

CSES Module 5

Democracy Divided

People, Politicians and the Politics of Populism

August, 2016

Sara Hobolt (Chair, s.b.bobolt@lse.ac.uk)

Eva Anduiza (eva.anduiza@uab.es)

Ali Carkoglu (acarkoglu@ku.edu.tr)

Georg Lutz (georg.lutz@unil.ch)

Nicolas Sauger (nicolas.sauger@sciences-po.fr)

Content

1. Purpose
2. Process and context
3. Core themes and items
4. Other questions to be included

Purpose

Define a module that is:

1. Relevant: speaks about politics today and to a broad academic agenda
2. Useful to explain voting behavior

Process

- 20 proposals presented and discussed at Plenary Meeting in Berlin, October 2014.
- Common topics of interest identified and discussed during the PC meeting, Taipei, March 2015:
 - populism, perceptions on elites, corruption and the quality of representative democracy.
- First draft of stimulus paper drafted by June 2015 and circulated among the PC members.
- Draft paper and questionnaire were discussed and revised in the PC in Seattle, October 2016.
- Stimulus paper was revised and circulated, questionnaire pre-tested.



Context

- Trump
- Farage
- Syriza
- Podemos
- Populist Radical Right parties all over Europe
- Chavez in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, Correa in Ecuador
- Thaksin Shinawatra in Thailand, Joseph 'Erap' Estrada in the Philippines, Roo Moo-hyun in South Korea, Chen Shui-bian in Taiwan, Jun'ichiro Koizumi in Japan, Mahathir Mohamad in Malaysia



Core themes

1. Attitudes towards political elites and challenges to representative democracy
1. Attitudes towards out-groups and perception of the people



Attitudes Towards Elites and Challenges to Representative Democracy

1. the *negative perception of the elite* as a whole in contrast to “the people” (distrust, careless, main problem, corrupt).
2. the *challenge to certain aspects of representative democracy* (preference for direct democracy, dismissal of minority rights and compromises, preference for a strong leader).
3. the perception of *the elite as defined by economic interests*.



Attitudes Towards Elites and Challenges to Representative Democracy 1

negative perception of the elite as a whole in contrast to the people

Q4b. Most politicians do not care about the people.

Q4c. Most politicians are trustworthy.

Q4d. Politicians are the main problem in [COUNTRY].

Q7. How widespread do you think corruption, such as bribe taking, is amongst politicians in [COUNTRY]: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, it hardly happens at all



Attitudes Towards Elites and Challenges to Representative Democracy 2

challenge to certain aspects of representative democracy

Q4a. In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.

Q4e. Having a strong leader in government is good for [COUNTRY] even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

Q4f. The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.



Attitudes Towards Elites and Challenges to Representative Democracy 3

perception of the elite as defined by economic interests

Q4g. Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.

Q04h. Poor people should have a greater voice in politics.



Attitudes towards out-groups and perceptions of the people

1. Attitudes towards ethno-cultural minorities
2. Attitudes towards migrants
 - Economic dimension
 - Cultural dimension
3. Nativist conceptions of the people

Attitudes towards out-groups

Now thinking about minorities. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement

Q05a. Minorities should adapt to [COUNTRY]'s way of life.

And now thinking specifically about immigrants: Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements

Q05b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY]'s economy.

Q05c. [COUNTRY]'s culture is generally harmed by immigrants.

Important for being national

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Other says they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is... Very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all

- Q6a. To have been born in [COUNTRY].*
- Q6b. To have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life.*
- Q6c. To be able to speak [COUNTRY NATIONAL LANGUAGES].*
- Q6d. To be [COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION].*
- Q6e. To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws.*
- Q6f. To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY].*
- Q6g. For your grandparents to have been born in [COUNTRY].]*

Other related CSES questions to be retained

- **Q10** *Would you say that any of the parties in [country] represents your views reasonably well? (CSES M2 Q16 CSES M3 Q7) Which party represents your views best?*
- **Q21** *On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in [country]? (CSES M1 Q1, CSES M3 Q20, CSES M3 Q15)*
- **Q14** *Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using this card, where would you place yourself? (CSES M1 Q14, M2 Q9, M3 Q5, M4 Q8)*

Other questions from the core

- Q1 Political interest
- Q2 Politics in the media
- Q3 Internal efficacy
- Q8 Attitudes towards redistribution
- Q9 Government performance
- Q11 State of the economy
- Q12 Vote choice
- Q13 Vote choice previous election
- Q15 Like dislike scale parties
- Q16 Like dislike scale leaders
- Q17 Left right parties
- Q18 Left right self
- Q19 Alternative scale parties
- Q20 Alternative scale self
- Q22 Party closeness

Conclusions

- Topical module
- Relatively short
- Pretest shows it works

Reaching a Consensus

- Discussions have underlined some weaknesses of the proposal but also a risk of changing to the unknown
- The sub-committee proposes the following amendments to the initial proposal, so as to accommodate views from the GA:
 - Addition of questions Q5A (OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES: ETHNIC MINORITIES), Q5E (OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES: IMMIGRANTS INCREASE CRIME), Q6D (NATIONAL IDENTITY: TO FOLLOW CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS COUNTRY), Q14A (WHO IS IN POWER CAN MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE, from previous modules)
 - Deletion of questions Q4H (ATTITUDES TOWARDS ELITE: POOR PEOPLE), Q6B (NATIONAL IDENTITY: TO HAVE LIVED IN COUNTRY FOR MOST OF LIFE), Q6D (NATIONAL IDENTITY: TO BE COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION), Q6E (NATIONAL IDENTITY: TO RESPECT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS), Q6F (NATIONAL IDENTITY: TO FEEL COUNTRY NATIONALITY)
 - Rewording of questions Q4A (ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES: COMPROMISE), Q5b (OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES: ETHNIC MINORITIES), Q08 (GOVERNMENT ACTION - DIFFERENCES IN INCOME LEVELS, back to CSES 4 wording)

Thank you!

