

Summary Of One Nation, One Election - International Case Studies and Insights

The concept of One Nation, One Election (ONOE) proposes synchronising India's national and state elections to streamline the electoral process, reduce costs, and enhance voter participation. The study undertaken looks at 14 democracies across the globe, to identify their electoral systems and the level of structure/ synchronicity. While most countries studied have some sort of structured elections, some among them have mandated fixed-term (sometimes constitutionally mandated fixed dates) for their national and state elections, ensuring predictability.

Drawing from global case studies, this report summarises how countries like Sweden, Indonesia, and Brazil have successfully implemented multi-level simultaneous elections, offering valuable lessons for India. Other countries have opted for staggered elections at the provincial or local levels, given administrative and operational considerations. By adopting a structured electoral framework, India can achieve greater administrative efficiency, reduce voter fatigue, and foster stable governance, while respecting its federal structure.

I. Key Insights

Based on the 14 countries studied, it is inferred that:

- A. 12/14 countries have some sort of structured election making use of mechanisms like the positive vote of no-confidence, appointment of interim/ acting officials for policy continuity and implementation of structured terms at different levels of Government.
 - (Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Indonesia, Nigeria, Philippines, South Africa, Sweden and USA).
- B. 11/14 countries have fixed-term elections mandated by the Constitution or through convention (as in the USA). This ensures predictability in Governance and safeguards against undue advantage for the incumbents.

 (Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Indonesia, Nigeria, Philippines, South Africa, Sweden and USA).
- C. **8/14 countries conduct multi-level synchronised elections at two or more levels** (including EU level for Belgium, Germany and Sweden). This has led to an overall increase in voter participation and shows long-term reduction in polling expenses. (Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Germany, Indonesia, South Africa, Sweden and USA)

II. Insights From Multi-Level Simultaneous Elections

A. Mid-term Governments Serving Remainder of the Term



In Belgium, Brazil, Indonesia, Argentina, any Government formed after a collapse does not get a fresh full term; rather, it completes only the remainder of the cycle until the next scheduled, synchronised elections. This maintains the integrity of the synchronised system in the long term.

B. Positive Vote of No-Confidence

Germany's constructive vote of no-confidence ensures that **new leadership is in place before removing the incumbent, ensuring seamless transition** and discouraging destabilising tactics. This also maintains electoral cycle synchrony and avoids vacuums.

C. Federal Balance

Countries like Argentina and Canada show that synchronisation can respect local autonomy even within a federal structure. In some cases, as in Sweden, **provinces maintain authority to set cycles, and still voluntarily align with national elections where efficient.** Despite centralisation, this arrangement enables distinct ballot choices reflecting clear understanding of the multi-level elections and differential competencies.

D. Double Simultaneous Voting System (DSVS)

As many as 11 out of the total 23 provinces (+ the autonomous city is Buenos Aires) in Argentina choose to hold their elections concurrently with national elections to streamline the electoral process. This practice is often referred to as the Double Simultaneous Voting System (DSVS), which allows for both provincial and national elections to occur on the same day.

E. Indonesia's Transition Model

Fragmentation and logistical issues prompted **Law No.10 of 2016, mandating simultaneous national and regional elections and standardising all terms.** There was a phased implementation with massive exercise in 2019 and 2024 covering over 500 regions. They **allowed time for electoral machinery adaption and public acclimatisation.** Core lessons include the necessity for scalable infrastructure and planned rollouts.

F. Nepal's Attempt at Simultaneous Elections

Nepal faced challenges in implementing **simultaneous elections**, **for the first and only time in 2017**. The Election Commission, however, raised **concerns and difficulties in organising these**, **forcing a two-phase election**. Focusing on transition strategies and investing in infrastructure, along with the planning of staffing and other logistics is key to successful implementation.



Country	Simultaneity	Notable Features/ Distinctions
Belgium	Federal, regional and EU	Simultaneous elections every five years ; Government collapse leads to a caretaker PM and possible snap elections within the standard electoral cycle.
Sweden	National, county and municipal levels synchronised since 1970	Four-year cycle for all major elections; high turnout (84% in 2022); predictable scheduling; votes of no-confidence trigger caretaker Governments , not resets.
Indonesia	Same day across all levels since 2019	Law No.10 of 2016 mandates a unified schedule for national, regional and local elections. Massive 2019/2024 elections covered 500 regions. Interim/acting officials serve remainder terms as required; central oversight and phased transition with high turnout (81.6%)
Brazil	Alternating years (municipal/ general)	Structured codified cycles; snap Governments or mid-term replacements serve only for the remainder of the term; cost efficient (< \$ 2 per voter).
Germany	Synchronised Bundestag/ state elections	Constructive vote of no-confidence, fixed intervals; coalition building prevents excess disruption.
Nigeria	Simultaneous state and national elections every 4 years	Combined with structured and fixed-term elections, mandated by the Constitution.
South Africa	Provincial and national held together. Municipal elections held separately.	Focused on proportional representation . Snap elections after collapse - new Governments serve full terms leading to staggered cycles over time.
USA	Partial (voluntary) synchronisation.	Most states (except Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia) choose to have their elections in alignment with federal elections.

Table 1: Overview of countries with simultaneous elections



III. Insights From Fixed - Term Elections

A. Broad Benefits

Belgium, Germany and Sweden use **constitutionally mandated or strictly legislated fixed cycles** (usually four or five years) **providing reliable, scheduled transitions**. It also shows policy and governance certainty and prevents constant electioneering. Fixed cycles also benefit from **better planning**, **better voter turnout and more stable terms**.

B. Repeal of Fixed-Term/Simultaneous System

The repeal of the Fixed Term Parliamentary Act (FTPA) (2011-2022) in the United Kingdom illustrates the risk of abrupt legislative reversal. While the FTPA ensured stable cycles and a turnout peak, its removal led to increased political and operational uncertainty, and sharp decline in turnout (60% in 2024 - lowest in 20 years). Flexible dissolution has reintroduced risks like cost inflation, undue advantage and election fatigue. Any change towards or away from fixed/simultaneous elections requires strong deliberation and consensus to avoid unintended negative impacts.

IV. Insights from Countries with Structured Elections

Some democracies use structured systems that are neither strictly fixed-term nor entirely simultaneous, yet ensure institutional predictability and robust crisis management. The main features and nuances across countries are as follows.

A. Argentina

- 1. **System:** Double Simultaneous Voting System (DSVS) allows provinces to align with national elections.
- 2. **Organisation:** Provinces set their own dates; 11 of 24 provinces choose concurrence for administrative ease.
- 3. **Government Collapse:** Upon fall of the national Government, Congress appoints an interim president; new elections are organised within months to a year. Provinces do not automatically dissolve and only hold elections for the remainder of the term as per local laws.
- 4. **Nuance:** DSVS enables streamlined processes without enforcing strict simultaneity, helping reduce costs and voter fatigue

B. Canada

- 1. **System:** Fixed dates for federal elections (third Monday in October, every four years) per the Canada Elections Act; provinces/territories have their own fixed-date laws.
- 2. **Organisation:** Elections at different levels are often but not always aligned.
- 3. **Government Collapse:** Federal Government collapse may prompt snap elections; provincial cycles remain unaffected. Lieutenant-Governor decides on dissolution or new Government appointment.



4. **Nuance:** National and provincial election cycles are deliberately decoupled to respect federal structure, yet the structure has brought predictability and clear operational roles.

C. France

- 1. **System:** Two-round system for President and Legislature, with Senate/Regional terms on fixed cycles (Senators and regional councils: six years; Assembly: five years).
- 2. **Organisation:** Not all elections are simultaneous, but terms are structured.
- 3. **Government Collapse**: Caretaker or technocratic Governments maintain continuity; snap elections may be called and the new Government serves the remainder or full term, depending on timing.
- 4. **Nuance:** Semi-presidential structure enables flexibility within an otherwise rigid cycle

D. United States

- 1. **System:** Federal elections every four years (Presidential) and every two years (House), allowing most states to align state/local elections with federal ones. Five states opt out of this alignment.
- 2. **Organisation:** Most state and local Governments align with federal elections where possible, but local variances persist.
- 3. **Government Collapse:** Vice President or Lieutenant Governor assumes office without resetting cycles; no-confidence votes are not a feature.
- 4. **Nuance:** Electoral cycles are highly structured, but with flexibility for state autonomy and local scheduling

E. United Kingdom (Post FTPA)

- 1. **System:** Until 2022, elections were fixed every five years under the FTPA. FTPA repeal restored the Prime Minister's discretion for scheduling elections.
- 2. **Nuance:** The earlier structured system sought to erode arbitrary dissolution, but returned to unpredictable cycles after the FTPA repeal.



V. Expected Benefits of Structured or Simultaneous Elections

A. Cost Savings

- Simultaneous frameworks in Brazil (less than \$ 2 per vote), Indonesia (~\$ 1.8 billion for 2019 national elections across 810,000 polling stations), and Belgium (shared electronic voting costs) show substantial reductions vs. staggered or ad hoc cycles
- 2. For India, estimated savings from synchrony may exceed ₹12,000 crore¹ over five years (2024 poll expenditure estimated at ₹1.35 lakh crore).²

B. Voter Turnout

- 1. Simultaneous predictable cycles are **consistently associated with high turnout**
 - a. **Belgium** 90% (mandatory voting)
 - b. **Sweden** 84%
 - c. Argentina 76%
 - d. **Indonesia** 81.6% following synchrony and DSVS.
- 2. Voters benefit from **reduced fatigue and consolidated awareness campaigns**. Synchronisation helps prevent disengagement.

C. Governance and Policy Continuity

- 1. **Continuity:** Caretaker/ interim arrangements (Belgium and Brazil) and term-limited replacements maintain policy momentum and avoid administrative paralysis.
- 2. **Long Term Vision:** Fixed cycles allow Governments to focus on strategic agendas rather than perpetual election campaigns. Structured responses to mid-term crises ensure sustained operational and legal predictability.
- 3. **Federal Balance:** Structured systems, when flexible (through deferred or partial alignment models) respect regional/ administrative autonomy while delivering national efficiencies.

VI. Closing Insight

Global examples illustrate that synchrony, structure and clarity in electoral cycles bring measurable benefits - efficiency, cost savings, turnout and governance continuity. The ONOE proposal may incorporate robust constitutional and operational safeguards and balance national goals with local autonomy, as exemplified by countries like Indonesia, Brazil, Sweden and Belgium.

¹ Times of India, 6 April 2025

² India Today, 31 May 2024



Annexure I International Case Studies

A. Argentina

- 1. Argentina operates a federal system where each of its 24 provinces and the autonomous city of Buenos Aires can set their own election dates, but as many as eleven align with national elections using the Double Simultaneous Voting System (DSVS).³ This system allows voters to cast ballots for multiple levels of Government concurrently, reducing voter fatigue and boosting turnout, which reached 76% in 2023.⁴
- 2. Elections are held **every four years**. Provincial Governments do not automatically fall with the National Government.⁵
- 3. **Interim Officials are appointed** by Congress, with a mandate of holding **snap elections within a year.**⁶
- 4. In case of vacancy, the Government of the Province, or of the Capital, shall process with the **legal election of a new member**.
- 5. **Election spending increased by over 50% between 2019 2023,** owing to inflation and increased operational costs ballot printing, staffing, security.⁷

B. Belgium

- 1. Belgium's **synchronised elections for federal, regional, and EU levels,** combined with mandatory voting, consistently achieve over **90% voter turnout.** Simultaneous elections are held **every five years**. 9
- 2. Under Article 96 of the Constitution, a Government falls, the **PM assumes the role** of a care-taker **PM** with reduced powers, while negotiations take place to appoint a new formateur.¹⁰
- 3. In case of snap elections and mid-term Government formation, standard electoral procedure is followed, with the **new Government serving the remainder of the term.**¹¹
- 4. **Constitutional provisions for interim Governments during collapses** ensure stability, offering a model for India to maintain governance continuity.¹²

³ ACE, The Electoral Knowledge Network

⁴ Argentina Elections 2015

⁵ <u>Buenos Aires Times</u>, 8 <u>August 2019</u>

⁶ VOA News, 27 October 2009

⁷ Clarin, August 2019

⁸ Council of Europe Portal

⁹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, Belgium

¹⁰ Inter-Parliamentary Union, Belgium; Brussels Times, November 2024

¹¹ Euro News, October 2020; Exepose, 25 February 2025.

¹² Brussels Times, November 2024



5. The **decentralized funding model, where municipalities cover 80%** of electronic voting costs, ensures scalability but complicates national expenditure tracking.¹³

C. Brazil

- Brazil conducts elections every two years, alternating between municipal and general elections, using electronic voting machines to ensure efficiency. This structured calendar minimizes voter fatigue and supports high turnout, demonstrating the feasibility of large-scale synchronised polls.¹⁴
- 2. The **Vice President assumes office in case of Government falls**. If both positions fall vacant, new elections are to be scheduled within 90 days. The newly elected representative serves the **remainder of the existing term**. Similar provisions exist for the state Governments. 6
- 3. The structured system ensures high voter turnout, averaging between 75-80%.¹⁷
- 4. The centralized Electoral Court manages resources effectively, keeping **per-voter** costs low at less than \$ 2 per voter in 2022. 18

D. Canada

- 1. Canada's First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) system and fixed-term legislation since 2007 allow provinces to set independent election schedules, and simultaneous elections are rare. The Canada Elections Act mandates that federal elections be held on a fixed date, specifically on the third Monday in October in the fourth calendar year following the previous general election. No legal or constitutional mandate to align election dates across these levels. 20
- 2. **Canadians do not vote directly for the Prime Minister**; the leader of the party with the most seats in the House of Commons typically assumes that role.²¹
- 3. The Governor General plays an important role in handling mid-term Government formations,²² with the **new Government serving a full term of five years**.²³ The **fall of the federal Government does not affect provincial electoral cycles**.²⁴
- 4. Voter turnout increased to 69.46% in 2025, reflecting **growing engagement**, yet the lack of synchronization leads to fragmented cycles.²⁵

¹³ BRULOCALIS

¹⁴ Constitution of Brazil, 1988 Pg No. 35

¹⁵ Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación

¹⁶ Constitution of Brazil, 1988 Pg No. 69

¹⁷ International IDEA, Voter Turnout Database

¹⁸ Poder 360, 30 September 2022

¹⁹ Elections Canada

²⁰ The Canadian Encyclopedia; House of Commons, Parliament of Canada

²¹ House of Commons, Parliament of Canada

²² Elections Canada; BBC News, 23 March 2025

²³ The Harvard Crimson, 29 April 2025

²⁴ The Canadian Encyclopedia

²⁵ Elections Canada, The 45th Federal Election by the Numbers



E. France

- 1. France employs a **two-round voting system for presidential, legislative, and regional elections, with fixed five-year terms** ensuring predictable governance. The Senate and regional councils are elected for a term of six years, while members of the national assembly serve five year terms.²⁶
- 2. Provision for appointment of a **technocratic caretaker Government** during transition. **Snap elections if called, appoints a Government for the remainder of the term.**²⁷
- 3. Regional Governments lack a formal no-confidence procedure, and the fall of a French regional council is very rare. Newly elected Governments serve a full six year term.²⁸
- 4. The 2024 snap elections, called after a no-confidence vote, showed **flexibility in handling crises,**²⁹ though voter turnout surged to only 67% (highest since 1990s).³⁰

F. Germany

- 1. Germany's **federal elections**, **held every four years**, **align with state elections under the Basic Law**,³¹ achieving a record high voter turnout of 84% in 2025.³² New elections shall be held no earlier than 46 and no later than 48 months after the beginning of the electoral term. **In the event of dissolution** of the Bundestag, **new elections shall be held within 60 days**.³³
- 2. The **constructive vote of no-confidence** system ensures a new chancellor is elected before dissolution, maintaining stability. The Parliament must elect a successor by an absolute majority at the time of proposing a no-confidence motion.³⁴
- 3. **Snap elections lead to a full five year term**, and regional Governments are not dissolved during federal elections.³⁵

G. Indonesia

- 1. President, Vice-President, and members of the legislative body are elected on the same day during national elections, which occur every 5 years.³⁶
- 2. Indonesia adopted simultaneous elections in 2019 **resulting in an 81.6% turnout** in 2019, and **80.2% in 2024**,³⁷ compared to 75.11% with fragmented cycles in 2014.³⁸ **Law**

²⁶ Republique Française, State and Regional Organisation

²⁷ The Guardian, December 2024

²⁸ The Regional Council, French Business Law

²⁹ The Guardian, 26 August 2024

³⁰ Euro News, 02 July 2024

³¹ <u>Deutscher Bundestag</u>, <u>Elections</u>; <u>Facts About Germany</u>, <u>Elections at a Glance</u>

³² Make Votes Matter, 25 February 2025

³³ Basic Law of Federal Republic of Germany, Article 39

³⁴ NDTV, December 2024

³⁵ NDTV. December 2024

³⁶ NDTV, December 2024

³⁷ IPU Parline, Global data on National Parameters

³⁸ Atlantis Press, 2023



- **No. 10 of 2016** streamlined logistics, though complex ballots risk overwhelming voters.³⁹
- 3. This **shift from fragmented to synchronized elections offers India a roadmap** for phased implementation to enhance efficiency.
- 4. Indonesia's investment in streamlined electoral infrastructure led to a **63.8%** increase in costs from 2014 to 2019.⁴⁰

H. Nepal

- Nepal's attempt at simultaneous national and state elections in 2017, following its 2015 Constitution, marked a significant step toward synchronised polls.⁴¹ However, difficulties in organising the simultaneous polls at a larger scale led to a division of the elections into two phases.⁴²
- 2. Usually, national and provincial elections are held every four years.
- 3. If an **interim PM** cannot be appointed after a collapse, **snap elections following the standard electoral framework** may be called.⁴³
- 4. **Provincial Governments do not automatically fall** with the national Government. The timing of new elections depends on local laws. The President may also designate the Chief of State of another State to act also for such state. The new Government serves the remainder of the term.⁴⁴
- 5. Political instability, with three Governments since 2022, underscores the **need for robust legal frameworks.** Nepal's experience suggests that India's ONOE **must address coalition volatility** to ensure stable governance.

I. Nigeria

- 1. Nigeria's **simultaneous state and national elections**, managed by the Independent National Election Commission, occur **every four years** but face challenges like electoral violence and **low turnout (26.72% in recent elections)**.⁴⁵
- 2. Structured and **fixed-term elections in Nigeria are mandated by the Constitution** of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999 and the Electoral Act 2022.⁴⁶
- 3. **If a Government falls, the Vice President assumes office** and serves out the remainder of the term. **State Governors have designated successors**, failing which snap elections are held.⁴⁷

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³⁹ Law No.10, Republic of Indonesia

⁴⁰ Kumparan BISNIS, 27 March 2019

⁴¹ India Today, September 2023

⁴² India Today, September 2023

⁴³ The Constitution of Nepal Pg No. 62

⁴⁴ The Constitution of Nepal Pg No.109

⁴⁵ National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, April 2025; Dataphyte, 3 March 2023

⁴⁶ Electoral Act 2022, Federal Republic of Nigeria, Official Gazette, 29 March 2022

⁴⁷ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999



4. Nigeria's elections are **among the most expensive in Africa**, driven by the costs of large-scale logistics, security, and the deployment of advanced electoral technology. 48 **Voter turnout has been on a steady decline since 2007.** 49

J. Philippines

- 1. The Philippines uses a **mixed electoral system** President/Vice President (6-year term), Senators (6-year term, half elected every 3 years),⁵⁰ House of Representatives (3-year term).⁵¹
- 2. Local elections for provincial, city, and municipal officials occur simultaneously with national elections, every 3 years on the second Monday of May.⁵²
- 3. The synchronisation of national and local elections is mandated by the **1987 Philippine Constitution** and governed by the Omnibus Election Code of the Philippines (Batas Pambansa Bilang 881), enacted on December 3, 1985.⁵³
- 4. The Vice President (Vice Governor/Vice Mayor at state level) assumes office if the Government falls, with the successor serving the remainder of the existing term.⁵⁴
- 5. Voter turnout is generally high, averaging at around 80%.⁵⁵

K. South Africa

- 1. South Africa's **proportional representation system synchronizes national and provincial elections**, managed by the Independent Electoral Commission, optimising resources. Municipal elections are held separately.⁵⁶
- 2. In case of Government collapse, the **PM or President acts as caretaker**. If assembly is dissolved, **snap elections are called within 90 days**.⁵⁷
- 3. When provincial Governments fall, the new Government serves a full five-year term. This means its timeline may no longer align with the next scheduled national elections.⁵⁸
- 4. In South Africa, **local and provincial Governments can fall at different times** due to various political dynamics, **leading to staggered election cycles.**⁵⁹

L. Sweden

1. Sweden holds **multi-level synchronized elections every four years** for Riksdag, county councils, and municipal assemblies, usually held **in September.**⁶⁰

⁴⁸ This Day, 2024

⁴⁹ National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, April 2025; Dataphyte, 3 March 2023

⁵⁰ Philippine News Agency, 21 March 2019

⁵¹ Republic of the Philippines, Senate Electoral Tribunal

⁵² Republic of the Philippines, Senate Electoral Tribunal

⁵³ Republic of the Philippines, Senate Electoral Tribunal

⁵⁴ Republic Act 7160, Title II, Chapter II

⁵⁵ Reuters, May 2022

⁵⁶ Helen Suzman Foundation, The South African Electoral System

National and Provincial Elections Factsheet

⁵⁸ Provincial Legislatures, The South African Constitution

⁵⁹ South African Government, Official Information and Services

⁶⁰ India Today, September 2023



- 2. In case of a no-confidence motion, **snap elections may be held within three months** if coalition talks are unsuccessful. The 1974 Constitution ensures stability during collapses through interim Governments. The **new Government serves out the remainder of the term.**⁶¹
- 3. Regional Governments continue until the original term ends.⁶²
- 4. People engage in a **split-ticket voting pattern**, demonstrating a distinct voting process within the community. They are more **in line with a multi-level understanding of a political system** with a precise distribution of competencies.⁶³
- 5. The overall stability and governance continuity mechanisms have ensured a consistently high voter turnout of over 80% since the 1950s (84.21% in 2022).⁶⁴

M. United Kingdom

- 1. The **Fixed-Term Parliaments Act (FTPA) 2011, has been repealed**, restoring the Prime Minister's power to call elections at their discretion. The FTPA had set a **five-year interval** between ordinary general elections, to be held on the **first Thursday in May in every fifth year.**⁶⁵
- 2. The UK's devolved assemblies initially had four-year fixed terms, later extended to five years to align with Westminster's five-year fixed term.
- 3. The elections held **under the FTPA saw an increase in voter turnout**, peaking at 69% in 2017.⁶⁶ Voter participation **fell after the repeal**, **with a recorded 60% (lowest in 20 years)** in 2024.⁶⁷
- 4. Under the FTPA, a Government collapse through **no-confidence motions may lead** to an early general election.⁶⁸
- 5. The UK's election system is **paper-based**, with manual counting, leading to significant expenses in ballot printing and staffing.⁶⁹

N. United States

through the Electoral College. The separation of executive and legislature **allows the**Senate to continue even with a lame duck President.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Commons Library, UK Parliament

⁶¹ Library of Congress Blogs, 24 June 2021; Deccan Herald, 21 June 2021

⁶² Library of Congress Blogs, 24 June 2021; Magnus Blomgren, LSE Blogs, July 2021

⁶³ Swedish National Election Studies, 15 December 2020

⁶⁴ Sweden Sverige

⁶⁶ House of Commons library, January 2023, Pg. 23

⁶⁷ Economics Observatory, July 2024

⁶⁸ Commons Library, UK Parliament

⁶⁹ Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

⁷⁰ Polyas Election Glossary



- 2. Most states (except Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia) choose to have their **elections in alignment with federal elections**. Each state has its own election laws, which can lead to **variations in how elections are conducted.**⁷¹
- 3. There exists **no formal mechanism for a vote of no-confidence**. If a president is removed by impeachment or resigns, the **Vice President assumes office and serves out the remainder of the term.** ⁷²
- 4. If a Governor is unable to continue in office, the Lieutenant Governor typically assumes the role for the remainder of the term.⁷³
- 5. The Electoral College system has faced criticism for potentially undermining democratic principles.⁷⁴ **Candidates can win the presidency without winning the popular vote**, as seen in elections like those in 2000 (George W. Bush vs. Al Gore) and 2016 (Donald Trump vs. Hillary Clinton).⁷⁵

⁷¹ MIT Election Data + Science Lab, 6 May 2022

⁷² Polyas Election Glossary

⁷³ Washington State, Office of Attorney General, 13 December 2019

⁷⁴ <u>University of Tennessee</u>, <u>December 2020</u>; <u>Stanford Report</u>, 8 April 2016

⁷⁵ Berkeley, 28 March 2019