

E-Democracy and E-Voting

A case of Korea

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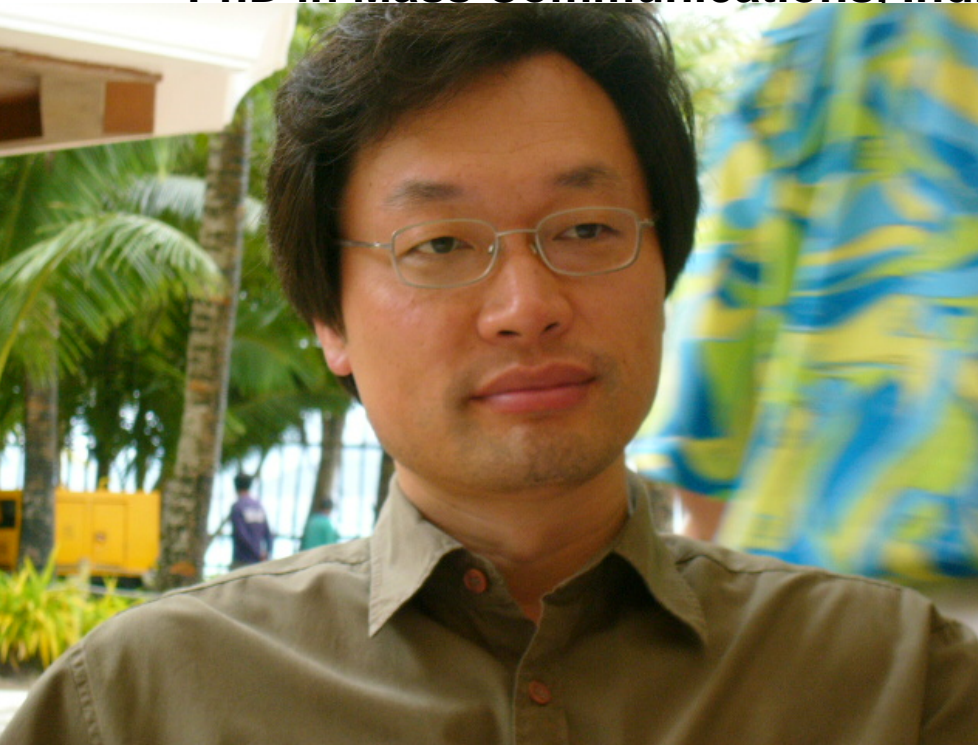
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Korea

2nd International Workshop on Electronic Voting, 2-6 August 2006, Bregenz, Austria

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Research & Teaching Areas:

- Mobile communication and information technology
- E-voting and e-democracy
- Political economy of mass communication
- Transnational media culture

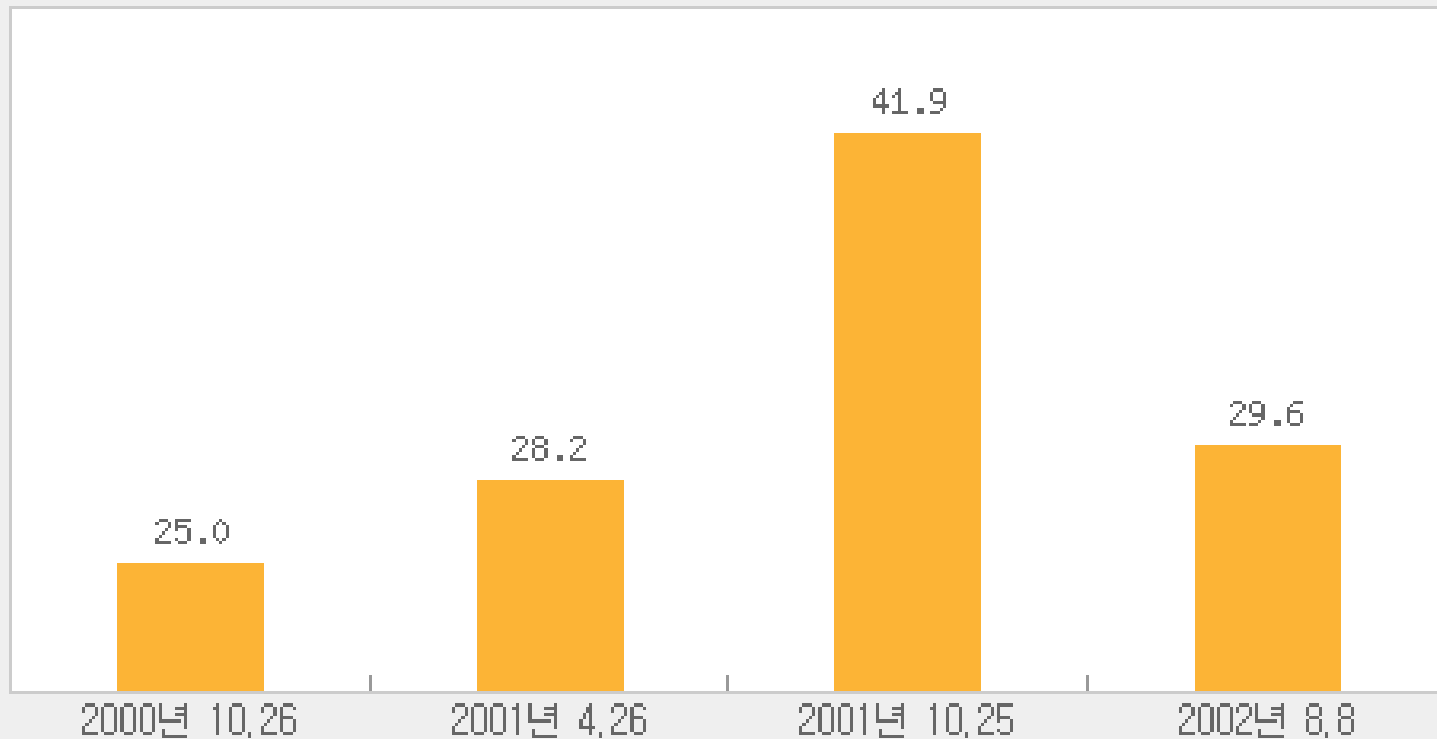
Why e-Voting?

1. Waste of money

- Administrative cost-effectiveness
 - NEC estimation: saving of about KW24 billion (US\$23 million) in casting and counting the ballots only when we implement electronic system

2. Low Turnouts

Turnouts of Recall or Special Elections(%)



The lowest Turnout



Recall and special election of July 26, 2006

3. We have technologies (that work)

- Technical feasibility
 - security, outside attacks, system breakdown
 - wide penetration of ICTs

4. And we have experiences

Experiments that succeeded

- Ohmynews
- Nosamo
- Mobilization and participation

Seoul 2003. 6. 12.







Seoul 2005

Seoul 2003. 5.

7.



7일 오후 광화문에서 고교생들이 촛불집회를 열고 있다. (류승일기자/노컷뉴스)

5. Hope for better system

- Deliberative democracy
- Participation in voting

Roadmap

(According to E-voting plan of the NEC on 17 January 2005)

1st stage: polling site voting only; touch screen in parallel with balloting (local government election of 2006 → cancelled)

* Touch screen voting was applied at the election of ruling party leader in March 2006.

Roadmap

2nd stage: any polling site voting in one's district at recall and special elections; touch screen in parallel with balloting (presidential election of 2007 → not likely)

Roadmap

3rd stage: any polling site in the country (temporary and mobile sites); general, special, and recall elections; touch screen in parallel with balloting; absentee voting through internet (general election of 2008)

Roadmap

Final stage : electronic voting at home and work; internet, touch screen, and polling site are all in use (general election of 2012)

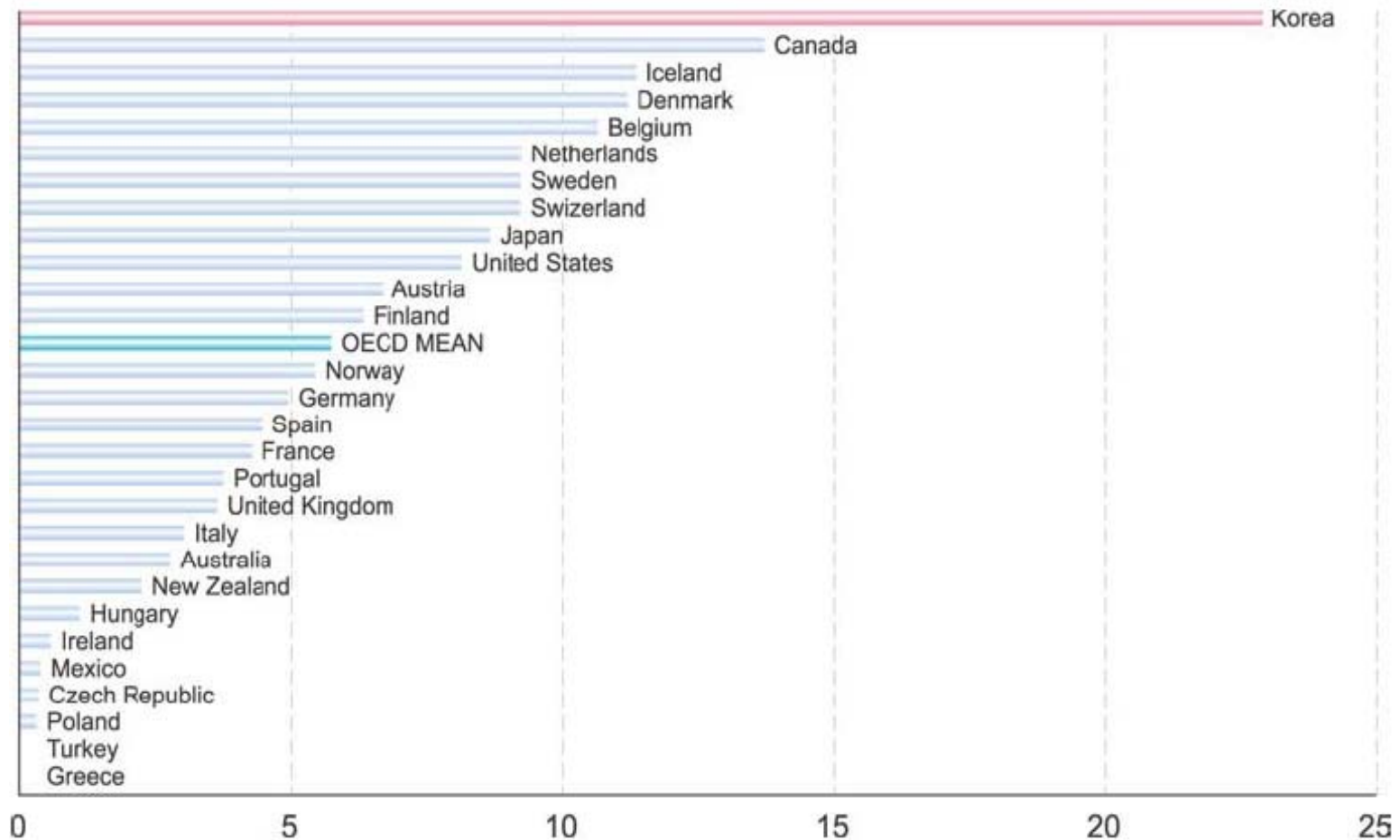
Will this really happen?

**Or is this simply a day dream
based on technological optimism?**

Settings

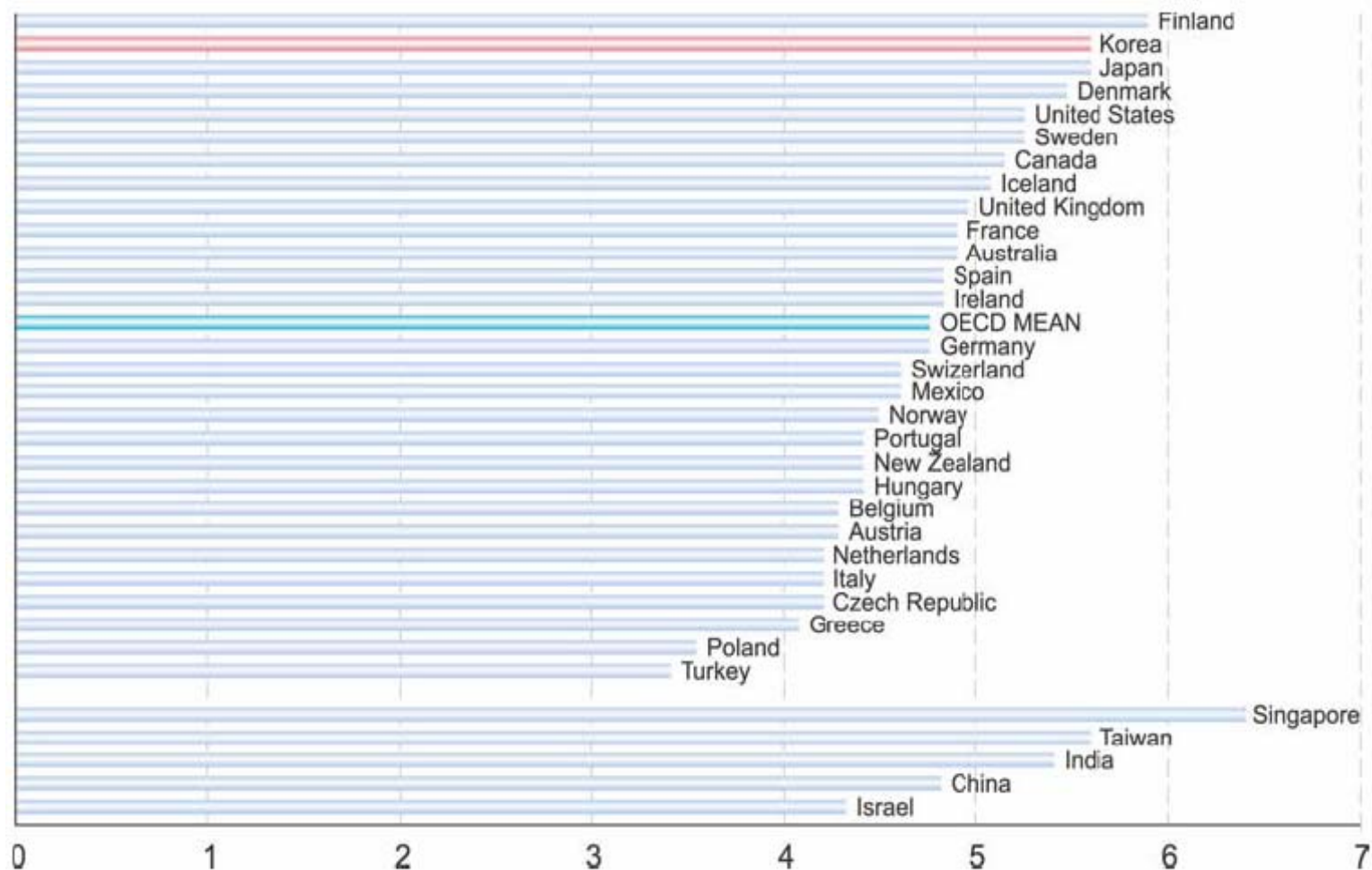
Broadband Subscribers

(per 100 Inhabitants, June 2003)



Source: OECD (WWW.OECD.ORG/site/telecom)

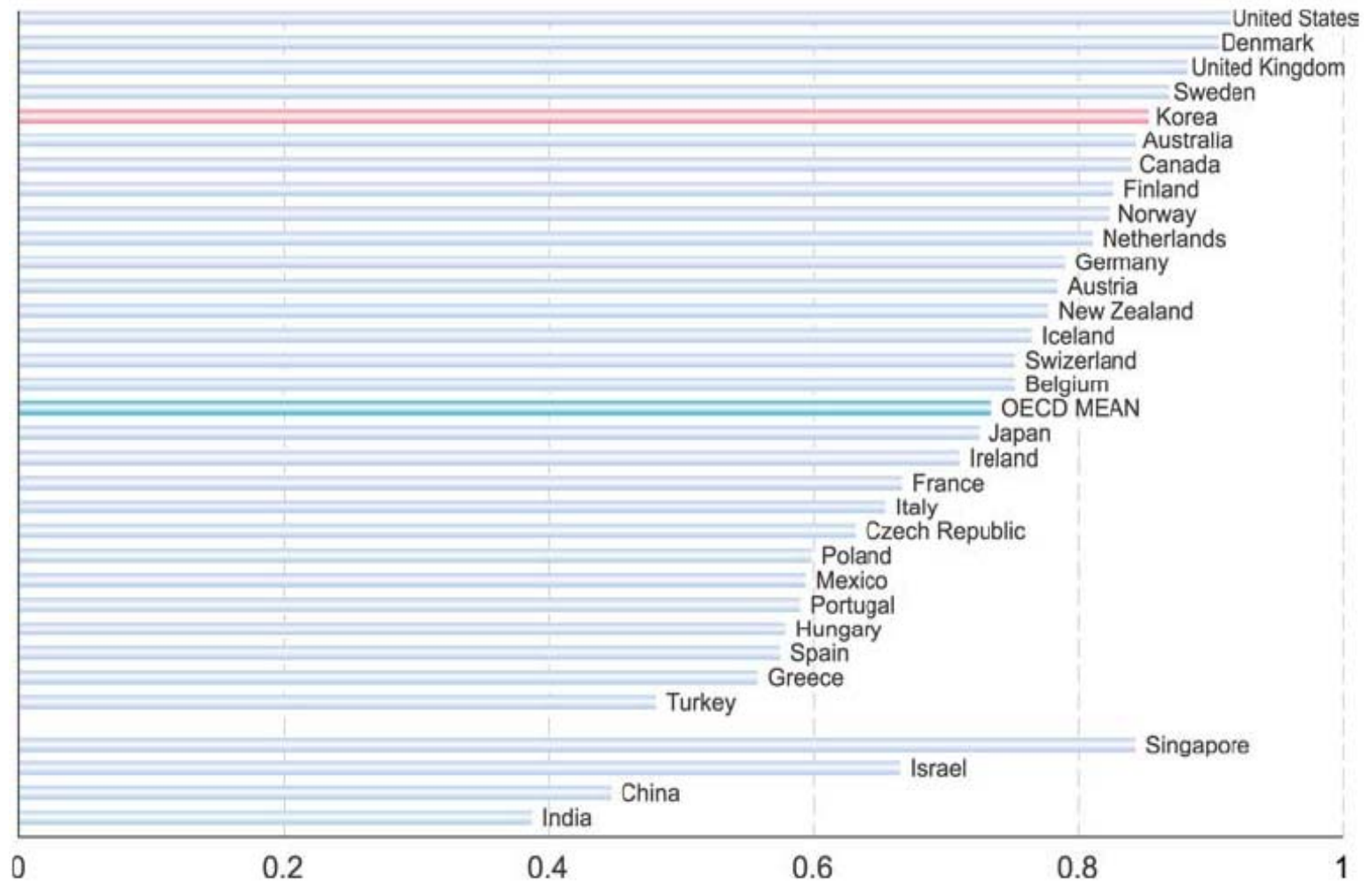
Government Prioritization of IT



Note: Information and communications technologies are an overall government priority (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree).

Source: World Economic Forum (WEF) (2004)

E-Government Readiness Index



Source: UNPAN (2004)

Netizens of Korea

한국의 평균 인터넷이용자

- 인터넷 이용기간
- 평균 52.5개월

- 인터넷 이용시간
- 주평균 11.5시간

- 이메일 발송
- 주평균 12.3회

- 메신저 이용
- 주평균 6.6시간

- 유료콘텐츠 이용 비용
- 월평균 비용 1만3천원

- 인터넷 쇼핑 이용빈도
- 월1.7회

- 인터넷 쇼핑 월평균 비용
- 5만9천원



- 온라인게임 이용경험
- 59.5%

- 인터넷뱅킹 이용경험
- 26.4%

- 이메일 보유
- 86.6%

- 메신저 이용
- 37.1%

- 유료콘텐츠 이용경험
- 18.9%

출처: NIDA 한국인터넷진흥원

Now...

What is e-Voting by the way?

E-voting: Definition

- Conventional definition: E-voting is casting a secure and secret official ballot to electoral officials using electronic machines including touch screens and the Internet.
- But...
E-voting > E-election > E-democracy

E-Voting in a wider sense

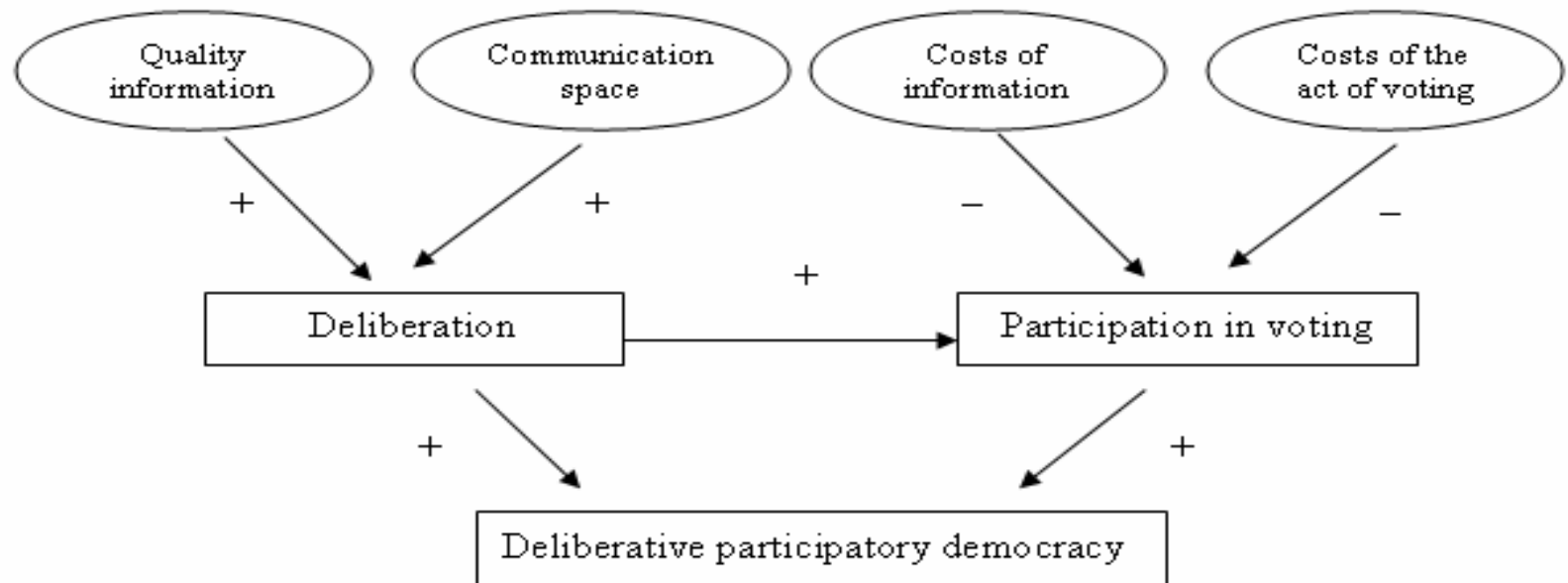
- “Full-scale” e-voting:
 - Scope = an act of voting + an act of political discourse and articulation in the cyberspace during the election period
 - Tools = voting via the Internet, handheld personal digital assistances (PDAs), mobile phones, which allow voters to cast ballots at the place of their own choices plus voting at polling sites equipped with electronic balloting devices

Some Questions on E-voting

- Are the new technologies the revolutionary tool to change the political landscape?
- Will the Internet help citizens deliberate over the political issues?
- Will e-voting encourage more civic participation in elections?
- Will e-voting improve a polity towards better and deeper democracy?

Internet and Deliberative Participatory Democracy

Figure 1 A scheme of deliberative participatory democracy



+ : positive causal relationship
- : negative causal relationship

Deliberative Democracy

- Internet as a Habermasian “public sphere”
 - Space for rational-critical deliberation as a condition for a good public sphere
 - Citizens can shape and reshape their political views and preferences
- Vertical and horizontal networking of voters
 - Two-way or multi-way communications channels among voters themselves and between citizens and policymakers
 - From top-down to bottom-up communications structure

Deliberative Democracy

- Internet as a source of information in volume and in quality
 - In particular, horizontal interconnection among groups of voters
- Internet as a cost-effective tool for:
 - information collection and process
 - the act of voting

Cost and benefit

- **Rational choice perspective**

Individuals are subject to be rational ignorant

The costs of voting is greater than the benefits

- Information gathering and processing costs
- Costs of the act of voting

The chance of affecting electoral outcome is close to zero

A simple function of a voting decision:

$$\text{Voting} = f(\text{information}, \text{costs}, \text{others})$$

E-voting & Rational Participation

- Based again on the rational choice model..
 - (1) E-voting as a vehicle to increase quality information with less costs
 - (2) E-voting as a vehicle to reduce the costs of voting

Positive Possibilities

- E-voting is not simply an easier way of casting and counting votes
- But a way to develop democracy with improved political participation in both quantitative and qualitative dimensions
- “more voters with better knowledge” thanks to the electronic communication channels

Cold Realities

- Balloting machines themselves hardly promotes human capacity on political knowledge
- E-voting is not e-democracy but a part of it.
- more complicated processes between e-voting and e-democracy

E-Democracy



Political Use of Internet

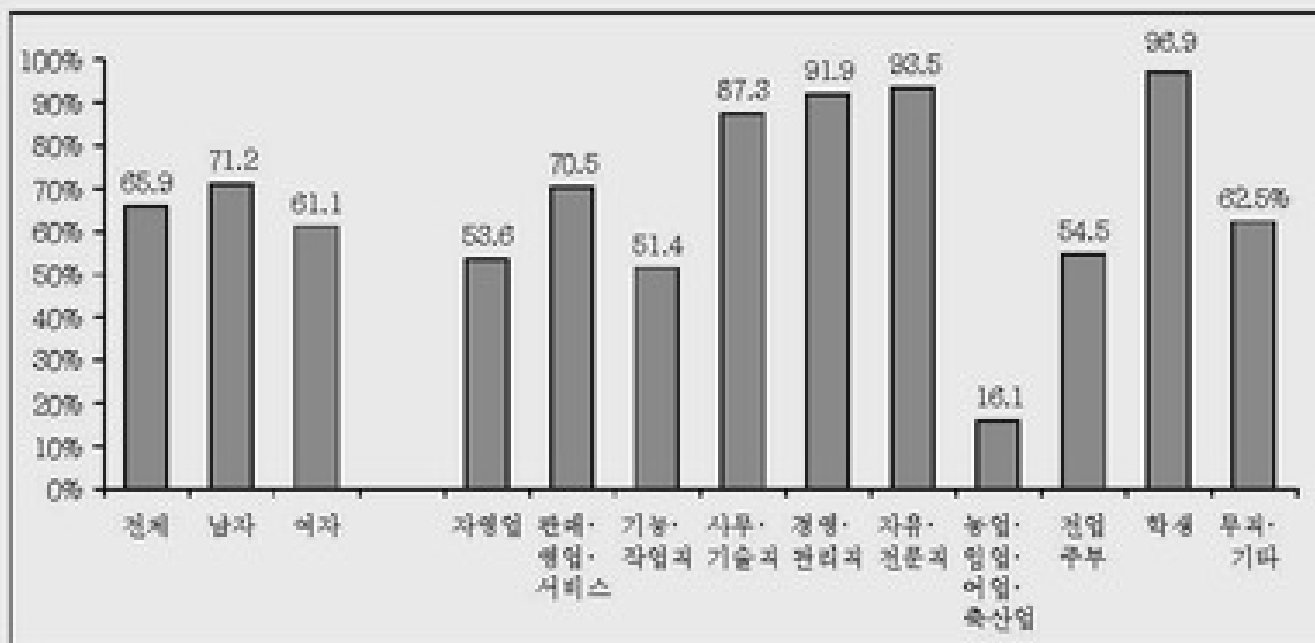
age	Using computer	Don't use	Internet use	Not using internet
20-29	94.1	5.9	92.7	1.4
30-39	74.7	25.3	70.1	4.6
40-49	48.2	51.8	43.8	4.4
50-59	21.3	78.7	18.4	2.9
Over 60	5.4	94.6	4.4	1

Gap

- Interest in politics is high, but participation is low (low turnouts)
- Differentials in sex, education, age, occupation in using information and communication technologies
- Discrepancies between different age groups(generations) are significant in Korea

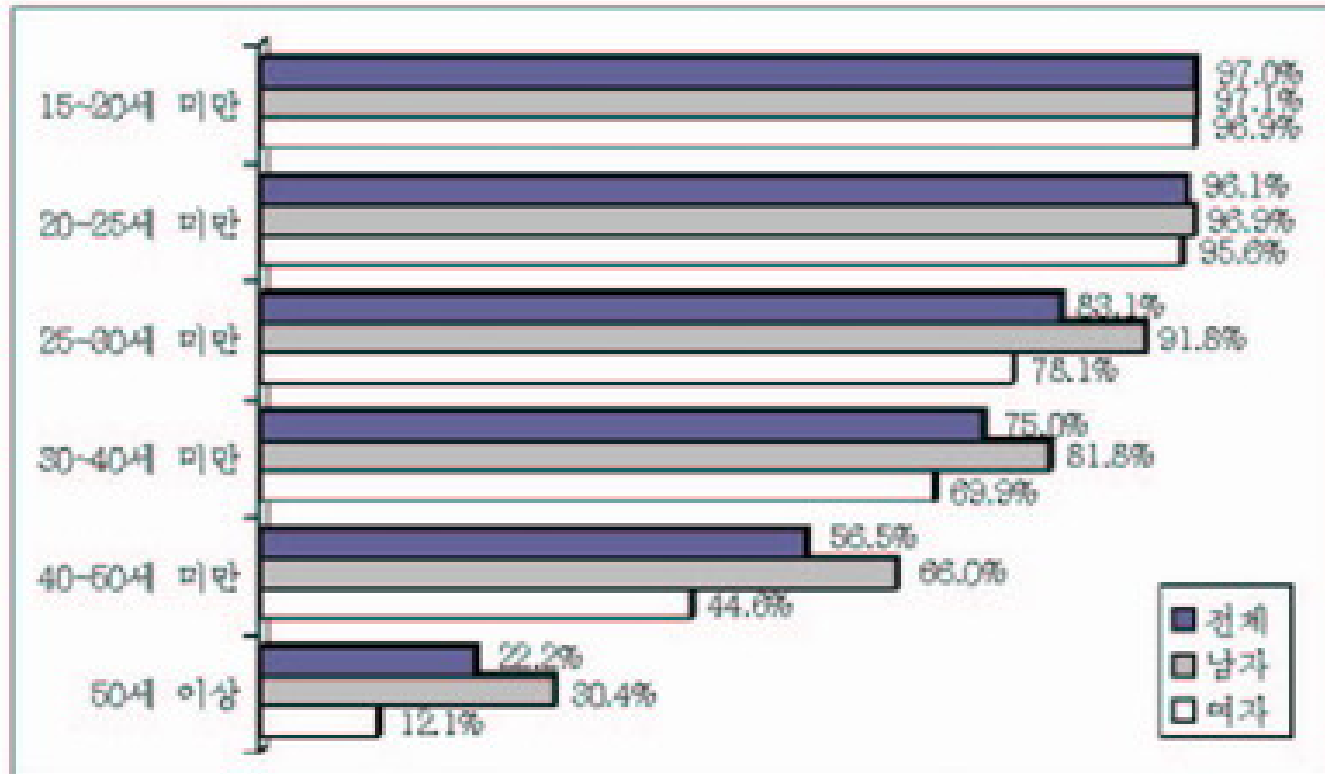
Sex & Occupation in Internet Use

[그림 2-1] 성별·직업별 인터넷 이용률



Generation Divide

[그림 2 - 2] 성별 · 연령별 인터넷 이용률



Political Caculation

- Some politicians don't like more participation.
- Especially if it means more votes from young and educated.
- A National Assembly member accused the e-voting system for violating privacy.

Solutions, not technical but political

- Voters with high ICT usages: convenience and efficiency, more information will enhance attractiveness of the system
- Voters with low ICT usages: alternative access for voting should also be developed with e-voting; publicity and education should fill the gap

Conclusions and Implications

- NEC and the government must produce more and better election-related information
- Bridging the digital divide for both e-voting and e-democracy
- Political information and discussion through ICTs should promote democratic processes

Conclusions and Implications

- E-voting as an initiative of e-government project should be in a harmony with other initiatives
- It's not technologies themselves, but with other social processes of education, socialization, and so on that turn the political process to different level

Asian Dilemma?

ROUND ONE: KERRY • MIRAMAX IN TROUBLE?

Newsweek

NewsweekInternational.com

October 11, 2004

Digital Asia

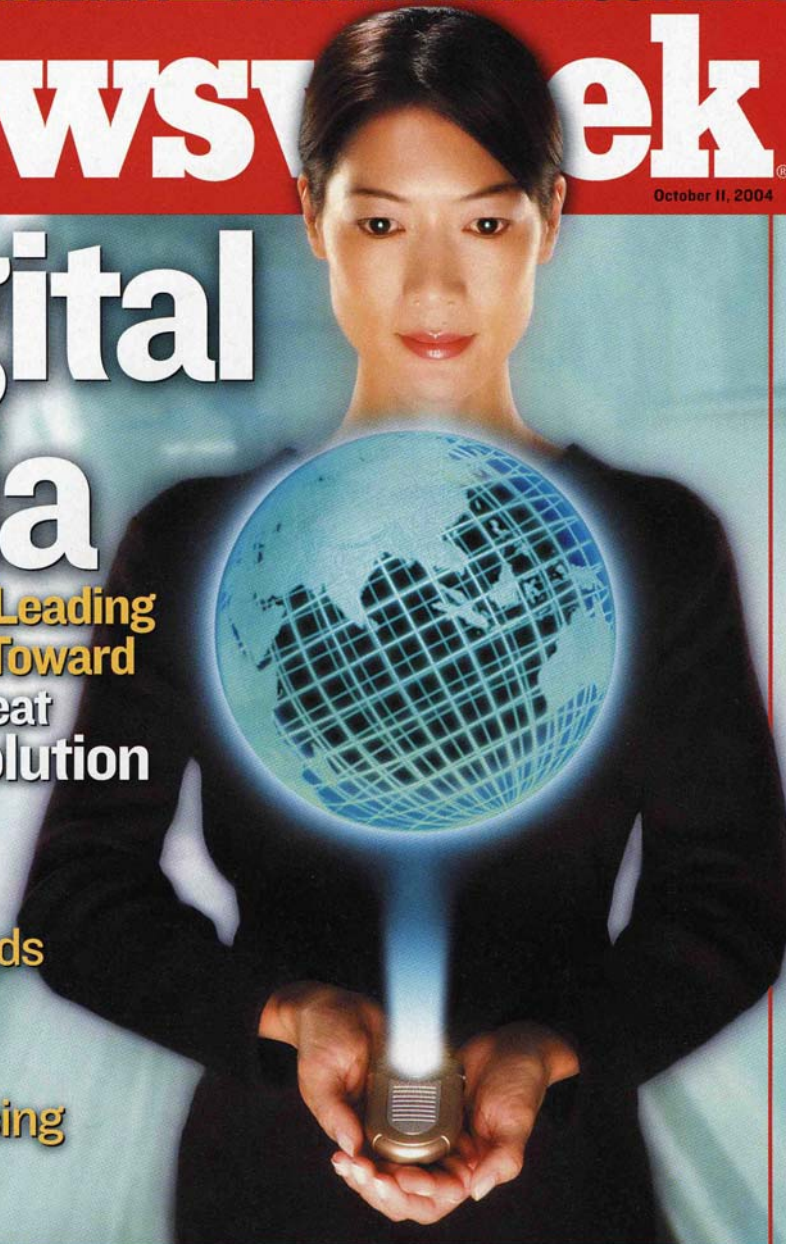
**Samsung Is Leading
The Region Toward
The Next Great
Tech Revolution**

P L U S

**Taiwan's
Wafer Wizards**

**China's Hot
Net Stocks**

**Is Japan Losing
Its Edge?**



**In late
democracies**

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**Only a few Asian societies
are testing e-voting system
out of fifty.**

Korea

Japan

India

2006 in Korean Election

- One sided victory of the opposition party
- Multiple choice of candidates for various positions
- Who cares who are running for what positions
- Domino voting out of dissatisfaction on the current government

**Matching technological
advances with political and
social capital is the challenge.**

Building Alternatives

- And we should recognize that the electoral system we are taken for granted up to now is not a complete one but something to be improved and revised.

Directions?

- Implementing the e-voting system not directly in the politics in full scale
- But applying them in less-loaded areas such as community affairs, census, surveys, etc.
- Make people get used to the system first
- Let them speak up for the need of e-voting in politics

It's social, not technological

- Building up confidence in the minds of people on e-voting will be the main task to get on in every society.

Thank you!