


API-414 Citizen Politics

2. Evolution of survey research



Structure:

Recap


1. Historical development of social surveys:
 - Almond & Verba *The civic culture* 1963
2. Contemporary cross-national survey resources
3. ISSP 2004 Citizen Politics
4. Paired discussion exercise:
 - Survey methods and public opinion

Recap: A new style of citizen politics?

- Russ Dalton *Citizen Politics* Ch 1
- Socioeconomic transformation of Western societies (modernization)
- Daniel Bell – post-industrial societies
 - Economic conditions: affluence
 - Restructured work force: service sector
 - Urbanization
 - Social interaction, lifestyles, and community networks
 - Educational opportunities
 - Citizen access to political information
 - Expansion of the welfare state

Recap: Consequences for citizen politics?

- **Shifts in political participation**
 - especially a decline in electoral turnout
- **Growth of 'contentious politics':**
 - Protests, citizen action groups, boycotts, and new social movements
- **Value shifts and alternative political agenda?**
 - Social equality, environmental protection, gender equality, human rights
- **Change in partisan politics?**
 - more fragmentation and volatility, partisan dealignment
- **New parties?**
 - New left (greens) and new right (radical right)
- **Skepticism/lack of trust in traditional authorities**
- New tensions for citizen politics in democratic states?



1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Pre-WWII roots of survey research

- Large-scale social surveys on poverty
 - in London- Charles Booth, 1886
 - in York, Seebohm Rowntree, 1897
 - Probability sampling 1890 Kiaer
- Chicago school of social psychology
 - Gosnell and Merriam 1920s and 1930s eg Non-Voting
 - Behavioral revolution
 - » Harold Lasswell, V.O. Key Jr, David Truman, Herbert Simon, Gabriel Almond
- Random samples, market research and opinion polls
 - George Gallup, Elmo Roper, Archibald Crossley
 - 1930s AIPO, BIPO, PO Quarterly
 - Gallup 1934 house, 1936 presidential election
 - Government bureaus eg Stouffer
 - Foundations – Rockerfeller
 - NORC (1941), Lazarsfeld (1944) Columbia, SRC (1946) Michigan

Post-WWII roots of survey research

- 1963 Almond and Verba *The Civic Culture*
 - First comparative survey of political culture
 - Causes of democratic stability
 - Mexico, Italy, Britain, France, Germany
 - Affective and cognitive orientations
 - Concepts of political efficacy, trust, confidence, duty
 - Civic cultures stable, balanced and moderate
 - Avoid excessive apathy and disengagement
 - Avoid excessive agitation and heated protest

Classic surveys

- 1963 Political participation (8 nations) Asher et al
- Verba, Nie and Kim: Political participation and equality 7 nations 1966
- Political Action Surveys 1973 and 1981 Barnes et al. 8 nations



2. CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY RESOURCES

Series	Series started (i)	Frequency	Total nations (latest survey) (ii)	Data downloadable (iii)	Coordinating Organization	Online resources (http://)
Euro-barometer and related studies	1970	Bi-annual	27	Public archives	Antonis PAPACOSTAS, Directorate General Press & Comms, European Commission	Organizing & reports: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/ Data and continuity guides from ZUMA, Cologne Archive: www.qesis.org/enc/data_service/eurobarometer
European Values/ World Values Study	1981-1983	Approx. 5 years	92	Public archives	Ronald INGLEHART, of Research,	Organizing and data: www.worldvaluessurvey.org/
International Social Survey Program (ISSP)	1985	Annual	38	Public archives	Secretariat: Bjorn HENRICHSEN, Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD),	Organizing: www.issp.org/ Data and continuity guide from the ZUMA Cologne Archive: www.qesis.org/enc/data_service/issp/
Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)	1996-2001	Module every 5 years	31	Public archives	Secretariat: David HOWELL, ISR, . Chair: Ian McAllister, ANU	Organizing and data: http://www.cses.org/
Comparative National Election Study	1990	Irregular	19	Public archives	Richard GUNTHER,	Organizing and data: http://www.cnes.ics.ub.edu/

	Series (i)		nations (latest survey) (ii)	downloadable (iii)	Organization	
Global-barometers, including:						http://www.globalbarometer.net/
New Barometers	1991	Irregular	16		Richard ROSE, CSPP,	www.cspo.stir.ac.uk
Afrobarometer	1999	Annual	18	Public archives	Michael BRATTON (), Robert MATTES (IDASA, SA) and Dr E. GYMAH-BOADI (CDD)	www.afrobarometer.org
Latino-barometer	1995	Annual	18	Tables only	Maria MORI,	www.latinobarometro.org
Asian barometer	2001	Annual	17		Yun-han	www.asianbarometer.org
Arab Barometer	2005	Annual	5		Mark Tesler,	http://arabbarometer.org/
The European Social Survey (ESS)	2002	Biennial	21	Public archives	Roger JOWELL, Center for Comparative Social Surveys,	Organizing: http://naticent02.uhpost.utsu.net Data from the Norwegian archive: http://ess.nsd.uib.no
Transatlantic Trends	2002	Annual	13	Public archives	Mr William Bohlen, German Fund of the and the Compagnia di San Paolo	http://www.transatlantictrends.org
The Pew Global Attitudes Survey	2002	Irregular	54	Via website	Andrew KOSIUT, Director, The for the People & the Press	http://pewglobal.org/
International Voice of the People	2002	Annual	60	Only tables released	Meri JAMES, Secretary General	www.voice-of-the-people.net

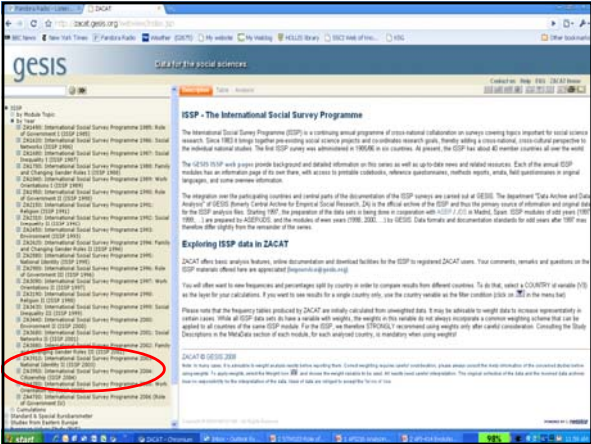
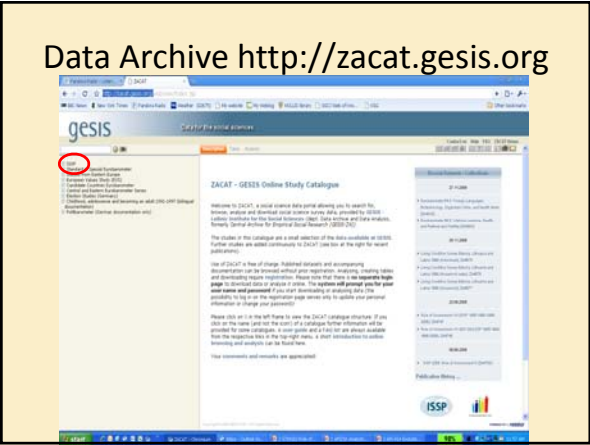
Pros and cons?

- What are the advantages of cross-national surveys of public opinion?
 - Most similar comparisons
 - Most different comparisons
- What are the challenges and potential problems?
 - Measurement error (from?)
 - Equivalence (from?)
 - Standardized data collection (methods, fieldwork, coding, translation, sampling)

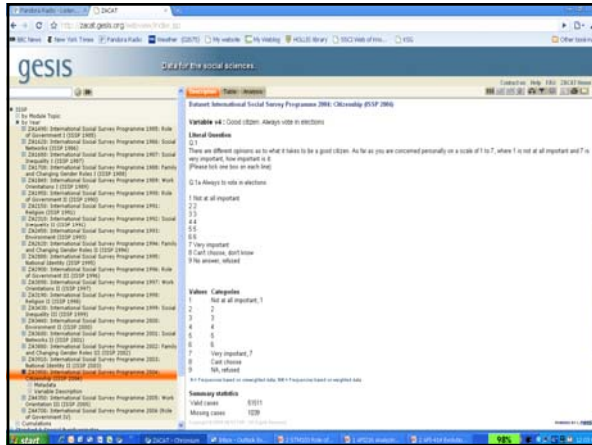
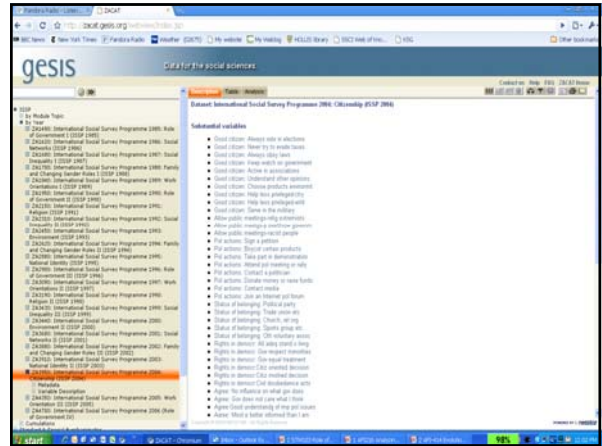
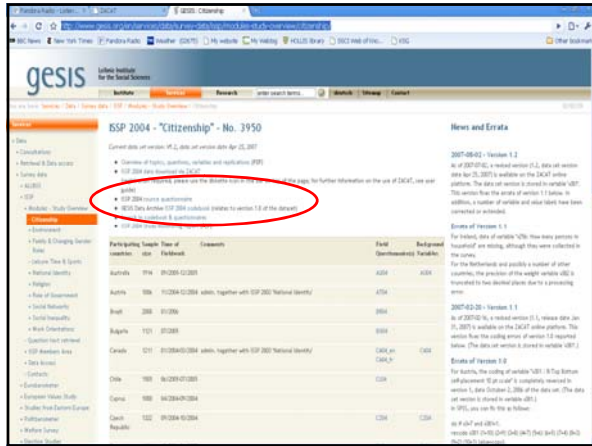
3. ISSP 2004

- ISSP**
- <http://www.issp.org/>
 - Annual thematic survey since 1985
 - Collaborative social survey of social and political attitudes
 - Covers 43 nations, the founding four—Germany, the United States, Great Britain, and Australia—plus Austria, Ireland, Hungary, the Netherlands, Italy, Israel, Norway, the Philippines, New Zealand, Russia, Japan, Bulgaria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Sweden, Spain, Cyprus, France, Portugal, Slovakia, Latvia, Chile, Denmark, Brazil, South Africa, Switzerland, Venezuela, Belgium, Finland, Mexico, Taiwan, South Korea, Uruguay, Croatia, the Dominican Republic, Turkey and China.

- ISSP Themes**
- 1985 Role of Government I
 - 1986 Social Networks
 - 1987 Social Inequality
 - 1988 Family and Changing Gender Roles I
 - 1989 Work Orientations I
 - 1990 Role of Government II
 - 1991 Religion I
 - 1992 Social Inequality II
 - 1993 Environment I
 - 1994 Family and Changing Gender Roles II
 - 1995 National Identity I
 - 1996 Role of Government III
 - 1997 Work Orientations II
 - 1998 Religion II
 - 1999 Social Inequality III
 - 2000 Environment II
 - 2001 Social Relations and Support Systems
 - 2002 Family and Changing Gender Roles III
 - 2003 National Identity II
 - 2004 Citizenship
 - 2005 Work Orientations III
 - 2006 Role of Government IV
 - 2007 Leisure time and sports (see questionnaire)
 - 2008 Religion III (see questionnaire)
 - 2009 Social Inequality IV (see questionnaire)
 - Planned:
 - 2010 Environment III
 - 2011 Health



- ISSP 2004**
- Citizen and state.
- Topics:**
Qualities of a good citizen; attitude toward the right of public meetings for religious extremists, people who want to overthrow the government by force, or people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group; social and political participation; memberships; importance of different people's rights in democracy (scale); estimation of political influence possibilities (political efficacy); likelihood of counter-action against an unjust law and expected chance of serious attention to people's demand; interest in politics; personal trust in politicians and people; political discussions with friends; opinion leadership in politics; national sovereignty and attitude to international organisations; attitude to the action of political parties; real policy choice between parties; attitude toward a referendum; level of honesty and fairness in the last national election; commitment to serve people and likelihood to correct own mistakes in public service; corruption in public service; functioning of democracy at present, in the past and in the future; frequencies of media use; respect for people and tolerance in case of disagreement; self-description of the habitation (residence); voter participation; voting behaviour (recall).
- Demography:**
Sex; age; marital-status; steady life-partner; education; current employment status; hours worked weekly; occupation (ISCO 1988); working for private or public sector or self-employed; if self-employed: number of employees; supervisor function; trade union membership; current employment status (ISCO 1988); earnings; family income; household size; household composition; party affiliation; participation in last election; religious denomination; attendance of religious services; self-placement on a top-bottom scale; region; size of community; type of community; urban-rural area; ethnicity, nationality and family-origin.



Example: Who demonstrates

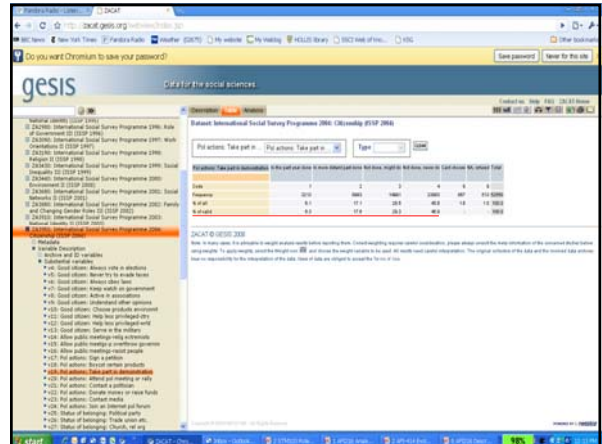
- **Variable v19** : Pol actions: Take part in demonstration
- **Literat Question**
- **Q.5**
Here are some different forms of political and social action that people can take. Please indicate, for each one of, whether: you have done any of these things in the past year; you have done it in the more distant past; you have not done it but might do it; or have not done it and would never, under any circumstances, do it. (Please tick one box on each line)

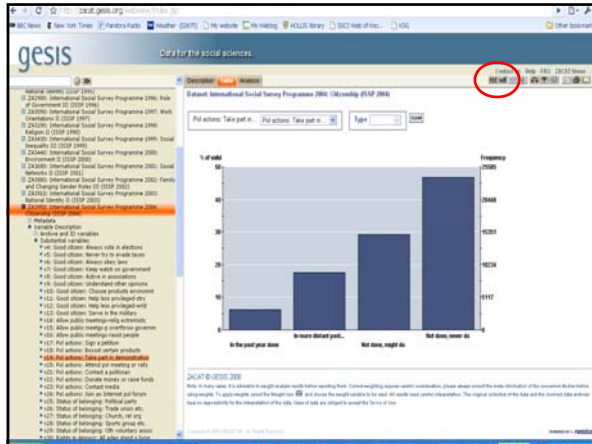
Q.5c Took part in a demonstration

- 1 Have done it in the past year
- 2 Have done it in the more distant past
- 3 Have not done it but might do it
- 4 Have not done it and would never do it
- 8 Can't choose, don't know
- 9 No answer, refused

How is demonstrating explained?

- **Social characteristics?**
 - What would you select and why?
 - What may be the problems of analyzing these factors?
- **Attitudes and values?**
 - What would you select and why?
 - What may be the problems of analyzing these factors?
- **Societal-level characteristics**
 - What would you select and why?
 - What may be the problems of analyzing these factors?





Country	Take part in	Do not take part in
Canada	81	19
Denmark	81	19
France	79	21
Germany	79	21
Italy	79	21
Japan	79	21
South Korea	79	21
Spain	79	21
Sweden	79	21
Switzerland	79	21
United Kingdom	79	21
United States	79	21
Australia	79	21
Belgium	79	21
Canada	79	21
Denmark	79	21
France	79	21
Germany	79	21
Italy	79	21
Japan	79	21
South Korea	79	21
Spain	79	21
Sweden	79	21
Switzerland	79	21
United Kingdom	79	21
United States	79	21
Australia	79	21
Belgium	79	21

4. PAIRED DISCUSSION EXERCISE

Is a new style of citizen politics emerging?

- Break into pairs
- Look in the appendix of Dalton for items from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 2004

1. How would you explore whether a new style of citizen politics is emerging in postindustrial societies?
2. How would you seek to explain these patterns?
3. What other survey items would you suggest could be useful to test the Dalton thesis?

Recap: Consequences for citizen politics?

- Shifts in political participation
 - especially a decline in electoral turnout
- Growth of 'contentious politics':
 - Protests, citizen action groups, boycotts, and new social movements
- Value shifts and alternative political agenda?
 - Social equality, environmental protection, gender equality, human rights
- Change in partisan politics?
 - more fragmentation and volatility, partisan dealignment
- New parties?
 - New left (greens) and new right (radical right)
- Skepticism/lack of trust in traditional authorities
- New tensions for citizen politics in democratic states?

Next class: Download ISSP questionnaire and codebook from the GESIS website
<http://www.gesis.org/en/services/data/survey-data/issp/modules-study-overview/citizenship/>

INTRODUCTION TO THE ISSP 2004 – MEET TAUBMAN COMPUTER LAB CLASSROOM