

Chapter 2

The concept of critical citizens

To make sense of both longitudinal trends and cross-national evidence, we need to start by establishing and clarifying the theoretical framework. This chapter first identifies the concept of levels and components of systems support, drawing upon the seminal ideas of David Easton. It then builds and extends these ideas further by outlining the core idea of critical citizens, reflecting the ambivalent tensions between the demand and supply of democracy. Critical citizens, in essence, are aware of the basic characteristics of liberal democracy, and believe that it is important to live in a democratic state, yet they remain skeptical in their evaluations about the perceived democratic performance of their own government. If this attitudinal syndrome translates into actions and behavior -- an issue explored in the final section of this book-- then the pool of critical citizens is potentially an important resource for mobilizing reform movements seeking to deepen participation, accountability and transparency within liberal democracies, as well as for fostering popular demands for radical change in autocratic states.

The conceptual framework of systems support

Ideas about critical citizens spring from the traditional theoretical framework of systems support, as developed during the mid-1960s by David Easton.¹ The concept of system support is understood in this study to mean that ordinary people have positive orientations towards their nation-state, its agencies and actors. Where systems support is widely established, citizens accept the legitimacy of their state to govern within its territorial boundaries. They do not challenge the basic constitutional structure and rules of the game, or the authority of office-holders.² Systems support is therefore understood as a psychological orientation. Attitudes are commonly inferred from tacit actions, such as the voluntary acts of paying taxes, obeying the law, and casting a ballot. Hence numerous popular studies regard eroding voting turnout or falling party membership as an expression of cynicism or disenchantment among the electorate.³ But it is often deeply problematic, indeed foolhardy, to infer psychological orientations from behavior; citizens may be acting from many complex motives, such as voting out of fear of reprisal or legal sanctions, habit, or a sense of duty, without necessarily supporting the regime. For example, when nine out of ten registered voters (93%) cast a ballot in the 2006 presidential elections in Belarus, few commentators would regard this as a legitimate and reliable sign of public affection for the repressive Lukashenko regime. It is similarly misleading to infer that the fall in voter turnout in European Parliamentary elections -- down overall from 62% in 1979 to 43% three decades later -- necessarily or automatically represents public disenchantment with the European

Union; this decline could simply reflect growing indifference or even satisfaction with the status quo, as well as the changing composition and membership of the European Union.⁴ More reliable indicators of citizen's psychological orientations towards government are derived from public opinion surveys conducted according to rigorous scientific standards. Common indicators are exemplified by a sense of belonging to, and identification with, the national community; positive attitudes towards the state and the core institutions governing the territorial unit; and approval of the incumbent office-holders within the state.

Citizen's orientations towards the nation-state, its agencies and actors (systems support) is thus an overarching and multidimensional concept. It is worth underlining that it is not strictly equivalent to the related idea of political trust, although the two concepts are frequently conflated in the popular literature.⁵ The independence of these ideas is easily illustrated by a few simple examples; people can trust a particular party leader, for instance, without necessarily casting a ballot to actively support them (if they disagree with the leader's ideology or policy positions). Conversely, people can support a leader (because they like his or her character and personality) without necessarily trusting them (for example, if skeptical about the ability of all politicians to deliver on their promises). Political support can be regarded as a dichotomy (citizens either do or do not reject the authority of the nation state) or more commonly as a continuum (with varied degrees and levels). Support for the nation-state is also rarely unconditional; instead it is usually directed towards particular components. For instance, Russians may approve of the president, but simultaneously disapprove of the actions and decisions of the Duma. Or Americans may be cynical and wary about the workings of Congress as an institution but still give high marks to their local senator. Or Mexicans may value the abstract principles of democracy, such as the importance of freedom of speech, tolerance, and respect for human rights, but still wish to ban certain specific publications or parties. Systems support has both affective and evaluative aspects. Citizens may accept the authority of the nation state, its agencies, and actors out of a deep sense of blind loyalty and strong feeling of patriotism ('my country, right or wrong'). Or support may be more conditional, depending upon a more rational calculation of state performance.

Levels of system support

The Eastonian classification built upon the idea that the independent nation-state can be regarded as a political system.⁶ In this account, David Easton drew an important conceptual distinction between specific and diffuse levels of citizen's support.

Specific political support focuses upon elected and appointed office-holders responsible for making and implementing political decisions within the nation-state. Indicators of such support include the popularity of incumbent presidents, prime ministers, cabinet ministers, party leaders, and local representatives, as well as support for particular political parties (in government and opposition). It also covers attitudes towards leadership elites and authorities in other public sector agencies, such as confidence in high-ranked civil servants, judges, the military, and the police. Specific support for incumbent office-holders is expected to fluctuate over time when responding to short-term contextual factors, such as the performance of particular administrations, major shifts in public policy, or changes in party leadership. For elected officials, evaluations are also expected to be strongly filtered by partisan forces; the perception of government performance, for instance, is expected to vary sharply among winners and losers, defined by their party identification. Specific support is typically measured by regular opinion polls where approval of incumbents fluctuates over time as part of normal politics in democratic states. This suggests that specific support for office-holders should be explicable by short and medium-term factors, such as the government's management of economic, social and foreign policy; fluctuations in financial markets; the impact of global events and international affairs; and regular shifts in party fortunes during the normal electoral cycle. A persistent lack of specific support is widely believed to have consequences for governance in all countries, but it does not thereby undermine the legitimacy of the nation-state or erode the fundamental authority of its agencies and actors.

By contrast, for Easton, *diffuse* or *generalized* political support represents more abstract feelings towards the nation state and its agencies. Political institutions persist even though incumbent leaders are removed from office. Generalized support towards the community and regime helps citizens accept the legitimacy of the state, its agencies and office-holders, even when people are highly critical about particular political processes, incumbent party leaders, or specific public policies and outcomes. In this regard, evaluations about the performance of the government are predicted to fluctuate over time, but generalized attachments to the nation-state are expected to prove more stable and enduring, providing office-holders with the authority to act based on a long-term reservoir of favorable attitudes or affective good will.⁷ Diffuse support represents more lasting bonds to the nation-state, as exemplified by feelings of national pride and identity, as well as by adherence to core regime values and principles. Diffuse support is expected to be particularly important for stability in fragile states emerging from deep-rooted internal conflict, as well as for processes of regime transition, by strengthening popular acceptance of the legitimacy of new constitutional arrangements and the authority of office-holders.

The conceptual distinction between specific and generalized support seems plausible theoretically, and worthwhile maintaining, especially if this is understood as a continuum rather than as a dichotomous typology. It implies, for instance, that particular scandals or a dramatic failure of public policy can bring down a president or prime minister, without damaging citizen's belief in the legitimacy of their basic constitutional arrangements or, indeed, weakening deep feelings of patriotism about their country. In more fragile states, however, with shallower reservoirs of legitimacy, similar events could destabilize the government and trigger a regime crisis. In practice, however, it often remains difficult to match these concepts precisely to the available survey measures, for example satisfaction with democracy may reflect both approval of democracy as an abstract principle as well as positive evaluations of how democratic states perform in practice.⁸ Empirical research finds that support for elected officials can carry over to shape support for state institutions.⁹ Subsequent chapters focus upon the relationship among middle levels, including positive approval of democratic values and negative evaluations of the democratic performance of regimes.

Components of political support

Equally importantly, the traditional conceptual framework developed by Easton further distinguished among three distinct components of the political system, namely the nation, the state, and the incumbent authorities.¹⁰ In this conception, the '*nation-state*' represented the community to which people belonged. The '*regime*' constituted the basic framework for governing the nation-state within its territorial boundaries. This includes the over-arching constitutional arrangements and the core government institutions at national, regional and local levels, reflecting the accepted formal and informal rules of the game. Regimes fall into distinct eras, for example with the breakdown of Communist rule in the Soviet Union and the transition towards democracy. In some cases, such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the nation-state also dissolved, but in most countries the shift involved the adoption and revision of a new constitutional settlement within established territorial boundaries. Lastly, the '*authorities*' represents the elected and appointed actors holding state office and the key decision-makers in the public sector. Of all these elements, the authorities change most frequently, in democratic states with the rotation of parties from government into opposition following electoral defeat. These elements can be understood to be related to each other, like Russian dolls, in an embedded model.

According to this conceptualization, people could not pick and choose between different state agencies, approving of some parts, while rejecting others. Yet in practice citizens do seem capable of

making these distinctions. During the final years of the Bush administration, for example, Pew surveys report that Americans expressed deep dissatisfaction with the performance of the incumbent President, while views about the federal government and Congress deteriorated badly, and identification with the Republican party ebbed away.¹¹ Nonetheless loss of faith in the Bush administration and the legislature did not spread to the judicial branch; the Supreme Court continued to be held in high regard. Discontent with the federal government also did not erode pride and patriotism in America, nor trigger any deep disaffection with the basic constitutional arrangements in American government, nor raise any serious doubts about basic democratic principles and ideals.¹² Discontent was highly partisan, centered upon polarizing leadership of President Bush and the Republican Party, and attitudes were transformed by the election of President Barack Obama. The Eastonian framework for understanding components of political support in a political system provides the standard conceptual foundation for analysis. Updating the language to reflect contemporary usage, and greater refinement of these categories, are both important, however, to make these ideas relevant to modern concerns.

[Figure 2.1 about here]

Drawing upon these notions, the concept of 'political support' is understood broadly in this book as a multidimensional phenomenon ranging on a continuum from the most diffuse to the most specific levels. Moreover the middle category in the original framework is expanded conceptually to recognize five distinct components of support in a nested model, each with a series of operational empirical measures (see Figure 2.1):

- (i) The most general and fundamental attitudes of citizens towards **belonging to the nation-state**, exemplified by feelings of national pride, patriotism, and identity;
- (ii) **Agreement with core principles and normative values upon which the regime is based**, including approval of democratic values and ideals;
- (iii) **Evaluations of the overall performance of the regime**, exemplified by satisfaction with democratic governance and also general assessments about the workings of democratic processes and practices;
- (iv) **Confidence in regime institutions**, notably the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government, the security forces, as well as central, state and local governments; and lastly,

- (v) **Approval of incumbent office-holders**, including attitudes towards specific party leaders, legislators, and public officials, as well as support for particular parties and for leadership elites and authorities in public sector agencies.

These components are regarded as ranging in a continuum from the most generalized support for the nation down through successive levels to the most concrete and specific support for individual actors.

(i) National identities

From this perspective, at the most diffuse level, support for the community represents general orientations towards belonging to a common nation, including enduring bonds typically expressed through feelings of patriotism, national pride, and a sense of national identity, as well as feelings towards people of other nations and towards multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations and European Union. The idea of 'national identity' is understood to mean the existence of communities with bonds of 'blood and belonging' arising from sharing a common homeland, cultural myths, symbols and historical memories, economic resources, and legal-political rights and duties.¹³ Nationalism can take '*civic*' forms, meaning ties of soil based on citizenship within a shared territory and boundaries delineated by the nation-state, or it may take '*ethnic*' forms, drawing on more diffuse ties based on religious, linguistic, or ethnic communities.¹⁴ In many countries, national identities are taken for granted, but they have particularly important consequences for social cohesion and state legitimacy in multicultural communities containing several distinct nationalities, especially in fragile states recently emerging from deep-rooted conflict.¹⁵ In the modern world, national identities underpin the nation-state and its institutions exercising legitimate political authority within a given territory, although there are many multinational states such as the United Kingdom, Belgium and Canada, as well as stateless national communities, exemplified by the Kurds and the Roma.

Although often assumed to reflect long-term, deep-rooted and stable orientations, in fact national orientations vary systematically in predictable ways, for example sudden spikes in national pride are often documented around the outbreak of war or external threat, in a commonly observed 'rally-around-the-flag' effect.¹⁶ National identities may also be gradually weakening as a result of processes of globalization, expanding networks of interdependence spanning national boundaries that follows the increasingly swift movement of ideas, money, goods, services, ecology, and people across territorial borders. By contrast to national identities, globalization is expected to strengthen cosmopolitan identities, understood as those outlooks, behaviors and feelings that transcend local and national boundaries.¹⁷ Typically, cosmopolitans are tolerant of diverse cultural outlooks and practices,

valuing human differences rather than similarities, cultural pluralism rather than convergence, and de-emphasizing territorial ties and attachments.¹⁸ Nationalism and cosmopolitanism are usually regarded theoretically as oppositional, although it remains to be seen empirically whether these feelings could potentially coexist without contradiction, for example if people have strong feelings of national pride but also favor multilateral solutions to world problems. Using the World Values Survey, nationalism and cosmopolitanism can be analyzed through examining attitudes towards the state and institutions of multilateral governance, feelings of belonging and attachment to different communities, as well as support for policies that facilitate protectionism or globalization, such as attitudes towards free trade or open labor markets.¹⁹

(ii) Approval of regime principles and values

The second level represents adherence to the principles and normative values upon which the regime is founded, reflecting beliefs about the legitimacy of the constitutional arrangements and the formal and informal rules of the game. Democracy remains an essentially contested concept, open to multiple meanings for alternative deliberative, representative and pluralist conceptions, so there is no universal consensus about which values, procedures, and principles are most important. Schumpeterian notions emphasize a minimalist or 'thin' definition of representative democracy as an institutional arrangement for governing the state where all adults have opportunities to vote through free and fair competitive elections for their national legislature.²⁰ From this viewpoint, representative democracies hold multiparty electoral contests at regular intervals which meet the essential conditions of an inclusive suffrage giving voting rights to all adult citizens, unrestricted rights by all citizens and parties to compete for elected offices, and transparent and honest processes for translating votes into seats. This parsimonious approach to defining democracy remains popular in the research literature. For empiricists, it has the considerable advantage of reducing the number of elements required for the accurate measurement and classification of electoral democracies.²¹ The most commonly-acknowledged danger of this conceptualization, however, is leaving out certain important dimensions of the richer concept of liberal democracy which are emphasized in more comprehensive measures. For example, minimalist definitions do not consider the quality of democratic performance, such as how far states achieve socially-inclusive representation, accountable leaders, freedom of expression, and equality of participation, in part because these factors are often difficult to gauge systematically with any degree of reliability and consistency.

By contrast, thicker or more maximalist understandings of the key structural framework of representative or liberal democracy have been strongly influenced by Robert Dahl's body of work, including *Politics, Economics, and Welfare* (1953), *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (1956), and *Polyarchy* (1971).²² Dahl argued that liberal democracies are characterized procedurally by two main attributes – contestation and participation. In practice, Dahl suggested that democratic regimes or 'polyarchies' can be identified by the presence of certain key political institutions: 1) elected officials; 2) free and fair elections; 3) inclusive suffrage; 4) the right to run for office; 5) freedom of expression; 6) alternative information; and 7) associational autonomy.²³ This Dahl also emphasizes that competitive multiparty elections are used to fill offices for the national legislature and the chief executive. For electoral competition to be meaningful, however, he add a broader set of essential conditions, as polyarchies need to allow freedom of expression, the availability of alternative sources of information (freedom of the media), and associational autonomy (freedom to organize parties, interest groups and social movements). In short, in democratic states citizens must consent to their rulers, and public officials are accountable to those they govern. Democratic principles also involve support for the underlying values of freedom, opportunities for participation in decision-making, equality of rights and tolerance of minorities, respect for human rights, and the rule of law.

The Global-barometer surveys provide some of the most comprehensive evidence of attitudes towards each of these general democratic principles and values.²⁴ An extensive literature has analyzed the distribution of democratic values, especially in post-Communist Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as the Middle East.²⁵ Most commonly, surveys have tapped agreement with the idea of democracy as the most appropriate or ideal form of government for particular nations compared with alternative types of regime. Hence the Global-barometer surveys have asked respondents to choose among three alternative statements: 'Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government', 'Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one', and 'For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime.'²⁶ It is more difficult to find alternative items seeking to gauge support for autocratic principles, since these regimes are founded upon different forms of rule, such as the monarchies governing the emirates in Arab States, the military juntas controlling Thailand and Burma, the dynastic dictatorship in North Korea, one-party Communist states such as China and Cuba, and strongman populism in Venezuela and Zimbabwe. The World Values Survey measures whether the public approves of regimes based on having military rule, non-elected strong man rule, or government by experts, as well as having a democratic political system. These items have been combined, with pro-democratic responses represented by

disagreement with the first three types of regimes and agreement with the last, and used as a Democratic Regime Index.²⁷ Most importantly, the fifth wave of the WVS survey also monitors which characteristics are regarded as essential to democracy, which allows us to examine whether there is a common understanding to the meaning of this form of government in different parts of the world, or whether meanings are culturally-specific.

(iii) Evaluations of regime performance

The third level concerns generalized support for the state, meaning support for how democratic or autocratic regimes function in practice. This taps a 'middle-level' of support which is often difficult to gauge. Many surveys, including the Euro-Barometer and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, have regularly measured 'satisfaction with the performance of democracy' or 'satisfaction with the way democracy works'. The standard question in the EuroBarometer and many other surveys seeks to tap these attitudes by asking: *"On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in your country?"* This item has been extensively analyzed in the research literature, nevertheless responses are open to alternative interpretations.²⁸ On the one hand, the item can be seen to tap approval of 'democracy' as a value or principle. In this study, however, we agree with Linde and Ekman that the phrasing of the question (by emphasizing how democracy is *performing*) makes it most suitable to test public evaluations of the workings of democratic regimes and assessments of democratic practices, not principles.²⁹ Another related strategy compares evaluations of the performance of the current regime against that of the past regime, a particularly effective approach when used to analyze public opinion in countries with recent memories of regime transition, such as in Central and Eastern Europe. This process is believed to provide a common standard rooted in people's concrete experience, rather than comparing the current regime against an idealized and therefore more abstract notion of representative democracy.³⁰

In measuring how democratic regimes perform in practice, the 3rd and 4th waves of the World Values Survey asked the following questions:

"I'm going to read off some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me if you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly, after I read each one of them? In democracy, the economic system runs badly; Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling; Democracies aren't good at maintaining order; Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government."

This battery of items allows respondents to express doubts about the broad way that democratic states work in practice, without simultaneously rejecting democratic principles. Analysts have recoded these responses in a consistent direction and then combined them to create a Democratic Process index.³¹ Using an alternative phrasing, the 5th wave WVS asks the following question:

“And how democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is “not at all democratic” and 10 means that it is “completely democratic,” what position would you choose?”

The way that this question emphasizes evaluations of how democratically each country is being *governed* makes the scale even more suitable to test public evaluations of the perceived performance of democratic governance in each country.³²

(iv) Confidence in regime institutions

The fourth level concerns trust and confidence in the core institutions of state, including the legislature, executive and judicial branches of government, as well as other public sector agencies, such as the police, military and civil service. Studies seek to measure generalized support for the institution -- that is approval of the powers of the presidency as chief executive rather than support for President Barack Obama -- although in practice the precise dividing line between the office and the incumbent is often fuzzy. A conventional distinction is often made between 'public' and 'private' institutions, although this line varies depending upon the degree of state control in each country, for example whether a country has public service or commercial television broadcasters, and whether religious institutions are disestablished.³³ Since 1973, for example, the U.S. General Social Survey conducted by NORC has monitored confidence in 'the people running' the executive branch of government, the U.S. Supreme Court and Congress, and the military, as well as private sectors agencies, such as major companies, medicine, banks and financial institutions, the press, television, and labor unions.³⁴ Much can be learnt by examining the dynamics of support for particular agencies because evidence suggests that the public distinguishes among them; hence Americans consistently express considerable confidence in the Supreme Court, for example, while simultaneously increasingly disapproving of Congress and the executive branch.³⁵ Institutions are large, impersonal, and broadly based, and the public's estimation of them is less immediately affected by particular news items or specific events than support for specific actors. Thus, loss of confidence in institutions may well be a better indicator of public disaffection with the modern world because they are the basic pillars of society. If they begin to crumble, then there is, indeed, cause for concern.³⁶

Public approval of the general performance of the governing party, as well as evaluations of the government's handling of major policy areas such as the economy, foreign policy, and social policy, are regularly monitored within particular nations in numerous election surveys and commercial public opinion polls. This facilitates longitudinal analysis within each country. Moreover the ISSP Role of Government cross-national survey module (conducted in 1985, 1990, 1996 and 2006) allows analysts to compare more detailed judgments about the government's past policy record, expectations about the appropriate scope of the government's role and responsibility, as well as approval of levels of public spending, on a range of major public policy issues, such as the economy, employment, education, the environment, housing, and health care.

(v) Approval of incumbent office-holders

Lastly, at the most specific level, orientations towards incumbent office-holders represent attitudes towards particular leaders in positions of authority. This is typified by levels of satisfaction with the performance of specific presidents or prime ministers, as well as support for particular parties, and confidence in leaders in other public sector agencies, such as the military or government bureaucracy. Loss of support for incumbent office-holders may have consequences, but no matter how grave or sudden any drop, (such as the Watergate crisis), in most long-established regimes, it is unlikely to pose a threat to the functioning or stability of the nation-state. In more fragile states, however, a leadership crisis, such as the death or over-throw of a president, may trigger broader processes of regime change. As Easton notes: "Typically, members of a political system may find themselves opposed to the political authorities, disquieted by their policies, dissatisfied with their conditions of life and, where they have the opportunity, prepared to throw the incumbents out of office. At times, such conditions can lead to fundamental political and social change. Yet at other times, in spite of widespread discontent, there appears to be little loss of confidence in the regime – the underlying order of political life – or of identification with the political community. Political discontent is not always, or even usually, the signal for basic political change."³⁷

To analyze support for incumbent office-holders, studies are heavily dependent upon national polls rather than cross-national surveys. We can examine longitudinal trends in popular approval of presidents or prime Ministers in particular countries, using monthly polls to analyze whether satisfaction with leadership has declined since the post-war period.³⁸ More often, analysis has focused on trust in incumbent politicians, using the items developed by the ANES in 1958, and subsequently replicated in some other national election studies.³⁹ The standard American National Election Study (ANES) items

monitor how the public feels about the performance of public officials in terms of their ethical standards, efficiency, and integrity. The ANES asks Americans to assess whether the 'government in Washington' can be trusted to do what is right, an item which is understood here to tap the broader level of general confidence in the state, since the item refers to the federal agency collectively rather than the incumbent office-holders. In addition, the ANES survey asks whether 'people running the government' waste taxes, whether government is run for the benefit of a few big interests, or whether public officials are 'crooked'.⁴⁰ Separate items monitor a sense of how far people believe that the public sector is responsive to public opinion, representing the notion of 'external efficacy'.

There are some important issues about interpreting all these measures, however, which need to be considered. Most importantly, they are not designed to tap into more generalized levels of support towards the community and regime. Thus the ANES does not regularly monitor public approval of the basic U.S. constitutional principles, adherence to democratic values and principles, or indicators of American pride and patriotism. The NORC US General Social Survey has also only asked sporadically about these matters, making it difficult to analyze long-term trends. The ANES standard 'trust in government' items are regarded as the canonical measures for analyzing trends in American public opinion, and although there is some ambiguity about the specific branch of government, the referent of these items are clearly worded to be incumbent-oriented ("the people in the government", "the government in Washington", "the people running the government").⁴¹ Moreover as Levi and Stoker point out, although commonly assumed to reflect *trust* in government, in fact the measures tap other related dimensions, such as the ability and efficiency of public officials (to do 'what is right'), as well as their ethical qualities (to be honest or crooked), and the responsiveness of government (towards special interests or the general good), all of which generate favorable or unfavorable evaluations.⁴² The concept of trust, Levi and Stoker note, never featured in the original design of these survey items by Donald Stokes. In addition, in the ANES questions it is unclear what American respondents understand when they are asked to evaluate the performance of 'the government' or 'the people running the government', since U.S. decision-making is divided horizontally among the executive, legislative and judicial branches, as well as vertically among districts, states and the federal levels.

The idea of critical citizens

All these elements of system support are important but not all are central to the idea of critical citizens. Elements derived from the general framework are useful for developing theories about the links between the demand and supply of democracy, in the theory developed in this volume. The critical

citizen syndrome concerns cognitive awareness of the characteristic procedures associated with liberal democratic governance, combined with positive approval of democratic values, and yet negative evaluations of the performance of democratic governance in practice. Figure 2.2 illustrates how the components of critical citizens are conceptualized and measured in this book.

[Figure 2.2 about here]

Cognitive awareness of democratic procedures

The first component concerns cognitive awareness about the core characteristics of liberal democratic procedures and principles. When seeking to understand whether people support democracy or whether they believe that their own government follows democratic principles or respects human rights, survey often ask direct or overt questions which fail to monitor what people actually understand by the complex concept of democracy. In response to the interviewer's questions, 'manufactured', 'top of the head' 'non-attitudes' can always be offered by survey respondents. But such responses are unlikely to prove stable, deep-rooted, well-structured, or reliable indicators of public opinion.⁴³ Converse first noted that people often try to give some response to survey questions, when asked to do so, despite having no prior attitudes towards the issue.⁴⁴ Zaller also emphasizes that people often try to generate opinions from the cues provided by the questions asked during the interview, especially when they lack information or prior experience concerning the issue. However these responses should not be regarded as recording attitudes or preferences that existed prior to the start of the survey.⁴⁵ For example, if respondents are asked about whether their country should adopt proportional representation, people may offer an opinion even where they lack any detailed experience, knowledge, or information about how this type of electoral system works.⁴⁶ This issue is least problematic in survey questions where most people can draw upon direct personal experience, for example when respondents are asked about the priority which they give towards their family, work, or religion. Relatively technical and abstract issues about which the public has little cognitive knowledge or direct experience, however, are particularly vulnerable to these problems, such as the issue of climate change, concern about the size of the federal deficit, or questions about constitutional reform. Opinions about these matters can always be offered by respondents, but in the absence of full information, these are not necessarily well-grounded or stable. For these reasons, cognitive awareness of at least some of the basic procedures associated with liberal democracy is therefore essential as a filtering condition for the meaningful expression of democratic values and for informed evaluations of the quality of democratic governance by citizens.

Democratic Values

The second component of the critical citizen syndrome concerns democratic values, which can be understood to reflect the demand or aspirations for democracy. The general idea of 'values' reflect desirable goals – whether for the individual, household, community, nation-state, and indeed the world. Values reflect what people want out of life, or what they regard as most important. People typically juggle a variety of competing values – such as the desire for physical security, social status and material affluence, autonomy and freedom, or self-expression and creativity. The relative ranking of these goals determines value priorities. As such, values are understood to tap into relatively durable aspects of social psychology that orientate people towards specific attitudes and cognitive beliefs. Values may concern personal goals, such as the value of family, self-fulfillment through work, or the acquisition of material goods. Or they may concern the goals for society as a whole. People living within Scandinavian cultures, for example, which typically hold socially egalitarian values, are expected to express strong support for public policies strengthening the role of government, a comprehensive and universal welfare state, and redistributive taxation designed to reduce income differentials. On the other hand, Americans, who usually give greater importance to the values of rugged individualism and the free market, can be expected to oppose these types of policies. Political values reflect the aspirations which citizens express towards the ideal type of principles for governing their own state, irrespective of the type of regime actually in power. Unlike political attitudes, values can be understood to transcend specific cultural contexts, institutional arrangements, and particular situations. Hence general preferences for competition or cooperation, social equality or individual success, for example, can be applied to the different spheres of work, school, business and politics.⁴⁷ The diffuse nature of values also facilitates wide-ranging comparisons across diverse countries and cultures.

One counter-argument, suggested by Schedler and Sarsfield, is that instead of asking about values, surveys should monitor more concrete attitudes towards specific democratic procedures. For example, surveys could ask whether respondents support the use of referenda and plebiscites, the adoption of proportional representation or majoritarian electoral systems, freedom of speech and equal rights for political minorities, or the decentralization of decision-making through federalism. Yet it makes little sense to ask about people about these sorts of issues if they lack any detailed historical experience, knowledge and awareness, or interest in these procedures. In these circumstances, rather than asking about more concrete political attitudes or policy preferences, a more effective strategy for tapping public opinion is to monitor more general values which are applicable to multiple institutional

contexts and life experiences. As in life, political values can be regarded as a trade-off. When considering the risks and benefits of becoming actively engaged in reform movements, for example, citizens living under traditional autocracies such as Saudi Arabia, China and Iran need to weigh the importance of maintaining traditional sources of political authority, social stability, and security against the dangers and uncertainties which flow from regime transitions. When measuring political priorities, those citizens who attach great weight to living in a democracy are regarded in this study as holding democratic values, whereas those who express indifference towards democratic rule are understood to hold more authoritarian values.

Evaluations of democratic performance

The last component of this syndrome concerns the supply of democratic governance, representing citizen's evaluations of the actual performance of the regime in their own country, and their satisfaction with the perceived working of democratic governance. Where there is congruence between supply and demand, this implies a close fit between the public's aspirations for democratic governance and their perceptions of how far this is being met in each country. Eckstein's congruence theory suggests that where demand matches supply, this should reinforce regime stability.⁴⁸ In particular, in this context it is expected that the public will be satisfied with how far government reflects their aspirations. Where demand and supply fail to balance, however, then Eckstein predicts that regimes will prove more fragile and open to mass challenge. Where the public demand for democracy outruns its perceived supply by the regime, this has important implications for the potential mobilization of reform movements. In autocracies, this is exemplified most recently by outbreaks of people power demanding regime change in the color revolutions occurring in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan, as well as by the mass protest by reformers challenging irregularities in the 2009 reelection of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in Iran. In contrast, where the perceived supply of democracy runs ahead of public demand for this form of governance, for example if the international community insists on holding multiparty competitive elections in deeply-traditional societies such as Afghanistan which lack any democratic traditions, then electoral democracies are also expected prove fragile, as they lack mass legitimacy. To measure these ideas, we can compare how democratically-informed citizens evaluate the democratic performance of their own country.

The most critical citizens, using this scale, are those who grasp some of the basic procedures of liberal democracy, who hold democratic values as important to their lives, and who are simultaneously dissatisfied by the performance of democracy in their own country. Indifferent citizens with the lowest

scores on the composite index, by contrast, are either unaware of the procedures of liberal democracy, or they are satisfied with the democratic performance of their government, or else they do not regard democracy as important to their own lives.

Theoretically the concept of critical citizens therefore has important implications for the legitimacy of the regime, as well as helping us to understanding the role of ordinary people in the process of regime change and democratization. Later chapters proceed to operationalize and compare the individual and societal characteristics of critical citizens living in more than fifty countries. This process allows us to examine the distribution and characteristics of citizens living in both democratic and autocratic states, and the causes of this phenomenon, as well as to explore the consequences of this syndrome for political behavior, democratization processes, and regime stability.

What is excluded from this framework?

The five-fold classification of system support, expanding upon Easton, provides a coherent way to understand citizen's orientations towards the nation state, its agencies and actors. The selective focus on the contrasts between values and performance is in accordance with others who have emphasized these tensions. Nevertheless it is worth emphasizing what this conceptual framework excludes and the reasons why.

Partisan identification and membership

One issue concerns indicators of public support for political parties. A wealth of evidence derived from successive national election studies since the 1960s and 1970s demonstrates the long-term erosion of party loyalties which has occurred in many established democracies.⁴⁹ Dealignment has progressively weakening the social psychological attachments binding loyalists to the same party over successive elections, contributing towards aggregate electoral volatility and more individual vote switching, facilitating the sudden break-through of new parties and restructuring party competition, as well as more generally weakening linkages between citizens and the state.⁵⁰ In a related but distinct development, there is also solid evidence that official party membership rolls have dropped markedly in West European societies, eroding the basis for grassroots voluntary party work and financial contributions.⁵¹ Parties in the electorate, as organizations, and in parliament play an essential role in representative democracy. Parties serve multiple functions: simplifying and structuring electoral choices; organizing and mobilizing campaigns; articulating and aggregating disparate interests; channeling communication, consultation and debate; training, recruiting and selecting candidates;

structuring parliamentary divisions; acting as policy think tanks; and organizing government. Not only are parties one of the main conduits of political participation, they also strengthen electoral turnout. If mass membership is under threat, as many suspect, and if party loyalties are eroding, this could have serious implications for representative democracy. Many European commentators have seen these changes as posing severe legitimacy problems for party government; Peter Mair, for example, regards these developments as reflecting “a massive withdrawal of public support and affection”.⁵²

Nevertheless it still remains unclear whether either of these trends should be interpreted as a sign of psychological disengagement from regime institutions or from political authorities. The idea of institutional confidence concerns generalized orientations towards the party system, rather than attitudes such as identification with particular parties. Moreover, as noted earlier, it is always dangerous to attribute psychological motivations to particular actions; citizens may not see themselves as party loyalists over successive elections because they want to exercise greater choice over candidates or party programs at the ballot box, for example splitting their ticket in local, national and European elections, or voting for strategic reasons, without necessarily disengaging from electoral politics or expressing disaffection with the party system as a whole. Similarly party membership rolls may be dwindling for multiple reasons, such as the availability of alternative channels of mediated political communication, the professionalization of campaigning, and public sources of party funding, so that party leaders are no longer so keen to recruit members for these functions.⁵³ Overall measures of confidence and trust in political parties are more direct indicators of how far the public sees these institutions – as well as facilitating clear comparisons with support for similar mediating political organizations linking citizens and the state, including the news media, interest groups, and new social movements.

Social capital

In recent years, the research community has commonly related issues of how people feel about their government to theories of social capital. Theorists from de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill to Durkheim, Simmel, and Kornhauser have long emphasized the importance of civic society and voluntary associations as vital to the lifeblood of democracy. Modern theories of social capital, originating in the seminal ideas by Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, build upon this tradition.⁵⁴ In particular, in *Making Democracies Work* (1993) and in *Bowling Alone* (2000), Putnam emphasized the importance of civic associations and voluntary organizations for political participation and effective democratic governance.⁵⁵ The theory claims that typical face-to-face deliberative activities and

horizontal collaboration within voluntary associations far removed from the political sphere, such as sports clubs, agricultural cooperatives, or philanthropic groups, promote interpersonal trust, fostering the capacity to work together in future, creating the bonds of social life that are the basis for civil society and democracy. Organized groups not only achieve certain instrumental goals, it is claimed, in the process of doing so they also create the conditions for further collaboration, or social capital.

While attracting a substantial body of literature, it is important to separate the analysis of citizens' psychological orientations towards the nation state, its agencies and actors from the potential causes of these orientations. It may be that a deeper reservoir of interpersonal trust in the community serves to strengthen confidence in democratic government and regime institutions, but debate continues to surround both the logic of the theoretical linkages and the interpretation of the empirical evidence about this relationship.⁵⁶ As one recent review by Zmerli and Newton summarized the evidence: "The claim that the socially trusting individuals are also politically trusting has poor empirical support. A good deal of individual-level survey research suggests that social and political trust are rather weakly correlated, if at all."⁵⁷ In this study, therefore, theories of social capital are treated as furnishing potential explanations which could help to account for the phenomenon of critical citizens, but psychological orientations towards the political system are treated as distinct from indicators of generalized social trust and associational activism.

The consequences of citizen orientations for political behavior

In this framework, it is also worth emphasizing that the concept of systems support, and the core ideas of critical citizens, remains separate analytically from its consequences. Many popular commentators mix together a wide rag-bag of attitudinal and behavioral indicators, such as weakening partisan identification and political activism, which are regarded as signs of public disenchantment or discontent with democracy.⁵⁸ Now it may be that lack of confidence in democratic government is expressed through eroding voter turnout, falling party membership, or declining engagement in voluntary associations, but it is equally plausible that these may be wholly separate phenomenon. For example, a wealth of evidence indicates that voter participation may rise and fall for many reasons -- such as the frequency of elections, the popularity of the governing party, and the closeness of the race -- all of which are unrelated to trust and confidence in government.⁵⁹ Moreover the relationship between cultural attitudes and behaviors is complex; voter anger at incumbents, for example, may spur greater participation at the ballot box, not less. By contrast, public satisfaction may lead people to stay home on polling day. It is foolhardy to assume prior motivations directly from actions. Equally, at individual-level,

trust or cynicism in government has often been found to be a poor predictor in multivariate models of political participation, although some significant bivariate relationships have been detected.⁶⁰ The exact relationship between systems support and its behavioral and systemic consequences can only be determined by careful analysis of the empirical evidence, as considered in the final section of this book. It is conceptually confusing if all the factors which scholars regard as different indicators of a decline in civic engagement and political participation are bundled together willy-nilly, and such an approach means that there is no way to separate attitudes towards the regime from the behavioral impact of these orientations.

As discussed in the final section of the book, public support for the nation state, its agencies and actors is regarded as important for governance in all countries, including a willingness of citizens to obey the law voluntarily, to generate public revenues, and to participate in civic affairs. Lack of support, on the other hand, is widely assumed to strengthen reform movements, to encourage protest politics through peaceful or radical means, and, ultimately, to foster regime instability. Regime legitimacy is widely seen as most vital in multicultural communities, especially in countries where secessionist movements and break-away nationalist minorities seeking independence are challenging the fundamental foundations and authority of the state. In extreme cases, such as Somalia, Colombia, and Sudan, states suffer from a severe legitimacy deficit, where the authorities lack the capacity to deal effectively with longstanding regional rebellions or enduring problems of ethnic conflict.⁶¹ One of the most complex challenges facing the international community engaged in peace-building initiatives is to strengthen state legitimacy and good governance, arguably as important a priority as restoring security, and expanding the delivery of public goods and services.⁶² But the impact of citizen's psychological orientations on all these aspects of behavior needs to be carefully examined with close attention to the evidence, rather than bundling them all together. For all these reasons, the idea of the critical citizen syndrome which is developed here provides a clear and comprehensive way of understanding public opinion towards democracy, while not throwing in so many components that the core idea becomes muddied and confused. The task of the next chapter is to build upon this framework by operationalizing these concepts and describing the sources of evidence and survey data.

Figure 2.1: Indicators of systems support

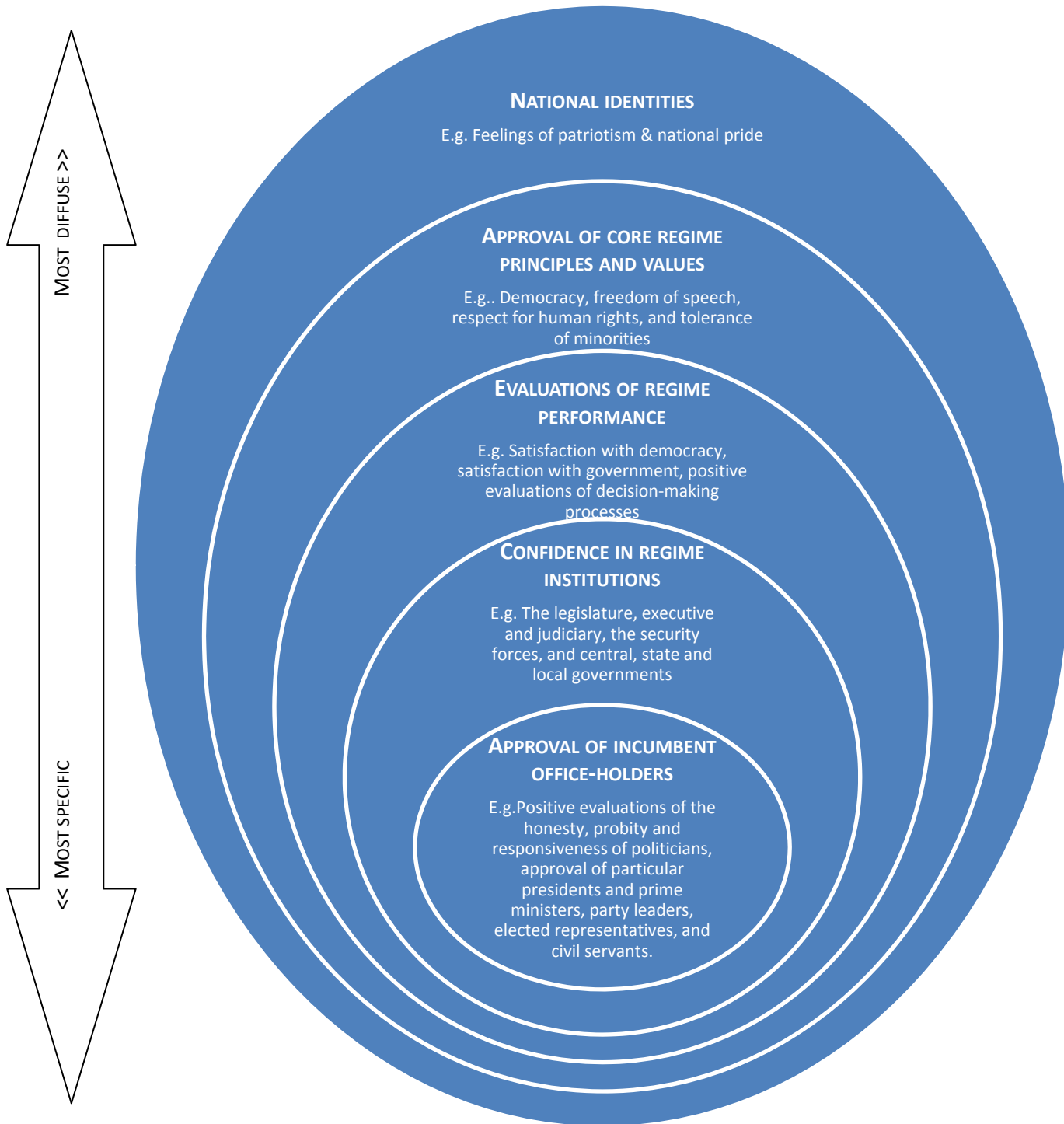
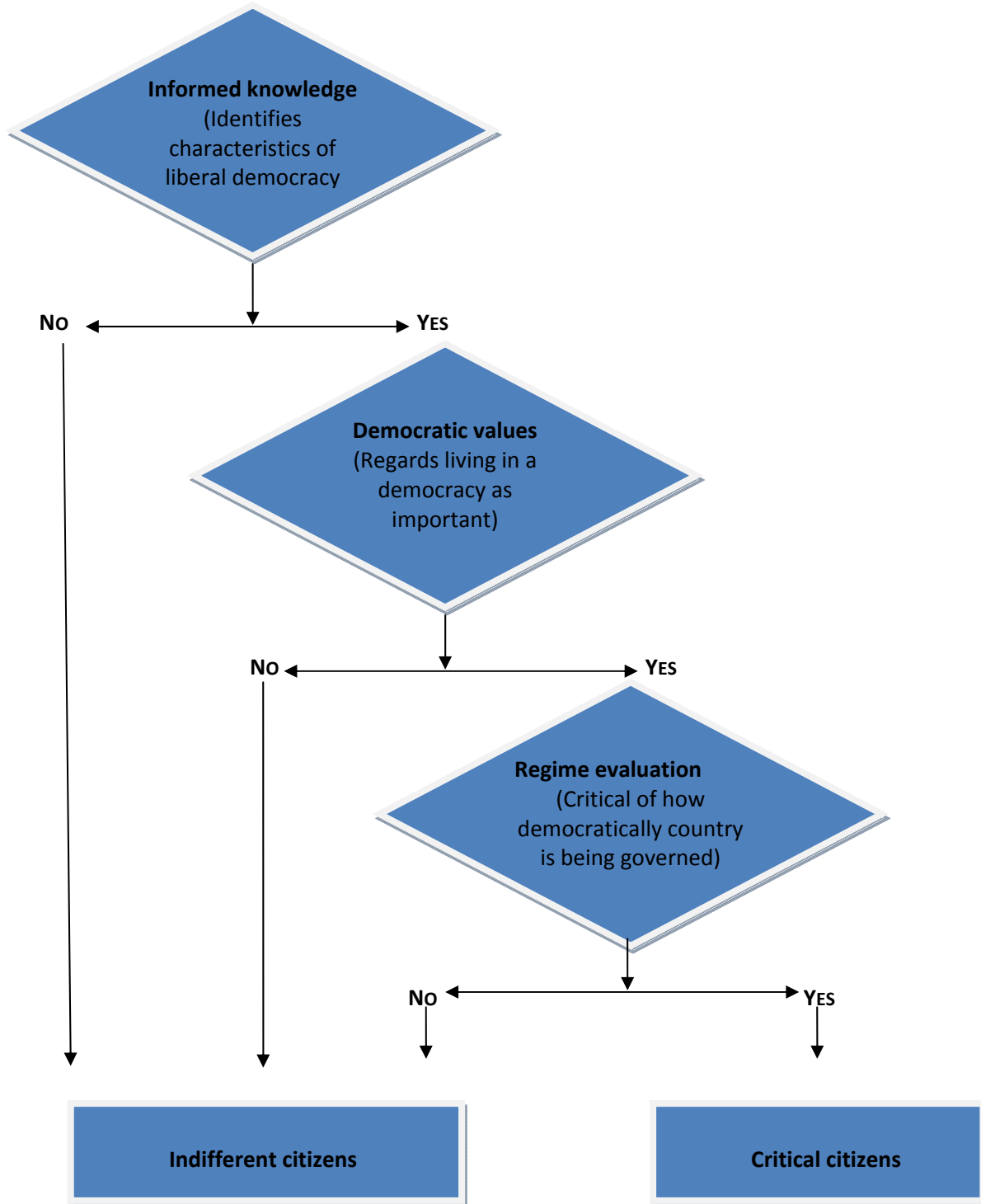


Figure 2.2: Components defining critical citizens



¹ David Easton. 1965. *A framework for political analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall; David Easton. 1975. 'Reassessment of the concept of political support.' *British Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 435-457.

² Stephen M Weatherford. 1992. 'Measuring political legitimacy.' *American Political Science Review* 86:149-66.

³ See, for instance, Gerry Stoker. 2006. *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*. London: Palgrave/Macmillan.

⁴ For details, see http://www.elections2009-results.eu/en/hist_turnout_eu_en.html

⁵ For a discussion of the meaning of political trust, see Margaret Levi and Laura Stoker. 2000. 'Political trust and trustworthiness.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 475-508.

⁶ David Easton. 1965. *A framework for political analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall; David Easton. 1975. 'Reassessment of the concept of political support.' *British Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 435-457.

⁷ David Easton. 1975. 'Reassessment of the concept of political support.' *British Journal of Political Science* 5(OCT): 444.

⁸ Damarys Canache, Jeffrey J. Mondak and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2001. 'Meaning and measurement in cross-national research on satisfaction with democracy.' *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65: 506-528.

⁹ Edward Muller and Rhomas Jukam. 1977. 'On the meaning of political support.' *American Political Science Review* 71: 1561-95.

¹⁰ David Easton. 1965. *A framework for political analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

¹¹ See, for example, The Pew Research Center on People and the Press. 2008. 'Bush and Public Opinion Reviewing the Bush Years and the Public's Final Verdict.' December 18 2008. <http://people-press.org/report/478/bush-legacy-public-opinion>

¹² See also, Jack Citrin and Samantha Luks. 2001. 'Political trust revisited: Déjà vu all over again?' In John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. (eds). *What Is It About Government That Americans Dislike?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹³ There is an extensive theoretical literature on the concepts of nationalism and national identity. See, for example, Michael Ignatieff. 1993. *Blood and Belonging*. London: Chatto and Windus; Benedict Anderson. 1996. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso; Michael Billig. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage; Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

¹⁴ Anthony D. Smith. 1991. *National Identity*. London: Penguin. Chapter 7.

¹⁵ Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis. Eds. 2005. *Understanding Civil War*. Washington DC: The World Bank; Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹⁶ Tim Groeling and Matthew A. Baum. 2008. 'Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon.' *Journal Of Politics* 70(4): 1065-1085.

¹⁷ For a discussion, see U. Beck. 2006 *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity; U. Beck and N. Sznajder. 2006 'Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Humanities and Social Sciences: A Research Agenda.' *The British Journal of Sociology* 57(1): 1–23; U. Hannerz. 1990 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture.' In Michael Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, London: Sage.

¹⁸ For a more detailed discussion of these ideas, see Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2009. *Cosmopolitan Communications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹ See Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2009. *Cosmopolitan Communications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁰ Joseph A. Schumpeter. 1952. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 4th ed.

²¹ Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. 1996 . 'Classifying political regimes.' *Studies in International Comparative Development* 31: 3-36; Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. For a defense of the minimalist approach, see Adam Przeworski. 1999. 'Minimalist conception of

democracy: A defense.’ In *Democracy’s Value*. Eds Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon. Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²² Robert A. Dahl. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press; Robert A. Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press; Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom. 1953. *Politics, Economics, and Welfare*. New York: Harper Collins; Robert A. Dahl. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 221; Robert A. Dahl. 2005. ‘What political institutions does large-scale democracy require?’ *Political Science Quarterly* 120(2): 187-197.

²³ Robert Dahl. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 221

²⁴ See Dieter Fuchs, Giovanna Guidorossi, and Palle Svensson. 1995. ‘Support for the Democratic System.’ In *Citizens and the State*, eds. Klingemann, Hans-Dieter and Fuchs, Dieter. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁵ See, for example, Jacques Thomassen. 1995. ‘Support for democratic values.’ In Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. (Eds). *Citizens and the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Marta Lagos. 2003. ‘Support for and satisfaction with democracy.’ *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 15 (4): 471-487; Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner. 2008. *How People View Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

²⁶ For the analysis of this item, see Yun-han Chu, Michael Bratton, Marta Lagos, Sandeep Shastri and Mark Tessler. 2008. ‘Public opinion and democratic legitimacy.’ In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner. 2008. *How People View Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

²⁷ Russell J. Dalton and Doh Chull Shin. 2006. ‘Democratic aspirations and social modernization.’ In Russell J. Dalton and Doh Chull Shin, Eds., *Citizens, Democracy and Markets around the Pacific Rim* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁸ See, for example, Alexander F. Wagner, Friedrich Schneider, and Martin Halla. 2009. ‘The quality of institutions and satisfaction with democracy in Western Europe: A panel analysis.’ *European Journal of Political Economy* 25 (1): 30-41.

²⁹ Jonas Linde and Joakim Ekman. 2003. ‘Satisfaction with democracy: A note on a frequently used indicator in comparative politics.’ *European Journal of Political Research* 42(3): 391 – 408.

³⁰ Richard Rose, William Mishler and Christian W. Haerpfer. 1998. *Democracy and its Alternatives*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Christian Haerpfer W. 2008. 'Support for democracy and autocracy in Russia and the commonwealth of Independent States, 1992-2202.' *International Political Science Review* 29(4): 411-431.

³¹ Russell J. Dalton and Doh Chull Shin. 2006. 'Democratic aspirations and social modernization.' In Russell J. Dalton and Doh Chull Shin, Eds., *Citizens, Democracy and Markets around the Pacific Rim* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³² Jonas Linde and Joakim Ekman. 2003. 'Satisfaction with democracy: A note on a frequently used indicator in comparative politics.' *European Journal of Political Research* 42(3): 391 – 408.

³³ See Seymour Martin Lipset, and William C. Schneider. 1983. *The Confidence Gap: Business, Labor, and Government in the Public Mind*. New York: Free Press; Ola Listhaug and Matti Wiberg. 1995. 'Confidence in political and private institutions.' In *Citizens and the State*, eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. Oxford: Oxford University Press

³⁴ The NORC GSS questions remain somewhat ambiguous to interpret. The items ask about 'the people running' these agencies, but this does not refer to any individual incumbents by name or office (such as 'your Congressional representative', 'the Chief Justice', or 'your bank manager' or 'your doctor'). Even the item concerning the executive branch is framed collectively, to include the White House, all departments, secretaries of state in cabinet, and federal bureaucrats, and it does not refer by name to individual presidents. As such, although the wording is imprecise, it seems most likely that people will usually respond with their general impressions of each institution, although these judgments may inevitably be colored by evaluations of specific incumbent office-holders.

³⁵ See, for example, Lilliard E. Richardson, Jr, David J. Houston and Chris Sissie Hadjiharalambous. 2001. 'Public confidence in the leaders of American governmental institutions.' In John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. (eds). *What Is It About Government That Americans Dislike?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Russell J. Dalton. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Figure 2.4.

³⁶ Kenneth Newton and Pippa Norris. 2000. 'Confidence in public institutions: faith, culture, or performance.' In: S.J. Pharr and R.D. Putnam, Editors, *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 52–73.

³⁷ David Easton. 1975. 'Reassessment of the concept of political support.' *British Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 436.

³⁸ Harold D. Clarke and Marianne Stewart. 1995. 'Economic evaluations, prime ministerial approval and governing party support: Rival models considered.' *British Journal of Political Science* 25(2):145-70.

³⁹ For the comparison of these items used in other established democracies, see Russell J. Dalton. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press. Table 2.2.

⁴⁰ The four standard ANES questions are: RIGHT: "How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time or only some of the time?"; WASTE: "Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?"; INTERESTS: "Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?"; CROOKED: "Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are (1958-1972: a little) crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked (1958-1972: at all)?" It should be noted that it is unclear who is the object of these questions as 'the government', when American decision-making is divided horizontally among the executive, legislative and judicial branches, as well as vertically among districts, states and the federal levels.

⁴¹ Paul R. Abramson and Ada W. Finifter. 1981. 'On the meaning of political trust: new evidence from items introduced in 1978.' *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (2): 297-307; Edward N. Muller and Thomas O. Jukam. 1977. 'On the Meaning of Political Support.' *American Political Science Review* 71: 1561-95.

⁴² Margaret Levi and Laura Stoker. 2000. 'Political trust and trustworthiness.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 475-508.

⁴³ Richard Sinnott. 2000. 'Knowledge and the position of attitudes to a European foreign policy on the real-to-random continuum.' *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 12(2): 113-137.

⁴⁴ Philip Converse. 1970. 'Attitudes and non-attitudes.' In. E.R.Tufte (ed). *Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

⁴⁵ John Zaller. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Public Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁶ David M. Farrell and Michael Gallagher. 2002. 'British voters and their criteria for evaluating electoral systems.' *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 1(3): 293 – 316.

⁴⁷ Ronald Inglehart. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Shalom Schwartz.2007. 'Value orientations: measurement, antecedents and consequences across nations.' In *Measuring Attitudes Cross-nationally: lessons from the European Social Survey* eds. Roger Jowell, Caroline Roberts, Rory Fitzgerald and Gillian Eva. London: Sage.

⁴⁸ Harry Eckstein. 1961. *A Theory of Stable Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Woodrow Wilson Center, Princeton University.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Russell J. Dalton. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press. Table 2.3.

⁵⁰ The most comprehensive summaries of the comparative evidence in established democracies are available in Hermann Schmitt and Soren Holmberg. 1995. 'Political parties in decline?' In *Citizens and the State* eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrialized Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵¹ Peter Mair and Ingrid van Biezen. 2001. 'Party membership in twenty European democracies 1980-2000.' *Party Politics* 7 (1): 5-22; Susan Scarrow. 2001. 'Parties without Members?' In *Parties without Partisans*. Eds. Russell J. Dalton and Martin Wattenberg. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵² Peter Mair. 2008. 'The challenge to party government.' *West European Politics* 31(1): 211-234.

⁵³ Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair. 1995. 'Changing models of party organization and party democracy: The emergence of the cartel party.' *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-28; Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair. 1996. 'Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel? A Rejoinder.' *Party Politics*. 2(4): 525-534.

⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu. 1970. *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society*. London: Sage; James S. Coleman. 1988. 'Social capital in the creation of human capital.' *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 95-120; James S. Coleman. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Belknap. For a discussion of the history of the concept, see Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller. (Eds). 2000. *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁵ Robert D. Putnam. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Robert D. Putnam. 1996. 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America.' *The American Prospect*, 24; Robert D. Putnam. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. NY: Simon and Schuster; Robert D. Putnam. Ed. 2004. *The Dynamics of Social Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Newton and Pippa Norris. 2000. 'Confidence in public institutions: faith, culture, or performance.' In: S.J. Pharr and R.D. Putnam, Editors, *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 52-73; Kenneth Newton. 2006. 'Political support: Social capital, civil society and political and economic performance.' *Political Studies*. 54(4): 846-864.

⁵⁷ Sonja Zmerli and Ken Newton. 2008. 'Social trust and attitudes toward democracy.' *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 72(4): 706-724.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Gerry Stoker. 2006. *Why Politics Matters*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave/MacMillan.

⁵⁹ Mark Franklin. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁰ See Pippa Norris. 1999. 'Conclusions. The growth of critical citizens and its consequences.' In Pippa Norris. Ed. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Chapter 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Russell J. Dalton. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8.

⁶¹ J.A. Goldstone. 2008. 'Pathways to State Failure.' *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25 (4): 285-296.

⁶² W.W. Brinkerhoff. 2005. 'Rebuilding governance in failed states and post-conflict societies: Core concepts and cross-cutting themes.' *Public Administration and Development* 25: 3; M. Francois. 2006. 'Promoting stability and development in fragile and failed states.' *Development Policy Review* 24: 141.