

Protecting Electoral Integrity in Emerging Democracies



James D. Long
Department of Political Science



I. The Problem

Elections are Easily Hacked in Developing Countries

PK318829 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS AT THE POLLING STATION

Name of Polling Station: NGENDAEL PRIMARY SCHOOL POLLING STATION 1 of 1 Code: 053 - 1 of 1
 Ward: KIPKELION Code: 0942
 Constituency: KIPKELION WEST Code: 199
 County: KERICHO Code: 035

Number of votes cast in favour of each candidate:

Name of Candidate	No. of Valid Votes Obtained
1. AUKOT JOHN EKURU LONGOGGY	000
2. DIDA MOHAMED ABDUBA	000
3. JIRONGO SHAKHALAGA KHWA	000
4. KALUYU JAPHETH KAVINGA	000
5. KENYATTA UHURU	429
6. MYAURA MICHAEL WAINAINA	000
7. NYAGAH JOSEPH WILLIAM NTHIGA	001
8. ODINGA RAILA	015
9.	
10.	
11.	
Total number of valid votes cast	445

Polling Station Counts

1. Total Number of Registered Voters in the Polling Station:	568
2. Total Number of Rejected Ballot Papers:	002
3. Total Number of Rejection Objected To Ballot Papers:	000
4. Total Number of Disputed Votes:	000
5. Total Number of Valid Votes Cast:	445

Decision(s) on disputed votes if any

Serial Number of Ballot Paper(s) with disputed vote	Name of Candidate assigned the vote
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

Declaration
 We, the undersigned, being present when the results of the count were announced, do hereby declare that the results shown above are true and accurate count of the ballots in NGENDAEL PRSCH Polling Station KIPKELION WEST Constituency.

Presiding Officer: HENRY K SIELE Signature: [Signature] Date: 08/08/17
 Deputy Presiding Officer: CHEROTICH COMOLATA Signature: [Signature] Date: 08/08/17

Agents or Candidates (if present)

No.	Name of Candidate or Agent	ID/Passport No.	Party Name/Independent Candidate	Tel. Contact	Signature	Date
1.	AMOS SOI	32527417	KANU	072500195	[Signature]	08/08/17
2.	NOROTH CHERCHICHER	3454288	INDEPENDENT	072300553	[Signature]	08/08/17
3.	KIPKELION PETER	23459844	JUBILEE	072005057	[Signature]	08/08/17
4.	ROBERT K KIROI	25233888	PDR	072416842	[Signature]	08/08/17
5.	JOSEPH KIROI	20101320	INDEPENDENT	076235179	[Signature]	08/08/17
6.	JACKLINE CHERCHICHER	23434081	CCM	072469677	[Signature]	08/08/17
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						

Reasons for Refusal to Sign (if any):

Presiding Officer's Comments:



Elections are Easily Hacked in Developing Countries

The New York Times

Cambridge Analytica Had a Role in Kenya Election, Too



II. Research Questions

- I. why does election hacking persist in emerging democracies? (because it works)**
- II. what can be done to stop it? (today's talk)**

How to stop it? “Photo Quick Count”

Afghanistan:

-Callen & Long, “Institutional Corruption and Election Fraud: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan” *American Economic Review*, 2015

Kenya:

-Gibson, Jung & Long, “Competitive Election Rigging,” Working Paper

Uganda:

Callen, Gibson, Jung & Long, “Improving Electoral Integrity with Information and Communications Technology,” *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2016



How to stop it even more: a role for citizens?

But not easy....



*“Photo Quick Count”
& “VIP:Voice”*

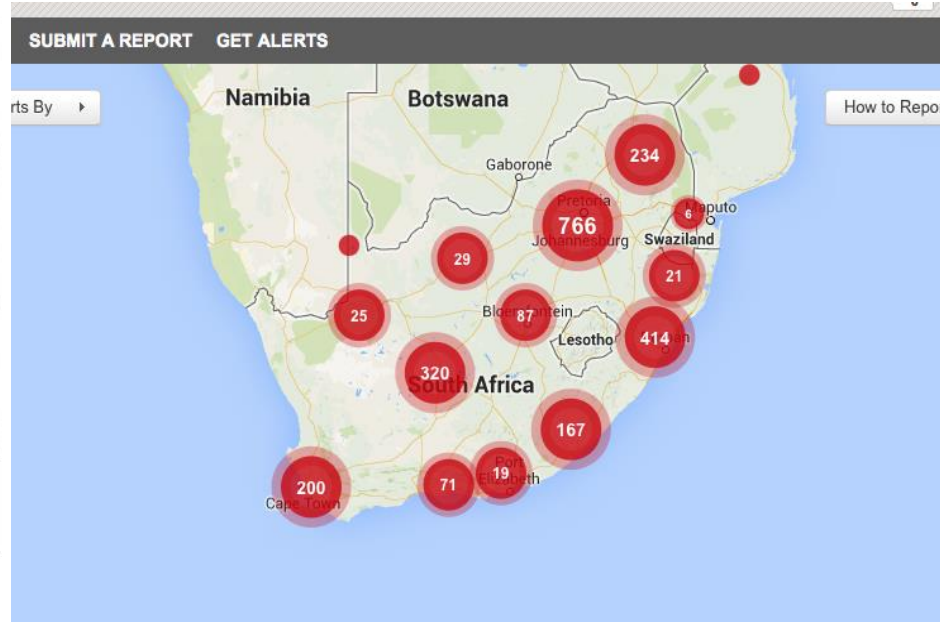
III. Project Design

Photo Quick Count + VIP:Voice

Design VIP:Voice



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WHAT:

VIP:VOICE is South Africa's largest citizen-based election platform. It allows us, the youth, to engage with election-related info through the day we put our all-important X on the ballot paper. VIP:VOICE is a multi-channel engagement portal. This means VIP:VOICE has created a number of applications on social networks for us to engage in, voice our opinions, monitor election activity and view all kinds of info regarding our 2014 elections.

WHY:

VIP:VOICE enables citizens like us to play a vital role in the electoral process and helps make politicians accountable to us, their voters.

HOW:

You can join the VIP:VOICE community as a follower, or on a more active level as a citizen reporter so that you can report on anything election-based, at any time, in a variety of ways.

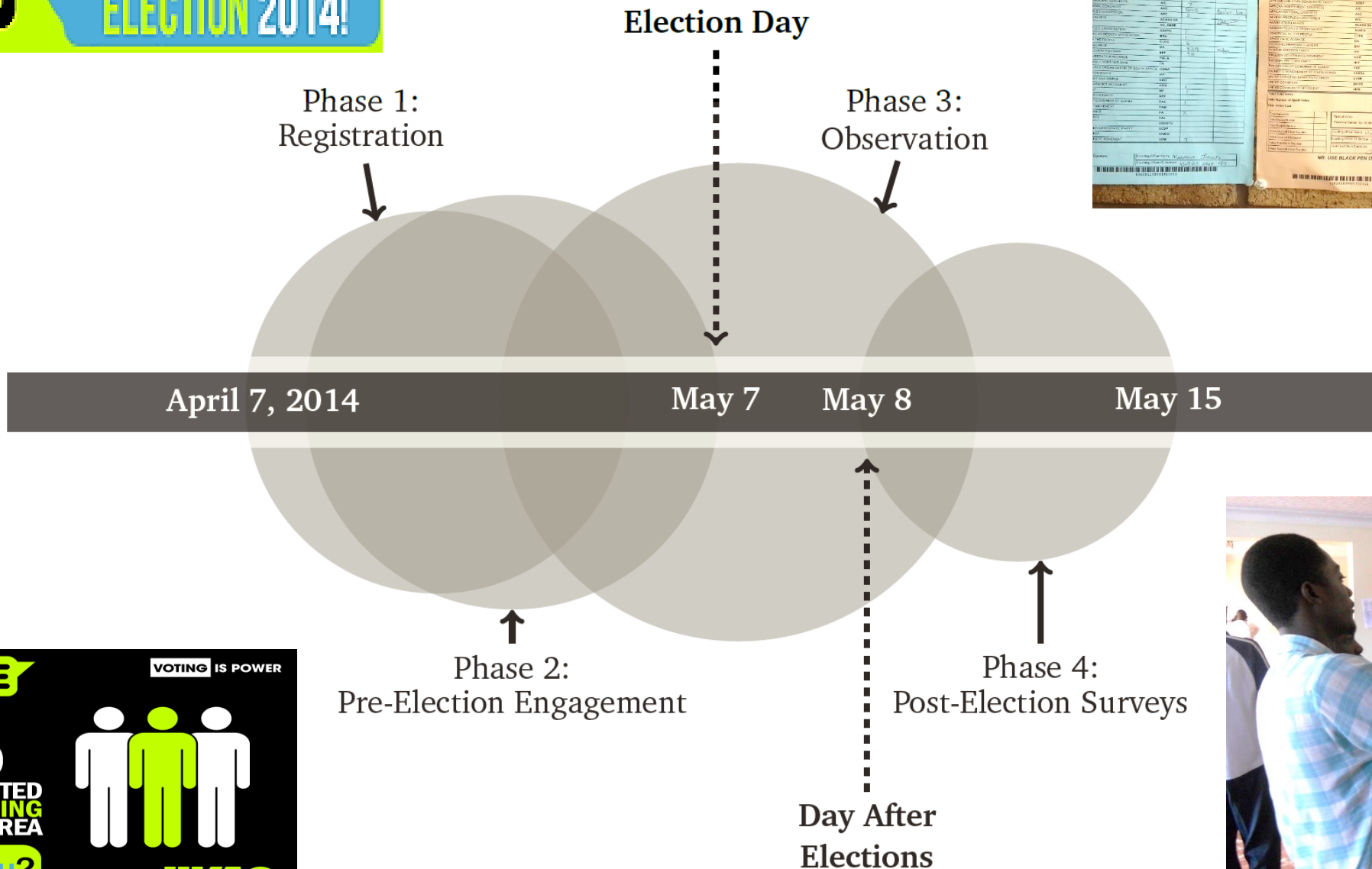
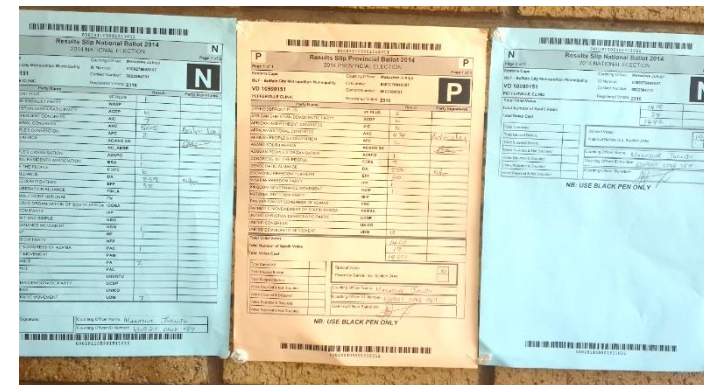
VIP:VOICE IS A SNAPSHOT OF WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE ELECTION FROM THE GROUND UP. YOU DECIDE HOW YOU WANT TO ENGAGE AND ON WHICH PLATFORM!

- USSD:** DIAL [120*7692*1#](tel:120*7692*1#)
- MXIT:** ADD [VIPVOICE2014](https://www.vipvoice2014.com) AS A CONTACT TO GET STARTED
- TWITTER:** FOLLOW [@VIP-VOICE2014](https://twitter.com/VIP-VOICE2014) AND DM US TO BEGIN! [#VIP-VOICE2014](https://twitter.com/VIP-VOICE2014)
- G CHAT:** SEND A CHAT TO VIPVOICE2014@GMAIL.COM TO GET STARTED.
- MOBI:** INTERACT ON THE MOBI SITE [HTTP://YAL.MOBI/VIP/](http://yal.mobi/vip/)
- VLIVE:** PARTICIPATE ON VLIVE [HTTP://LIVE.VODAFONE.COM/YAL](http://live.vodafone.com/yal)






Design VIP:Voice



ON **VIP VOICE** **VOTING IS POWER**

33% HAVE REPORTED PROTESTS TURNING VIOLENT IN THEIR AREA

Is that true 4 u?

LIVE SA

Design VIP:Voice

ALLAFRICA LATEST Steve Bannon out at the White House, source says

HOME GENERAL NEWS POLITICS SPORTS ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT LIFESTYLE

Home / Politics / Breaking News: South African Jacob Zuma steps down

Breaking News: South African Jacob Zuma steps down

By The Editor

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FAKE

ambition exported to South African townships

A project to get more disadvantaged youngsters in the UK universities is being applied to schools in...



8:12 PM 93%

yal.mobi

VOICE My Profile

Answer and Win!!
Answer 4 questions and earn your chance to win RX airtime.

VIP Quiz!!
Make your VIP:Voice heard! 12 quick questions.

VIP Articles

YOUNG AFRICA LIVE Welcome to VIP:Voice
Published 1/4/2014
80 Comments // 11 Likes

[See All Articles >](#)

Report Election Activity
Be a VIP:Voice reporter. Report what's happening in your hood!

View the Results
View VIP: Voice results across SA.

What's Up?
Voice your opinion about SA politics! 10 short questions.

Back to Top

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IV. Results

Results VIP:Voice

	USSD Experiment	USSD Other	MXIT	Mobi	Twitter/ Gtalk	Advertising/ Other	Total
Phase 1 Recruitment.							
Total # Solicited via PCM	49.8m
Total # Registered	40,165	4,277	40,416	4847	101	840	90,646
<i>Registered as % of PCMs</i>	0.08%						
Phase 2 Participation Waterfall.							
Any Initiation	126,647	12,999	114,358	4,923	317	3,735	262,979
Any answer to Engagement Question	65,381	6,816	55,352	4,882	131	1,485	134,047
Registration (T&C) Initiated	52,048	5,426	50,862	4,867	119	1,136	114,458
Registration Completed	40,165	4,277	40,416	4,847	101	840	90,646
Registration & Demographics Completed	11,338	1,143	20,078	2,019	66	74	34,718
Reg, Demo, and Any Other Phase 2	3,859	367	10,215	995	23	2	15,461
<i>Registered + Demography as % of Initiated:</i>	8.952%	8.793%	17.56%	41.01%	20.820%	1.98%	13.20%
<i>Registered + Demography as % of PCMs:</i>	0.02%						

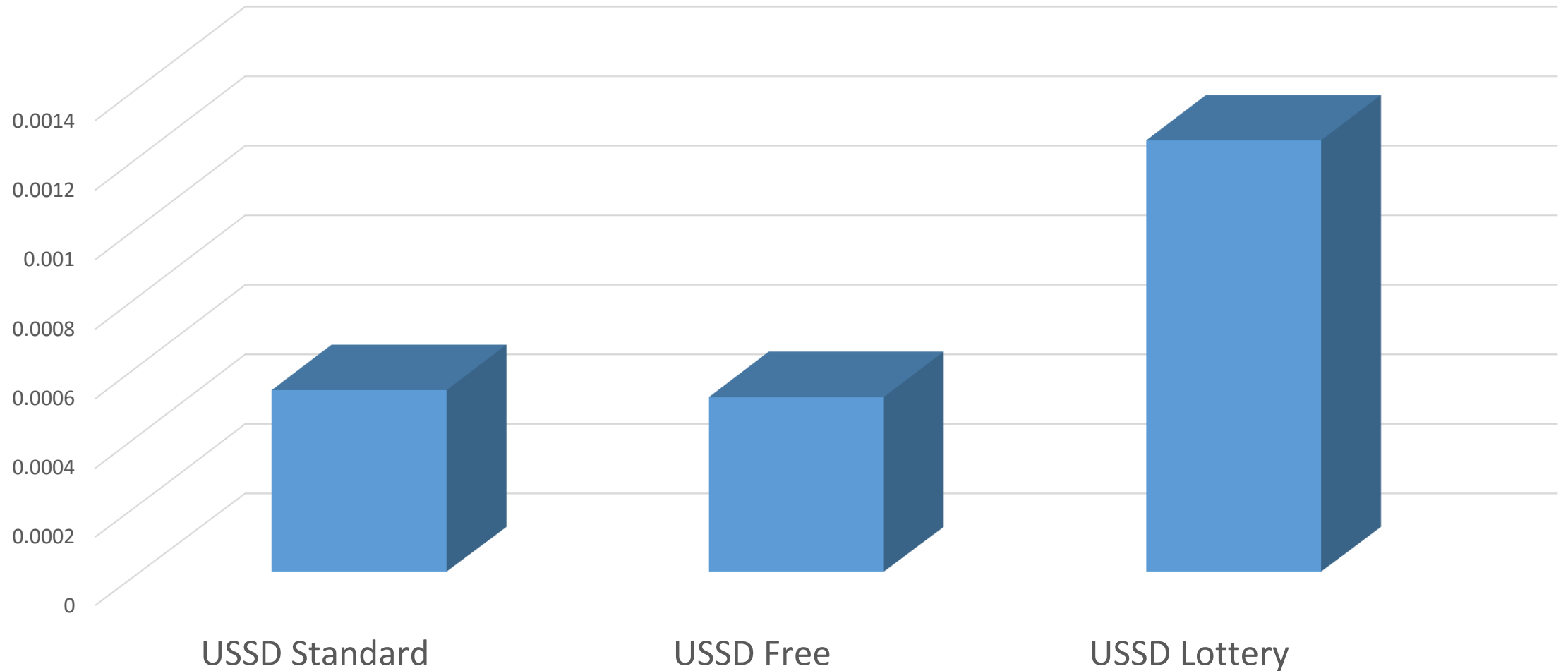
Results VIP:Voice

Phase 2 Participation Waterfall.

Any Initiation	262,979
Any answer to Engagement Question	134,047
Registration (T&C) Initiated	114,458
Registration Completed	90,646
Registration & Demographics Completed	34,718
Reg, Demo, and Any Other Phase 2	15,461

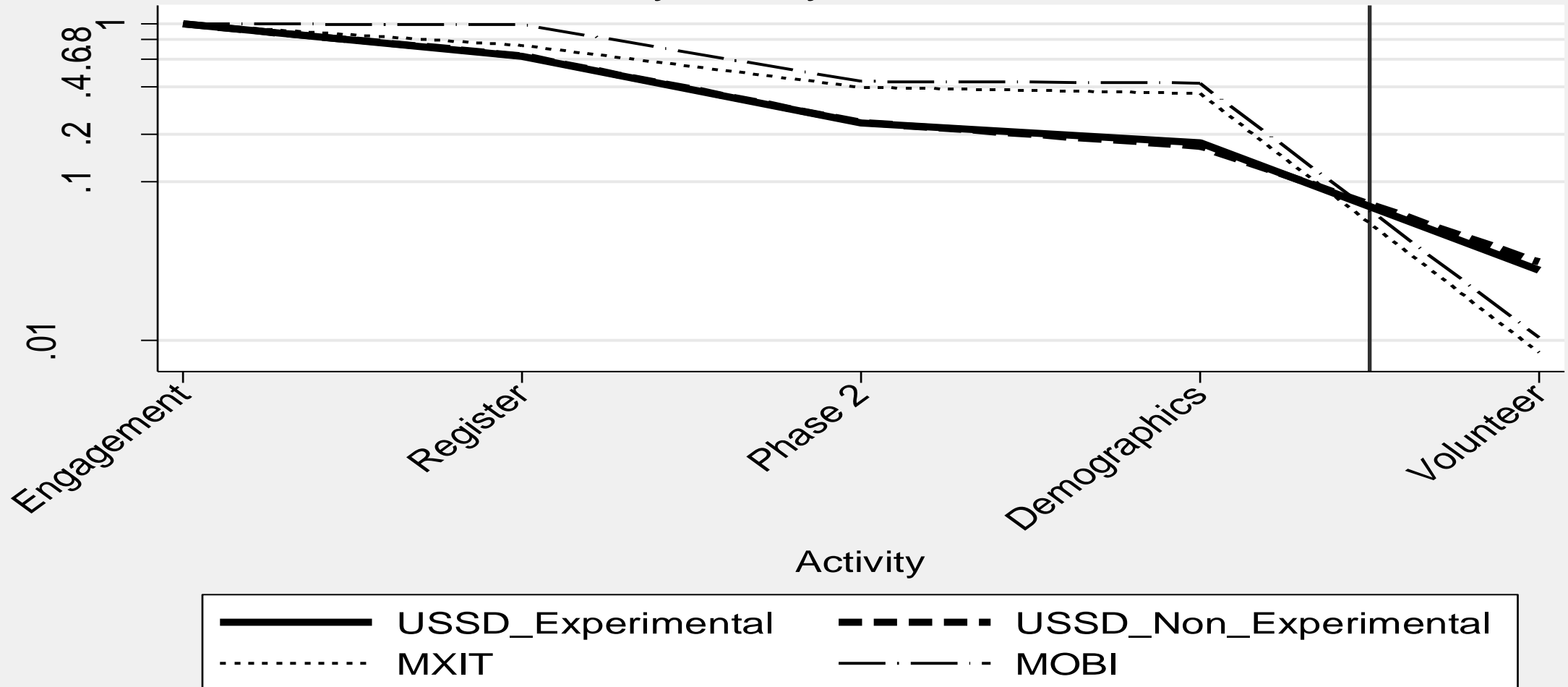
Results VIP:Voice

Uptake rates by USSD Treatment Arm
(as a fraction of PCMs sent)

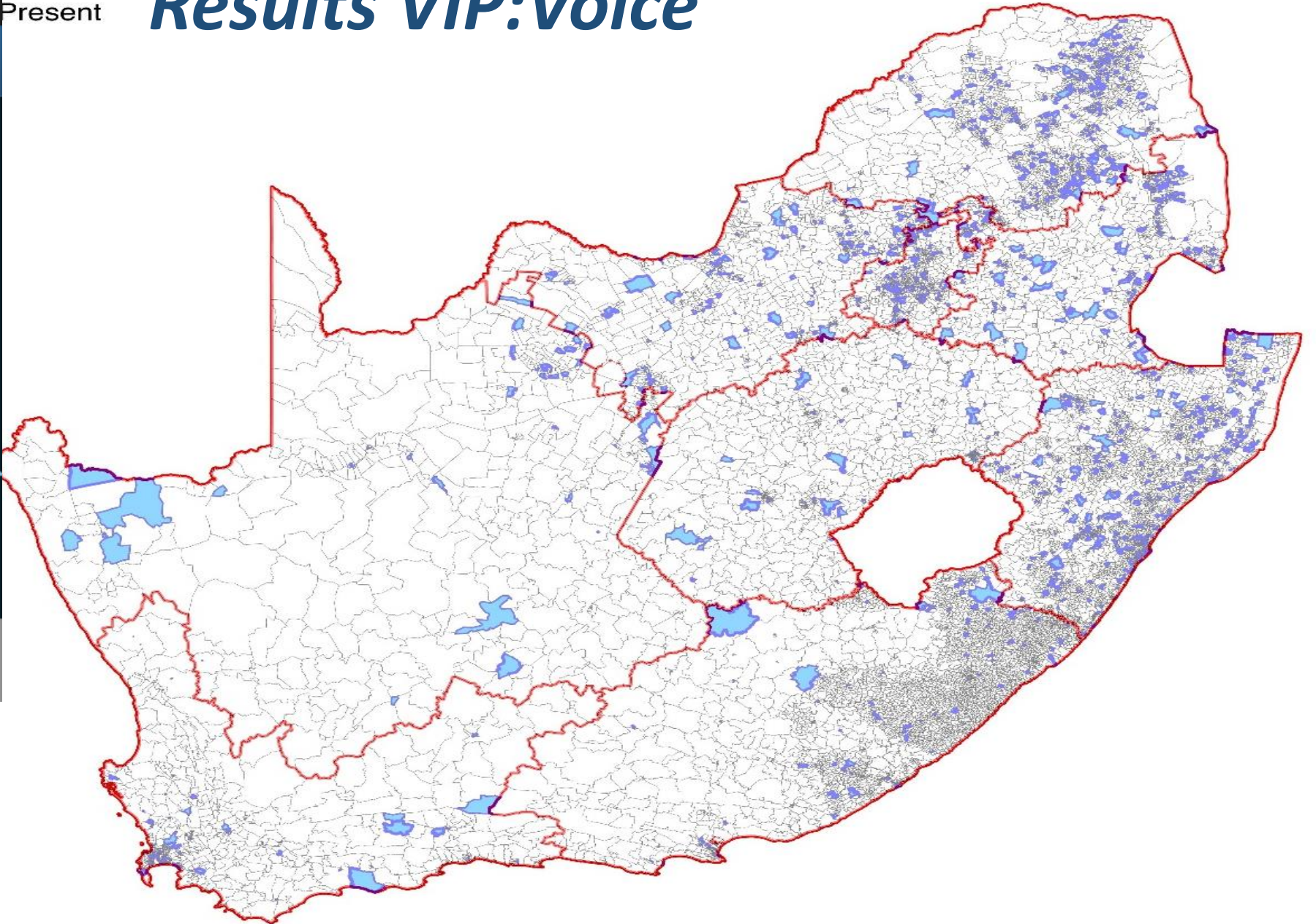
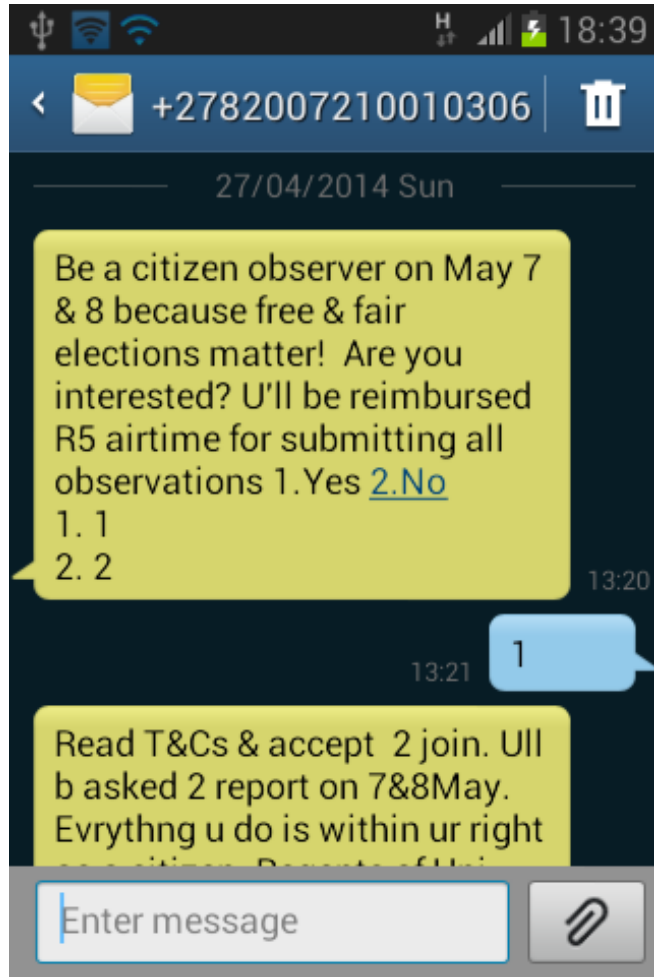


Results VIP:Voice

Fraction of Initial Participants Engaging By Activity and Channel



Results VIP:Voice



Results VIP:Voice

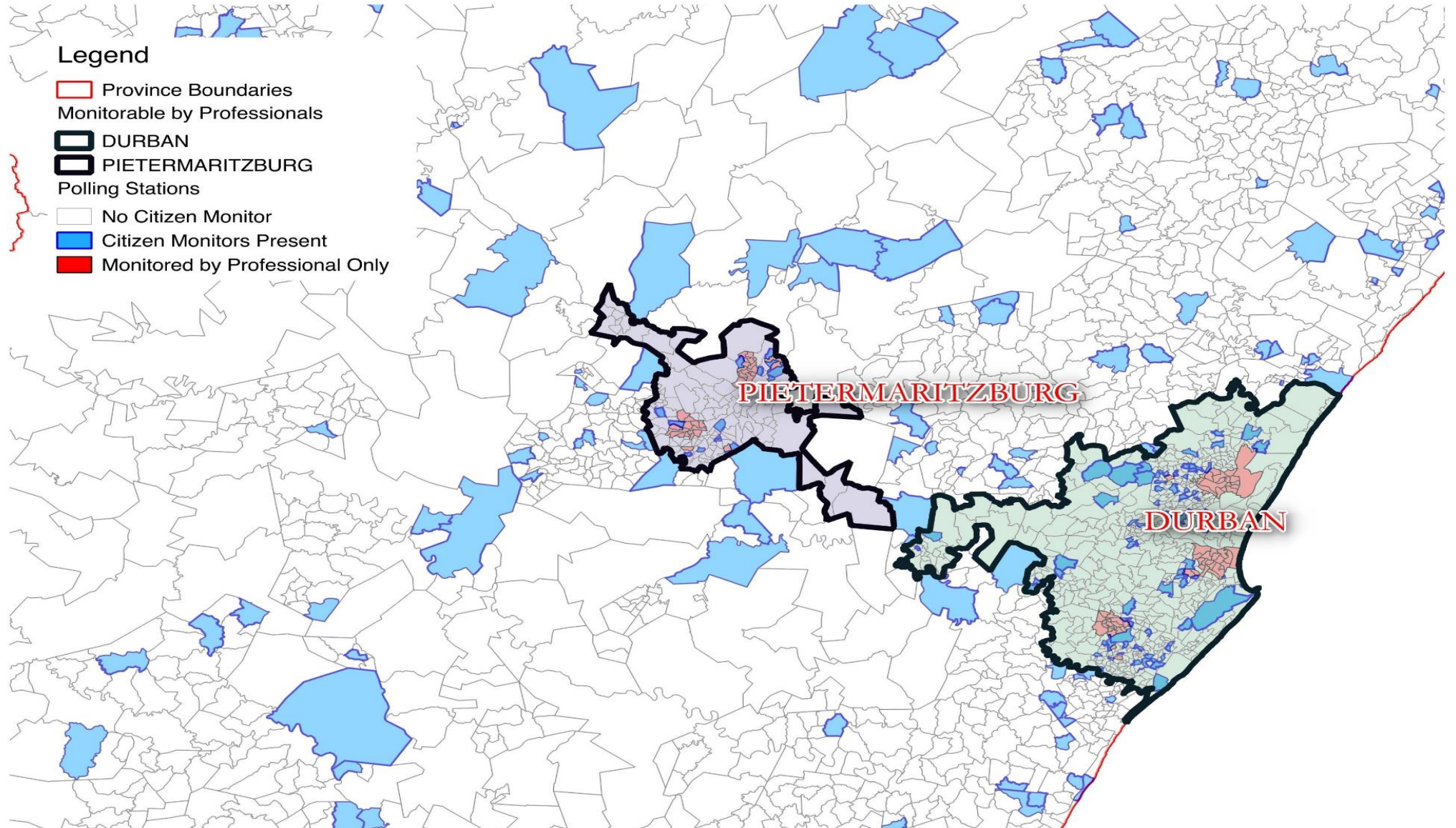
Phase 3 Monitoring Invitations.

Invited to Volunteer as Monitor	41,863
Agreed & Provided All Relevant Information	2,498
<i>Potential Monitors as % of Invited:</i>	5.97%

Phase 3 Actual Monitoring.

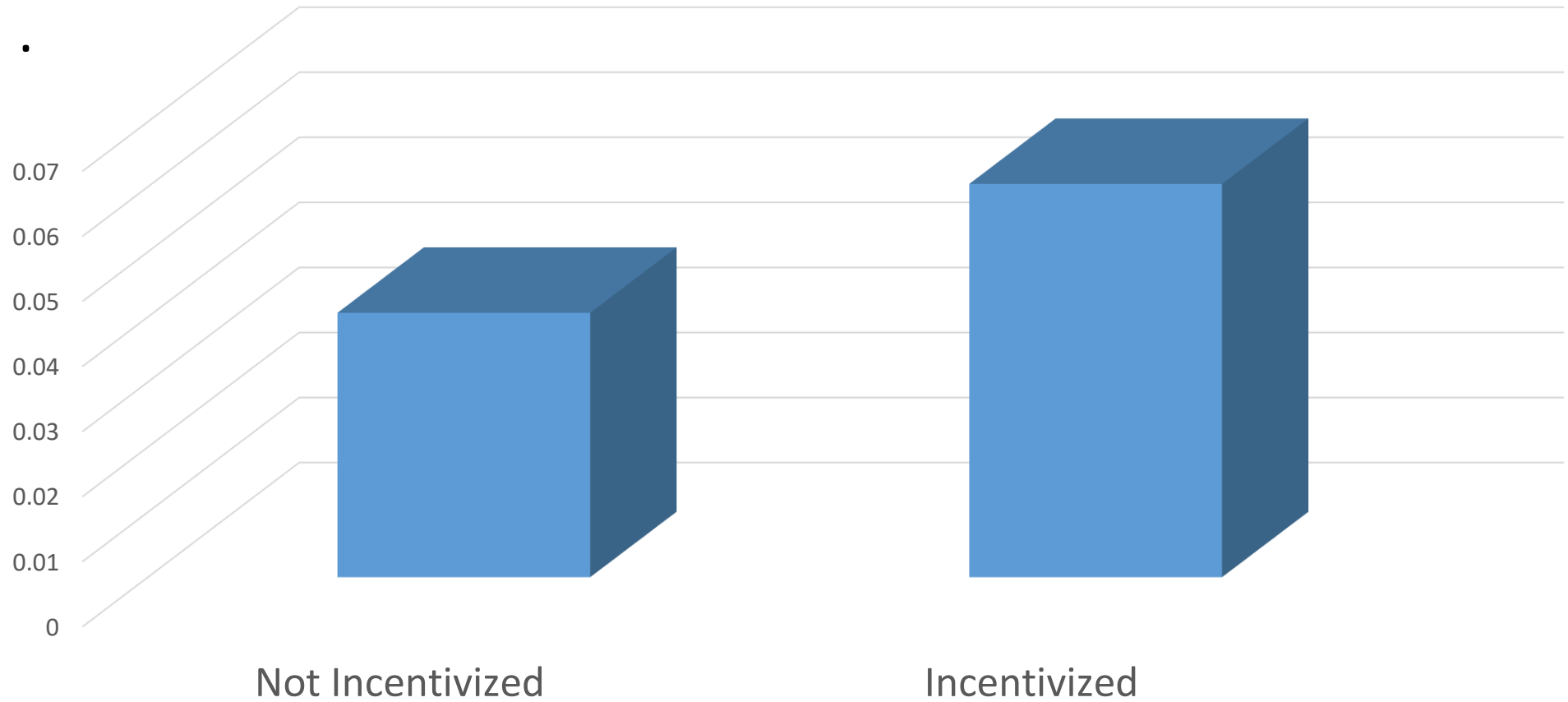
Asked to Monitor	1,863
Conducted Any Monitoring	332
<i>Monitors as % of Actually Asked:</i>	17.82%

Results VIP:Voice



Results: VIP:Voice

Volunteering to Serve as Citizen Observer
(by incentivization status)



Results VIP:Voice & Photo Quick Count

Results Slip National Ballot 2014 2014 NATIONAL ELECTION			Results Slip Provincial Ballot 2014 2014 PROVINCIAL ELECTION			Results Slip National Ballot 2014 2014 NATIONAL ELECTION		
Page 1 of 2			Page 1 of 2			Page 2 of 2		
<p>N</p> <p>Counting Officer: [Name]</p> <p>Counting Station: [Address]</p> <p>Counting Station Number: [Number]</p>			<p>P</p> <p>Counting Officer: [Name]</p> <p>Counting Station: [Address]</p> <p>Counting Station Number: [Number]</p>			<p>N</p> <p>Counting Officer: [Name]</p> <p>Counting Station: [Address]</p> <p>Counting Station Number: [Number]</p>		
<p>Party Name</p> <p>VF PLUS</p> <p>ANC</p> <p>EFF</p> <p>COPE</p> <p>DA</p> <p>IFP</p> <p>SWP</p> <p>NSP</p> <p>... (many others)</p>			<p>Party Name</p> <p>ANC</p> <p>DA</p> <p>EFF</p> <p>COPE</p> <p>IFP</p> <p>... (many others)</p>			<p>Party Name</p> <p>ANC</p> <p>DA</p> <p>EFF</p> <p>COPE</p> <p>IFP</p> <p>... (many others)</p>		
<p>Total Number of People/Votes: [Number]</p> <p>Total Votes Cast: [Number]</p>			<p>Total Number of People/Votes: [Number]</p> <p>Total Votes Cast: [Number]</p>			<p>Total Number of People/Votes: [Number]</p> <p>Total Votes Cast: [Number]</p>		



V. Conclusion

Conclusions

- We show multiple ways in which ICT *shapes the crowd* and how it can *improve electoral integrity*:
 - by lowering costs, new information and communications technology (ICT) draws new participants into politics – but many participate regardless,
 - yet lower costs helps encourage more participation but also shift the composition of participants in politically important ways,
 - the crowd has attrition over actions from digital to real-world participation,
 - but ICT-enabled citizen monitoring also worked effectively to provide low-cost cost-effective independent checks on the integrity of the electoral process that also guard against electronic hacking via photo quick count

Thank You!



