

LPV & PNG: costs and benefits

Terence Wood, Maho Laveil & Michael Kabuni

Preferential Voting: Popular participation in the elections and representative government

COME ONWARD LET'S GO AHEAD WE NEEDING THE VOTING SYSTEM CHANGED... WE NEEDING SYSTEM ITS FAIR AN REALLY REPRESENT THE MAJORITY PEOPLE... REPRESENT SYSTEM YES!

PUTS! ... LOW RELES BLO WE ARE GATT TO GET PLANTI KENDISSET YAH... HUSAT I KESIA LILIK PENDER'S VOT... ON I WIN... EBANKI SYSTEM NET YAH!

EMNAU YUMI DRAG BAT WANPULA VOT SYSTEM WE WANPULA INO DIMP WEN NAKTING-AT

AMU YUMI MAS KESIA DESELA PREFERENTIAL VOTING SYSTEM... EA WONDER "FIRST PAST THE POST" HORSE RACE SYSTEM ENTAM

YAH! PLANTI KENDISSET I SARAP SARAP SARAP NA BUKUM OL VOT OLSEN LOGDE HAP RESET... NO LES SA... NO LAKE LUKUM VOTING SYSTEM I SENS... NAHUSAT I KESIA BUELA VOT TRU EMBAI KAMAP NEMBA REPRESENTER LAKE BLONG OL POPOL OLSEN WANPULA HOPA RESET... INOT SA!!

EXCUSE PLS LEADERS... TENSES OUT NEEKS GENESEN SA... NA FUTURE BELONG YUMI OL POPOL BELONG PNG

MEY I WANNA SEE THE VERY BEST VOTING SYSTEM FOR OUR KIDS FUTURE. I TEACH KIDS TO BE FAIR, SO PLEASE LEADERS TO IMPROVE AND DECIDE FAIR. THIS PREFERENTIAL VOTING WAY ITS TOO GOOD... ITS FAIR... ITS OUR CHANCE... YES OUR CHANCE... YES!!

P.V. SYSTEM ITS GOOD ALL LEADERS MUST WITH MORE THAN 50% OF THE VOTING PUBLIC... NOW THAT'S RIGHT

LAU OSEA... LAU UBA SENISE BAKARA... INAT P.V. VOTE SYSTEM LA LOHAT AT ERAT FUTURE BE GO LA NAWO ROROKANE... UBUZE KAMONAD?

HELLO, MASTA NP, SIR... PLEASE HEAR THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE... WE'RE LOOKING FOR REAL CHANGE... YES, SIR

WHEN THE P.V. SYSTEM IT COMES IN, SOME GOOD LEADS GOT CHANCE LA... YOU SEE LEADS THEY GOT TRUE HEART FOR THE PEOPLE. AHA

THIS PREFERENTIAL VOT SYSTEM ITS THE MAAT THING TO DO... STABILITY IT GOANA COME BUSINESS CLIMATE ITS GOANA FLOURISH... AND SURELY BANG LUM WE WILL STAY IN PNG. OH YEAH

NA SAPOS VOTING SYSTEM KESIA OVER-OL, BAE MOPELA OL TARIKANG LAZIN I HAMARAS TULLONG VOT... YU LUKER NAPELA BELESSE I KAMAP TATAM MOPELA I BAT SANS LONG VOTEM BUELA CHANDISITE

The Proposed legislation to change the voting system from the current First Past the Post to the Preferential Voting system was tabled in Parliament in August 2001 and on August 21st the First Vote was successfully passed.

80 Members of Parliament voted in support of the proposed changes to the Electoral Laws. We thank all the 80 MPs for supporting the First Vote.

The Second and Final Vote will take place anytime after November 2001, which if successful, will result in these proposed changes becoming Law.

We ask all MPs to give their support again and vote for the passage of these changes in the Second and Final Vote.

Our appreciation is extended to the many people, individuals, groups and organisations that support the Preferential Voting system.

Please continue your support and lobby your MPs to vote YES to the Second and Final Vote.

Preferential Voting - Majority Support for Winning Candidate - Encourages Good Leadership and Responsible Government - Fairer and Better Representation by far.

Preferential VOTING
Change for a better future!

Electoral Reform Project
Electoral Reform Project Level 6, Pacific Place, P.O. Box 591, Port Moresby
Telephone (675) 321 1793 Fax: (675) 321 3716 email: drayon@online.net.pg

TI (PNG) Inc. and its coalition partners together with the Constitutional Development Commission and Electoral Commission bringing education and awareness on the constitutional reforms to the people.

SUPPORTED BY THE EUROPEAN UNION

What has limited preferential voting changed in Papua New Guinea?

Terence Wood, Maholopa Laveil and Michael Kabuni

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Limited preferential voting (LPV) replaced first past the post in the wake of the 2002 general elections in Papua New Guinea (PNG). The change was the source of high hopes of better electoral quality and political governance, particularly among policymakers, civil society and the international community. Among academic observers, the shift brought debate, with proponents and opponents disagreeing about whether something as simple as a change in electoral rules could overcome serious political problems. Twenty years on and three LPV general elections later, we take the opportunity to examine LPV's impact on electoral processes and outcomes, as well as governance more generally, in PNG. We find no evidence of large changes — either positive or negative — stemming from the shift in electoral systems. However, we do find some evidence of smaller benefits and costs, as well as tantalising hints of possible future potential. LPV has failed to deliver as was hoped, yet it has brought some change, and there remains a case for keeping the system in PNG.

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(Anticipated) costs:

- Price
- More difficult ballots
- Vote buying

(Supposed) benefits:

- Less electoral violence
- Women candidates
- Greater mandate
- Better governance

Big questions:

- National voting
- Voter views

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PLISS! ... LOW MELES BLO AT ARE GAT PLANT PLANT! KENDUSET YAH! ... HAHAT! I FASSAN LILIEK PERSEN I VOT EM I WIN... BUANEK SYSTEM STREET YAH!

EM NAW YUMI DAMAS GAT WANPELA VOT SYSTEM WE WANPELA TRIBE TASOL INO DAM WEN NAYENAG?

NAU YUMI MAS KESIM DESELA PREFERENTIAL VOTING SYSTEM... EM WONDER "FIRST PAST THE POST" HORSE RACE SYSTEM... ENETAZIM

YAH! PLANT KENDUSET I SARAP SARAP SARAP NA BUKAN OL VOT OLSEN LILIEK HIP BIKET... NO LISA... NO LAKELAKIM VOTING SYSTEM I SENSI... NALAGAT I KESIM BUNELA VOT TRULUANG KAKAP MEMBA REPRESENTIM LAKI ILONG OL PISOL OLSEN WANPELA WOKA BIKET... SWEET SA II

MEI? I WAKNA SEE THE VERY BEST VOTING SYSTEM FOR OUR GDS FUTURE. I BUKAN KIDS YOU BET PAIR. SOMEHAR LEADERS TIDUR KAFAR AND DECIDE FAKS. I-KHUN PREFERENTIAL VOTING WAY ITS TOO GOOD... ITS FAIR... ITS OUR CHANCE... YES!!

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HELLO, MESTA MP SSR... PLEASE HEAR THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE... WE'RE LOOKING FOR REAL CHANGE... YES, SSR

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NA SAROP VOTING SYSTEM KESIM OVER-HOL, IAE NIDELA OL TANNINGULAI I HANAMAS TRULONG VOT... YULUNIR NIDELA BELSE I KAKAP TAKA NIDELA I GAT SPINS LONG VOTIM BUNELA GAKENDATE

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Price of elections

Very hard to work out accurate electoral costs in PNG.

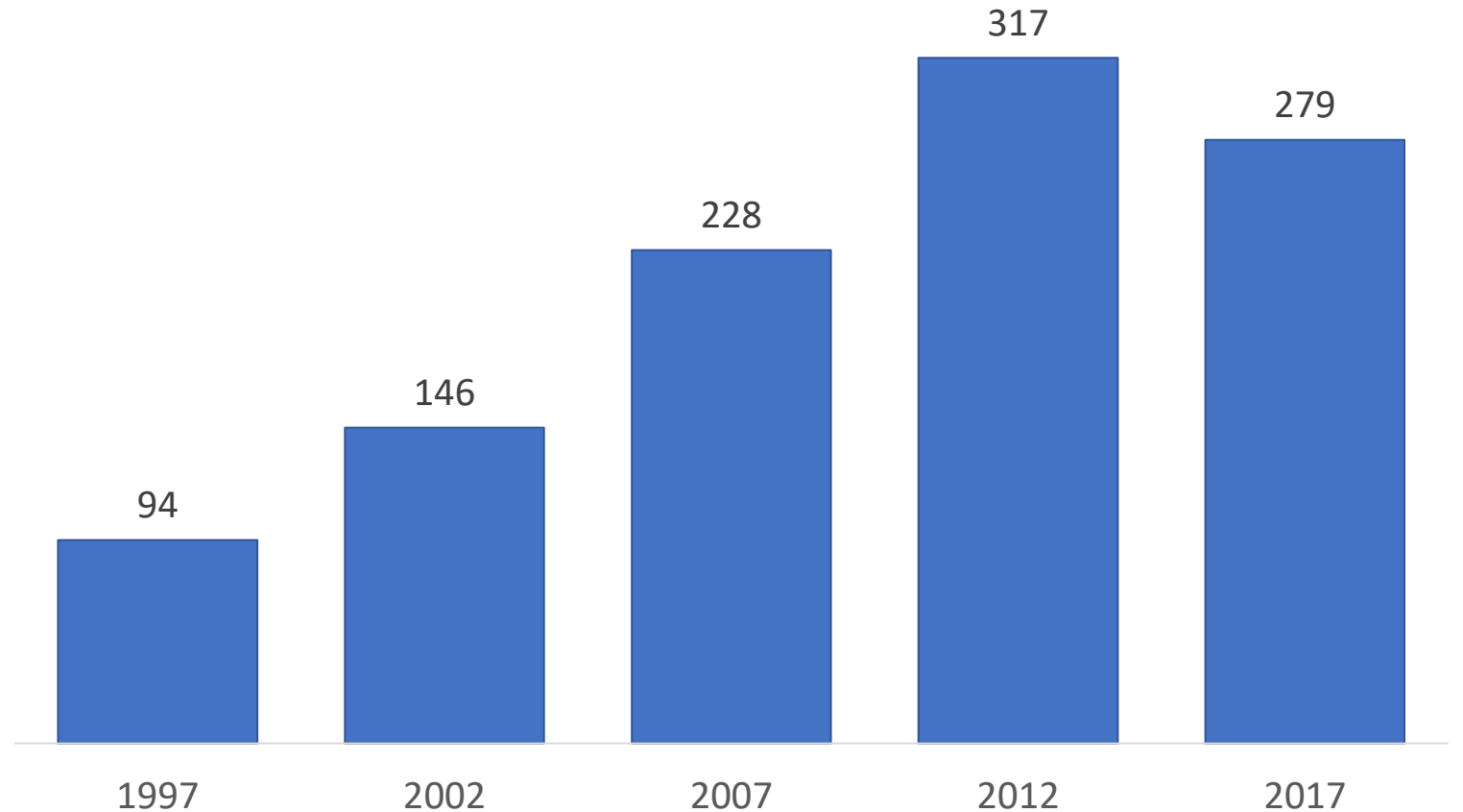
Costs up between 2002 & 2007.

But it was part of broader trend.

Real cost of election is polling not counting.

LPV a bit more expensive, but ok if it works.

Cost to electoral commission Kina (million 2017)



Invalid Ballots

LPV more complicated.

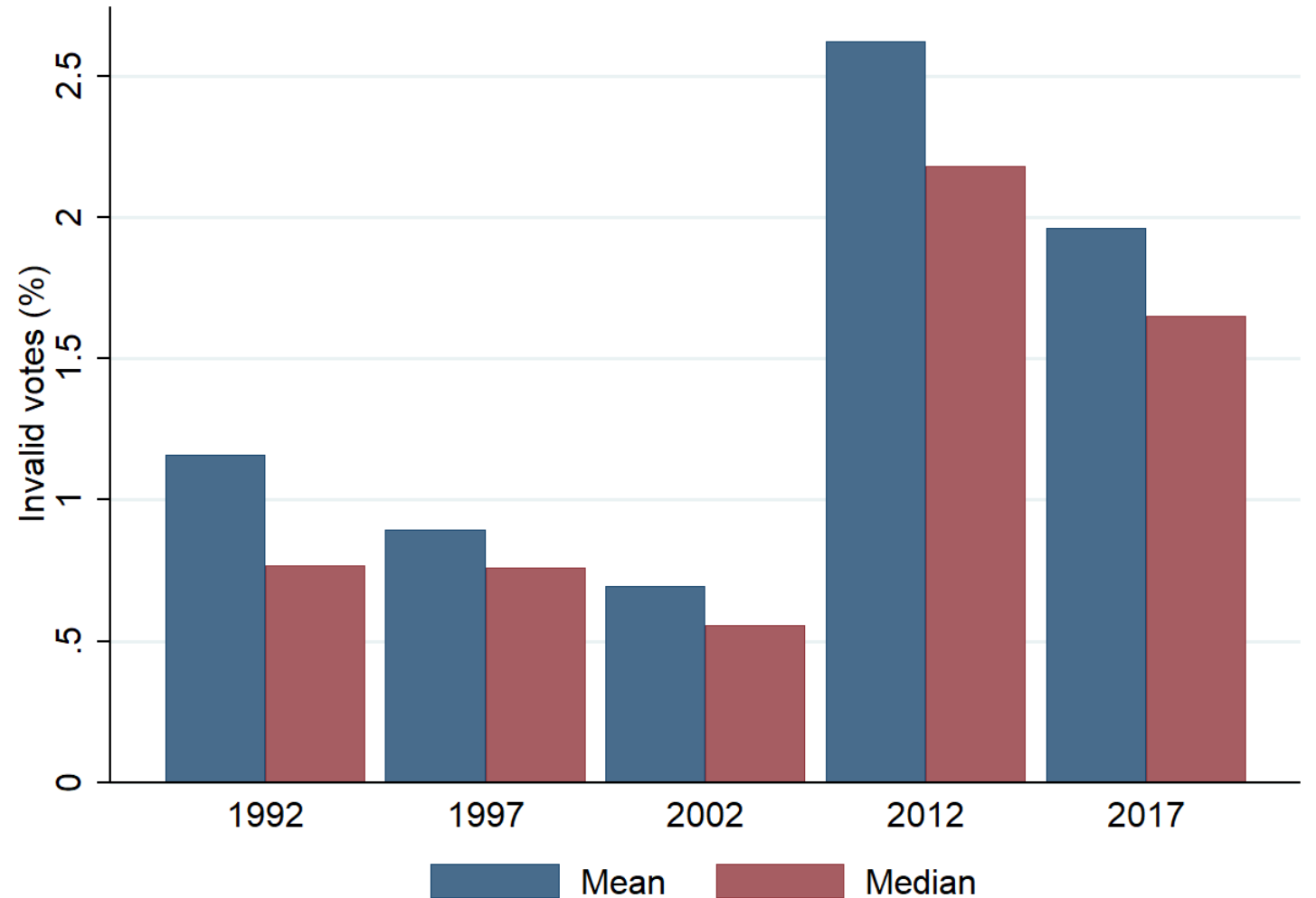
Definitely increased % of invalid ballots.

But magnitude of problem not big.

And possibly improving now.

This is a real cost.

But it is quite small.



Vote Buying

It has been argued (Haley & Zubrinich 2018) that LPV has *caused* vote buying to increase.

By its nature it is hard to get good data on vote buying.

However, we agree with Haley & Zubrinich that vote buying has increased in the LPV years.

But we don't think that vote LPV is the main cause.

Vote buying has increased in Solomons with FPP.

Extractive industry money common to both countries.
CDF/DSIP common to both countries.



Costs:

- Price – real but comparatively small
- Polling & counting complications – real but comparatively small
- Vote buying – major issue, but not likely caused by LPV

Less electoral violence?

At first it seemed like LPV might have helped reduce electoral violence (2007).

Or at least stopped it in the campaign (2012).

But 2017 was a violent election throughout.

LPV has not cured the problem of electoral violence in PNG.

But given the general breakdown in law and order it is quite possible that violence would have been worse still without LPV.



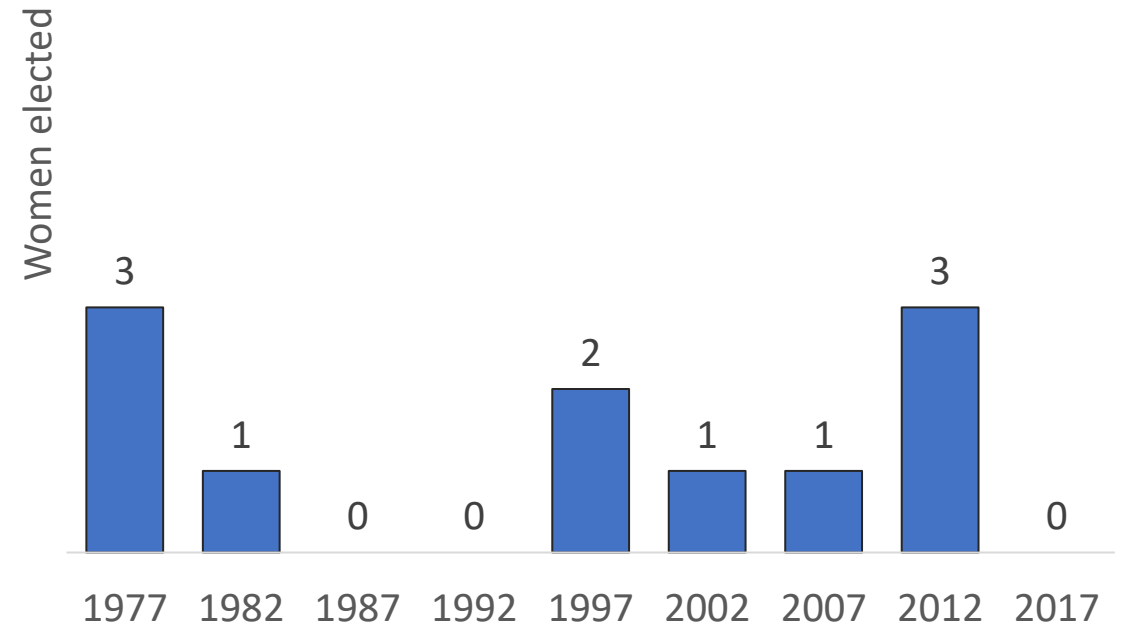
Women candidates?

LPV has not transformative (obviously).

In 2012 helped some like Toni/Kouza in Lae.

But hurt others like Gore (2012 and 2017).

When we look at all candidates not just winners women helped a bit more by preferences, but assistance not great.

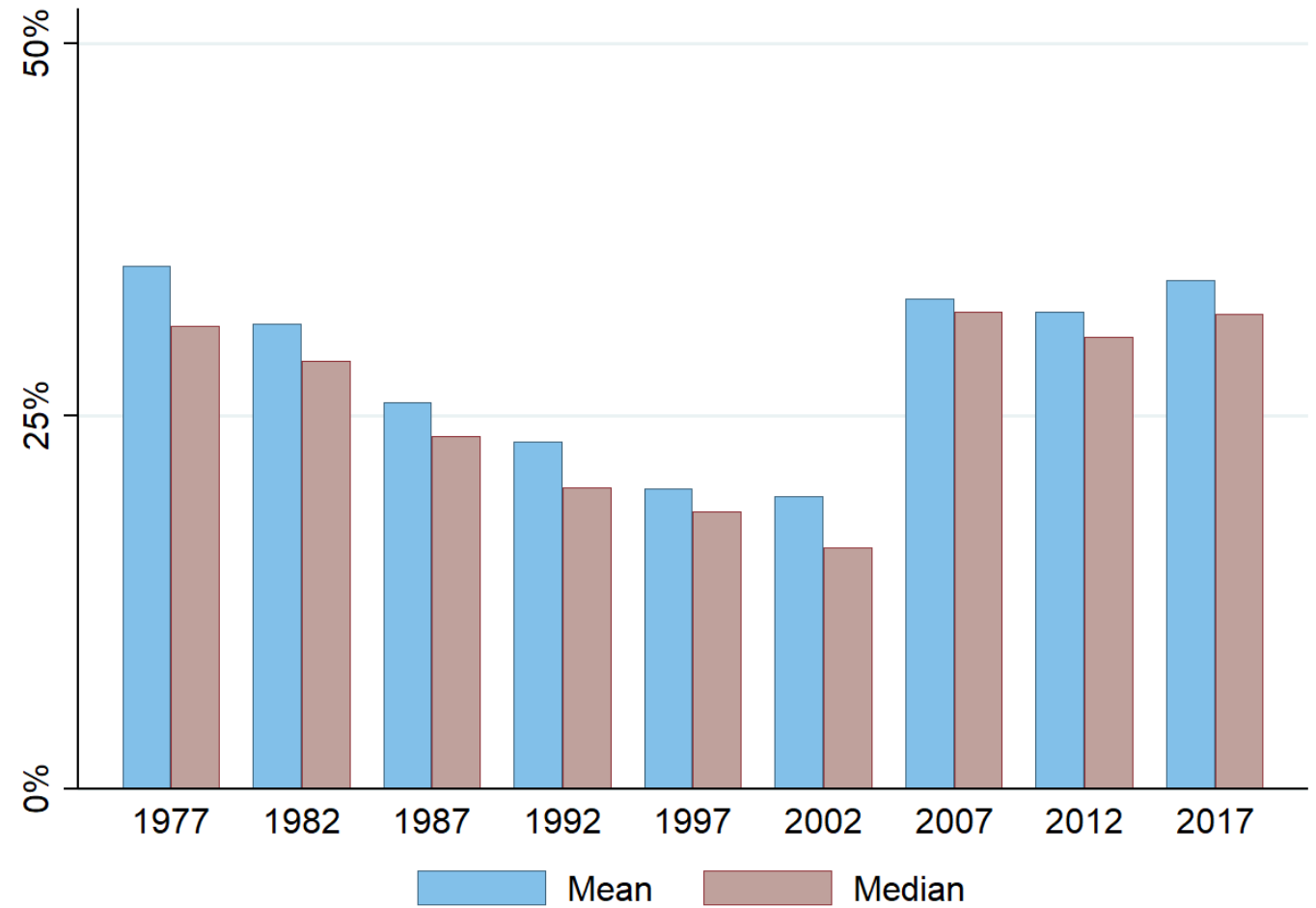


Greater Mandate?

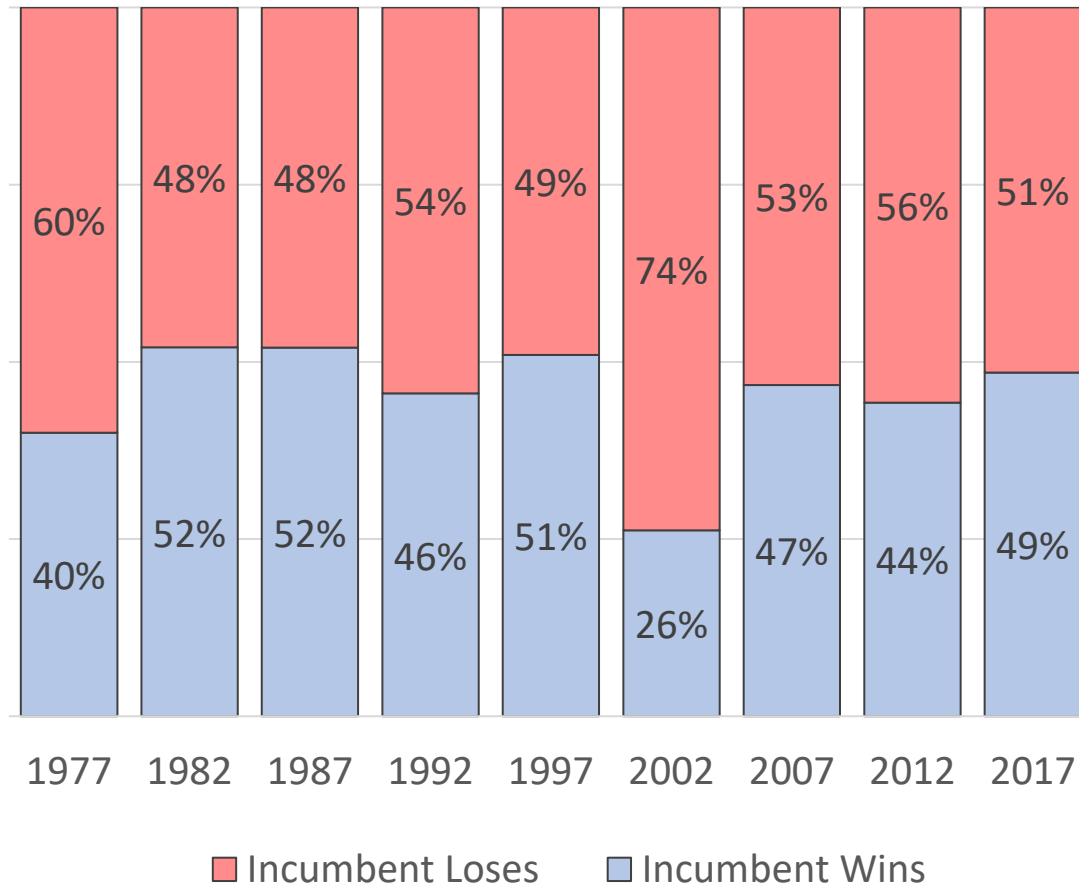
Yes – obviously.

But still rare for candidates
to win more than 50%.

And...



Voters seem no happier with their MPs



“Most [survey participants] say MPs are selfish, uncaring politicians who spend their time in Port Moresby and care most about enriching themselves. ‘To them being a member is just for the fame and name and supporting their family’ is how one participant describes the reputation of MPs. The high turnover in parliament is attributed directly to their poor performance. (Cook & Winn 2012, p. 8)”

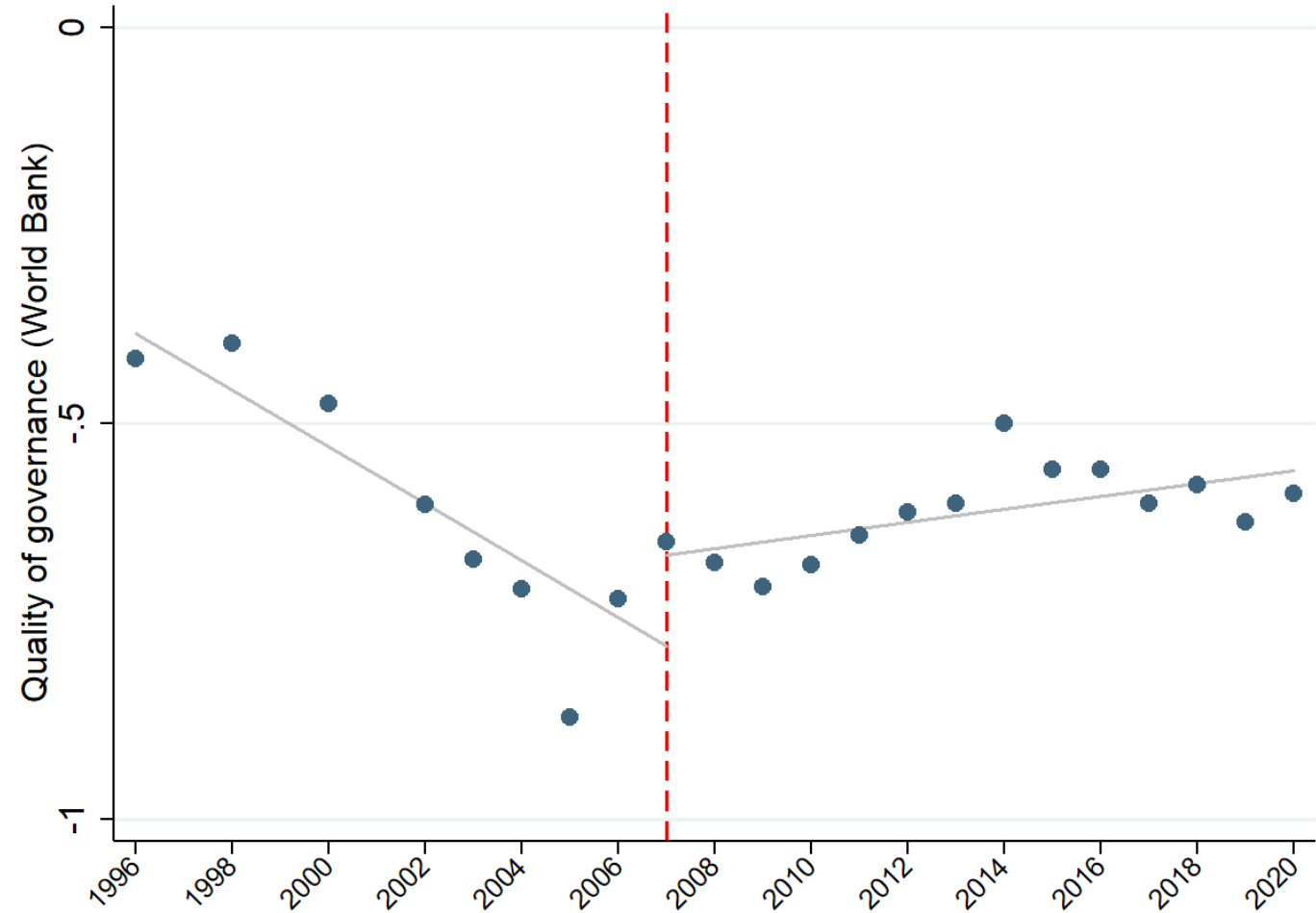
Quality of Governance

A bit better in LPV years.

But improvements start before LPV.

Probably thanks to Morauta reforms.

Governance worsening again post 2014.



Costs:

- Price – real but comparatively small.
- Polling & counting complications – real but comparatively small.
- Vote buying – major issue, but not likely caused by LPV.

Benefits:

- Less electoral violence – maybe improvement against counterfactual but no solution.
- Women candidates – helps but minor.
- Greater Mandate – yes but is it making politicians any better?
- Better governance – no.

But that's not quite the end of the story...

National Voting?

“[P]arty politics figured more prominently in this election than previously, in that anti-PNC sentiment and campaigning against PNC was evident throughout the country. Several observer teams reported candidates of various affiliations working together to unseat PNC incumbents, while observers in all four regions witnessed incidents in which PNC candidates were verbally harassed and/or prevented from campaigning.” (Haley & Zubrinich 2018)

National Voting?

Voters punished the PNC with 2nd & 3rd preferences.

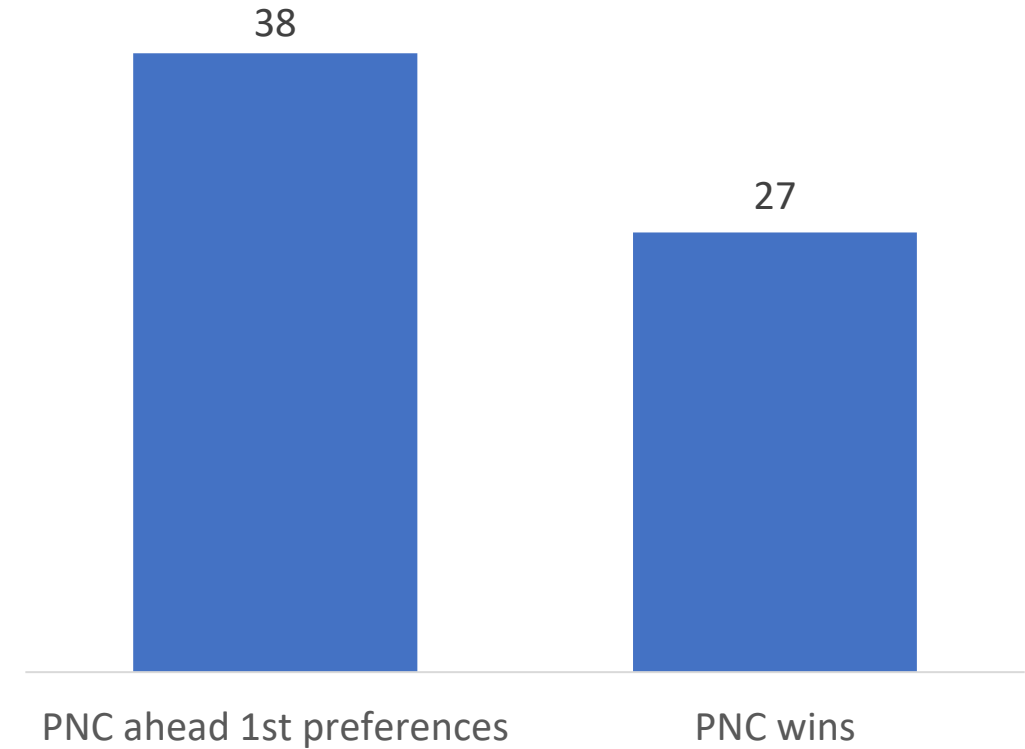
Did not systematically punish other parties.

Didn't punish PNG in 2012.

Voter's punished unpopular government with preferences in 2017.

But PNG voters don't vote on national issues?

Is something changing?



Voters seem to like LPV

LPV “is all right. Why because as mentioned I can put “1” on the candidate I want and “2” and “3” on the other candidate that my family or clan want.” (Cook & Winn 2012, p. 34).

On the basis of existing anecdotal and small-n data, voters seem to like LPV.

Often for pretty basic reasons.

But if voters prefer LPV it is an important attribute that should be considered.

Yet we do need proper survey data to know if voters really like LPV.

Costs:

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Benefits:

- Less electoral violence – maybe improvement against counterfactual but no solution.
- Women candidates – helps but minor.
- Greater Mandate – yes but is it making politicians any better?
- Better governance – no.

Small costs, small gains but...

- Maybe LPV is changing the nature of voter engagement? Watch this space!
- If voters value LPV, it is a major plus for the system. Need to get proper data.

Questions?



Australian
National
University

Development Policy Centre
Crawford School of Public Policy
ANU College of Asia & the Pacific

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