



UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

Valimiste ja valimistehnoloogia usaldamine: levinumad meetodid ning viimased trendid Eestis

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Konverents „Usaldusest ja usaldatavusest“

Teaduste Akadeemia, 17. okt. 2023

Valimiste usaldamine: poliitilise toetuse üks aspekte

Poliitiline toetus on mitmemõõtmeline mõiste (Easton 1965, Norris 1999):

- toetus omariiklusele/poliitilisele kogukonnale
- režiimi alusprintsipiide (nt demokraatia) toetamine
- rahulolu režiimi toimimisega
- usaldus poliitiliste institutsioonide, protsesside ja võimukandjate suhtes

Piisav toetus – demokraatia toimimise eeltingimus

Valimiste usaldamine → valimistulemuste aktsepteerimine

Valimiste usaldamine: võitjad ja kaotajad

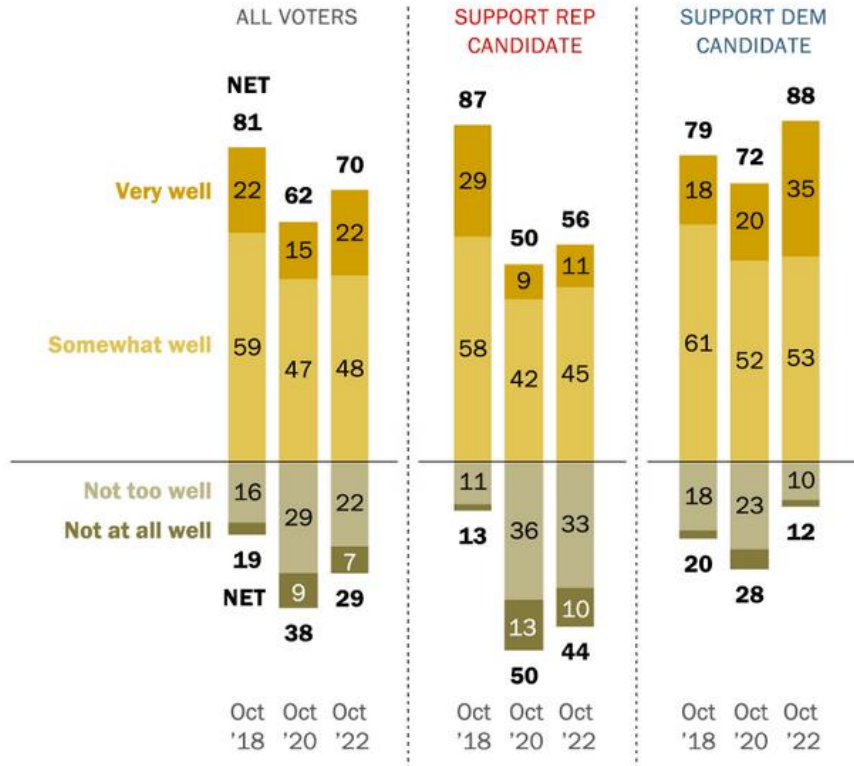
- Võitjate-kaotajate lõhe (*winner-loser gap*) rahulolus demokraatia toimimisega/valimiste usaldamises (Ginsberg and Weissberg 1978; Sances and Stewart 2015; Mochtak et al. 2021)
- Seos valimis- ja parteisüsteemiga
 - majoritaarsed versus proportsionaalsed süsteemid
 - kahe- versus mitmeparteisüsteemid
- Seos poliitilise polariseerumisega
- Korduva kaotamise mõjud (Kern&Kölln 2022)

Valimiste usaldusväärsus: keda valija kuulab?

- ‘Kognitiivsed otseteed’ poliitiliste seisukohtade ja hinnangute kujundamisel: tuginemine ‘usaldusväärsetele teistele’
- Erakondade poolt antavad signaalid (*party cues*) valimiste usaldusväärssuse ja õiguspärasuse kohta (Reller et al 2022 jt).
- Valijate vastuvõtlikkus säärasele signaalidele
 - haridus, informeeritus
 - poliitiline polariseerumine
- Mis põhjustab erinevuse võitjate ja kaotajate hinnangutes: kas ‘massimeeleolud’ või erakondade/eliidi poolt antud signaalid?

GOP voters remain far less confident than Democratic voters that U.S. elections will be administered well

% of registered voters who say they think the elections this November in the United States will be run and administered ...

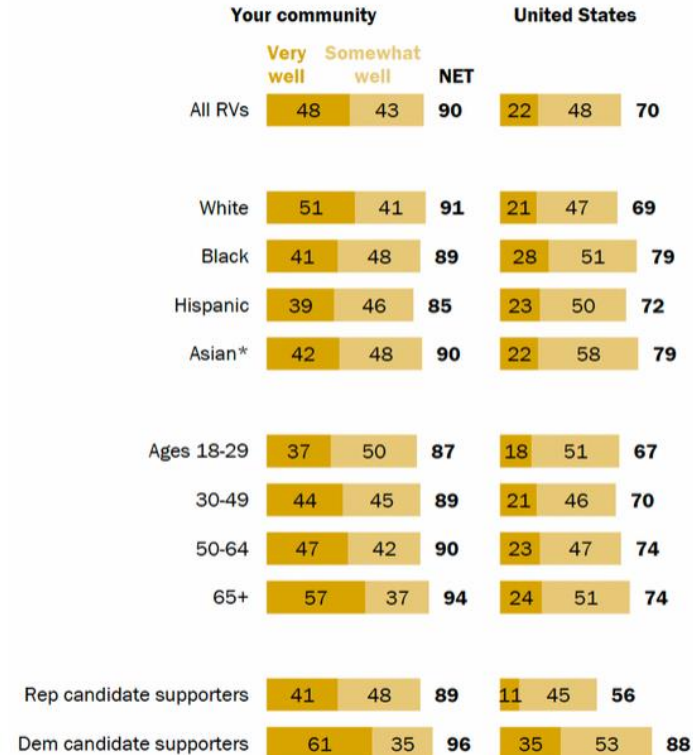


Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 10-16, 2022.

Pew Research Center 2022,
<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/10/31/views-of-election-administration-and-confidence-in-vote-counts/>

Only modest differences by age, race and ethnicity in views of how elections will be administered

% of registered voters who say they think the elections this November in _____ will be run and administered ...



*Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

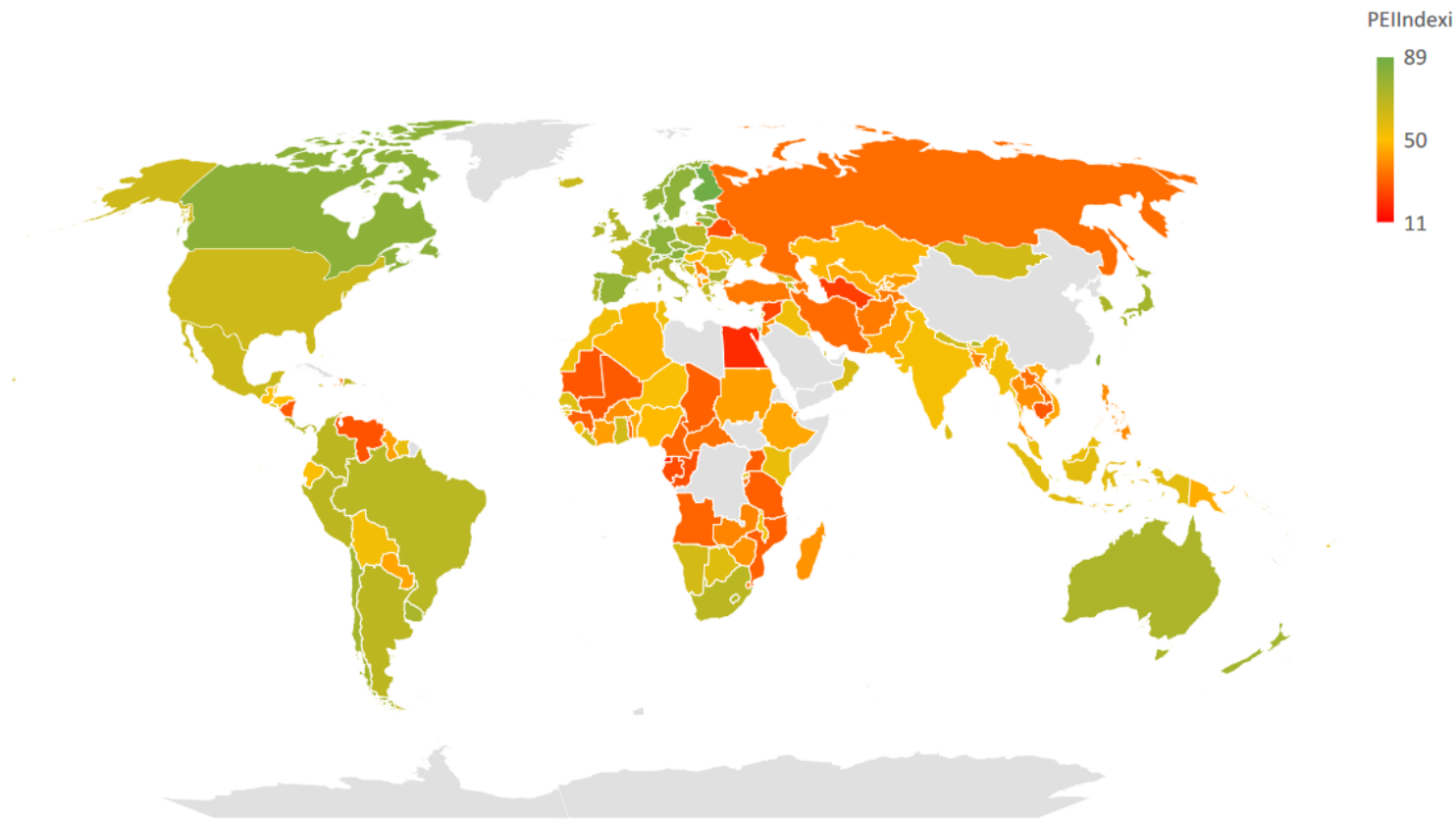
Notes: Based on registered voters. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 10-16, 2022.

Valimiste usaldamine: kuidas mõõta?

- Eksperthinnangud
 - Nt. Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, 4722 eksperthinnangut, 497 valimist 169 riigist, 2012-2022
- Valijauuringud/avaliku arvamuse uuringud
 - Riiklikud, üleeuroopalised ja rahvusvahelised valimisuuringud (nt Comparative Study of Electoral Systems)
 - Valimiste ja demokraatiaga seotud küsimused/moodulid muudes rahvusvahelistes küsitlusuuringutes (Euroopa Sotsiaaluuring, Üleilmne Väärtusuuring, Eurobaromeeter jne)

FIGURE 1: ELECTORAL INTEGRITY WORLDWIDE, MOST RECENT ELECTION



Powered by Bing
© Australian Bureau of Statistics, GeoNames, Microsoft, Navinfo, OpenStreetMap, TomTom, Wikipedia

Source: *The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 9.0), most recent election reported.*

TABLE 4: PEI CORE SURVEY QUESTIONS

	Sections	Performance indicators	Direction
PRE-ELECTION	1. Electoral laws	1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties	N
		1-2 Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties	N
		1-3 Election laws restricted citizens' rights	N
	2. Electoral procedures	2-1 Elections were well managed	P
		2-2 Information about voting procedures was widely available	P
		2-3 Election officials were fair	P
		2-4 Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	P
	3. Boundaries	3-1 Boundaries discriminated against some parties	N
		3-2 Boundaries favored incumbents	N
		3-3 Boundaries were impartial	P
	4. Voter registration	4-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register	N
		4-2 The electoral register was inaccurate	N
		4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered	N
	5. Party registration	5-1 Some opposition candidates were prevented from running	N
		5-2 Women had equal opportunities to run for office	P
5-3 Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office		P	
5-4 Only top party leaders selected candidates		N	
5-5 Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies		N	
CAMPAIGN	6. Campaign media	6-1 Newspapers provided balanced election news	P
		6-2 TV news favored the governing party	N
		6-3 Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising	P
		6-4 Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections	P
		6-5 Social media were used to expose electoral fraud	P
	7. Campaign finance	7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public political subsidies	P
		7-2 Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations	P
		7-3 Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts	P
		7.4 Rich people bought elections	N
		7-5 Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning	N
		7-6 Voters were bribed	N

ELECTION DAY	8. Voting process	8-1 Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls	N
		8-2 Some fraudulent votes were cast	N
		8-3 The process of voting was easy	P
		8-4 Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box	P
		8-5 Postal ballots were available	P
		8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	P
		8-7 National citizens living abroad could vote	P
		8-8 Some form of internet voting was available	P
POST-ELECTION	9. Vote count	9-1 Ballot boxes were secure	P
		9-2 The results were announced without undue delay	P
		9-3 Votes were counted fairly	P
		9-4 International election monitors were restricted	N
		9-5 Domestic election monitors were restricted	N
	10. Results	10-1 Parties/candidates challenged the results	N
		10-2 The election led to peaceful protests	N
		10-3 The election triggered violent protests	N
		10-4 Any disputes were resolved through legal channels	P
	11. Electoral authorities	11-1 The election authorities were impartial	P
		11-2 The authorities distributed information to citizens	P
		11-3 The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance	P
11-4 The election authorities performed well		P	

Note: The direction of the original items P=positive, N=negative. Core items are repeated each year.

Source: www.electoralintegrityproject.com

TABLE 1: THE PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY INDEX BY COUNTRY AND REGION

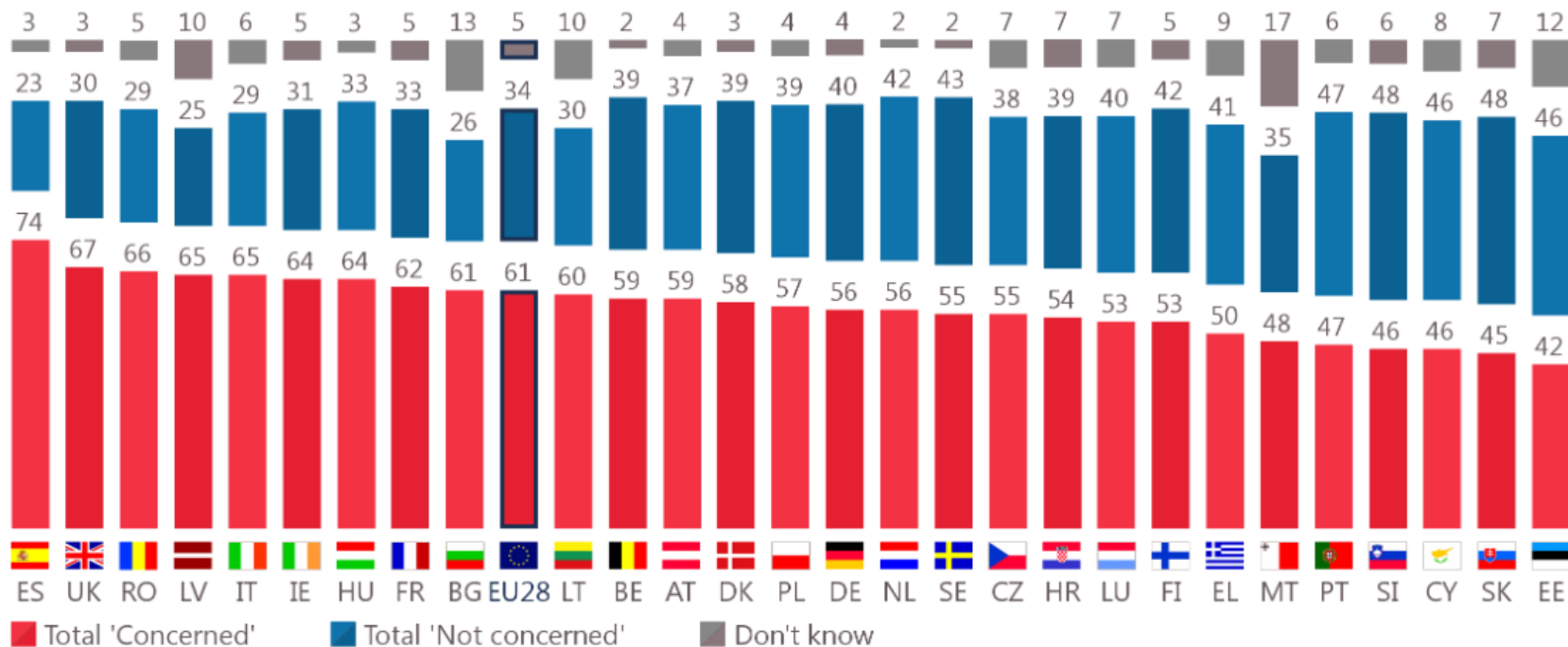
Africa	Americas	Asia	Europe	Oceania					
São Tomé and Príncipe	74	Uruguay	83	Israel	83	Finland	89	Kiribati	76
Lesotho	70	Canada	81	Cyprus	83	Denmark	87	New Zealand	75
South Africa	69	Chile	74	Taiwan	81	Estonia	85	Australia	73
Gambia	64	Panama	70	Japan	75	Austria	83	Solomon Islands	63
Ghana	63	Costa Rica	69	Republic of Korea	73	Switzerland	82	Vanuatu	61
Namibia	62	Brazil	69	Timor-Leste	71	Sweden	81	Micronesia	57
Liberia	62	Peru	68	Bhutan	71	Germany	81	Fiji	55
Senegal	59	Colombia	68	Singapore	65	Lithuania	80	Samoa	49
Botswana	59	Argentina	68	Qatar	65	Slovenia	80	Papua New Guinea	46
Rwanda	58	Grenada	67	Mongolia	62	Norway	79	Tonga	41
Sao Tome and Principe	56	Dominican Republic	67	Nepal	62	Slovakia	79		
Kenya	56	Barbados	67	Oman	61	Netherlands	78		
Guinea Bissau	55	Jamaica	67	Sri Lanka	60	Czech Republic	78		
Morocco	54	Ecuador	66	Georgia	59	Latvia	77		
Cape Verde	54	Trinidad and Tobago	66	Maldives	59	Luxembourg	76		
Ivory Coast	54	Mexico	64	India	59	Belgium	75		
Malawi	54	United States	64	Indonesia	58	Spain	74		
Niger	52	El Salvador	60	Malaysia	56	Italy	72		
Sierra Leone	50	Suriname	56	Kuwait	54	Bulgaria	72		
Nigeria	49	Bahamas	56	Iraq	54	Portugal	72		
Algeria	47	Bolivia	54	Myanmar	54	Ireland	72		
Mauritius	47	Belize	53	Lebanon	51	United Kingdom	71		
Tunisia	47	Honduras	50	Kazakhstan	48	Poland	69		
Benin	45	Guatemala	50	Uzbekistan	45	France	67		
Ethiopia	45	Antigua and Barbuda	48	Pakistan	44	Armenia	67		

Africa	Americas	Asia	Europe	Oceania				
Sudan	43	Paraguay	44	Vietnam	44	Greece	66	
Côte D'Ivoire	43	Guyana	43	Kyrgyzstan	43	Croatia	65	
Madagascar	41	Haiti	35	Bahrain	41	Iceland	64	
Zimbabwe	41	Nicaragua	29	Thailand	40	Bosnia and Herzegovina	62	
Burkina Faso	40	Venezuela	28	Jordan	40	Moldova	61	
Zambia	38			Philippines	39	Malta	60	
Eswatini	38			Bangladesh	38	Ukraine	56	
Djibouti	36			Afghanistan	36	Romania	55	
Central African Republic	34			Tajikistan	36	Hungary	51	
Burundi	32			Azerbaijan	36	Montenegro	51	
Congo, Rep.	32			Turkey	35	Macedonia	48	
Togo	32			Laos, People's Republic	33	North Macedonia	46	
Cameroon	31			Cambodia	29	Albania	42	
Angola	31			Syria	25	Serbia	38	
Guinea	31			Turkmenistan	23	Russia	33	
Chad	31					Belarus	27	
Mozambique	30							
Tanzania	30							
Uganda	30							
Mali	29							
Mauritania	29							
Republic of Congo	27							
Gabon	26							
Egypt	20							
Equatorial Guinea	16							
Comoros	11							
Area Mean	44		60		52		67	59

Source: The Perceptions of Electoral Integrity expert survey, election-level (PEI 9.0), most recent election reported.

QB10.4 In the context of elections in Europe, how concerned or not are you about the possibility of each of the following events?

Elections being manipulated through cyberattacks (%)

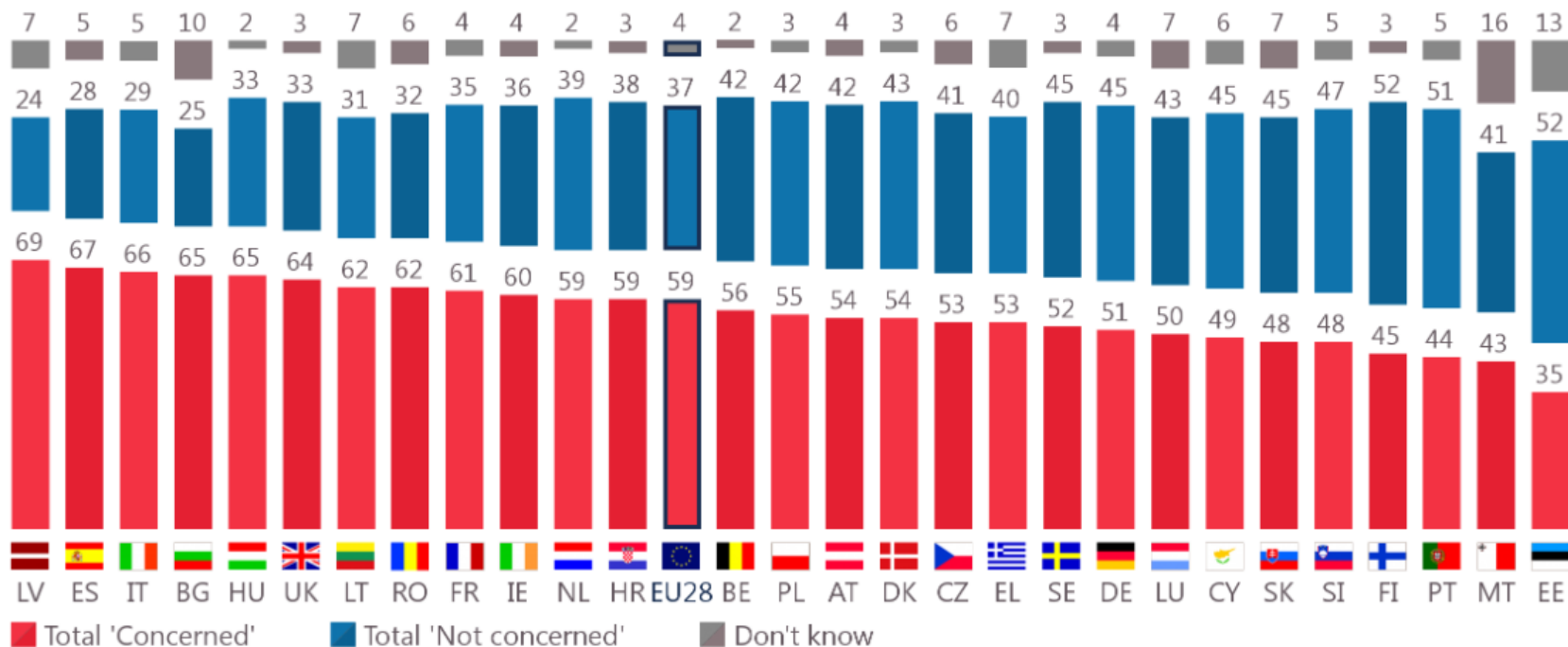


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB10.6 In the context of elections in Europe, how concerned or not are you about the possibility of each of the following events?

Foreign actors and criminal groups influencing elections covertly (%)

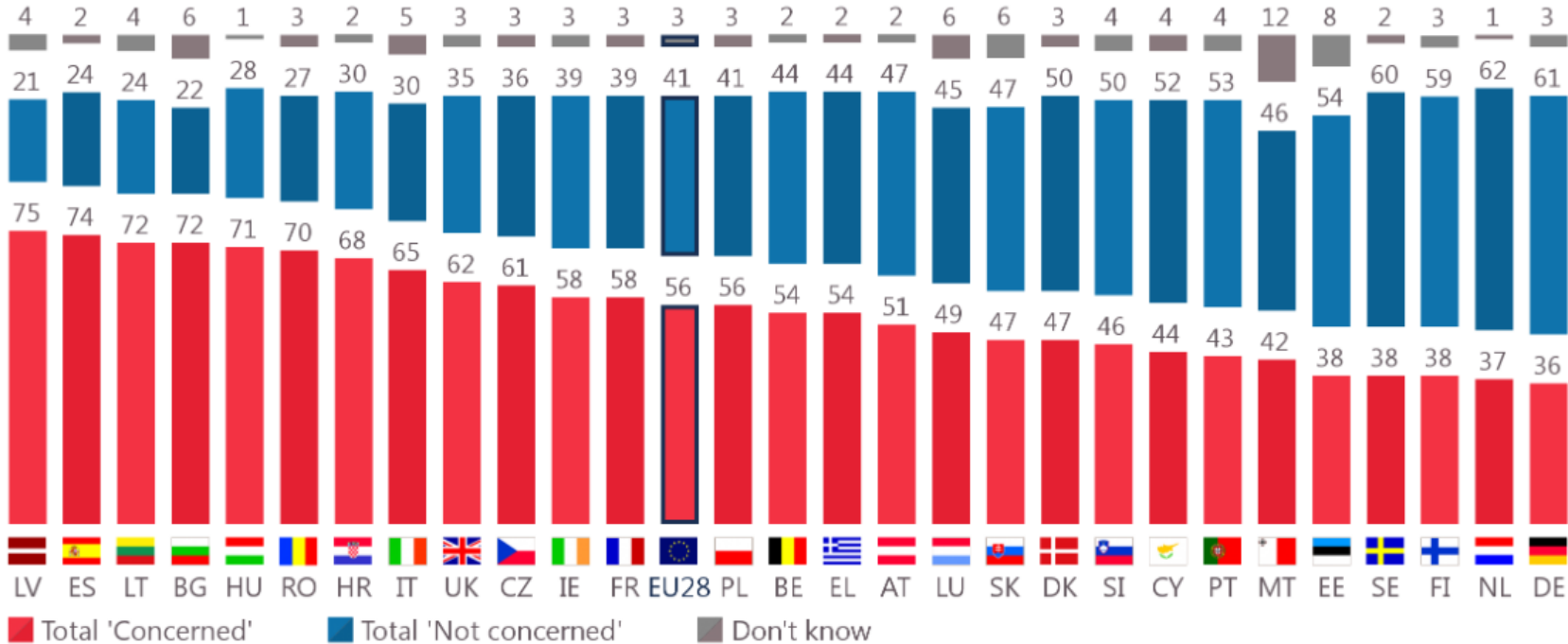


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB10.2 In the context of elections in Europe, how concerned or not are you about the possibility of each of the following events?

The final result of an election being manipulated (%)

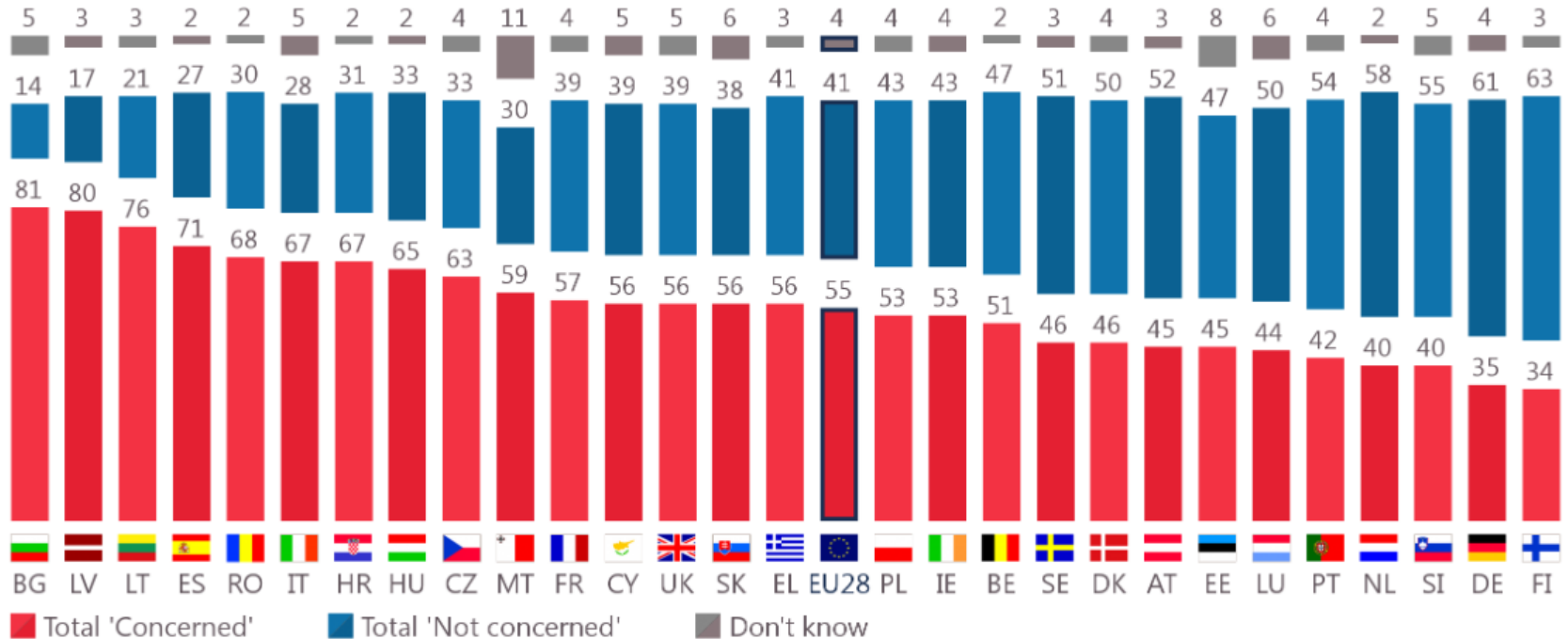


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB10.3 In the context of elections in Europe, how concerned or not are you about the possibility of each of the following events?

Votes being bought or sold (%)

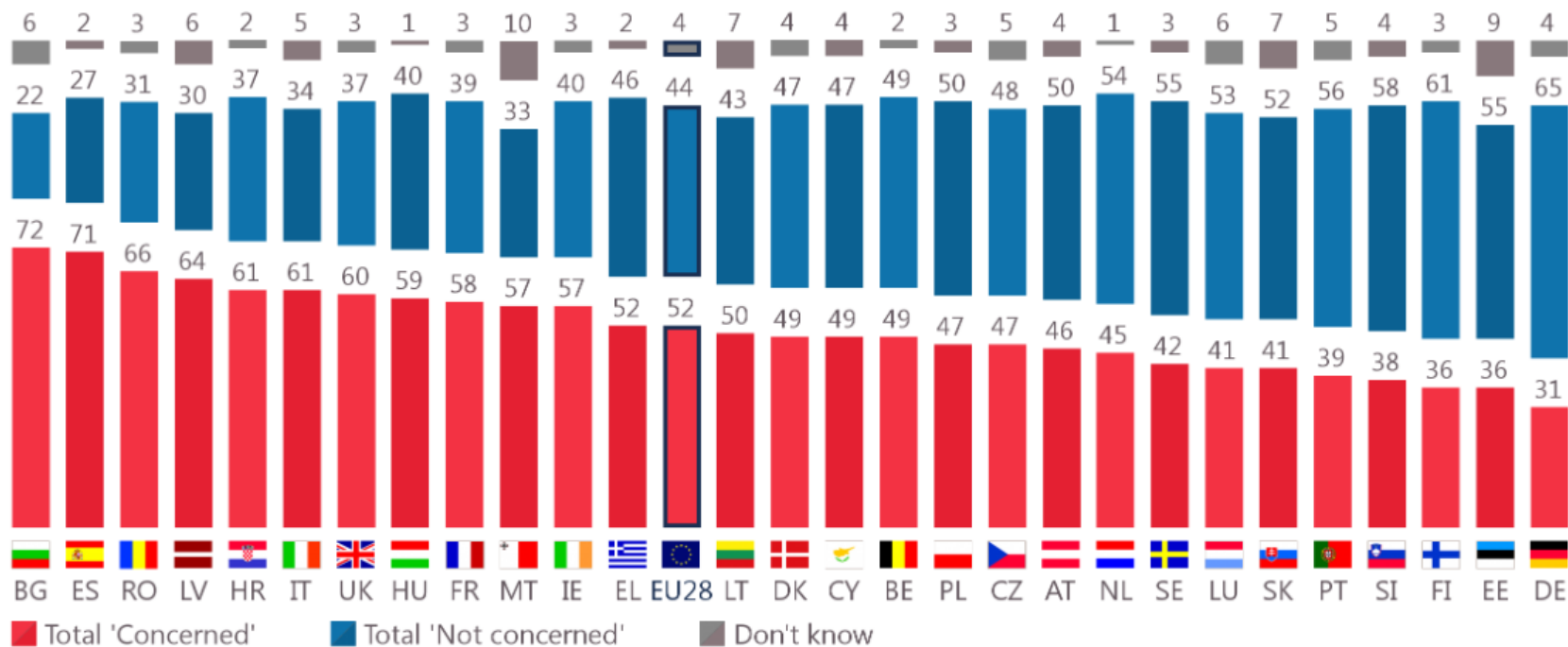


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB10.5 In the context of elections in Europe, how concerned or not are you about the possibility of each of the following events?

People being coerced into voting in a particular way (%)

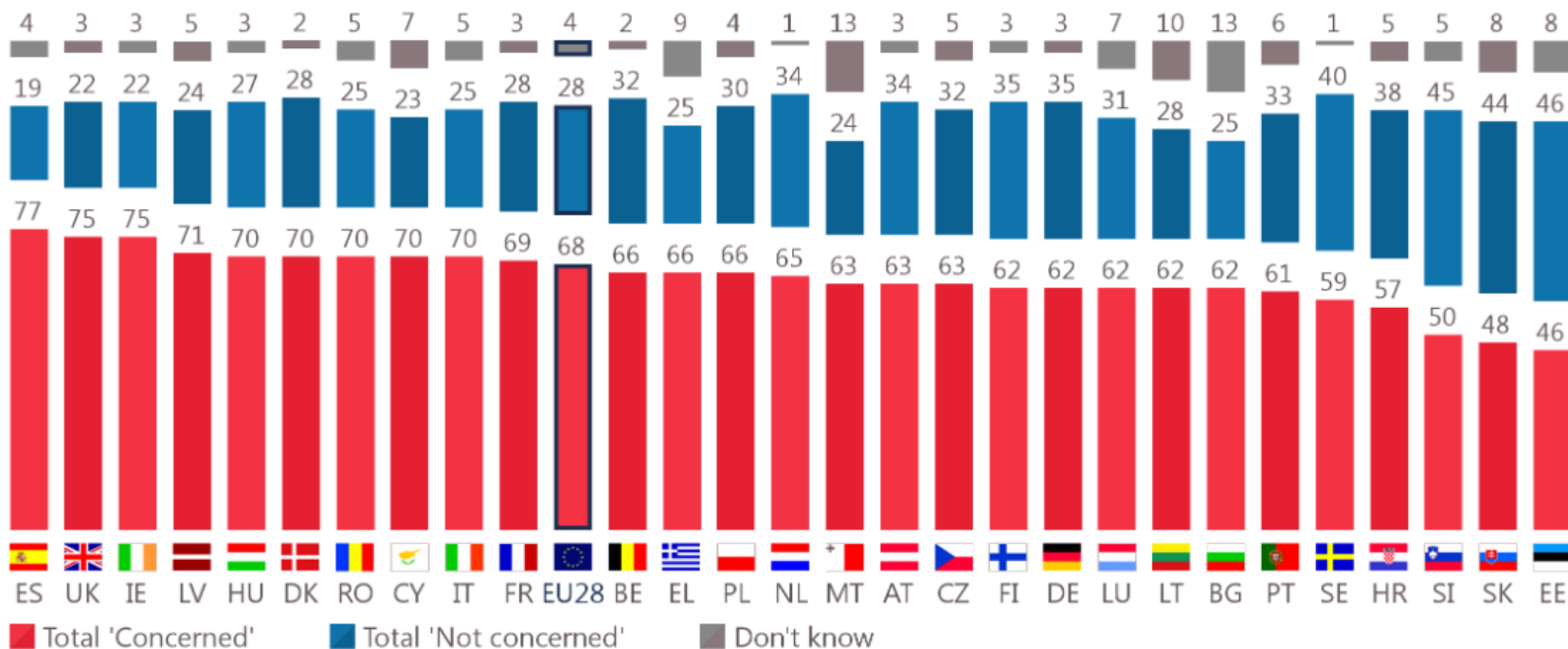


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB7.2 Imagine now that you were able to vote electronically, online or by post. How concerned or not would you be about each of the following?

The potential for fraud or cyberattack (%)

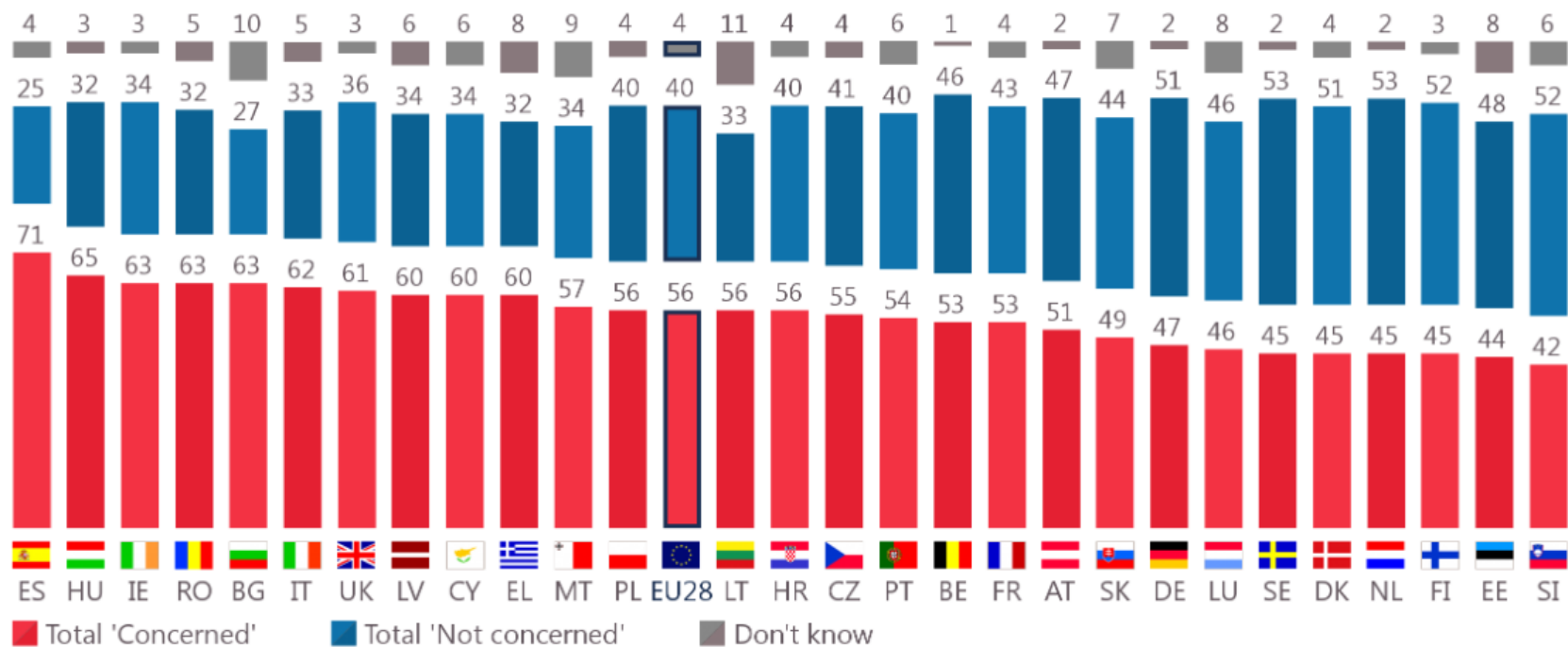


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB7.4 Imagine now that you were able to vote electronically, online or by post. How concerned or not would you be about each of the following?

Voters being influenced by third parties (%)

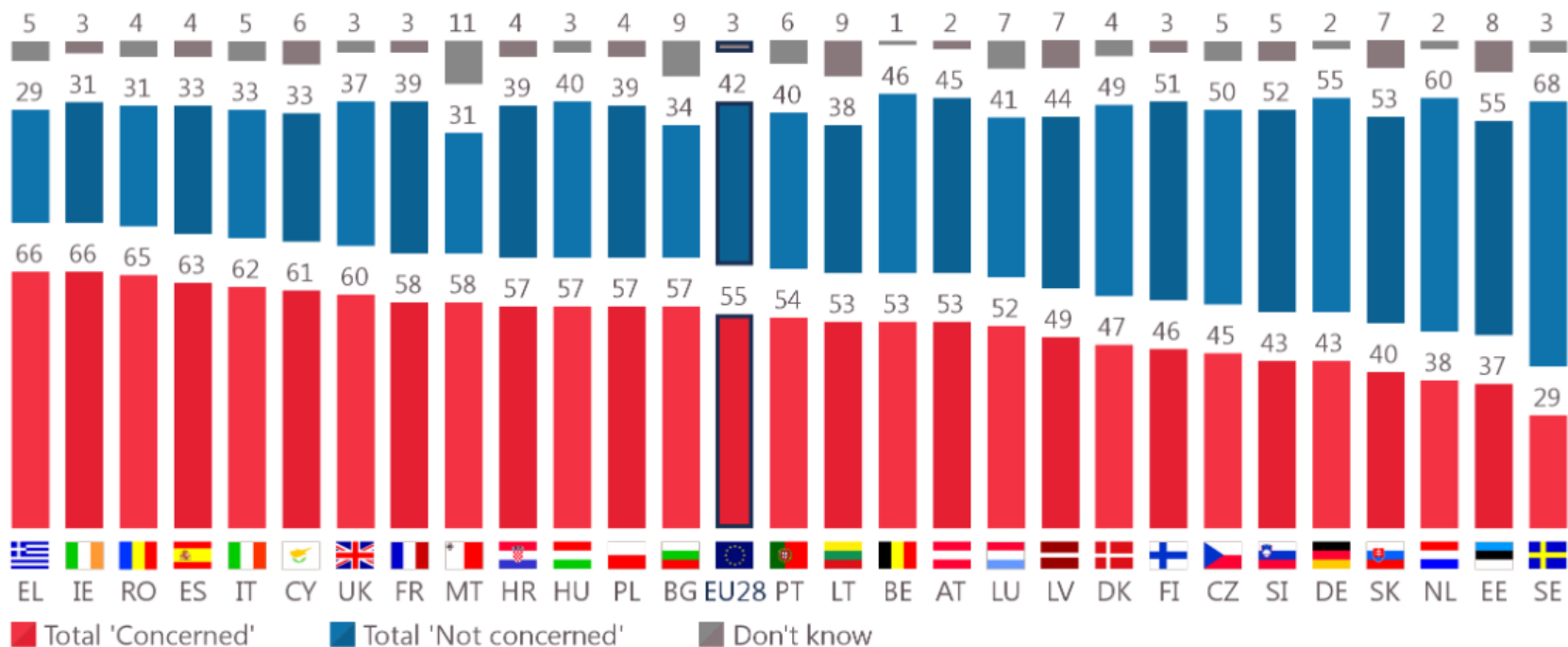


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB7.3 Imagine now that you were able to vote electronically, online or by post. How concerned or not would you be about each of the following?

The secrecy of the ballot (%)

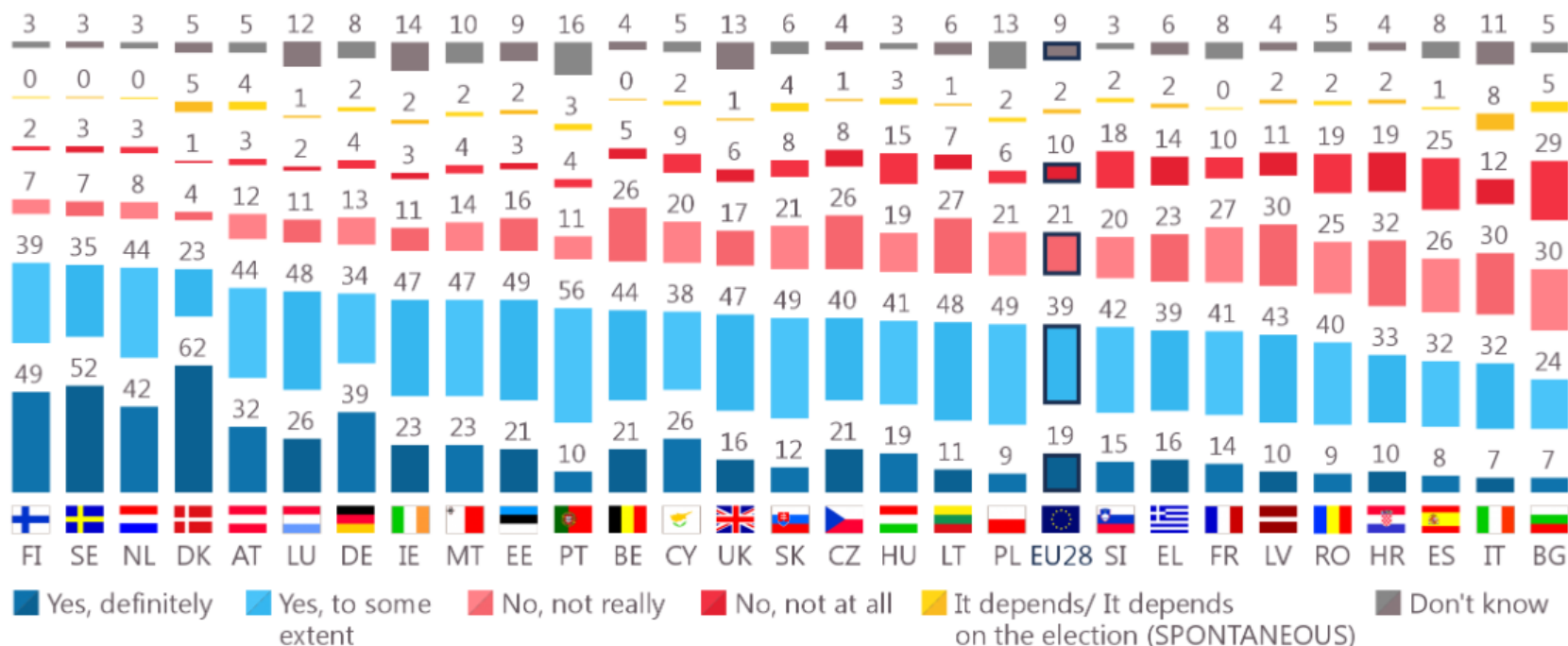


Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018

QB9 Overall, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY) is doing what is needed to prevent illegal and fraudulent activities during elections, whether at the local, national or European level?

(%)



Base: all respondents (n=27,474)

Allikas: Special Eurobarometer, 477 (EB90.1), september 2018



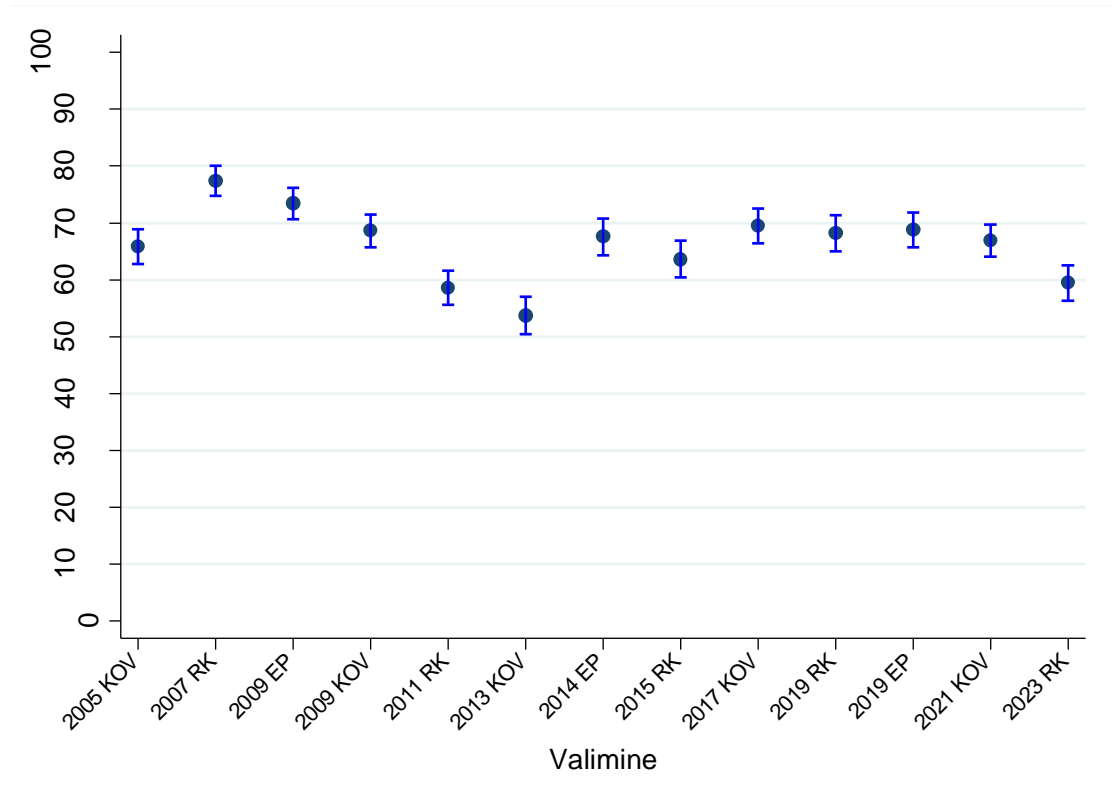
UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

Viimased trendid Eestis

Usaldus

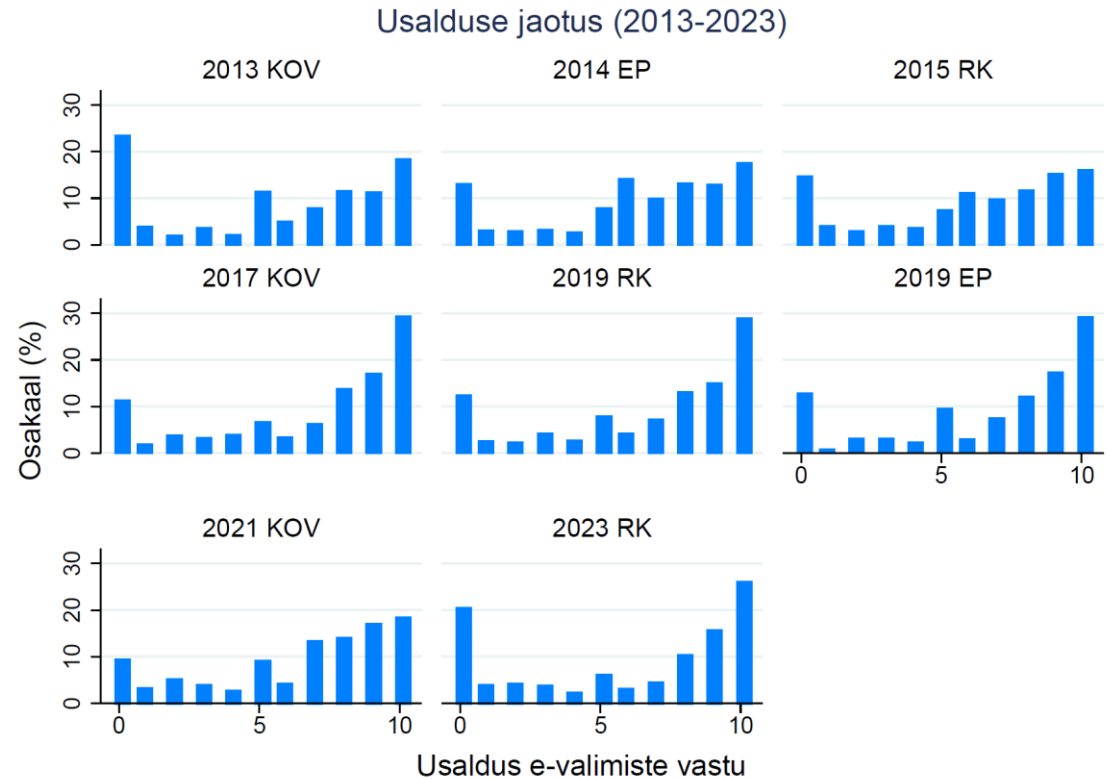
- Üldine usalduse tase e-valimiste vastu on kõrge, ~60-70%
- 2023 toimus samas statistiliselt oluline kukkumine

Allikas: Eesti e-valijate uuring
2005-2023



Usaldus

- Usaldus on tugevalt polariseerunud
- Polariseerumine on 2023 valimiste järelle jälle tugevnenud



Usalduse objektid

Mida me usaldame, kui räägime e-valimiste usaldamisest:

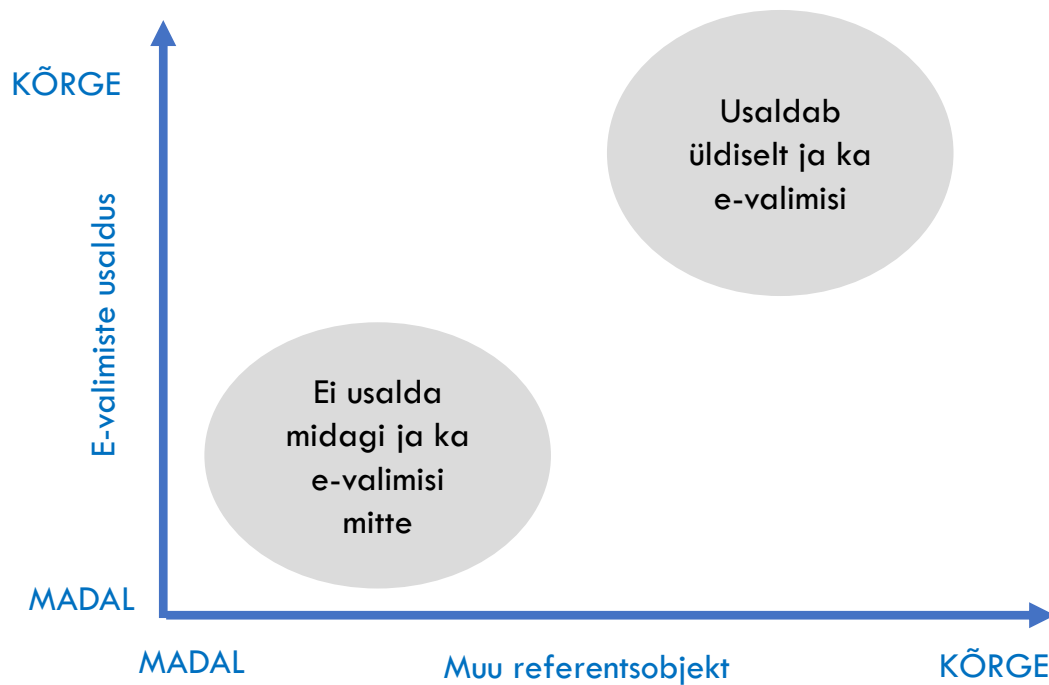
- 1) valimisi?
- 2) internetis tehingute tegemist?
- 3) riiki?
- 4) riiki internetis?



Usalduse objektid

Mida me usaldame, kui räägime e-valimiste usaldamisest:

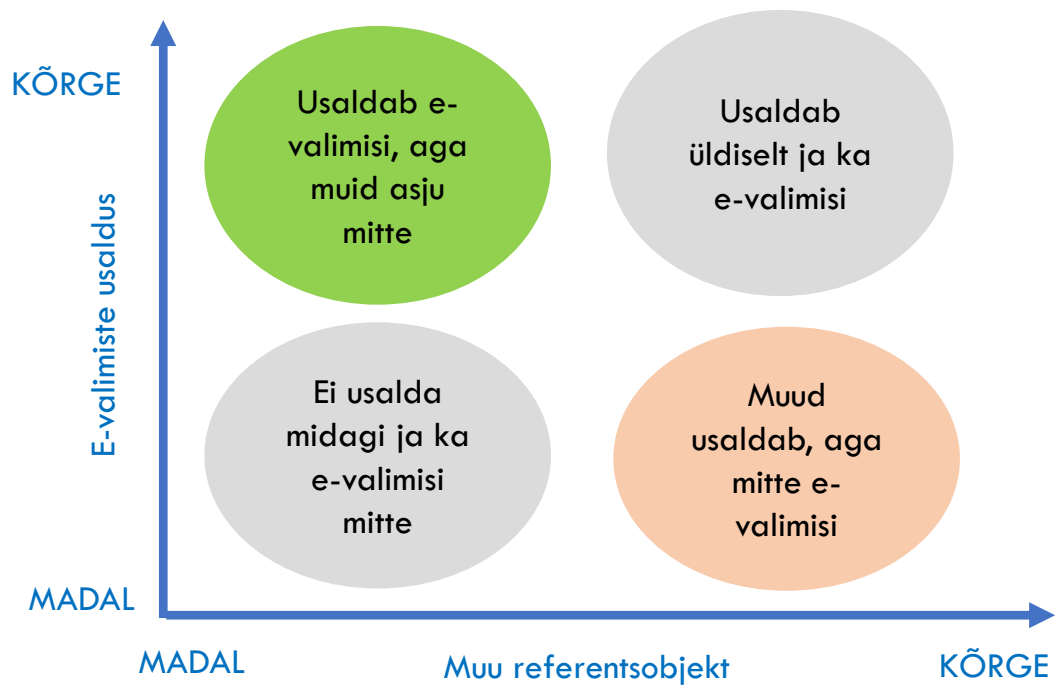
- 1) valimisi?
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- 3) riiki?
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Usalduse objektid

Mida me usaldame kui räägime e-valimiste usaldamisest:

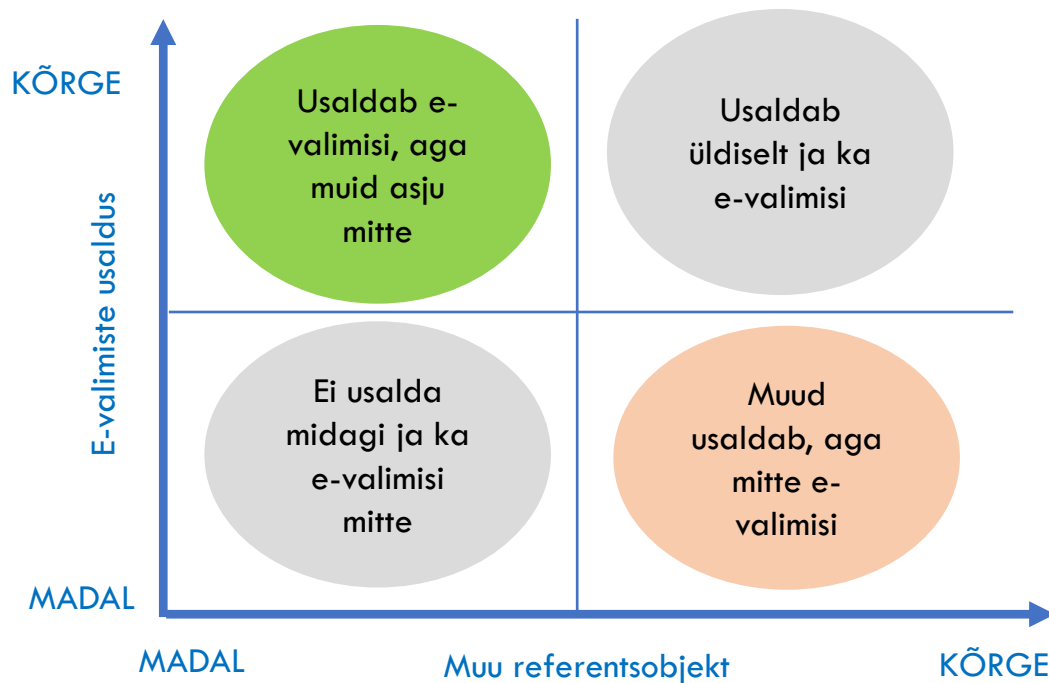
- 1) valimisi?
- 2) internetis tehingute tegemist?
- 3) riiki?
- 4) riiki internetis?



Usalduse objektid

Mida me usaldame kui räägime e-valimiste usaldamisest:

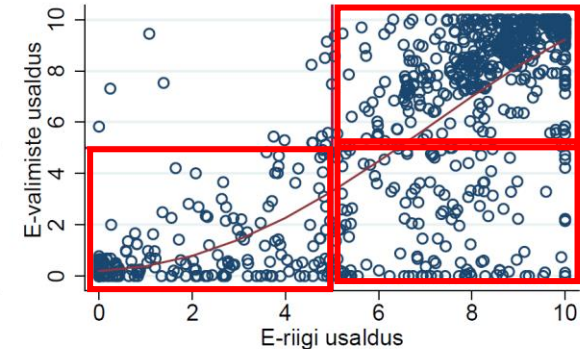
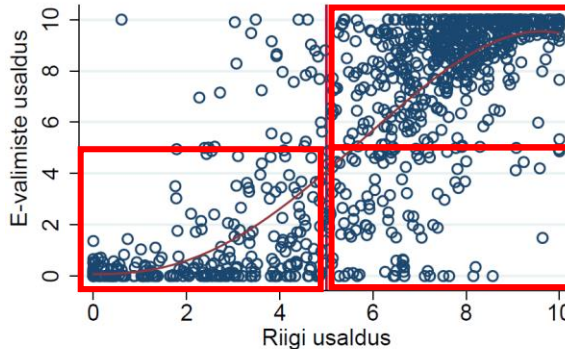
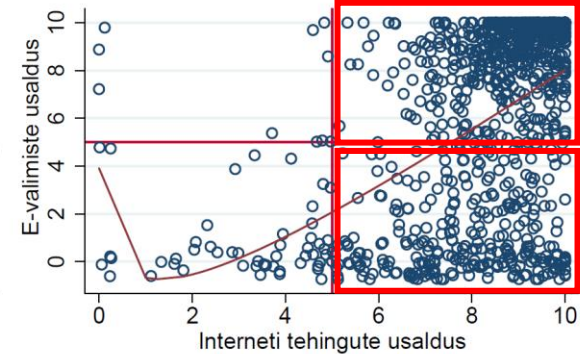
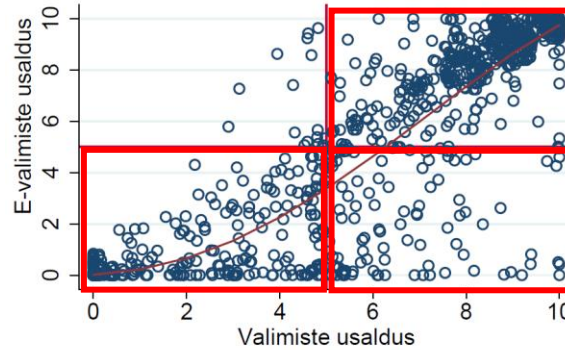
- 1) valimisi?
- 2) internetis tehingute tegemist?
- 3) riiki?
- 4) riiki internetis?



Usalduse objektid

- E-valimised ja valimised
- E-valimised ja neti-tehingud
- E-valimised ja riik
- E-valimised ja e-riik

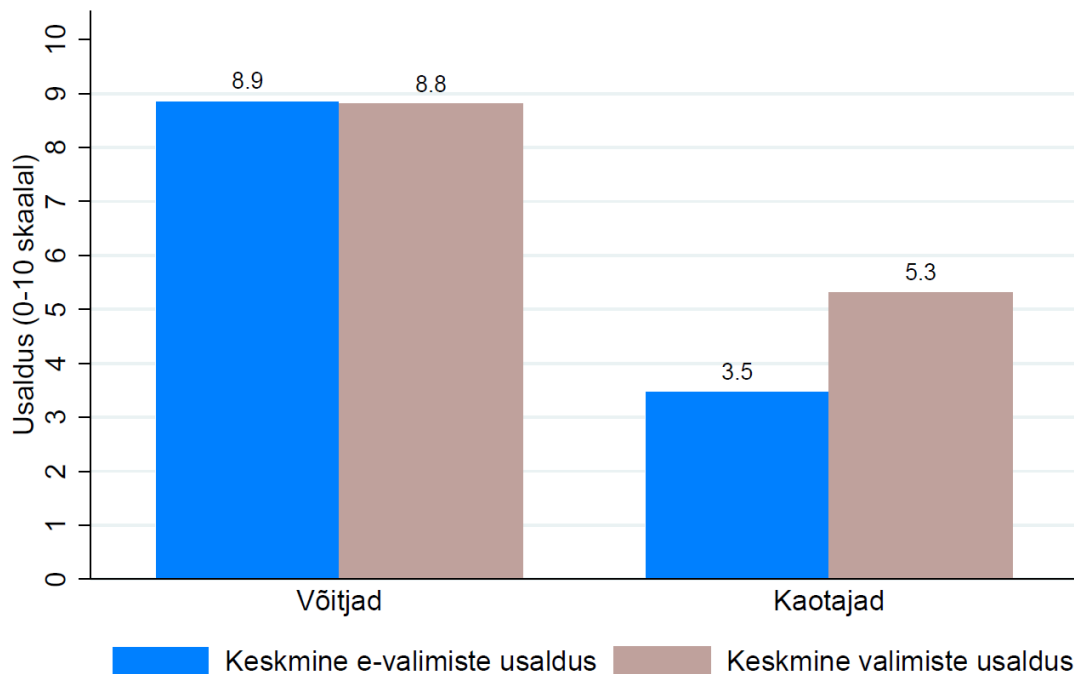
E-valimiste ja muude referentsobjektide usaldus



Usaldan, kui olen võitjate poolel

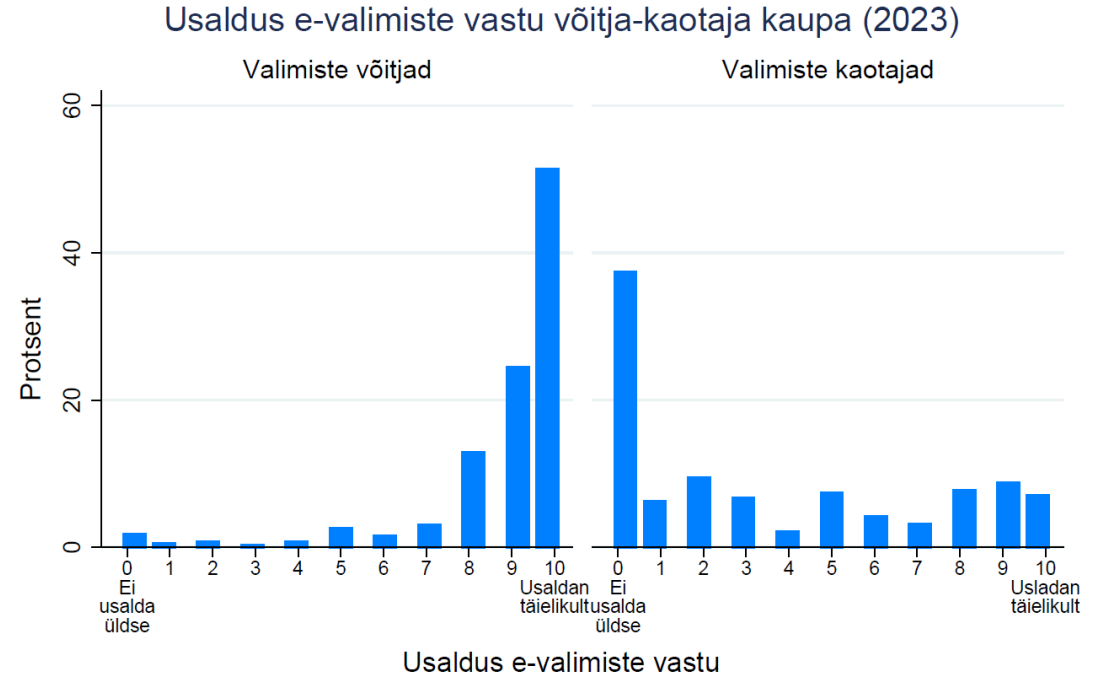
- Tugev võitjate (Ref, SDE, E200) ja kaotajate (EKRE, Kesk, Isamaa) vahe
- Kaotusvalu langes 2023 madala usalduse pinnasele

Valimiste ja e-valimiste usaldus
võitja-kaotaja erakonnaaliku kaupa (2023)



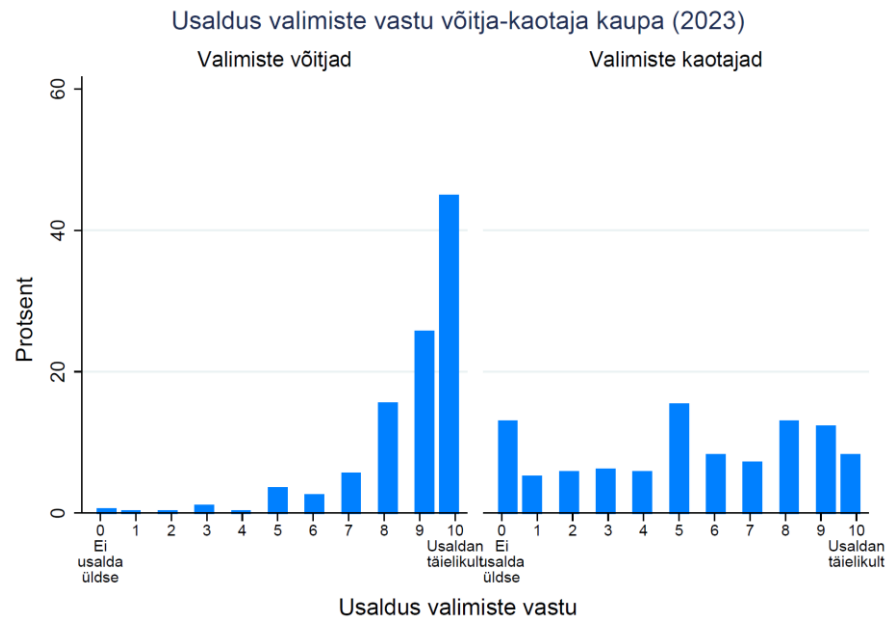
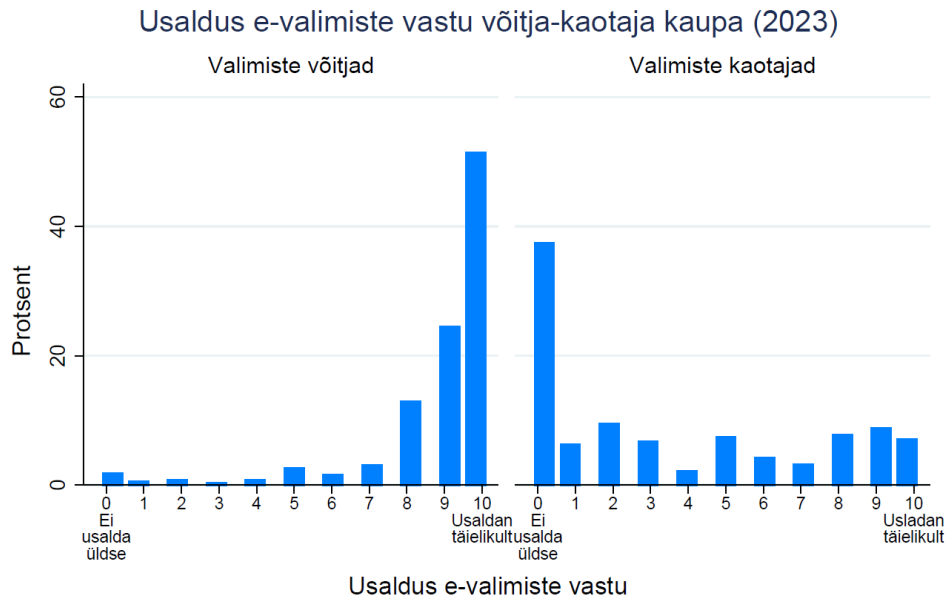
Usaldan, kui olen võitjate poolel

- Peegelpildis usalduse jaotused kahes leeris
- Kaotusvalu langes 2023 madala usalduse pinnasele



Usaldan, kui olen võitjate poolel

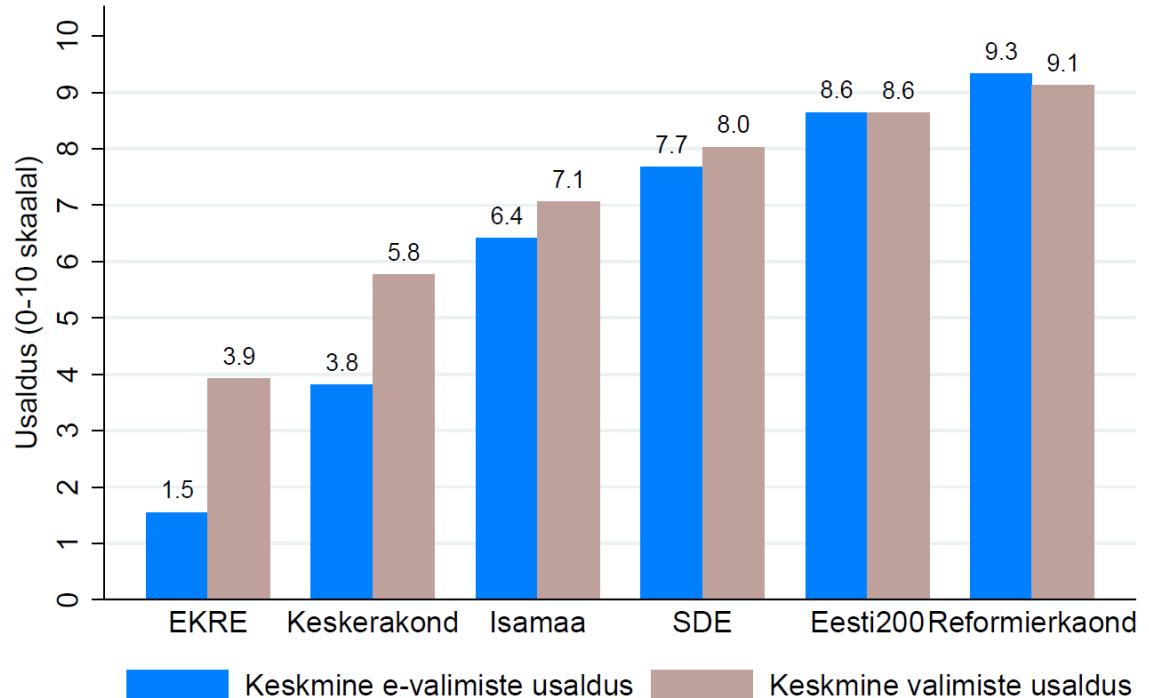
Samas ei kandu kaotusvalu tugevalt üle valimiste usaldusele üldiselt



Erakonnavalik ja usaldus

- Valitsuserakondade valijad on väga sarnased
- Opositsiooni valijad erinevad üksteisest tugevalt

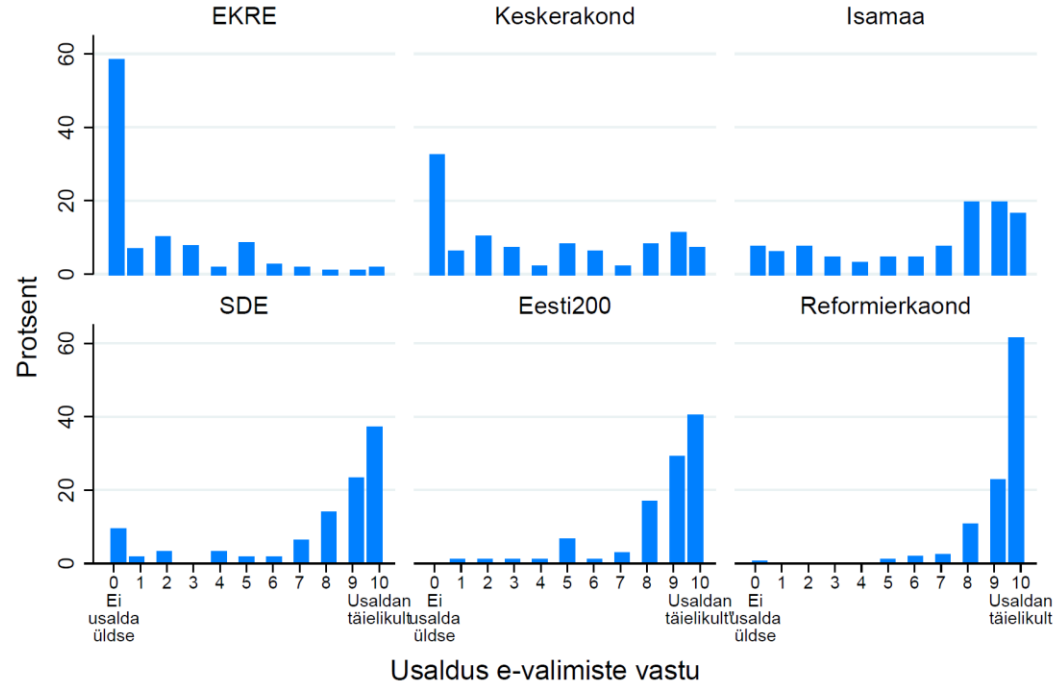
Valimiste ja e-valimiste usaldus erakonnavaliku kaupa (2023)



Erakonnavalik ja usaldus

- Ühe erakonna toetajate seas on polariseeritust vähe
- Vaid Keskerakonna ja Isamaa toetajate juures on seda näha, erineval kujul

Usaldus e-valimiste vastu erakonnavaliku kaupa (2023)





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Tänname!