

Electoral reform

Three Case Studies

- Japan
- New Zealand
- Italy

MMM vs. MMP

- MMM vs. MMP... what's the difference?
- In both, seats are allocated at the district and national levels
- MMP is a hybrid system
 - District-level winners
 - National PR is *compensatory*
- MMM is a parallel voting system
 - List seats allocated proportionally...
 - ...But not linked to district-level winners
- What are plusses and minuses? Why do political scientists like MMP better?

Electoral reform: Japan (1996)

- BEFORE: SNTV
 - What kinds of problems did SNTV bring?
- AFTER: MMM
- WHY: LDP wanted reform.

Electoral reform: Japan

- In 1970, PM Satō asked a party committee to propose an electoral system based on single-seat districts to “produce party-centered, policy-centered campaigns.”

Effect of electoral reform: Indices

Year	D (LSq)	N(v)	N(s)	S
1972	7.00	3.44	2.67	491
1976	7.44	4.07	3.18	511
1979	4.00	3.79	3.30	511
1980	6.59	3.45	2.74	511
1983	4.27	3.67	3.24	511
1986	7.22	3.38	2.58	512
1990	6.73	3.48	2.71	512
1993	6.36	5.29	4.20	511
<i>1996 SMD</i>	<i>15.82</i>	<i>3.89</i>	<i>2.36</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>1996 list</i>	<i>2.96</i>	<i>4.28</i>	<i>3.84</i>	<i>200</i>
1996 overall	10.67	4.12	2.94	500
<i>2000 SMD</i>	<i>15.57</i>	<i>3.77</i>	<i>2.36</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>2000 list</i>	<i>2.49</i>	<i>5.15</i>	<i>4.72</i>	<i>180</i>
2000 overall	11.49	4.56	3.17	480
<i>2003 SMD</i>	<i>10.64</i>	<i>2.99</i>	<i>2.29</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>2003 list</i>	<i>4.01</i>	<i>3.42</i>	<i>3.03</i>	<i>180</i>
2003 overall	8.52	3.26	2.59	480
<i>2005 SMD</i>	<i>23.00</i>	<i>2.73</i>	<i>1.77</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>2005 list</i>	<i>4.65</i>	<i>3.72</i>	<i>3.15</i>	<i>180</i>
2005 overall	15.63	3.22	2.27	480
<i>2009 SMD</i>	<i>22.47</i>	<i>2.65</i>	<i>1.70</i>	<i>300</i>
<i>2009 list</i>	<i>5.85</i>	<i>3.66</i>	<i>2.91</i>	<i>180</i>
2009 overall	15.11	3.15	2.10	480

Period averages in red (overall in post-reform period through 2009)

2009 Election Results

NATIONAL SUMMARY OF VOTES AND SEATS

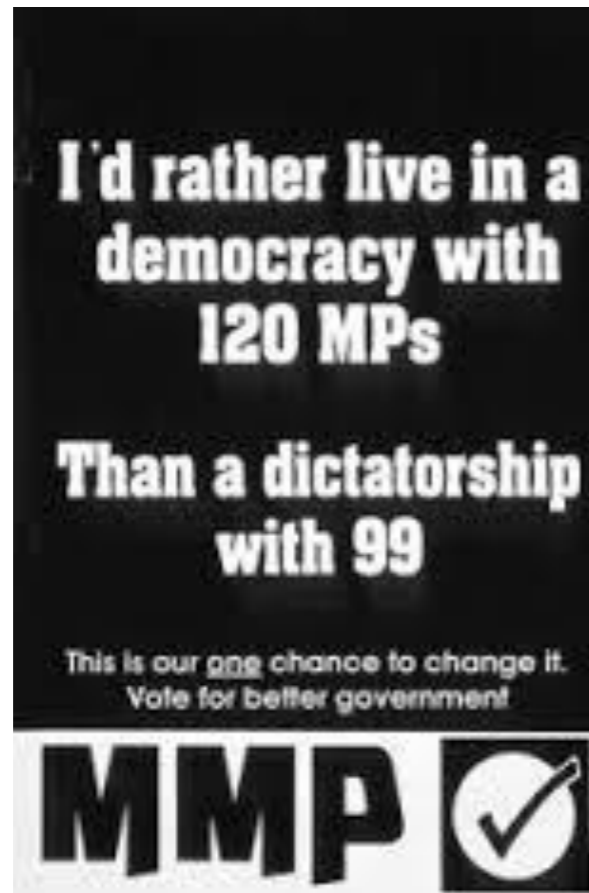
Votes are those polled for the Block constituencies. Votes and seats are compared with those won at the 2005 elections. In this tables Seats 1 is the constituency seats, and Seats 2 is the Block seats.

Party	Votes	%	Change	Seats 1		Seats 2		Seats Total	
Democratic Party	29,844,799	42.4	+11.4	221	+169	87	+26	308	+195
Social Democratic Party	3,006,160	04.3	-01.2	3	+2	4	-2	7	
People's New Party	1,050,387	01.5	-00.2	3	+1	-	-2	3	-1
Total DPJ and allies	33,901,346	48.2	+10.0	227	+172	91	+22	318	+194
Liberal Democratic Party	18,810,217	26.7	-11.5	64	-155	55	-22	119	-177
Clean Government Party	8,054,007	11.4	-01.9	-	-8	21	-2	21	-10
Total LDP and allies	26,864,224	38.1	-13.4	64	-163	76	-24	140	-187
Japan Communist Party	4,943,886	07.0	-00.3	-		9		9	
Your Party	3,005,199	04.3		2	+2	3	+3	5	+5
Others	1,315,722	01.9		7	-11	1	-1	8	-12
Total	70,463,499			300		180		480	

Electoral reform: New Zealand (1996)

- BEFORE: FPTP
- AFTER: MMP
- WHY: It's complicated!

New Zealand: Problems with the old system



An electoral system working “too well”

New Zealand is classic case of an electoral system producing too much majoritarianism

New Zealand Electoral Statistics, 1978-1993

Party		1978	1981	1984	1987	1990	1993
Labour	Vote %	40.4	39.0	43.0	48.0	35.1	34.7
	Seat %	43.5	46.7	60.0	58.8	29.9	45.5
National	Vote %	39.8	38.8	35.9	44.0	47.8	35.0
	Seat %	55.4	51.1	37.9	41.2	69.1	50.5
Social Credit	Vote %	16.1	20.7	7.6	-	-	-
	Seat %	1.1	2.2	2.1	-	-	-
NZ Party	Vote %	-	-	12.3	0.3	-	-
	Seat %	-	-	0.0	0.0	-	-
*Alliance	Vote %	-	-	-	-	14.3	18.2
	Seat %	-	-	-	-	1.0	2.0
NZ First	Vote %	-	-	-	-	-	8.4
	Seat %	-	-	-	-	-	0.0

*The Alliance consists of several minor third parties, including Green, New Labour, Democrat and Mana Motuhake.

MMP ballot

YOU HAVE 2 VOTES

PARTY VOTE

ELECTORATE VOTE

Explanation
This vote decides the share of seats which each of the parties listed below will have in Parliament. Vote by putting a tick in the circle immediately after the party you choose.

Explanation
This vote decides the candidate who will be elected Member of Parliament for the [insert name] ELECTORATE. Vote by putting a tick in the circle immediately before the candidate you choose.

Vote for only one party

Vote for only one candidate

Party	Vote	Candidate	Party
LABOUR	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	ALLEN, Fred LABOUR
ACT NEW ZEALAND	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	BARKER, Mary ACT NEW ZEALAND
NATIONAL	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	DENIS, Alistair NATIONAL
ALLIANCE	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	ELLIS, John ALLIANCE
THE GREENS, THE GREEN PARTY OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	GREIG, Tony THE GREENS, THE GREEN PARTY OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND
NZ FIRST	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	ILLOTT, Anne NZ FIRST
ROC	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	MARTIN, Hamish ROC
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	NEMETH, Elizabeth CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS
UNITED NZ	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	OSBERT, Sebastian UNITED NZ
CHRISTIAN HERITAGE PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	PEOPLES, Wendy CHRISTIAN HERITAGE PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND
McGILLICUDDY SERIOUS	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	QUENTIN, Oliver McGILLICUDDY SERIOUS
TE TAWHARAU	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	RAWIRI, Whare TE TAWHARAU
REPUBLICAN PARTY	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	ROSS, Arthur REPUBLICAN PARTY
DEMOCRATS	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	RUSCOE, Noel DEMOCRATS
	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	SMITH, Eugene INDEPENDENT
ADVANCE NZ	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	TULIP, Belinda ADVANCE NZ
CONSERVATIVE	<input type="radio"/>		
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS	<input type="radio"/>		
SUPERANNUITANTS PARTY	<input type="radio"/>		

[Insert party logo (if registered) to the left of the name of the party.]

[Insert party logo (if registered) to the right of the name of the candidate.]

The effect of electoral reform: Election results

Election Results in New Zealand: First three MMP elections (1996-2002)

	1996				1999				2002			
	% list votes	single-seat Districts	List Seats	total seats	% list votes	single-seat districts	List Seats	total Seats	% list Votes	single-seat Districts	List Seats	total seats
National	33.8	30	14	44	30.5	22	17	39	20.9	21	6	27
Labour	28.2	26	11	37	38.7	41	8	49	41.3	45	7	52
NZ First	13.4	6	11	17	4.3	1	4	5	10.4	1	12	13
Alliance	10.1	1	12	13	7.7	1	9	10	1.3	0	0	0
ACT	6.1	1	7	8	7.0	0	9	9	7.1	0	9	9
United Future	0.9	1	0	1	0.5	1	0	1	6.7	1	7	8
Green	--	--	--	--	5.2	1	6	7	7.0	0	9	9
Progressive	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.7	1	1	2
Others	7.5	0	0	0	6.1	0	0	0	3.6	0	0	0
Total	100	65	55	120	100	67	53	120	100	69	51	120

The effect of electoral reform: Indices

Year	D (LSq)	N(v)	N(s)	S
1972	12.06	2.43	1.87	87
1975	12.93	2.56	1.87	87
1978	15.55	2.87	2.01	92
1981	16.63	2.90	2.08	92
1984	15.40	2.99	1.98	95
1987	8.89	2.34	1.94	97
1990	17.24	2.77	1.74	97
1993	18.19	3.52	2.16	99
1996	3.43	4.27	3.76	120
1999	2.97	3.86	3.45	120
2002	2.37	4.17	3.76	120
2005	1.13	3.04	2.98	121
2008	3.84	3.07	2.78	122
2011	2.38	3.15	2.98	121

Expected N_s ,
based on Seat Prod.:
Pre-reform
 $N_s = (1 \cdot 95)^{1/6} = 2.14$
Post-reform:
 $N_s = 2.5^t (MS)^{1/6}$
 $N_s = 2.5^{.45} (1 \cdot 65)^{1/6}$
 $= 3.03$

14.61 2.80 1.96

Period averages in red



2011 Referendum on MMP

- It's working! Why mess with it?
- Politics is about power.
- Who benefited from the previous FPTP system?

2011 Referendum

Referendum on New Zealand's Voting System

[INSERT ELECTORATE NAME
AND NUMBER]

Official Mark

Explanation

1. You may vote in **both Part A and Part B** or you may vote in **only Part A** or **only Part B**.
2. Vote by putting a tick in the circle next to the option you choose.

Part A

Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?

Vote for only one option

I vote to **keep** the MMP voting system

I vote to **change** to another voting system



Vote Here



Part B

If New Zealand were to change to another voting system, which voting system would you choose?

Vote for only one option

I would choose the **First Past the Post** system (FPP)

I would choose the **Preferential Voting** system (PV)

I would choose the **Single Transferable Vote** system (STV)

I would choose the **Supplementary Member** system (SM)



Vote Here



Final Directions

- If you spoil this voting paper, return it to the officer who issued it and apply for a new paper.
- After voting, fold this voting paper so that its contents cannot be seen and **place it in the**



2011 Referendum result

[INSERT ELECTORATE NAME AND NUMBER]



Explanation

1. You may vote in both Part A and Part B or you may vote in only Part A or only Part B.
2. Vote by putting a tick in the circle next to the option you choose.

Part A

Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?

Vote for only one option

I vote to keep the MMP voting system

I vote to change to another voting system

Part B

If New Zealand were to change to another voting system, which voting system would you choose?

Vote for only one option

I would choose the First Past the Post system (FPP)

I would choose the Preferential Voting system (PV)

I would choose the Single Transferable Vote system (STV)

I would choose the Supplementary Member system (SM)

Final Directions

- If you spoil this voting paper, return it to the officer who issued it and apply for a new paper.
- After voting, fold this voting paper so that its contents cannot be seen and place it in the

Overall Results - 2011 Referendum on the Voting System

Part A - Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?			
	Number of Votes	Percentage of Valid Votes	Percentage of Total Votes
KEEP	1,267,955	57.77%	56.17%
CHANGE	926,819	42.23%	41.06%
Total Valid Votes	2,194,774	100.00%	97.23%
Informal Votes*	62,469		2.77%
Total Votes	2,257,243		100.00%

Part B - If New Zealand were to change to another voting system, which voting system would you choose?			
	Number of Votes	Percentage of Valid Votes	Percentage of Total Votes
First Past the Post (FPP)	704,117	46.66%	31.19%
Preferential Voting (PV)	188,164	12.47%	8.34%
Single Transferable Vote (STV)	252,503	16.73%	11.19%
Supplementary Member (SM)	364,373	24.14%	16.14%
Total Valid Votes	1,509,157	100.00%	66.86%
Informal Votes*	748,086		33.14%
Total Votes	2,257,243		100.00%

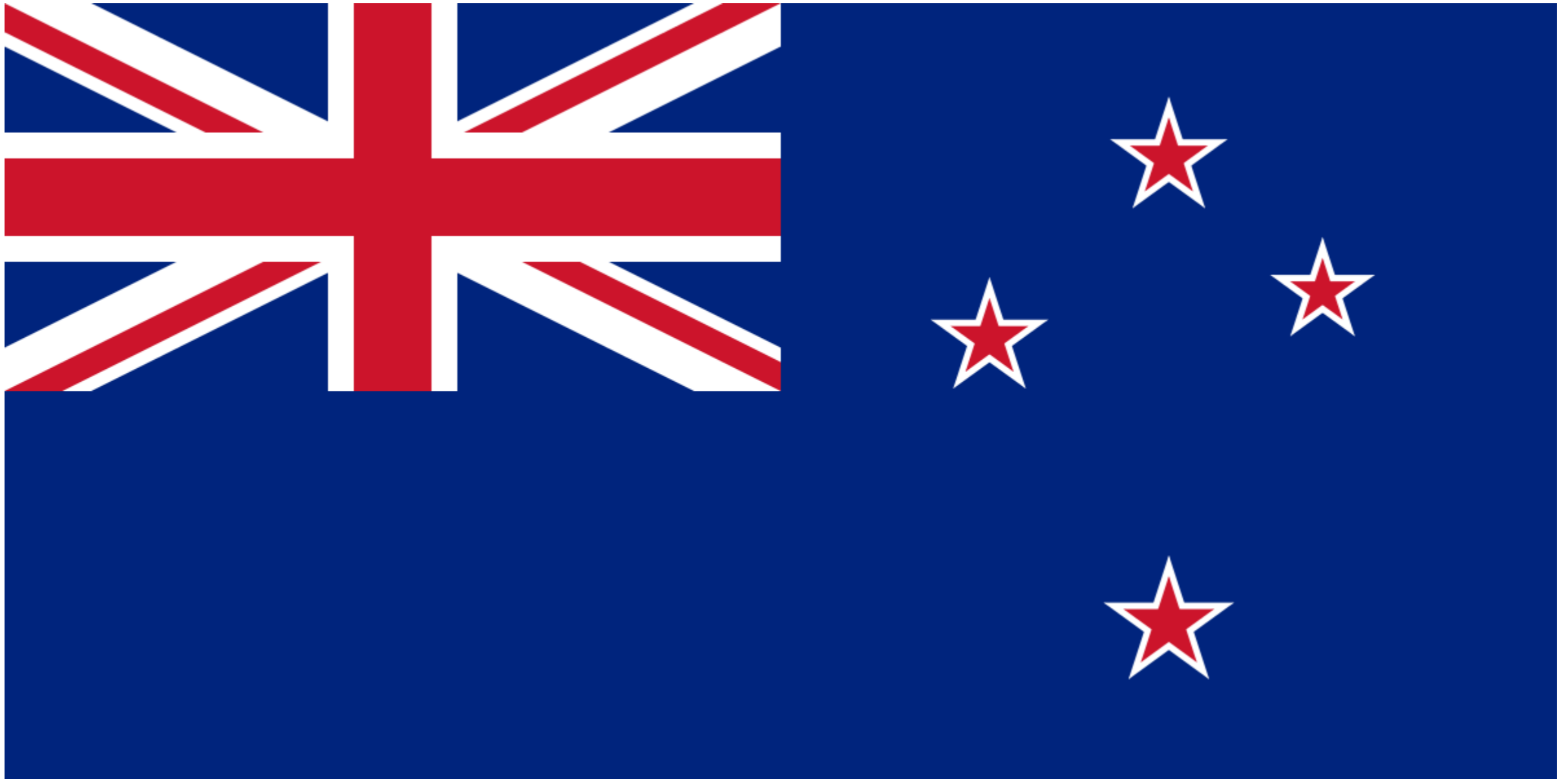
* An informal vote is when the voter has not clearly indicated the option for which they wish to vote.

http://www.electionresults.govt.nz/electionresults_2011/referendum.html

Nobody Does Referenda
Like New Zealand!

There were a series of referenda (ranked choice followed by a top-two runoff) to change the flag in 2014-2015...

The Original

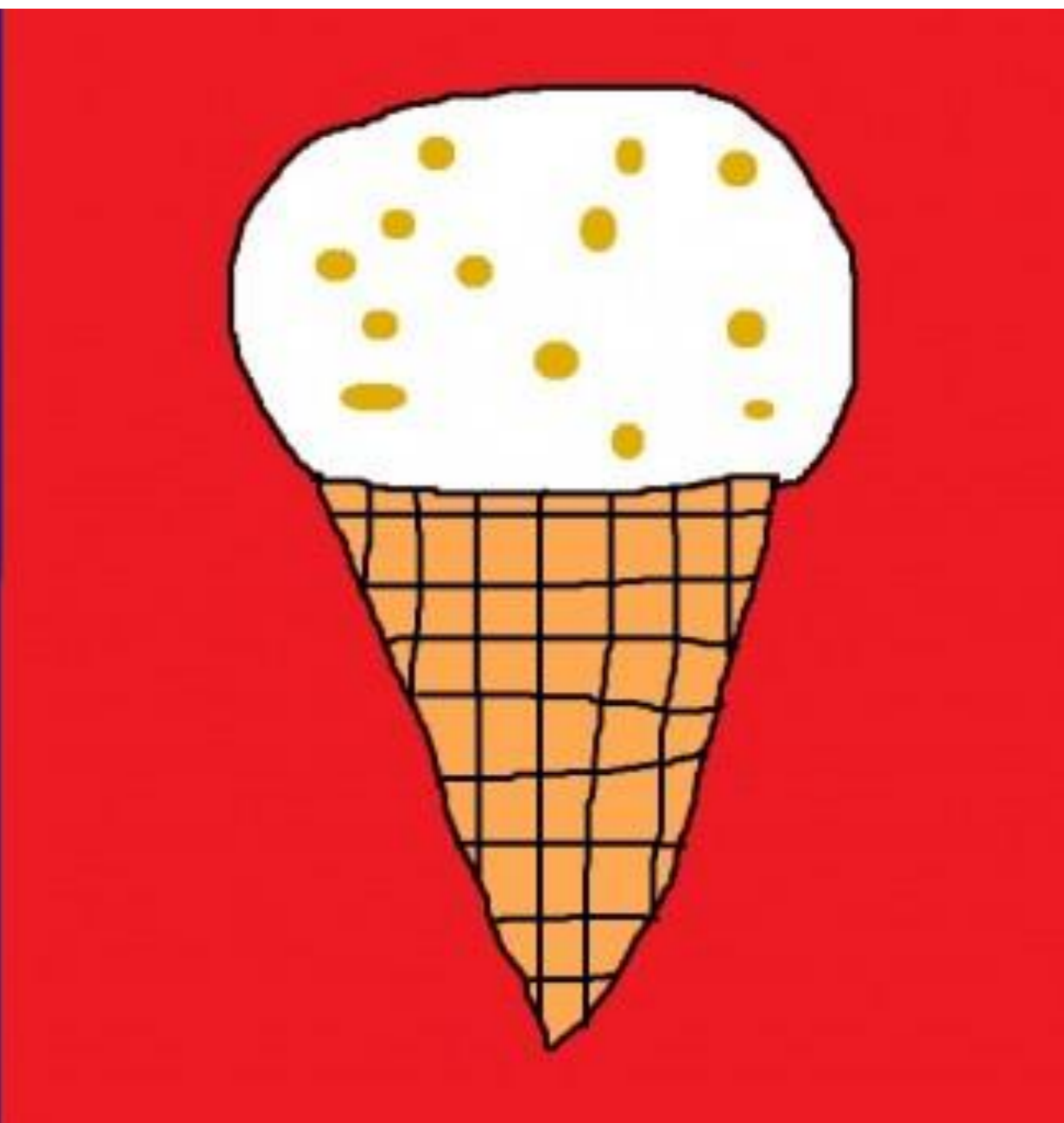
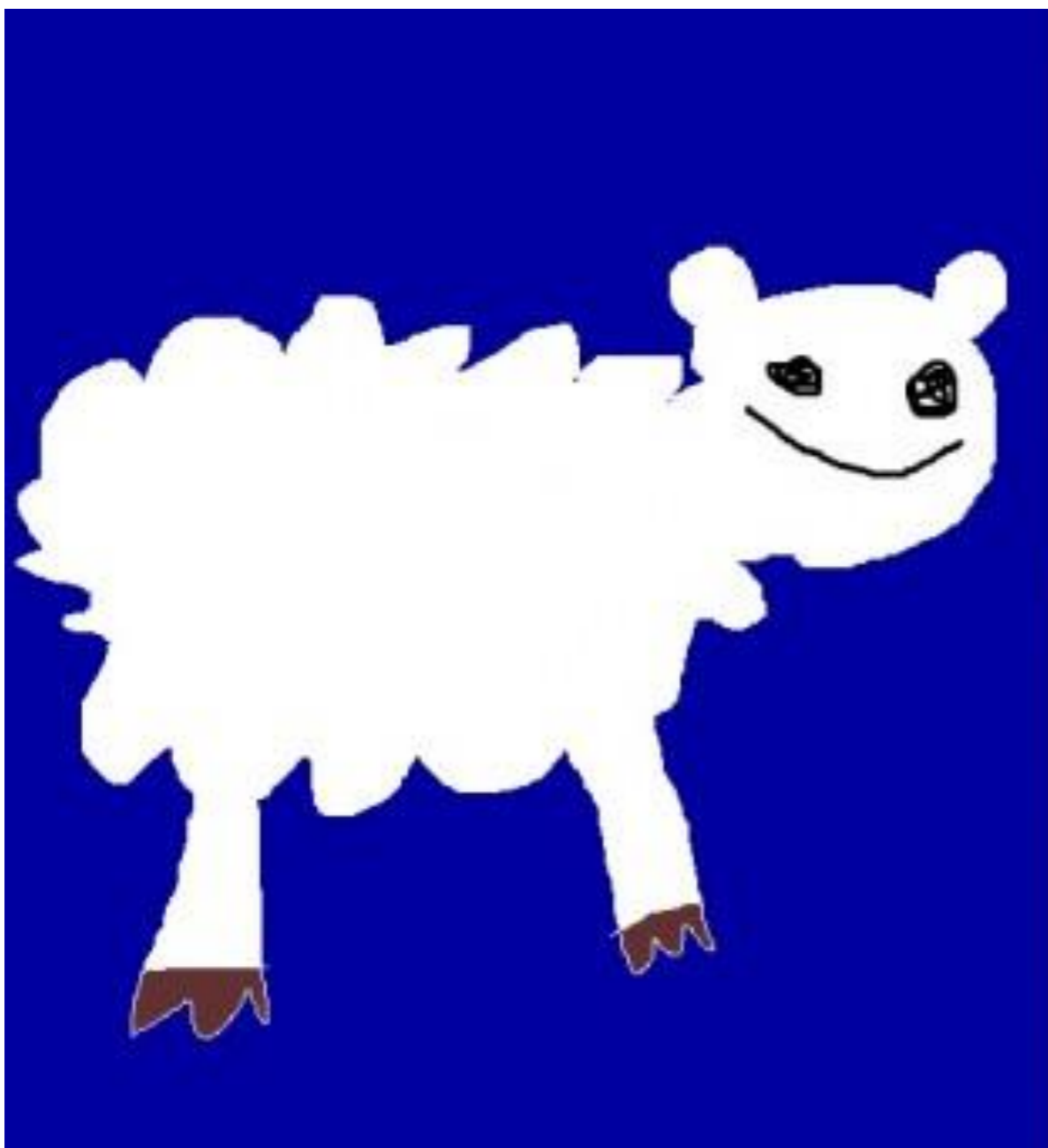


Where to get submissions? It is the 21st century after all...

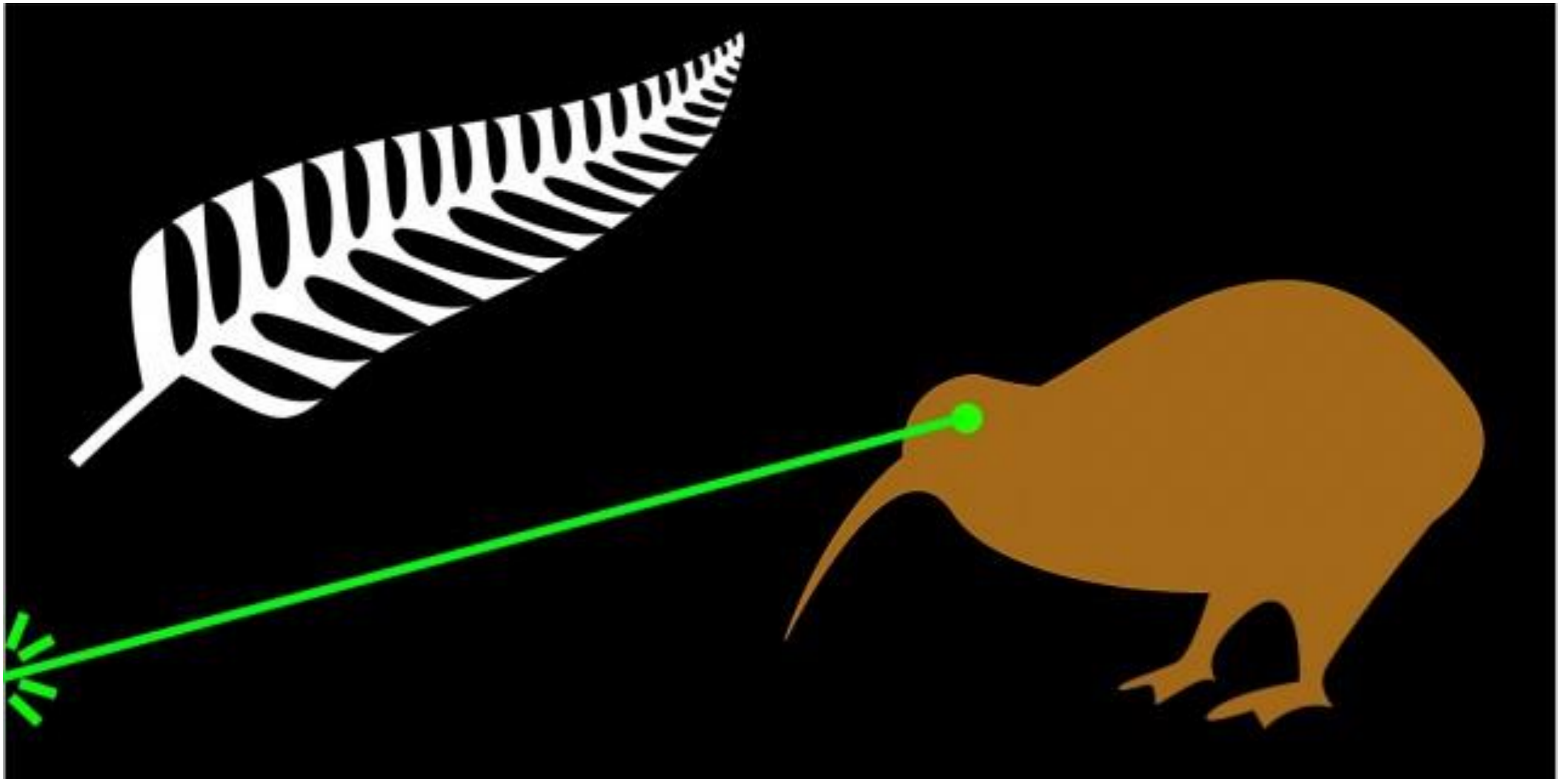
The internet! What could
go wrong?


















The Serious Challenger



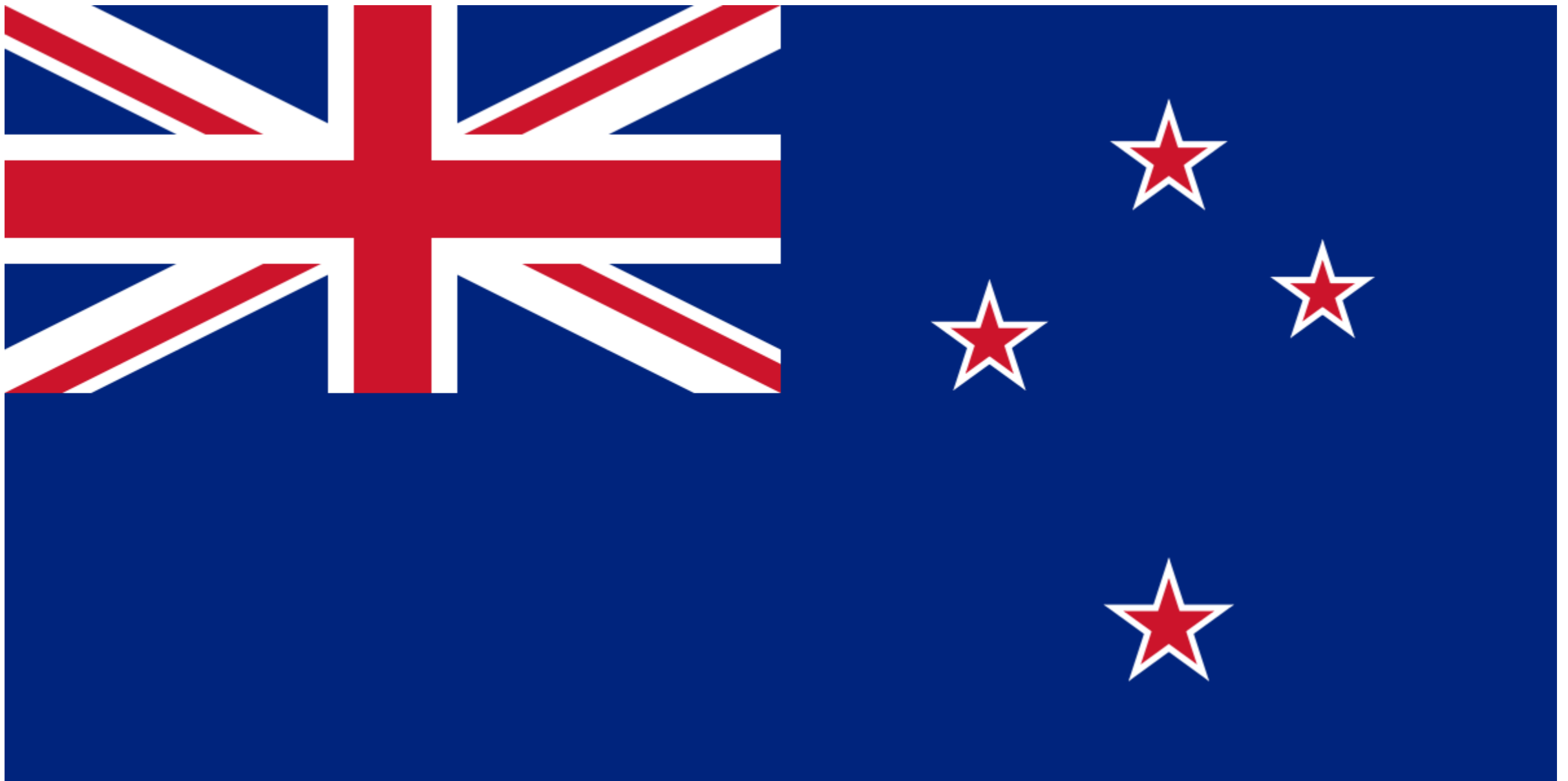
First New Zealand flag referendum, November–December 2015 (final results)^[82]

Option	First preference		Second iteration		Third iteration		Last iteration	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
 Option A	559,587	40.15	564,660	40.85	613,159	44.77	670,790	50.58
 Option E	580,241	41.64	584,442	42.28	607,070	44.33	655,466	49.42
 Option B	122,152	8.77	134,561	9.73	149,321	10.90	N/A	
 Option D	78,925	5.66	98,595	7.13	N/A			
 Option C	52,710	3.78	N/A					
Total	1,393,615	100.00	1,382,258	100.00	1,369,550	100.00	1,326,256	100.00
Non-transferable votes			11,357	0.73	24,065	1.56	67,359	4.35
Informal votes							149,747	9.68
Invalid votes							3,372	0.22
Total votes cast							1,546,734	100.00
turnout							48.78	

Second New Zealand flag referendum, March 2016^[1]

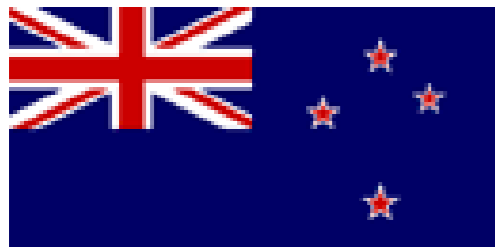
Option	Votes	
	Num.	%
 Option 1 (alternative flag)	921,876	43.27
 Option 2 (existing flag)	1,208,702	56.73
Total	2,130,578	100.00
Informal votes	5,044	0.21
Invalid votes	5,273	0.23
Total votes cast	2,140,895	100.00
turnout	67.78%	

After all that... they kept this

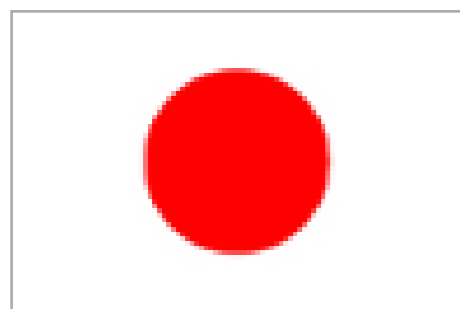


Japan and New Zealand

2014 Elections in New Zealand and Japan



Party	Party Votes	%	List Seats	Electorate Votes	%	Electorate Seats	Total Seats	% seats
National Party	1,131,501	47.0	19	1,081,787	46.1	41	60	49.5
Labour Party	604,534	25.1	5	801,285	34.1	27	32	26.4
Green Party	257,356	10.7	14	165,718	7.1	0	14	11.6
New Zealand First Party	208,300	8.7	11	73,384	3.1	0	11	9.1
Māori Party	31,850	1.3	1	42,094	1.8	1	2	1.7
ACT New Zealand	16,689	0.7	0	27,778	1.2	1	1	0.8
United Future	5,286	0.2	0	14,722	0.6	1	1	0.8
Conservative	95,598	4.0	0	81,075	3.5	0	0	
Internet MANA	34,095	1.4	0	37,183	1.6	0	0	
Others	20,411	0.8	0	22,564	1.0	0	0	



Party	Votes	%	District Seats	Votes	%	List Seats	Total Seats	% seats
Liberal Democratic Party	25,461,449	48.1	222	17,658,916	33.1	68	290	61.1
Democratic Party of Japan	11,916,849	22.5	38	9,775,991	18.3	35	73	15.4
Japan Innovation Party	4,319,646	8.2	11	8,382,699	15.7	30	41	8.6
New Komeito	765,390	1.4	9	7,314,236	13.7	26	35	7.4
Japanese Communist Party	7,040,170	13.3	1	6,062,962	11.4	20	21	4.4
Party for Future Generations	947,396	1.8	2	1,414,919	2.7	0	2	0.4
Social Democratic Party	419,347	0.8	1	1,314,441	2.5	1	2	0.4
People's Life Party	514,575	1.0	2	1,028,721	1.9	0	2	0.4
Independents	1,511,242	2.9	9	-	-	-	9	1.9
Others	43,726	0.1	0	381,562	0.7	0	0	

Note: LDP and CGP (Komeito) are in pre-election coalition

Japan and New Zealand

- How did the MMM vs MMP distinction play out in practice?
- Did reform work?
 - Japan: maybe
 - New Zealand: yes!

Italian Reform

- Two major reforms
 - These reforms are confusing!
- OLPR -> MMM (1996)
 - The new MMM had a bizarre compensation mechanism... but not MMP!
- MMM -> Bonus-adjusted PR (2005)
 - Parties for pre-electoral coalition
 - Plurality winner gets at least 55% of seats

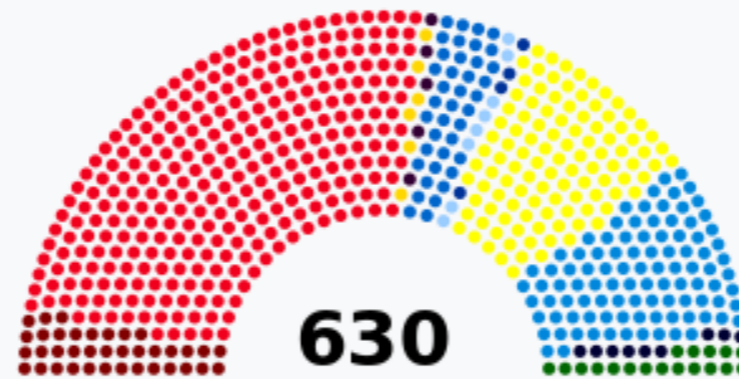
Italian Reform

- Why so complicated?
- OLPR -> MMM (1996)
 - OLPR was a fragmented system
 - Corruption was rampant
 - BUT: new system is even more fragmented
- MMM -> Bonus-adjusted PR (2005)
 - Blatant power grab by Berlusconi
 - It backfired
 - AND: coalitions can win seat majorities with low national vote share

Miscalculation: Berlusconi loses!

2006 Results

Coalition	Party	% Vote	Seats	Votes count to coalition total (national)?
UNION		48.3 that count (49.8 overall)	349 (55.4%)	
	Olive Tree	31.3	220 (34.9%)	
	Communist Refoundation	5.8	41	
	Socialists-Radicals	2.6	18	
	Italian Communists	2.3	16	
	Italy of Values-Di Pietro	2.3	16	
	Greens	2.1	15 (2.4%)	
	Udeur-Christian Democrats	1.4	10	YES: Largest under 2%
	Südtiroler Volkspartei	0.5	4	YES: 65% in one region
	Liberté Democratie Autonomie	0.1	1	NO
	Others	1.5	0	NO
	Italians Abroad		8	NO: Foreign
FREEDOM		48.1 that count (49.7 overall)	281 (44.6%)	
	Let's Go Italy (<i>Forza Italia</i>)	23.7	137 (21.7%)	
	National Alliance	12.3	71	
	Democratic Christians	6.8	39	
	Northern League	4.6	26 (4.1%)	
	Christian Dem's-New Socialists	0.7	4	Yes: Largest under 2%
	Others	1.6	0	NO
	Italians Abroad		4	NO



Coalition	Party	Votes	%	Seats
Italy. Common Good	Democratic Party (PD)	8,934,009	25.48%	297
	Left Ecology Freedom (SEL)	1,106,665	3.16%	37
	Democratic Centre (CD)	167,170	0.48%	6
	South Tyrolean People's Party (SVP)	35061072	0.42%	5
	Total seats			
Centre-right coalition	The People of Freedom (PdL)	7,477,885	21.33%	98
	Lega Nord (LN)	1,392,918	3.97%	18
	Brothers of Italy (Fdl)	669,816	1.91%	9
	Total seats			
Five Star Movement (M5S)		8,799,982	25.10%	109
With Monti for Italy	Civic Choice (SC)	2,824,001	8.05%	37 ^[a]
	Union of the Centre (UdC)	609,676	1.74%	8
	With Monti for Italy (for abroad)	181,041	0.52%	2
	Total seats			
Associative Movement Italians Abroad (MAIE)		140,868	0.40%	2
South American Union Italian Emigrants (USEI)		43,918	0.13%	1
Aosta Valley coalition (UV–SA–FA)		18,376	0.05%	1
Other parties		2,547,943	7.27%	0
Invalid/blank/unassigned votes		1,391,012	3.82%	–
Total		36,452,084	100.00%	630
Registered voters/turnout		50,500,118	72.18%	–
Source: Ministry of the Interior				

Discussion

- Why reform an electoral system?
- Reform is *rare*. These countries are exceptions.
 - Why?
- Thinking over the quarter, what are the trade-offs in different systems?
 - How might YOU advise a country considering electoral reform?