Public trust in elections

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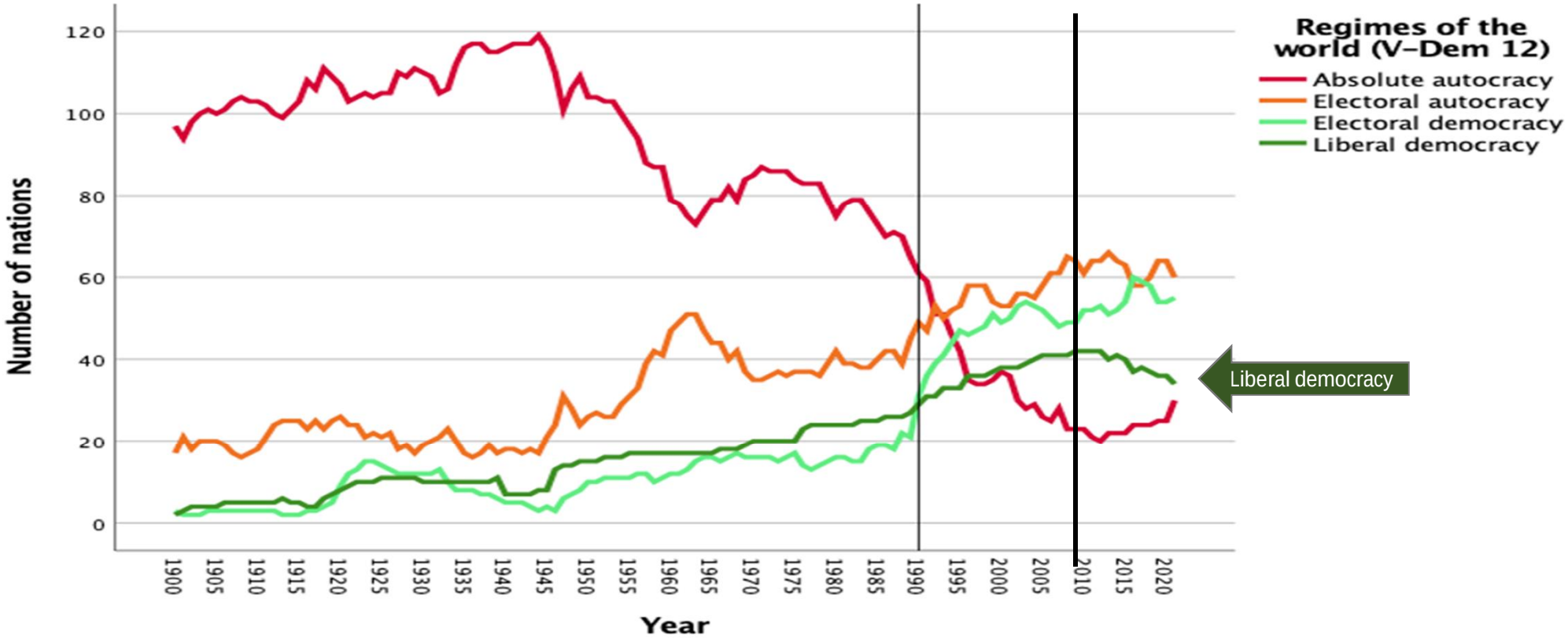
Global Summit for Democracy 2022 - European Regional Forum

You can download the pp from the Webex chat link...

Global state of democracy, 1900-2022

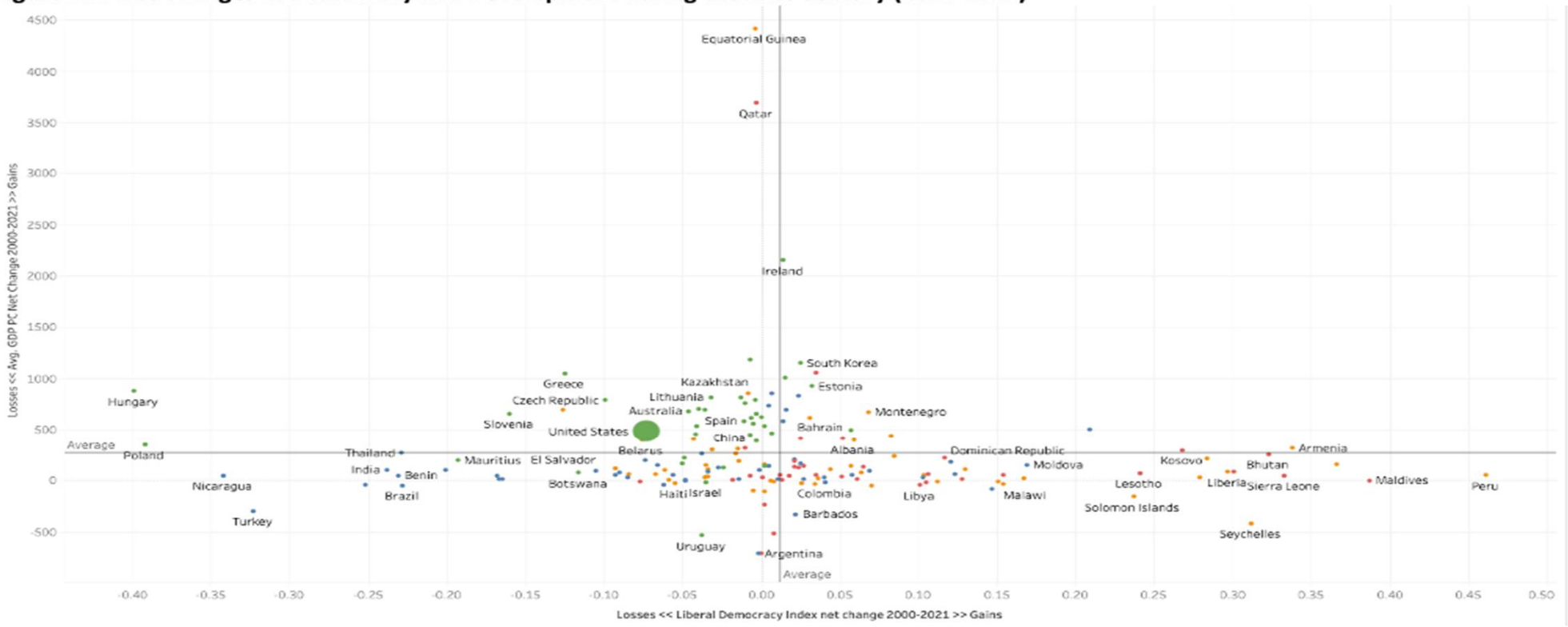
Figure 2.1: Annual trends in regimes worldwide 1900-2021



Source: Varieties of Democracy V12.0 (March 2022) https://www.v-dem.net/

Net changes in democracy & development, 2000-2021

Figure 2.2: Net Changes in Democracy and Development during the 21st Century (2000-2021)



Notes: Regime classification in 2000 from ROW (V-Dem) Green=Liberal democracy; Blue=Electoral democracy; Orange=Electoral Autocracy; Red=Absolute Autocracy.

Source: Varieties of Democracy V12.0 (March 2022) https://www.v-dem.net/

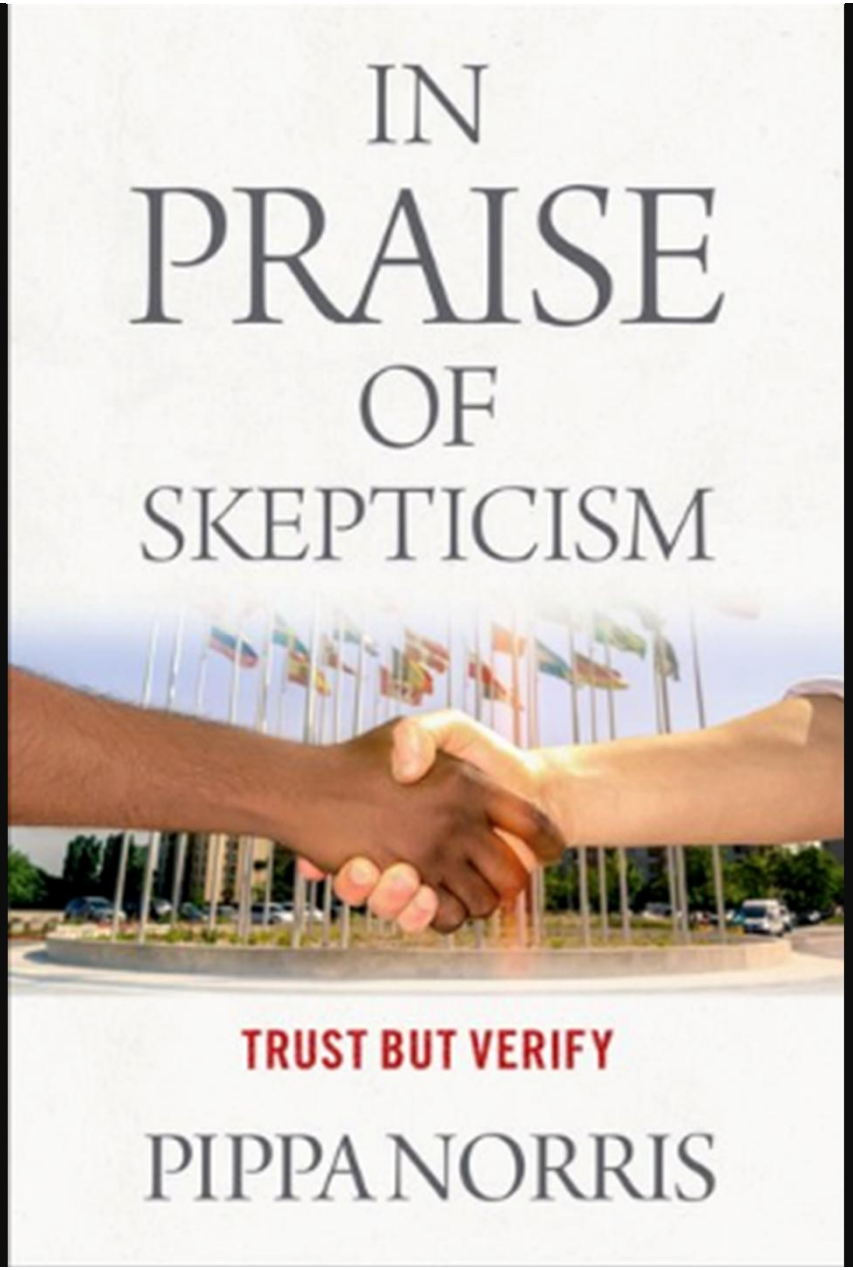
Structure

I. Trust & trustworthiness

II. Evidence

III. Findings

IV. Conclusions



Key claims

1. We should challenge normative assumptions about the beneficial consequences of electoral trust and focus on trustworthiness
2. Trust is always valuable for authorities by inducing compliance – but not always for citizens.
3. Erroneous beliefs involve both cynical mistrust *and* credulous trust
4. Accurate evaluations arise from individual-level cognitive skills *and* societal-level information environments
5. Need to build trustworthiness of electoral management bodies: competency, integrity, impartiality- and institutional guardrails from freedom of expression, plural media, civil watchdogs, and electoral laws

In Praise of Skepticism: Trust but Verify

Pippa Norris

New York: Oxford University Press.
Publication Aug 2022 $29.95 p/b

I: Introduction

1. Two faces of trust
2. The general theory of skeptical trust
3. Evidence

II: What causes skeptical trust?

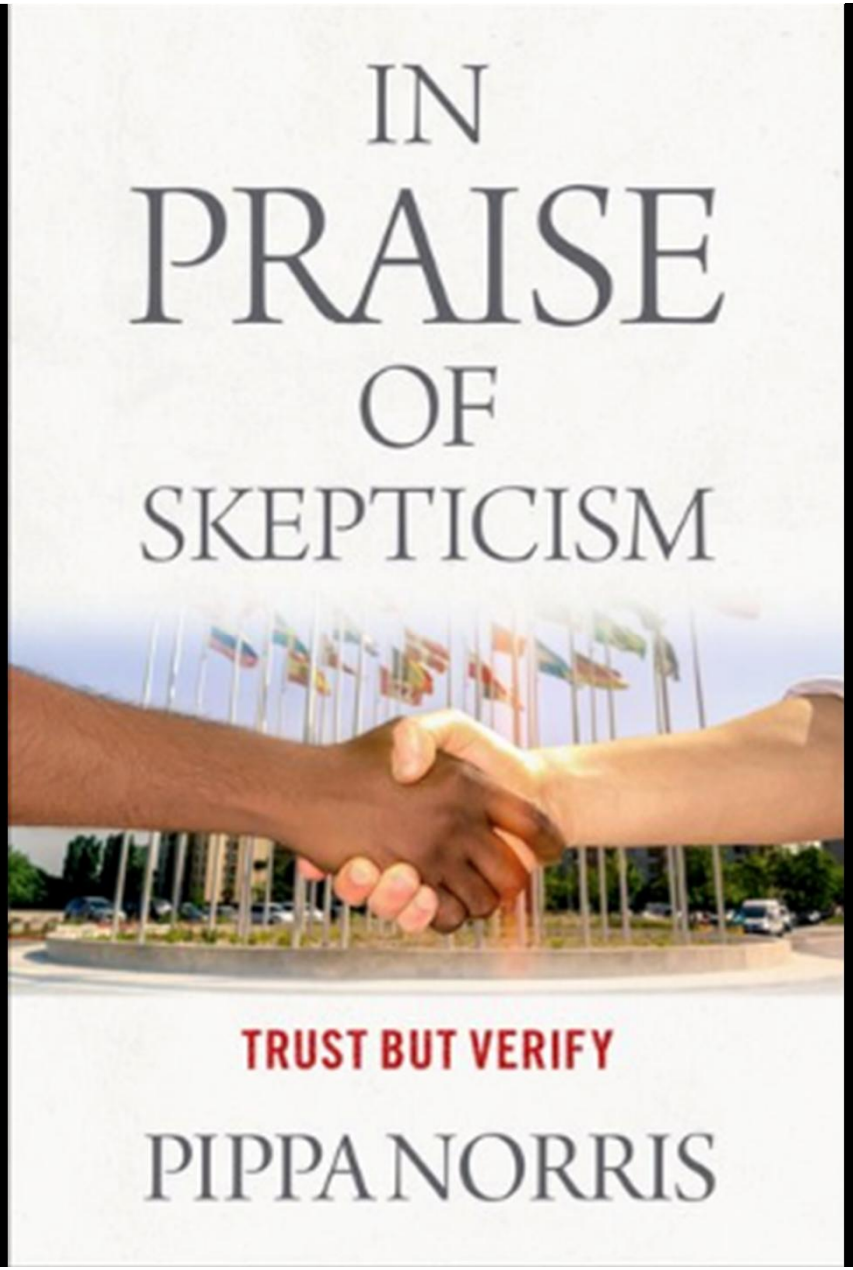
4. Comparing trust
5. Competency
6. Integrity and impartiality

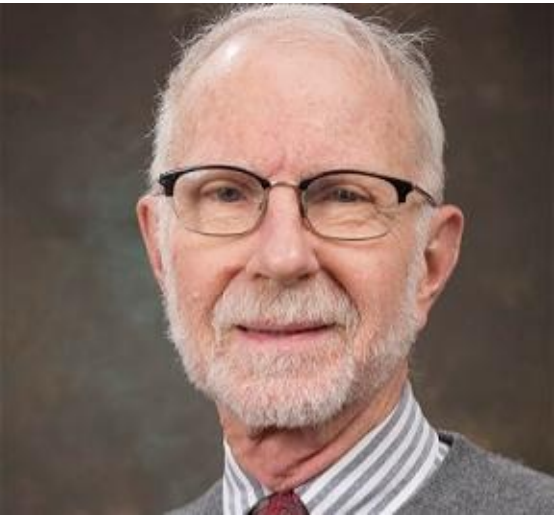
III: Conclusions

7. In praise of skepticism

Technical Appendix

Bibliography





Conventional view of trust as a public good

- In general, trust is claimed to be vital for citizen participation, brokerage, & democracy
  - Strengthen political legitimacy (Almond),
  - Overcome elite polarization & gridlock (Hetherington & Rudolph), and
  - Underpin rule of law (Tyler),
  - Facilitate societal cooperation (Putnam),
  - Sustain love (Lazelere),
  - Lubricate markets (Fukuyama),
  - Manage organizations (Mayer)
  - Facilitate international peace (Russett)
  - Facilitate solidarity & cooperation within & across societies
- If so, either low or declining trust should be a matter of public concern

FEATURE | MAY 17, 2021

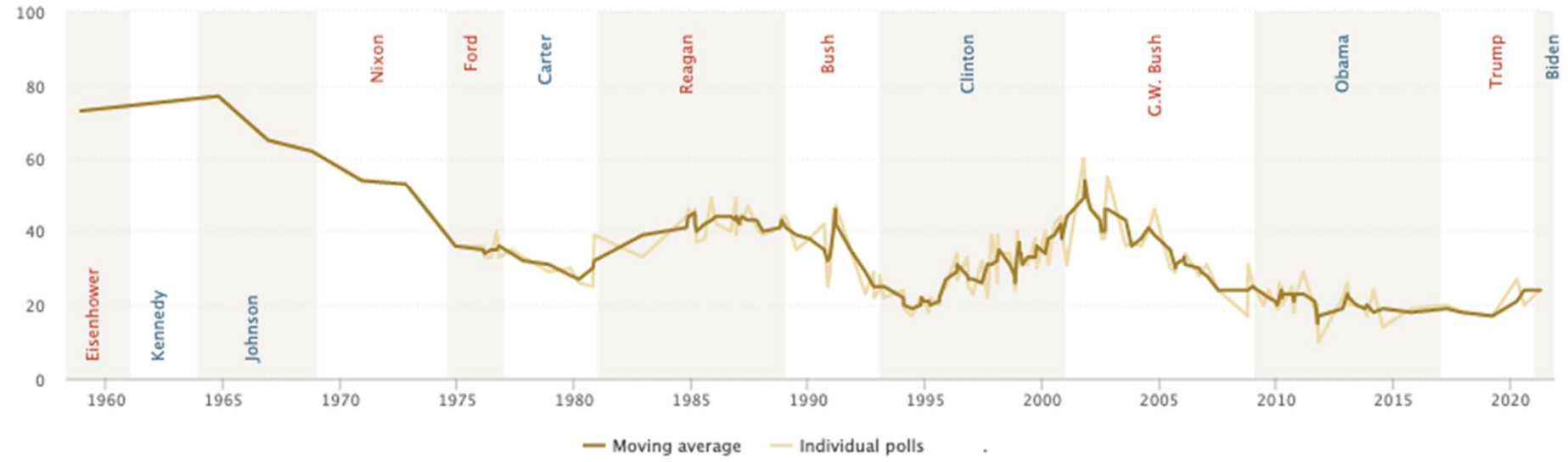
Public Trust in Government: 1958-2021

Public trust in government remains low. Only about one-quarter of Americans say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "just about always" (2%) or "most of the time" (22%).

Public trust in government near historic lows

Chart | Data | Share

CLICK AND DRAG IN THE PLOT AREA TO ZOOM IN

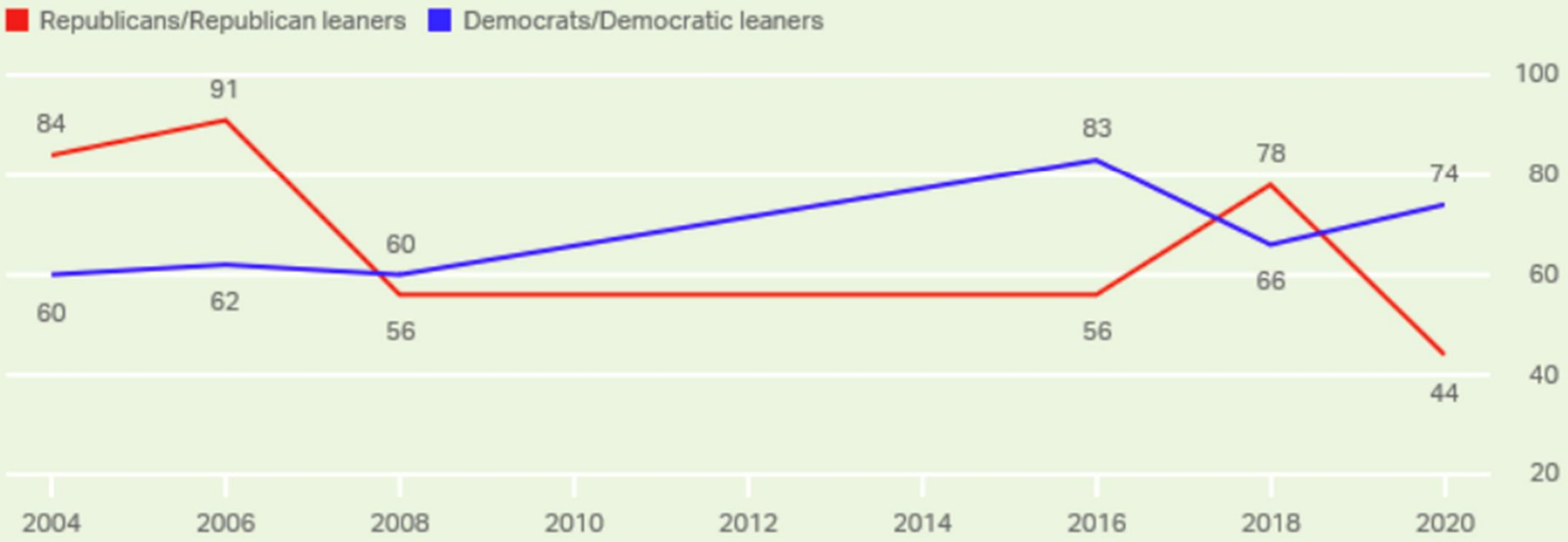


https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/05/17/public-trust-in-government-1958-2021/

Confidence in Accuracy of U.S. Elections, by Political Party Self-Identification

How confident are you that, across the country, the votes for president will be accurately cast and counted in this year's election -- very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident or not at all confident?

% Very/Somewhat confident



Selected trend based on September/October preelection polling

GALLUP

Perceptions of the Severity of Various Election Issues, by Political Party

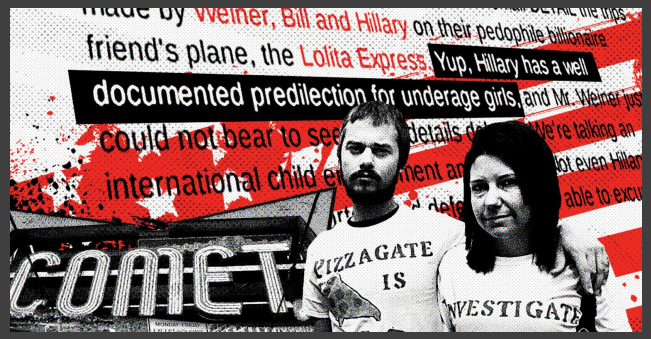
	Republicans	Independents	Democrats
	% Major problem	% Major problem	% Major problem
Absentee ballots not being counted because the postal service delivered them to the election offices too late	51	52	63
People using illegal or fraudulent means to cast votes	70	54	32
Eligible voters not being allowed to cast a vote	32	47	62
Votes being cast by people who, by law, are not eligible to vote	67	42	24

GALLUP, SEPT. 14-28, 2020

The Economist/YouGov Poll
March 5 - 8, 2022 - 1500 U.S. Adult Citizens

		Registered	2020 Vote		Party ID		
	Total	Voters	Biden	Trump	Dem	Rep	Ind
Biden legitimately won the election	62%	64%	97%	28%	93%	31%	56%
Biden did NOT legitimately win the election	38%	36%	3%	72%	7%	69%	44%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Unweighted N	(1,465)	(1,206)	(545)	(486)	(515)	(405)	(408)

Similar % in latest YouGov poll 28 – 31 May 2022


friend's plane, the Lolita Express.
Yup, Hillary has a well
documented predilection for underage girls,
COMET
PIZZAGATE
IS

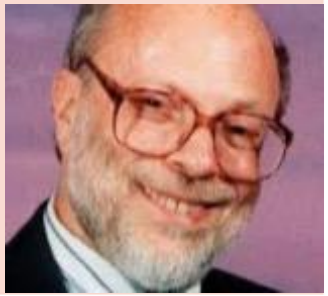
Ivermectin Tablets
Ivermectin Tablets USP 12 mg
Scavista 12

GIVE US LIBERTY OR DEATH
TRUMP
MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!

What are the origins of trust and trustworthiness?

Individual trait

- Trust is an inherited characteristic from parents or a fixed personality trait in individuals, like optimism or extroversion
- (Uslaner)



Societal culture

- Trust reflects stable and enduring cultural attitudes and beliefs acquired in early childhood from predominant norms and values within each society (Inglehart)

Performance theories:

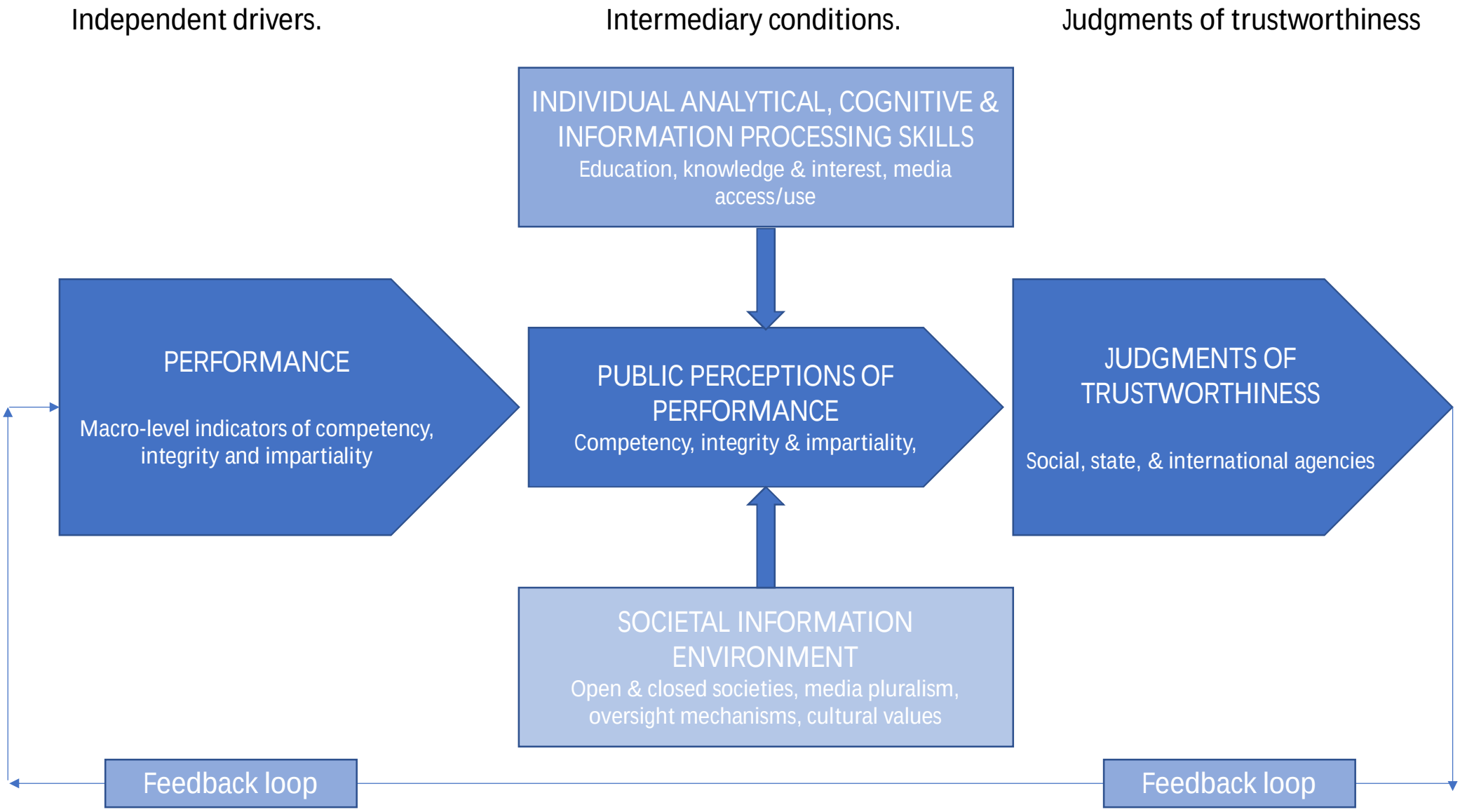
- 'Trustworthiness' is defined as an informal social contract where principals authorize agents or agency to act on their behalf in the expectation that the agent will fulfil their responsibilities in future with competency, integrity and impartiality, despite conditions of risk & uncertainty.

Typology of citizen's trust judgments

		TRUST BY PRINCIPALS	
		Negative	Positive
AGENCY PERFORMANCE	Positive		Skeptical trust
	Negative	Skeptical mistrust	

Typology of citizen's trust judgments

		TRUST BY PRINCIPALS	
		Negative	Positive
AGENCY PERFORMANCE	Positive	Cynical mistrust	Skeptical trust
	Negative	Skeptical mistrust	Credulous trust


Independent drivers.
Intermediary conditions.
Judgments of trustworthiness
INDIVIDUAL ANALYTICAL, COGNITIVE & INFORMATION PROCESSING SKILLS
Education, knowledge & interest, media access/use
PERFORMANCE
Macro-level indicators of competency, integrity and impartiality
PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF PERFORMANCE
Competency, integrity & impartiality,
JUDGMENTS OF TRUSTWORTHINESS
Social, state, & international agencies
SOCIETAL INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT
Open & closed societies, media pluralism, oversight mechanisms, cultural values
Feedback loop
Feedback loop

Structure

I. Trust & trustworthiness
II. Evidence
III. Findings
IV. Conclusions

Data

- World Values Survey/European Values Survey 7-waves 1981-2021
- Covering 115 diverse open and closed societies
- WVS-EVS measures confidence in elections & EIP battery perceptions of electoral integrity
- Varieties of Democracy project (V-Dem) for performance indices

Pooled WVS-EVS coverage waves 1-7, 1981-2021

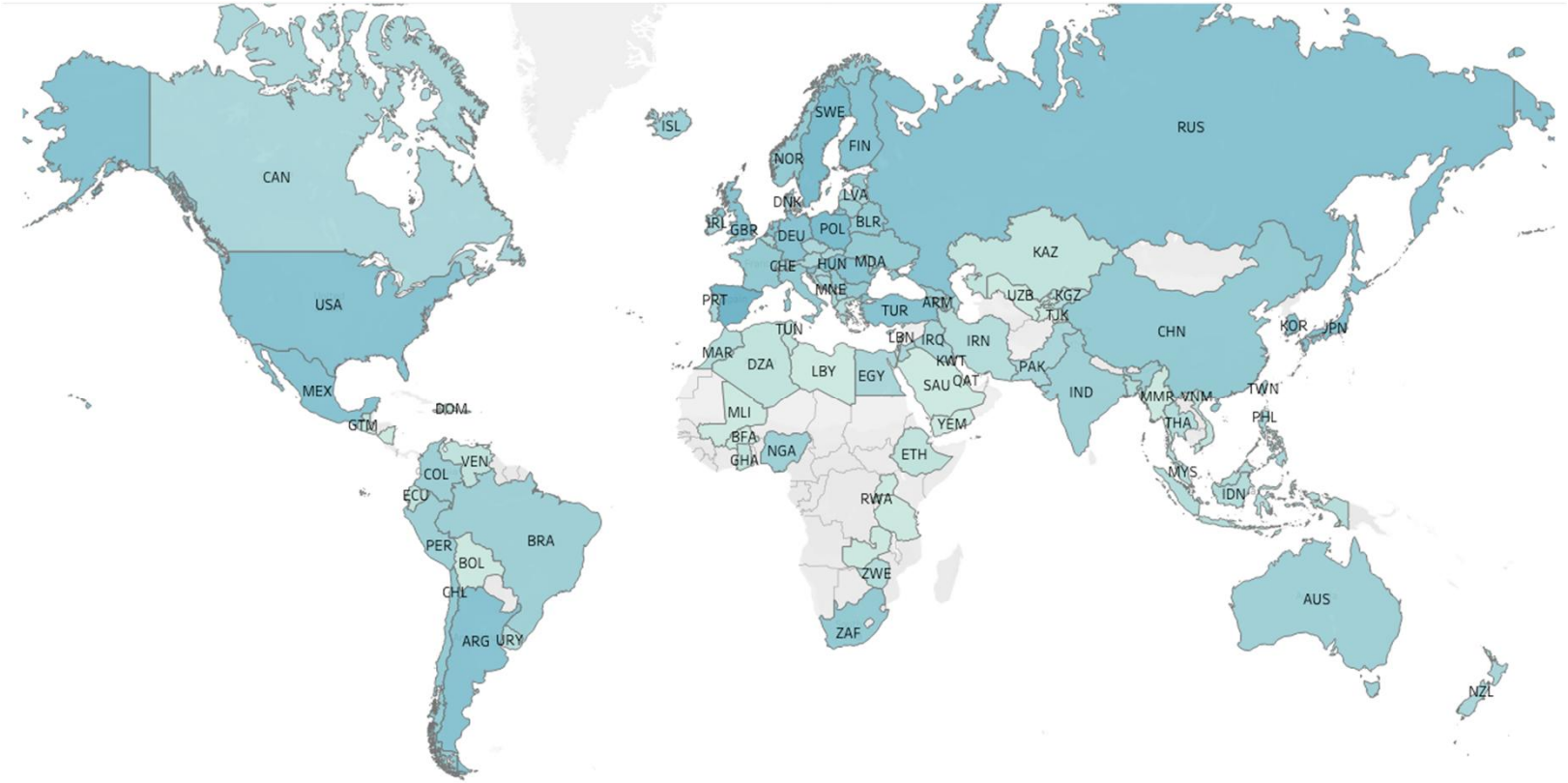
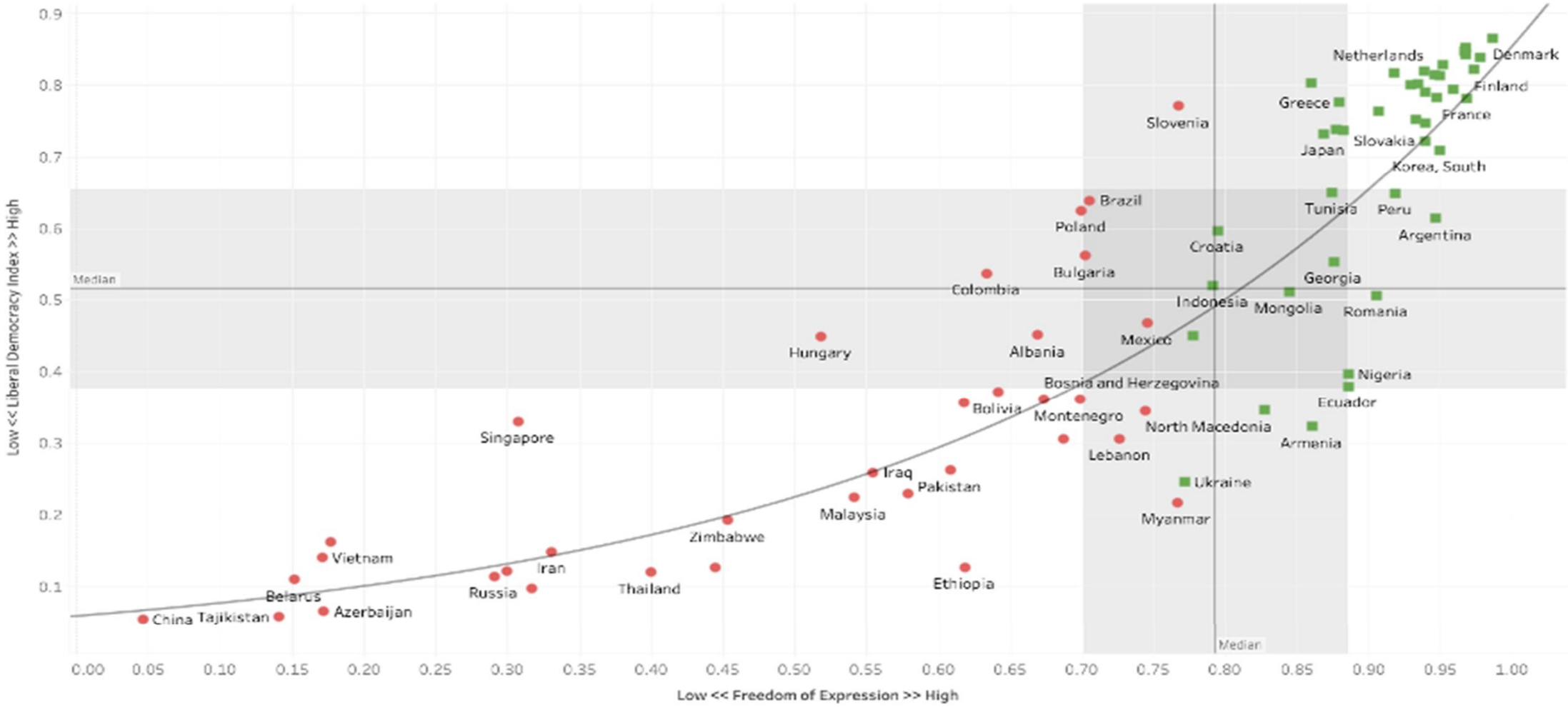


Figure 3.4: Liberal democracy and freedom of expression



Note: Vertical axis: Liberal Democracy 0-100-point index, 2020. Horizontal axis: Freedom of Expression and Alternative Sources of Information Index

Sources: Varieties of Democracy 11.1 dataset https://www.v-dem.net/en/.

Analytical strategy

1. Measure levels of public trust and confidence in elections

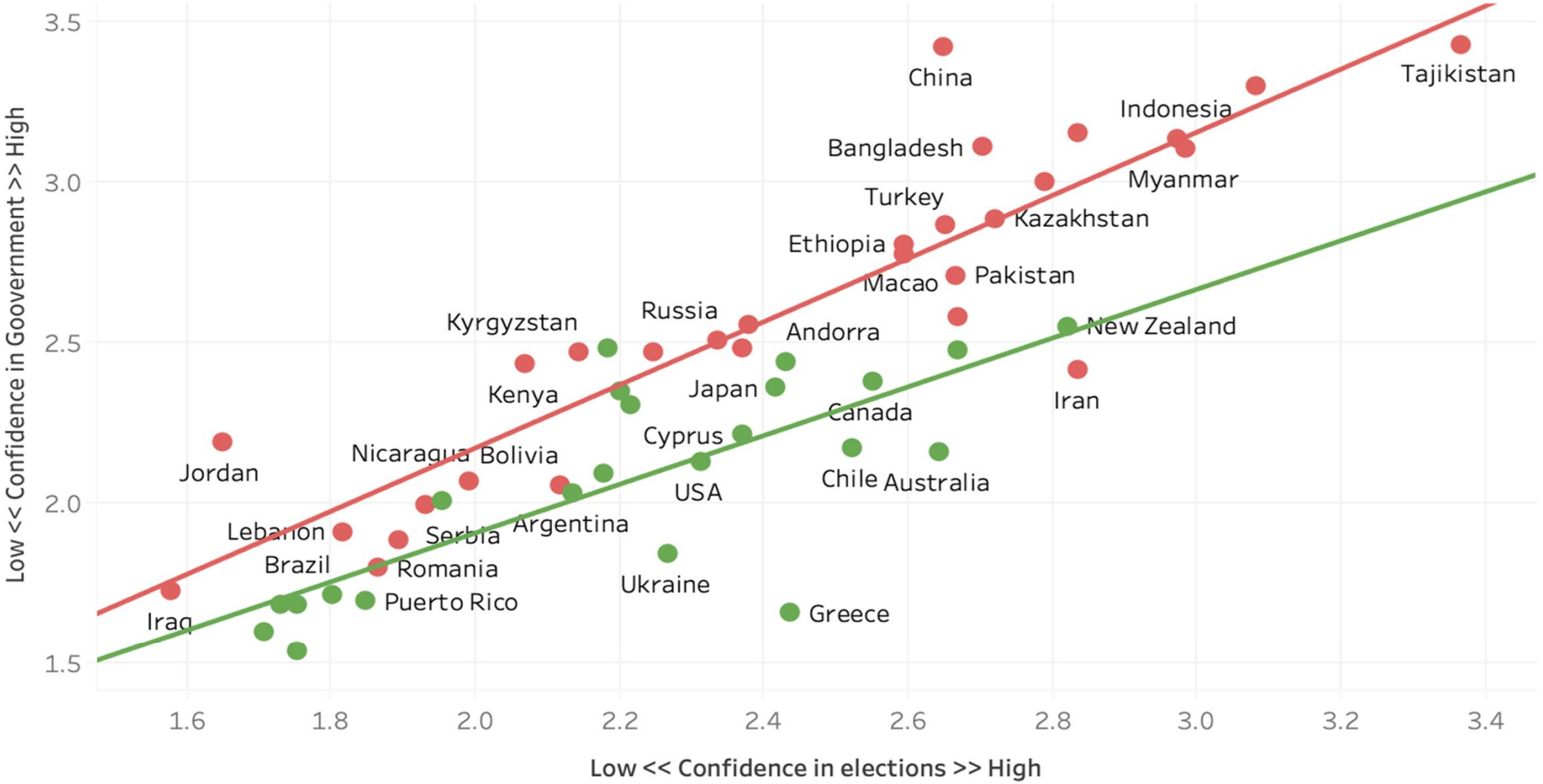
2.Gauge subjective perceptions and objective indices of electoral performance

3. Compare whether public trust correlates with performance indices

Structure

I. Trust and trustworthiness
II. Research design and data
III. Findings
IV. Conclusions

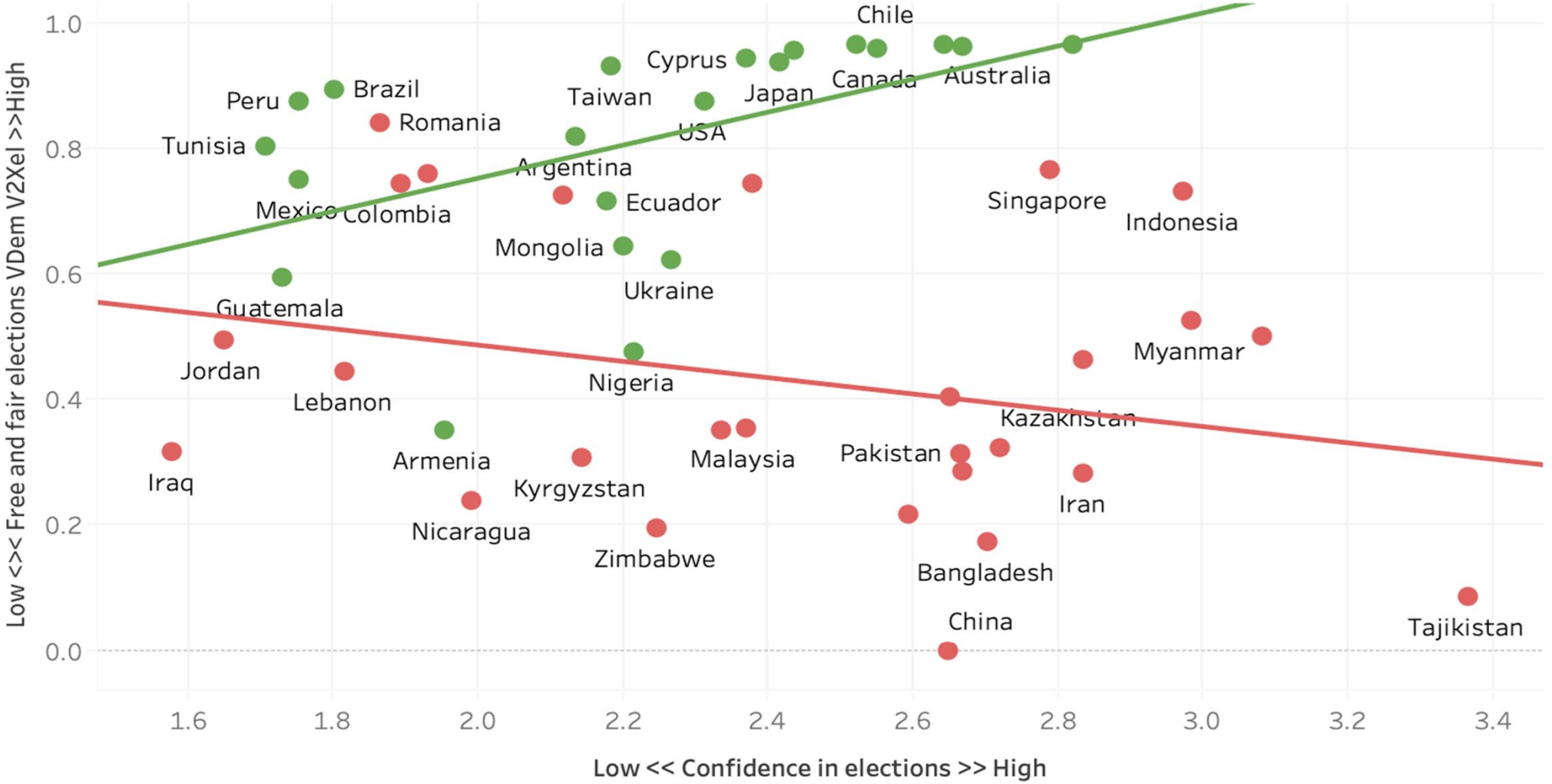
Confidence in elections and government



Notes: The horizontal axis is the EVS/WVS confidence in elections scale. The vertical axis shows the WVS confidence in government scale. Open Societies (Green) and Closed Societies (Red) are categorized by the V-Dem Freedom of Expression Index (dichotomized)

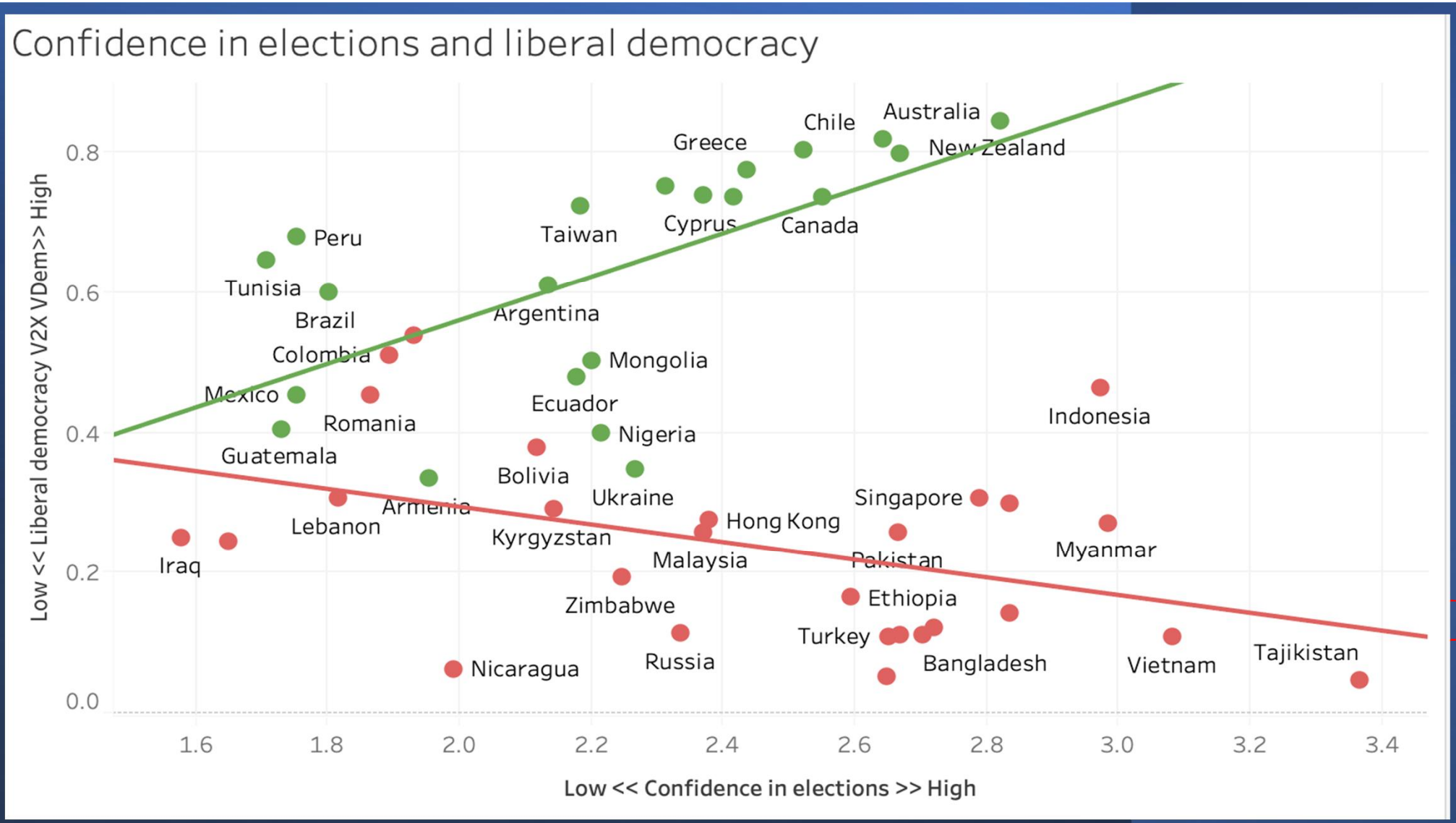
Source: European Values Survey/World Value sSurvey wave 7 in 80 societies (2017-2021);

Confidence in elections and free and fair electoral performance

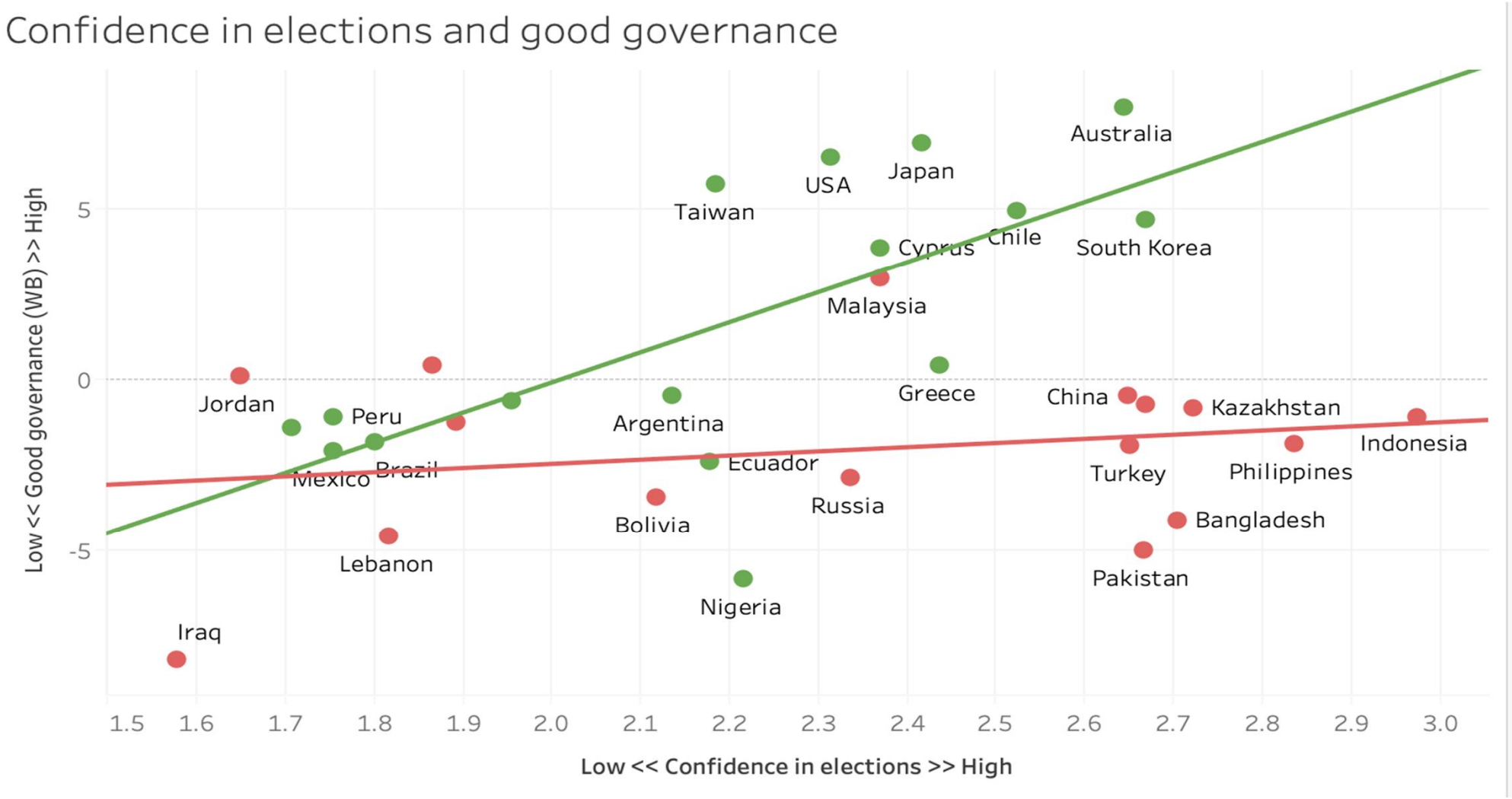


Notes: The horizontal axis is the EVS/WVS confidence in elections scale. The vertical axis shows the Free and Fair elections Index as derived from the Varieties of Democracy project. Open Societies (Green) and Closed Societies (Red) are categorized by the V-Dem Freedom of Expression Index (dichotomized)
Source: European Values Survey/World Value Survey wave 7 in 80 societies (2017-2021);

Confidence in elections and liberal democracy



Notes: The horizontal axis is the EVS/WVS confidence in elections scale. The vertical axis shows the Liberal Democracty Index as derived from the Varieties of Democracy project. Open Societies (Green) and Closed Societies (Red) are categorized by the V-Dem Freedom of Expression Index (dichotomized)
Source: European Values Survey/World Value Survey wave 7 in 80 societies (2017-2021);



Notes: The horizontal axis is the EVS/WVS confidence in elections scale. The vertical axis shows the Good Governance Index as derived from the World Bank. Open Societies (Green) and Closed Societies (Red) are categorized by the V-Dem Freedom of Expression Index (dichotomized)

Source: European Values Survey/WorldValuesSurvey wave 7 in 80 societies (2017-2021); https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/ .

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Key claims

1. We should challenge normative assumptions about trust's beneficial consequences and focus on electoral trustworthiness
2. Trust is always valuable for authorities by inducing compliance – but not always for citizens.
3. Erroneous beliefs involve both cynical mistrust *and* credulous trust
4. Due to individual-level cognitive skills *and* societal-level information environments
5. Need to build EMB trustworthiness: competency, integrity, impartiality- and institutional guardrails especially freedom of expression, media pluralism, civil watchdogs, and electoral laws

More details:

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Trust dimensions	GLOBAL GOVERNANCE	NATIONAL GOVERNANCE	SOCIAL MOVEMENTS & PRIVATE SECTOR	MEDIA AND TRADITIONAL GROUPS	OUT-GROUP TRUST	IN-GROUP TRUST
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	0.80					
The World Bank	0.79					
NATO	0.78					
International Criminal Court (ICC)	0.77					
The World Trade Organization (WTO)	0.77					
The United Nations	0.71					
The World Health Organization (WHO)	0.69					
Major Regional organization	0.62					
Parliament		0.77				
The Government		0.76				
Political Parties		0.75				
Elections		0.67				
The Civil Service		0.66				
Justice System/Courts		0.64				
Police		0.58				
The Women´s Movement			0.73			
The Environmental Protection Movement			0.72			
Charitable or humanitarian organizations			0.69			
Universities			0.57			
Banks			0.46			
Major Companies			0.45			
The Press				0.68		
Television				0.65		
Religious organizations				0.58		
Armed Forces				0.57		
Labor Unions				0.42		
People of another nationality					0.82	
People of another religion					0.79	
People you meet for the first time					0.74	
Most people can be trusted					0.46	
How much you trust your family						0.79
Your neighborhood						0.58
People you know personally						0.47
% Variance	36.00	7.88	6.62	3.84	3.43	3.14

Response bias in closed societies?

List count survey experiments

- Potential response bias from self-censorship when asking about trust in political institutions in authoritarian regimes lacking freedom of speech
- To test this, an item count experiment was run among two randomized groups in 6 diverse authoritarian states.
- Mean difference between control and treatment groups provides test

[Control group] I am going to read out a list of world leaders. Can you tell me ***how many*** *you generally trust?"*

Control sample (50% of respondents, randomly assigned):

Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany
Donald Trump, President of the Unites States of America
Vladimir Putin, President of Russia
Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China

Responses:
[0] [1] [2] [3] [4]

[Treatment group, 50% of respondents, randomly assigned):

Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany
Donald Trump, President of the Unites States of America
[Name of national Head of State, President, Prime Minister or equivalent in each country]
Vladimir Putin, President of Russia
Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China

Responses:
[0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]

Table 3.8: Estimates of response bias

	Control**	Treatment	Indirect item count estimate of trust in their HoS	Direct measure of trust in their HoS	Response bias
	Mean	Mean			
Ethiopia	1.00	1.14	14	53	39
Iran	0.82	1.18	36	34	-2
Kenya	1.26	1.69	43	39	-4
Kyrgyzstan	1.72	2.19	47	50	3
Libya	0.46	0.89	43	59	16
Morocco	2.19	2.43	27	41	14
Nicaragua	0.74	0.79	5	39	34
Philippines	1.20	1.71	52	76	24
Venezuela	0.87	1.09	22	27	5
Zimbabwe	1.11	1.47	36	41	5
Mean	**1.17**	**1.52**	**33**	**46**	**13**

Note: For the direct measure of trust, see Table 3.7

Source: World Values Survey 7 (2017-2020) TrustGov battery in 10 selected authoritarian societies (N. 12,092)