Protecting Electoral Integrity in Emerging Democracies

James D. Long
Department of Political Science
I. The Problem
Elections are Easily Hacked in Developing Countries
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:**

**Kenya:**

**Uganda:**
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

VIP:VOICE is South Africa’s largest citizen-based election platform. It allows 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.

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

WHY:
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.

HOW:

**USE:**
Dial 1320*7662*85

**MMS:**
Add a photograph as a conversation to get started

**TWITTER:**
FOLLOW @VIPVOICE2014 AND DM US TO BEGIN

**EMAIL:**
SEND A EMAIL TO V0ICE@️ELEATIVEmAIL.COM TO GET STARTED

**MOBI:**
INTERACT ON THE MOBILE SITE HTTP://VIPVOICE2014.COM

**VOICE:**
PARTICIPATE ON ZULU HTTP://VOICE.ESATIVEmAIL.COM/V0ICE

**BE A CITIZEN REPORTER!**

VIPVoice2014

The VIPVoice is largest citizen engagement & information portal developed & designed to engage South Africans in the lead up & during the 2014 elections.

|  | 
|---|---|
| South Africa | 1st | 
| 2 | 74 |

**Get involved in your future!**

GET INVOLVED FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTION

**JOIN VIP:VOICE FOR**

VOTING IS POWER

Don’t miss any updates from VIPVoice2014

[Sign-up for Twitter]
Design VIP: Voice

- **Phase 1:** Registration
- **Phase 2:** Pre-Election Engagement
- **Phase 3:** Observation
- **Phase 4:** Post-Election Surveys

**Election Day**

- **April 7, 2014**
- **May 7**
- **May 8**
- **May 15**

*33% have reported protests turning violent in their area. Is that true for you?*
Design VIP:Voice

ALLAFRICA
Breaking News: South African Jacob Zuma steps down

FAKE

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

VIP Articles
Welcome to VIP:Voice
Published 1/4/2014
80 Comments // 11 Likes

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.

yal.mobi
IV. Results
# Results VIP:Voice

## Phase 1 Recruitment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>USSD Experiment</th>
<th>USSD Other</th>
<th>MXIT</th>
<th>Mobi</th>
<th>Twitter/Gtalk</th>
<th>Advertising/Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total # Solicited via PCM</td>
<td>49.8m</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # Registered</td>
<td>40,165</td>
<td>4,277</td>
<td>40,416</td>
<td>4,847</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>90,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered as % of PCMs</td>
<td>0.08%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Phase 2 Participation Waterfall.

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

Engagement
Register
Phase 2
Demographics
Volunteer

Activity

- USSD_Experimental
- USSD_Non_Experimental
- MXIT
- MOBI
Results VIP:Voice

Be a citizen observer on May 7 & 8 because free & fair elections matter! Are you interested? U'll be reimbursed R5 airtime for submitting all observations. 1. Yes 2. No

Read T&Cs & accept 2 join. U'll be asked 2 report on 7 & 8 May. Evrythng u do is within ur right to vote. Respect & impunity.
## Results VIP: Voice

### Phase 3 Monitoring Invitations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Invited to Volunteer as Monitor</td>
<td>41,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreed &amp; Provided All Relevant Information</td>
<td>2,498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Potential Monitors as % of Invited:_ 5.97%

### Phase 3 Actual Monitoring.

<table>
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<th>Activity</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asked to Monitor</td>
<td>1,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conducted Any Monitoring</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Monitors as % of Actually Asked:_ 17.82%
Results: VIP:Voice

Volunteering to Serve as Citizen Observer (by incentivization status)
Results VIP: Voice & Photo Quick Count
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!