

OBSERVATION MISSION
The Swedish General Elections September 9, 2018
Observations and Recommendations



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1. THE MISSION

1.1 About the mission

86 observers collected data from 422 out of 563 polling stations in Stockholm on Election Day. The total number of people enrolled in these polling stations was 564 870, which is 76% of the Stockholm voters. The polling stations were visited in groups of two, and each polling station was observed for approximately 20 minutes.

The observers came from Sweden, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Russia, the Netherlands and Georgia. Participants wore badges with their name and the text “Election Observer”. This report contains the group’s recommendations and observations.

The short-term objective of election observation mission is to alert authorities and the public about possible fraud and shortcomings in the electoral system, and to suggest measures to deal with those shortcomings. The long-term objective of electoral observation is to improve the electoral systems and thus citizens' confidence in democracy.

Observers find that the elections were carried out in a democratic manner, and wish to congratulate Sweden for a successfully conducted election. However, observers noted some important shortcomings as specified in the recommendations in this report. The greatest concern is the lack of secrecy of the vote.

The findings of the observation mission were compiled by Alesia Rudnik, Carl Hedman, Max Valentin, Per Olsson, Ales Silkou, Azat Gabdulvaleev, Julija Šartuch, Yulia Kuntsevich, Vilija Navickaitė and Amanda Valentin, Silc. The recommendations were agreed on the 10th of September by the collective of observers.

1.2 Observations

1.2.1 Has the Election Commission fulfilled its obligation to provide ballot papers to the voters?

Yes. In the morning, some stations were not ready with the stand by 08.00, but only at 08.10 or even later. But otherwise yes, the EC fulfilled the obligation. According to the Elections Act (2005:837), the EC has to provide ballot papers (with or without candidates) for parties represented in the Riksdag or that got more than one percent I in the previous elections. The same rules apply to the county council and municipal council. The ballots of S, C, FI, KD, L, MP, M, SD and V was available for all levels in all polling stations as well as empty ballots.

1.2.2 Are the voting clerks properly checking voter IDs before the votes are cast?

Yes.

1.2.3 Is there any political campaigning material in or near the polling station?

Our observers saw no election material in the polling stations or in spaces connected to them. According to the law there should be no campaigning material in the polling station or in the corridors and other spaces in direct connection to the polling station. This was upheld, which is an improvement since the elections in 2014. It was clear that stricter routines had been implemented. However, we did see party posters very close to the polling stations, some less than 15 meters away from the entrance of polling stations, which is a breach of the regulations adopted by the Stockholm City council.

The observers find the tradition with party representatives handling out ballot papers problematic. Noting that it is an old tradition, and not considered election campaigning by silent agreement between the stakeholders of the electoral process, in the eyes of the observers it does still very much look like election campaigning. It was common that only one or two parties were represented by the entry of the polling stations, which might be considered an indication that the voters in these particular electoral districts are expected to vote for the those particular parties. Also the observers noted that practically no voters took ballots from all the representatives present. This tradition is no longer fulfilling its original purpose and is in conflict with the principle of a politically neutral environment around the polling stations.

1.2.4 Does “family voting” occur?

Yes. The observers noted so called “family voting”, which is when two people (supposedly friends or family) go into the voting booth together to prepare their votes, in 27% of the visited polling stations. As mentioned above, the observers stayed in each polling station for

20 minutes. We want to underline that this does not mean that in the other 73% of polling stations family voting did not occur at all, it only means that no family voting occurred during our visits.¹ Our presumption is that family voting occurred in most polling stations, perhaps with a few exceptions. There is an improvement in comparison to the 2014 election, when the corresponding number was 38%. The decrease in family voting is most likely due to the fact that the polling stations were less crowded, since many people had pre-voted (During our visits we saw 6606 people cast their votes which is in average 16 persons per 20 minutes visit. The corresponding number in 2014 was 19 persons).²

In total we observed 244 cases of family voting, which means that there was at least one case of family voting per 27 voters. The corresponding number for the election 2014 was one case of family voting per 22 voters. This means that out of 27 people one or two family voted - we counted cases of family voting, in some cases only one of the two persons behind the screen prepared their vote and in other cases both of them did. In percentage of the votes it means that between 4% and 7% of all votes were not prepared in private.

The voting clerks handled situations with family voting differently, and it is clear that there is a weak common routine and insufficient understanding of the law. In a few polling stations, family voting was handled in a satisfactory manner: the voting clerks interfered and stopped attempted family voting, by politely instructing voters that you should vote alone, unless you need help.³ However, in a majority of polling stations, the election officers did not undertake any active measures what so ever in order to prevent family voting. In fact, in one polling station we observed voting clerks family voting themselves. When asked by observers about this issue, some voting clerk were very clear on the fact that voting should be individual, one voting clerk even said that he would refuse to receive a vote that had not been prepared in a proper way and he would tell the voters to go back and prepare the vote properly alone behind the screen.⁴ Other voting clerks were more insecure about their authority and duties. At at least two occasions voting clerks even told observers that it is a right to vote with whomever you choose, since the voting clerks should “not disturb” and has no right to question whether a person needs help or not. It is of course impossible to uphold the intention of the law and the secrecy of the vote, if there is no limit to the exception. In this regard, it is important to note that most cases of family voting were two seemingly able persons preparing one vote each behind the screen – the question then arises whether they both needed help and were suited to help each other.

In some of polling station there were no attempts at family voting, and therefore we do not know how the clerks would have reacted. To some extent, it was probably just a matter

¹ Depending on method, i.e how long the observers stay on each location, the number will vary. Other observer missions observed family voting in a greater part off polling stations. See:

<https://democracyvolunteers.org/2018/09/09/preliminary-statement-sweden-general-election-09-09-18/>

² Observers that participated in the 2014 observation mission have the impression that the voting clerks did not intervene to a greater extent than in 2014, there were simply less attempts.

³ Of course, such cases are not noted as cases of family voting in our report, since the attempted family voting was stopped by the voting clerks

⁴ See Election law chapter 8, paragraph 7.

of coincidence that nothing happened during the time we were there, but in some cases it seemed to be the result of the polling station being better organized, and therefore more successful in handling family voting. The physical planning of the polling station and the way in which the voting clerks organized the flow of voters, was important. An effective way of reducing family voting, that some chairmen very successfully implemented, is to see to that the clerk handing out envelopes at the entrance only let people in one and one and only when he or she sees a free voting booth.

It is clear that family voting occurred more frequently in areas where the voters were more insecure about how the voting system works. Of the 422 polling stations that we visited 40 were located in deprived areas (Sw. “Utsatta områden”) or particularly deprived areas (Sw. “Särskilt utsatta områden”) as defined by the Swedish police. In those areas, family voting was noticeably more frequent. We observed family voting in 47% of those polling stations (compared to 26% of the other 382 polling stations). The main reason for this, according to the observers, seems to be that people in those areas are less confident in how the voting system works, and are afraid to make mistakes, that would render their vote invalid. The foreign observers, with experience from many other countries, noted that the Swedish system with many ballots and envelopes is far from obvious and rather unusual in an international perspective. Many people expect to receive ballot papers in the polling station itself.

In light of the debate on “clan voting” that erupted after the election, we want to emphasize that our numbers on family voting tells you nothing about that. Any claim that our report proves the existence of clan-voting is a misinterpretation of our findings. Our observers’ impression was that in many places people were genuinely insecure about the process, had many questions to the voting clerks, and helped each other to vote with no malicious intent. However, it is still a problem, it shows that there is a need for better information about how to vote and clearer instructions to the voters in the polling stations themselves.

When it comes to vote buying and coercion, anyone who wishes to control how somebody else votes will most likely do that at an earlier stage. For example (an issue that we will return to below) the placing of the stand with ballot papers and the handing out of ballot papers is a great concern when it comes to the secrecy of the vote. A person who wishes to control how another person votes, can easily accompany this person to the stand with ballots, control which ballots the person picks, keep them company in the line and make sure that the person has only one ballot with her/him into the polling booth. In such cases family voting in essence takes place long before the voter enters the voting booth.

1.2.5 Do the observers have full access to the venues and the opportunity to observe how the elections are held?

Yes. Election officers were in general very open and positively surprised, and seemed happy to answer our questions. In one station, however, the observers were told to wait, as

the election officers were uncertain if they should let them in or not, and when they did so it was with demonstrative reluctance. In two polling station the observers were first denied access and then granted access only after the voting clerks had been contacted by Stockholm election board that instructed them to let the observers in.

Some of our observers were asked their names and asked to show ID when they asked for permission to take photos in the polling station. The observers did not mind, it was made in a very amicable manner. Their names were noted in the protocol (under a line about events during the day). However, this gave rise to the question if it would be reasonable for the voting clerks to always note the presence of observers and if this information could be of use to the electoral authority. However, it must be optional for the observers and cannot be presented as a condition for attending, since the conduct of elections is a public function⁵ and any person should have the right to attend without providing their name.

1.2.6 How is the stand with ballot papers placed? Is it possible for people to pick ballot papers in peace and quiet?

The placement of the stand with ballot papers still raise great concerns. Observers noted that it was very easy to see how a person was going to vote since the majority of voters only took three ballots at the stand at plain sight for anybody standing near. Very few disguised their vote by taking many ballot papers. This means that the ballot is not secret. According to the Venice Commission's Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, the secrecy of voting is in fact not only a right but also a duty for the voter, from that follows that the state must design the system in such a way as to guarantee the secrecy of the vote. It is not optional for the voter. The secrecy of the ballot is one aspect of voter freedom, and the purpose is to shield voters from pressures they might face if others learned how they had voted. As we mentioned above, this gives room for peer pressure or even coercion⁶.

Some polling stations had tried to make the stand with ballots more private by putting up a screen around the table or by placing the table facing a wall, creating a corridor or a little room for only one person. We salute those initiatives and it did improve the situation slightly. However, the solution is not ideal, since it was obvious to the observers that this resulted in people queuing for ballot papers, which were a significant problem in some polling stations. Also, after picking ballots, the people would stand in line together and often clearly see which ballot papers other voters had picked.

1.2.7 Are there long lines to vote and do voters perceive this as a problem?

Generally, queuing was not a big problem, although there were some notable exceptions. (This aspect was not observed in 2014, and therefore no data for comparison is available. It is

⁵ Swedish: Offentlig förrättning

⁶ Cases of coercion (otillbörlig valpåverkan) has been reported in other parts of the country.

however clear that the pressure on the polling stations were much lower, because of the high percentage of pre-voting.)

- In 311 of the polling stations there was no queue during our visit.
- In 89 polling stations there were less than 10 people in line to vote,
- In 14 polling stations there were between 10 and 50 people in line to vote
- In 4 polling stations there were between 50 and 90 people in line to vote
- In 4 polling stations there were between 90 and 100 people in line to vote.⁷

When asking the voters if they perceived queuing a problem, the observers got very different answers. In one place, where there were 50 people in line and the waiting time was expected to be 10 minutes, one voter said she did not mind at all. Some voters said that waiting few minutes was actually a positive experience – it added to the feeling of doing something important and exclusive. In one polling station, where the line was 90 people, one voter told our observers that he had come to vote earlier in the day, but returned home without voting when he saw the line. Now he had come back for a second time. According to him, he was not the only one to have given up, and he did not know whether the others had returned. This shows that queuing is a matter that should be taken seriously.

Observers noted that the table with ballots was sometimes a bottleneck. In places where efforts had been made to ensure that voters picked ballots individually, this was especially obvious.

1.2.8 Was the polling station accessible to people with disabilities?

Yes, generally the polling stations were accessible for people with disabilities and all polling stations were equipped with a low table with a screen for those who wish to sit down or are using a wheelchair. In one polling station the voting clerks informed the observers that not all wheel chairs could access, but they were able to receive the person's vote outside of the room. That is not satisfactory, all polling stations should be accessible to people with disabilities.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

2.1 Recommendations

2.1.1 The system with the ballots must be reformed to create a system where the secrecy of the vote is fully protected

⁷ How we counted the lines: the lines consist of three sections, which the observers counted on their way out: 1) The line between the screens and the desk of the voting clerk, 2) the line to get into the polling station after taking ballots at the stand with ballot papers and 3) the line in the entrance or even outside on the street. In the third section the people are queuing for multiple polling stations. So in the stations with exceptional long queues, not everybody was actually queuing for that particular polling station.

The greatest threat to the secrecy of the vote is the system with ballot papers in the polling station. The system was designed very many years ago when Sweden had fewer parties and one election at a time. Now, Sweden has elections to three levels of government on the same day, more parties and preferential voting. The number of ballots has ten folded, and the system of picking one ballot for each party and making your choice behind the screen is no longer working.

There has been many suggestions on how to solve this issue:

- **By putting up a screen around the table where the ballot papers are placed or by placing the table in a more remote location.** This would improve the situation, but not solve it completely. It would also lead to new problems, such as the stand with ballot papers being a bottleneck resulting in queueing. Also, it requires the voting clerks to constantly check the table, practically between every voter, to see if all the ballots are available. Otherwise, a voter might have to ask the voting clerks for a specific missing ballot paper, which would then expose (at least indirectly) the choice of that voter. **Having the ballots in the voting booths themselves would lead to the same problems.** The voting clerks would have to check the availability of the ballot between every voter.
- **By giving each voter a pack of ballot papers already prepared by the voting clerks.** (This is rather similar to how the system is intended to work – the idea with the party representatives handing out ballots is just that – the voter should take a ballot paper from each and thereby disguise their choice.) This would mean that every voter would get a pack of some 60 ballots with him or her behind the screen, and it would have to be decided which order they should lay. If in random order, it could take a while for the voter to find the ones she or he needs. If in alphabetical order, parties might feel it is disfavors them to be in the bottom of the pile. But when it comes to protecting the secrecy of the vote, this alternative is satisfactory.
- **By having a single ballot paper.** In most countries, even countries with a similar system to Sweden, such as Lithuania and Denmark, the voter receives only one ballot with the names of all the parties. The voter then ticks the party for which she or he wishes to vote. The parties can be listed in random order and the ballot paper can have one empty line for voters to fill in the name of a party that did not make the list. Party candidate lists could be posted on the wall and voters could write the number of her or his candidate in square after the name of the party. With such a system, the problem with the placing of the stand of ballot papers is eliminated. However, it becomes much more important to be strict on family voting.
- **A popular suggestion has been to have a printer in the booth,** so that each voter simply prints the ballot he or she needs, and puts it in the envelope. This system would solve the problem with secrecy of the vote, but would be technically a bit more advanced and therefor more vulnerable. Even a low fault level would have impact on a great number of peoples voting experience.

- **Various methods of electronic voting** has been suggested. The main concerns when it comes to electronic voting are the secrecy of the vote and the voters' trust in the system. A system that leaves a paper trail is still to be preferred.

2.1.2 The handling of the pre-votes needs to be improved

When the outer envelopes of the pre-votes has been opened, the pre-votes should have the same protection as the ballot box. The ballot box is always guarded by two people, while observers in many polling stations saw voting clerks opening the outer envelopes of the pre-votes alone in a corner. The reason for this was, as far as we understand, that the pre-votes arrived very late and there was a lack of time. The boxes with pre-votes were then standing in the polling stations the whole day. We want to emphasize, that the voting clerks did not leave the pre-vote unattended, they always kept an eye on them, however it is still not a satisfactory routine. The pre-votes should either be left unopened until the voting is concluded, and the polling station has been cleared of all grey envelopes and ballot papers that might be laying around. This could be costly and time-consuming, however, with reference to the above mentioned observations, the administrative routines regarding the handling of the pre-votes must be changed.

2.2.3 Measures should be taken against "family voting"

Family voting is unfortunately a common violation and infringes on the secrecy of the ballot. This should be taken seriously. Sweden has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states that elections shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors. Sweden is also a member of the OSCE and has signed the Copenhagen Document, which states that free elections that are held at reasonable intervals by secret ballot or by equivalent free voting procedure are essential to the full expression of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all human beings.

In addition to international regulations, the Swedish Constitution and electoral laws emphasize the secrecy of the vote. According to the Instrument of Government, the Riksdag is appointed by means of free, secret and direct elections. The Elections Act (2005:837) states that voters shall arrange their votes behind a voting screen and thereafter give the vote envelopes to the voting clerks. It also states that voters who cannot personally arrange their votes owing to an impairment or similar, shall upon request be given assistance in this by the voting clerks, to the extent that is necessary. Such a voter may also engage another person to help him or her to vote. The secrecy of voting is mentioned, however, without specifying more precisely what that means. Nevertheless, the Swedish Penal Code (1962:700) states both a prohibition against improper activity at election and a prohibition against violating the privacy of suffrage. The latter means that a person who without authorization seeks to secure information about matters which, with respect to the exercise of suffrage on public questions shall be kept secret, shall be sentenced for violating the privacy of suffrage to a fine or imprisonment for at most six months.

With reference to the above, regulatory compliance and implementation of election procedures regarding the secrecy of the vote need to be overviewed. Moreover, the election authorities must train the voting clerks and inform them about the issue. In other words, it is obvious that the voting clerks do not have sufficient knowledge or understanding of the secrecy of the vote.

Lastly, intervening when two people are already voting together can lead to a small conflict in the polling station. Therefore, the voters should also be clearly informed about the rule beforehand. This can be done verbally (when they step into the room) or in writing (a sign on the green screen). Regarding the ballot management, the rooms should be planned and the election officials should control the number of people in the room in order to prevent family voting.

2.1.5 The rules concerning political campaigning near by the polling stations should be stricter

Campaign materials directly outside the polling stations, which can be seen from the entry to the building should be taken away. The election officials should get the proper tools to remove them and clear instructions, for example to remove all posters which are within a certain distance (our suggestion: 40 m) from the entry of the building. The tradition of party representatives handing out ballots should be considered political campaigning and abolished.

Annex: List of observed polling stations

Katarina 5 Bondegatan västra mm	1
Katarina 7 Kv Linjalen mm	2
Katarina 11 Rosenlundsparken	3
Katarina 16 Blekingegatan ästra mm	6
Högalid 15 Södersjukhuset	9
Katarina 10 Eriksdal V	10
Katarina 13 Rosenlund	11
Skarpnäck 25 Enskededalen V	12
Skarpnäck 9 Kärrtorp S	13
Skarpnäck 7 Skarpnäcks trädgårdsstad	15
Skarpnäck 8 Enskededalen Ö	16
Skarpnäck 26 Kärrtorp C	18
Skarpnäck 4 Bergsrådsvägen mm	20
Skarpnäck 10 Kärrtorp N	22
Skarpnäck 5 Bagarmossen N	24
Skarpnäck 6 Bagarmossen C	25
Skarpnäck 24 Bagarmossen V	26
Skarpnäck 18 Skarpa by mm	27
Skarpnäck 20 Horisontvägen norra mm	28
Skarpnäck 19 Skarpnäck Ö-Orhem	29
Kungsholm 5 Polishuset	32
Kungsholm 13 John Ericssonsgatan mm	33
S:t Görän 17 Kv Karlsvik mm	34
S:t Görän 15 Fridhemsplan sädra	35
Kista 5 Akalla S	36
Kista 4 Akalla V	37
Kista 1 Akalla C	38
Kista 2 Akalla Ö	39
Kista 3 Akalla N	40
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Kungsholm 2 Pontonjärparken	42
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Kista 9 Husby S	45
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