

Electoral Systems and Lebanon: an IFES overview

## What is the role of an electoral system?

An electoral system is of key political and democratic importance as it determines who 'wins' an election by the method of translating votes into seats.

Why are there different electoral systems?
Elections have different goals for different people:

- Should elections give a clear result or reflect the different nuances of public opinion?
- Should seats be won by those with most votes, or should seats be divided between all those who win votes?
- Should elections lead to a strong government or to consensus politics?
- Should elected representatives have close and local links to their voters?
- Should elections prioritize the equal treatment of all voters?
- Should elections ensure minority representation?

The choice between the different electoral systems available reflect how decisionmakers wish to answer these and other questions of prime political importance.

## What is the best electoral system?

There is no 'perfect' system. Each system has its advantages and disadvantages.
However, all systems can be seen to have specific advantages and disadvantages, and may also be prone to specific problems.



## The Different Types of Multiple Member Plurality / Majoritarian Systems



Voters have one vote only. The candidates with the highest number of votes win the seats even if none gain more than $50 \%$.
Block Vote Example

| Number of Voters | 120,000 | 3 seats available |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Candidate $A$ | 50,000 | $41.67 \%$ | Winner |
| Candidate B | 30,000 | $25.00 \%$ |  |
| Candidate C | 40,000 | $33.33 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $D$ | 40,500 | $33.75 \%$ | Winner |
| Candidate $E$ | 65,000 | $54.17 \%$ | Winner |
| Candidate $F$ | 10,000 | $8.33 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $G$ | 25,000 | $20.83 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $H$ | 35,000 | $29.17 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $I$ | 25,500 | $21.25 \%$ |  |

SNTV Example

| Number of Voters |  | 120,000 | 3 seats available |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Candidate $A$ | 17,000 | $14.17 \%$ | Winner |
| Candidate $B$ | 8,000 | $6.67 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $C$ | 24,000 | $20.00 \%$ | Winner |
| Candidate $D$ | 15,500 | $12.92 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $E$ | 6,000 | $5.00 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $F$ | 8,000 | $6.67 \%$ |  |
| Candidate G | 15,000 | $12.50 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $H$ | 9,000 | $7.50 \%$ |  |
| Candidate $I$ | 17,500 | $14.58 \%$ | Winner |



The Different Types of Mixed Systems

## Parallel System

The election process is split: some seats are allocated by a plurality-majoritarian system, the others by a PR list system. Voters vote as many times as each system allows.
e.g.

Parliament has 132 seats
66 are elected using a block vote system. 66 are elected using a PR list system.

When allocating seats, there is no correlation between the two.

## Mixed Member-Proportional System

The election process is split: some seats are allocated by a plurality-majoritarian system, the others by a PR list system. Voters vote as many times as each system allows.
e.g.

Parliament has 60 seats
40 are elected using a FPTP system.
20 are elected using a PR list system.
Allocation of seats under PR attempts to compensate for disproportional results under the FPTP.


| Advantages \& Disadvantages of different electoral systems |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | List PR | FPTP | Two-round Voting | Parallel | MMP |
| Advantages | Proportional \& Inclusive <br> Minority Representation <br> Easier steps for women's <br> Representation <br> Few wasted votes <br> No need to hold byelections <br> Easy absentee voting Limits 'one party' districts | Simple to understand Stronger accountability Strong geographical link in small districts <br> Simple to understand <br> Majority government more likely <br> Excludes extremists <br> Simple to count | Simple to understand <br> Provides support of majority of voters <br> Stronger accountability <br> Strong geographical link in small districts <br> Majority government more likely <br> Excludes extremists | Proportional \& Inclusive <br> Geographic links <br> Accountability of individuals <br> Few wasted votes | Proportional \& Inclusive <br> Geographic links <br> Accountability of individuals <br> Few wasted votes |
| Disadvantages | Weak geographical representation Issues of accountability Likelihood of coalitions <br> Power with parties Inclusion of 'extremes' | Excludes smaller parties <br> Excludes minorities <br> Possible democratic deficit' <br> Often excludes women <br> Many wasted votes <br> Creates a need for byelections <br> Requires boundary delimitation <br> Difficult for absentee roting | Requires a costly $2^{\text {nd }}$ <br> Round <br> Excludes smaller parties <br> Excludes minorities <br> Possible 'democratic deficit' <br> Often excludes women <br> Many wasted votes <br> Creates a need for by- <br> elections <br> Requires boundary delimitation <br> Difficult for absentee voting <br> Long electoral period | Complicated system <br> Requires boundary delimitation <br> Creates a need for byelections <br> Can create two-classes of representatives Strategic voting <br> Difficult for absentee voting <br> Does not guarantee overall proportionality | Complicated system <br> Requires boundary delimitation <br> Creates a need for byelections <br> Can create two-classes of representatives Strategic voting Difficult for absentee voting |

## Important Factors in Electoral System Design

## Contex

What kind of political system is there in place?
What kind of historical precedent is there?

## Districts

How many seats per district?
Can equal suffrage be guaranteed?

## Drawing of boundaries

How will the districts be drawn up?
Who will draw the districts?

## Guaranteeing Representation

Do any groups need special protection?
(e.g. Ethnic or minority groups)

Do any groups need assistance in getting elected? (e.g. women)

## Complexity and Cost

Are there issues with literacy, sustainability and logistics?

## Political Acceptance

What kind of system do the decision-makers want?
What kind of system do the voters want?

## Context

Lebanon has had 4 different electoral laws in 20 years (1990, 1996, 2000, 2008).
Always, the system used is 'block vote'

## Districts

The constitution requires the electoral system to reflect regional differences.

## Drawing of boundaries

There has been no consistent method for drawing boundaries.
The 2008 Law used the 'I960 Law' system of qada boundaries (in most places)

## Guaranteeing Representation

The constitution requires
(a) the electoral system to be $50 \%-50 \%$ Muslim/Christian
(b)confessional representation on a proportional basis.

The electorate is 39.2\% Christian and 60.7\% Muslim (21.4\% Maronite; 26.8\% Shia' 27.3\% Sunni).

There is traditionally a very low number of women elected.

## Complexity and Cost

Lebanon does not use ballot papers

## Political Acceptance

Lebanese politicians have no consensus on electoral system preference
Many stakeholders advocate change


## The Lebanese Ballot Paper

## How to Vote in Lebanon

Lebanon has a unique electoral system.
While mono-confessional districts (e.g. Kerswan has 5
Maronite seats) have a 'classic' Block Vote, many other districts have mini-competitions taking place e.g. (Beirut I has five FPTP contests).

However, candidates come together to form a single list so that one candidate's supporters can benefit another. Thus, each list wants the supporters of its different candidates to vote as a 'block' as whichever list has the highest number of votes is likely to win all seats in that district.

The list system is made more effective by the absence of standardized ballots. Each list distributes its own ballots; a ballot where voters could choose candidates from different lists would undermine the chances of a list winning all seats. The only district where votes were cast 'across list' was Metn.

The system means that there is little relationship between the number of seats won in Parliament and proportion of the national share of the vote.

Photo from www. aifanabki.com
 seats with $51 \%-53 \%$ of the vote.

In Beirut I, the March 14 list won all 5 seats with $52-54 \%$ of the vote.


Has the Block Vote system actually worked in reaching its goals?

What does Lebanon want from an electoral system?

How many seats should there be in parliament?
Should there be confessional reserved seats?
Should there be a review of confessional numbers?
Should there be a mechanism for increasing the number of women?

What kind of boundaries should there be?
Should ballot papers be introduced?
What kind of electoral system do the politicians want?

What kind of electoral system and politicians does the public want?

