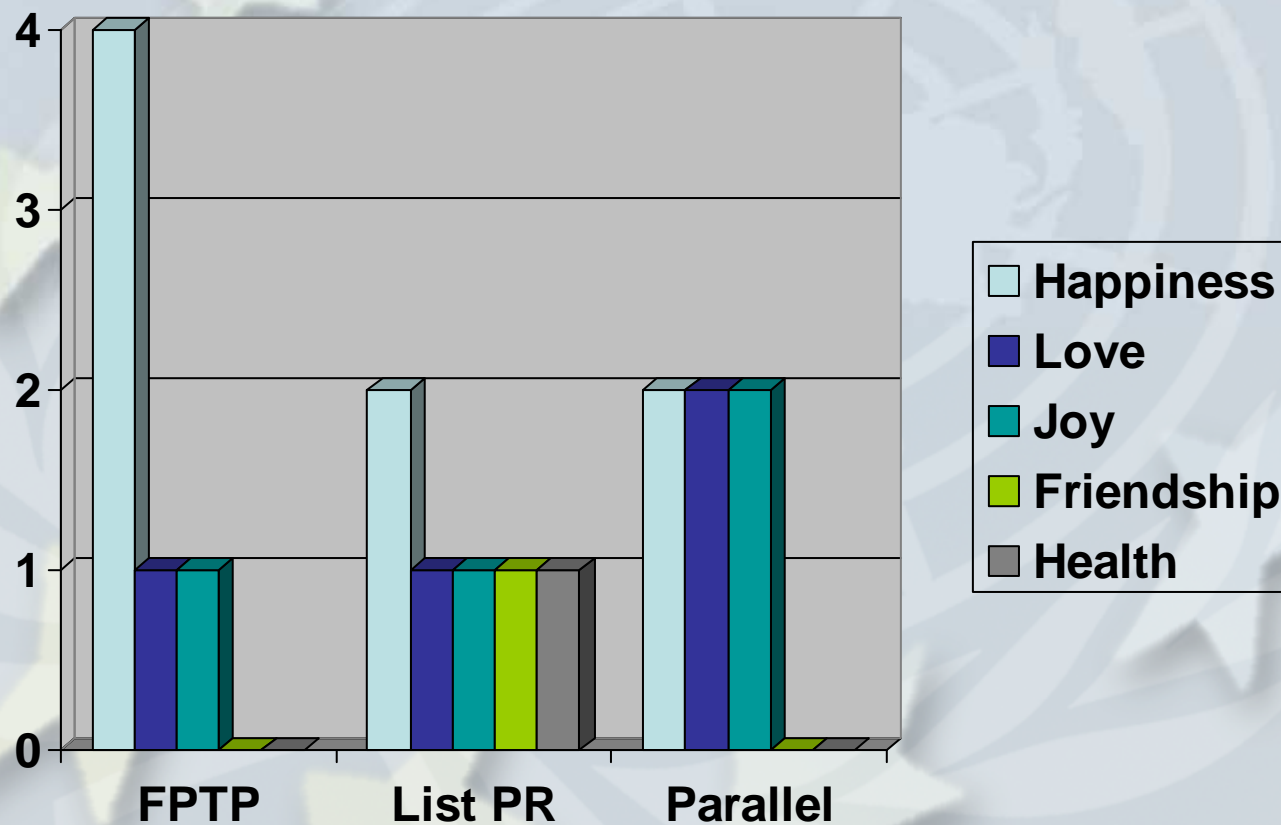


# Different systems – different results

Parties	Seats under the different electoral systems		
	FPTP	List PR	Parallel
Happiness	4	2	2
Love	1	1	2
Joy	1	1	2
Friendship	0	1	0
Health	0	1	0
<b>Total seats</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>



# Different systems – different results





# Different systems – different results

