



CSES

CSES Module 5 Proposals

Task Force:

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Outline

- ▶ **Overview and Past Achievements** [Sara]
- ▶ **“Democracy in Crisis?”** [Radek]
 - ▶ Thematic module on Political Efficacy, Populism, and Corruption
- ▶ **Other proposed Modules** [Nicolas]
 - ▶ Big 5
 - ▶ Electoral integrity
 - ▶ Party Disagreement
- ▶ **Overview of remaining proposals** [Sara]
- ▶ **Points for Discussion** [Sara]



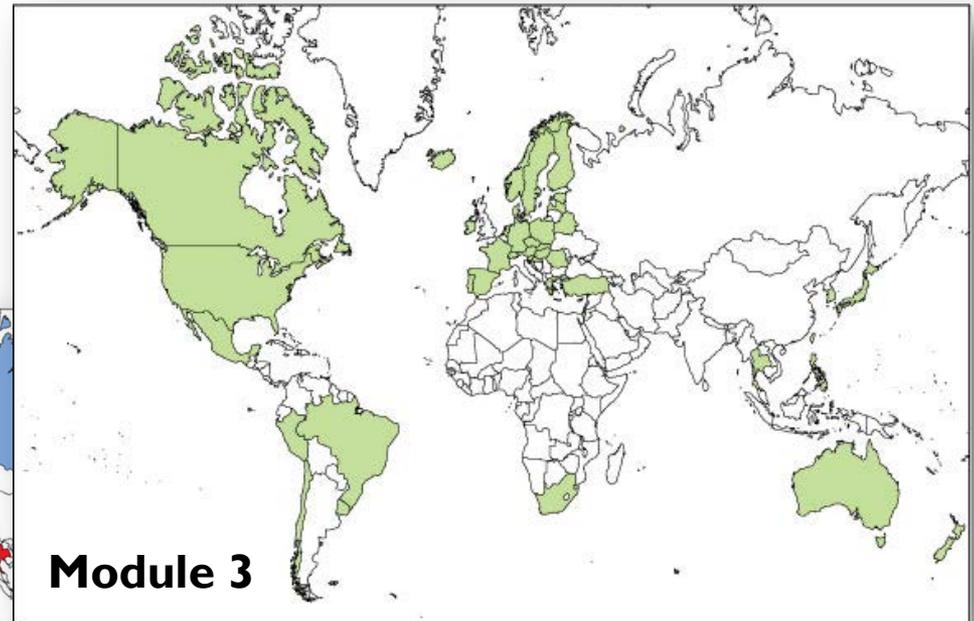
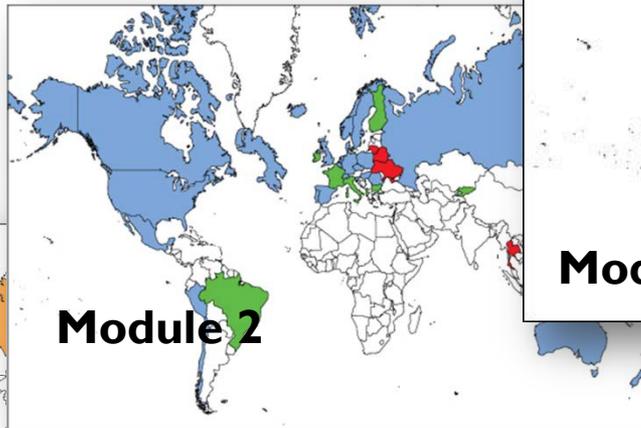
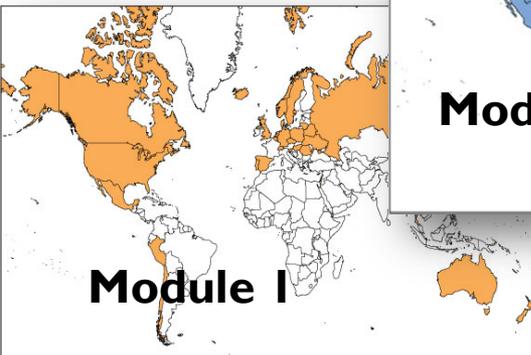
History & Goals

- ▶ Established in 1994 to promote international collaboration among national election studies
- ▶ Original goal of collaboration to understand:
 - ▶ electoral institutions
 - ▶ the role that political parties play in encapsulating political conflict
 - ▶ the nature of political alignment in the face of social change
- ▶ Uniquely, CSES
 - ▶ applies an *integrated* design to the analysis of electoral behaviour in different contexts
 - ▶ is essentially a multi-level study relating macro- and micro-characteristics to one another.
- ▶ The CSES helps us examine the quality and performance of electoral democracy



Coverage

- ▶ Covers Democratic elections North America, Europe, Australia, South America and parts of Asia and Africa.
- ▶ Module 4 has collaborators from 55 countries across the globe



CSES Module

- ▶ A CSES Module is a 10-15 minute respondent questionnaire with a specific substantive theme
- ▶ The CSES Module is included in high quality national post-election surveys around the world
- ▶ A new theme and questionnaire every five years
- ▶ The data from all countries are merged into a single dataset along with administrative, demographic, district, and macro variables



Module 1

- ▶ **Performance of the System (1996-2001)**
 - ▶ Constitutional and institutional effects on democratic performance)
 - ▶ The social underpinnings of party systems
 - ▶ Attitudes to parties, political institutions, and the democratic process
 - ▶ 33 countries



Module 2

- ▶ **Representation and Accountability (2001-2006)**
 - ▶ Do elections make governments accountable, are citizens' views represented?
 - ▶ Political participation and turnout
 - ▶ Institutions and contexts in new democracies
 - ▶ 38 countries



Module 3

- ▶ Political choices: contestation and inclusiveness (2006-2011)
 - ▶ Policy questions about electoral system design
 - ▶ Questions on political choice
 - ▶ How satisfaction varies with choices
 - ▶ How and why new parties are formed
 - ▶ Retrospective evaluation of candidates and parties
 - ▶ Prospective evaluations via ideology, party image, and policy differences
 - ▶ Voter perceptions of policy choices
 - ▶ 41 countries



Module 4

- ▶ 2011-2016
- ▶ Primary Theme: Distributional Politics and Social Protection
 - ▶ Expenditure Questions
 - ▶ Aspirations or 'Prospect of Upward Mobility'
 - ▶ Government on Redistribution
 - ▶ Job Security
 - ▶ Wealth or Patrimonial Battery (Q23a-d)
- ▶ Secondary Theme: Mobilization
 - ▶ Campaign contact
 - ▶ Campaign participation
- ▶ Political Knowledge Questions
 - ▶ Country-specific knowledge questions



Module 5 - Process

- ▶ **16 proposals we received in Aug 2013**
 - ▶ These proposals were discussed at a meeting of the CSES Planning Committee in November 2013 and feedback were sent to the proposers.
- ▶ The proposers were asked to respond to this feedback by June 30, 2014. In addition, 4 new proposals were received. We thus have **20** proposals to consider today.
 - ▶ Module 5 Themes will be selected by CSES Module 5 Planning Committee on March 27-29, 2015 in Taipei, Taiwan.
 - ▶ Oct 2015 first draft questionnaire is presented
- ▶ Today we start by discussing what the Task Force suggests could be a possible thematic module, and then turn to the remaining proposals, and plenary discussion.



Main proposal – merger of four proposals

- ▶ **Democracy in Crisis?**
- ▶ **The four topics are on:**
 - ▶ #1 – formal and informal political participation
 - ▶ #8 (and #9) - corruption
 - ▶ #12 – social precariousness (*de facto* on inequalities & exclusion)
 - ▶ #19 – populism
- ▶ **Justification:**
 - ▶ All four pertain to aspects of malfunctioning of contemporary democracies
 - ▶ All four are short – do not comprise a module on their own
 - ▶ All four expect similar (former) CSES variables to be retained



The overall content of the new module

▶ Theoretical assumptions

- ▶ Contemporary democracy is at crossroads – changes derive from both: current crisis and citizens' expectations
- ▶ People's reaction – in different institutional contexts - to these new developments is the essence of the module.
- ▶ It covers fundamental issues of democratic governance such as mode of participation in public/political life and increase in populist expectations among citizens as well as more detailed aspects of democratic flaws, such as exclusion, inequalities and corruption.



Detailed Research Questions

1. Is *protest politics* becoming a more popular and more mainstream than before? I.e. is engaging in protest becoming increasingly `normal`? Are protesters `no special` any longer and resemble the general population?
2. How citizens perceptions of corruption shape their attitudes and behavior towards the public domain and political phenomena? How these perceptions impact attribution of responsibility for outcomes and resulting degree of democratic accountability?
3. How inequalities and exclusion impact political preferences and behavior? How does this new rise in inequalities influence pressure on redistribution? Is the `precariat` and other excluded social strata less represented by parties and unions than before? Is this linked to radical populist movements and how?
4. What are the new manifestations of populism among the mass public? And how populism relates to elitism and pluralism in particular cultural and institutional contexts?



The proposal's possible thematic broadening

- ▶ The ultimate module need not be restricted to the above mentioned `content`. The potential additional topics might include (CERES discussions):
 - The issue of normative expectations and criteria by which democracies are currently evaluated by citizens (results of ESS6 → `output related` -- distribution and equality)
 - Decline in state and surge in banks and international corporations importance
 - The role of media
 -just as potential topics



Operationalization and Q-wording

- ▶ Too many Qs offered to present.....
 - ▶ ...consult the exact wording in proposal #1, 8, 12, 19
- ▶ Some examples...



Possible themes and Qs for new module (1)

Participation in and satisfaction with the political process

- ▶ **Protest behaviour (#1)**
 - ▶ *How many times have you in the past taken part in a demonstration?*
- ▶ **Political efficacy (formal and informal participation) (#1)**
 - ▶ *How effective are [a) elections and b) street demonstrations] in bringing about meaningful political change?*
 - ▶ *Most politicians make a lot of promises but don't actually do anything.*
 - ▶ *I don't see the use of voting, politicians do what they want any way.*
 - ▶ *My participation can have an impact on policy-making in this country.*
 - ▶ *Social initiatives by citizens can bring about meaningful social change.*
- ▶ **Consider also existing CSES political efficacy questions**



Possible themes and Qs for new module (2)

Populism

- ▶ Measuring populist attitudes of voters (see #19)
 - ▶ *The politicians in parliament need to follow the will of the people.*
 - ▶ *The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.*
 - ▶ *The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.*
 - ▶ *I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.*
 - ▶ *Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.*
 - ▶ *What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles.*
- ▶ Include individual or Macro variables on the populism of parties?



Possible themes and Qs for new module (3)

Perceptions of corruption

▶ GENERAL PERCEPTIONS:

- ▶ *How widespread do you think corruption, such as bribe taking, is among politicians/ civil servants in [country]? (#8 – see also #9)*

▶ PERSONAL EXPERIENCE:

- ▶ *In the last five years, how often have you or a member of your family come across a public official who hinted they wanted, or asked for, a bribe or favour in return for a service? (#8 – see also #9)*

Social inequalities and inclusion

▶ Questions on social precariousness/exclusion (see #12)

- ▶ Difficulty in establishing cross-nationally valid measures.



Democracy in Crisis?

Points to consider if there is interest in implementing such a module:

1. Decide on potential additional topics and question wording
2. Check its trans-cultural validity, especially the ones pertaining to “populism” and “precariousness”
3. Decide on CSES `traditional` questions to be retained
4. Decide on new MACRO variables – the ones deliberately selected and indispensable for the new module theme



Other proposed modules

- ▶ Four single proposals have particularly attracted attention
 - ▶ Electoral integrity (#3 and #10)
 - ▶ “Big 5” (#15)
 - ▶ Party disagreement (#17)
- ▶ Quick review of these proposals with pros and cons.
- ▶ One possibility is also to consider some of these proposals as additions of very few questions.



Electoral integrity (#3 & #10)

- ▶ **Measuring Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (Norris) and The Legitimacy of Elections: Understanding Voters' Experiences with Electoral Integrity (Noorudin and colleagues).**
- ▶ **Aim at measuring the subjective integrity and legitimacy of the electoral process.**
- ▶ **Various potential breaches to integrity:**
 - ▶ Clientelism
 - ▶ Fraud
 - ▶ Administrative incapacity
 - ▶ Media bias
 - ▶ Violence,...
- ▶ **Two full modules are proposed (9 and 15 questions)**



Electoral integrity (#3): main instruments

- ▶ **Battery of 9 questions, included in the 6th wave of WWS:**
 - ▶ In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections?
 - ▶ Votes are counted fairly
 - ▶ Opposition candidates are prevented from running
 - ▶ TV news favors the governing party
 - ▶ Voters are bribed
 - ▶ Journalists provide fair coverage of elections
 - ▶ Election officials are fair
 - ▶ Rich people buy elections
 - ▶ Voters are threatened with violence at the polls
 - ▶ Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections

Electoral integrity (#10): main instruments

- ▶ Thinking of the last election in [country], where would you place it on this scale of one to five where ONE means that the last election was conducted fairly and FIVE means that the last election was conducted unfairly?
- ▶ Thinking about the last time you voted, how confident are you that your ballot was counted as you intended?
- ▶ Voted in person / in person early / absentee ballot / ...
- ▶ Did the people running the election appear to give favorable or preferential treatment to any individuals or groups of individuals?
- ▶ Campaign contacts and persuasion, and especially:
 - ▶ How did they try to persuade you? Parties or candidates... (Choose all that apply) i. Provided positive information about their party/candidate ii. Promised implementation/removal of a certain policy (ies) after elections iii. Offered food, money, etc. during the campaign iv. Promised food, money, etc. after the election v. Provided negative information about other parties/candidates vi. Threatened violence or intimidation (before/after election)
- ▶ In some places, you hear that people with influence can find out how you voted in an election. Do you think an influential person could find out how you voted in the polling booth?
- ▶ Did you observe anything you would consider rigging, intimidation, fraud or other malpractice during this election?

Electoral integrity: pros and cons

▶ Pros:

- ▶ Broad appeal
- ▶ Differentiation between sociotropic and egocentric evaluations
- ▶ Direct measurements of individuals experiences with voting
- ▶ Validation on instruments (Norris)

▶ Cons:

- ▶ Probably too long and rather complex for respondent
- ▶ Problems of comparability across contexts and context specific questions
- ▶ Issue of within-country variability
- ▶ Problems of validity and social desirability bias for questions linked to personal experiences of malpractices.
- ▶ Added value of module compared to what exists in WWS (Norris).



Big 5 (#15)

- ▶ Fournier and colleagues propose to include “Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) of the Big 5 personality traits”
- ▶ Anchored in recent developments of political psychology
- ▶ The 5 traits:
 - ▶ Agreeableness
 - ▶ Conscientiousness
 - ▶ Extraversion
 - ▶ Neuroticism
 - ▶ Openness to experience



Big 5 (#15): instruments

- ▶ We're interested in how you see yourself. Please indicate how well the following pair of words describes you, even if one word describes you better than the other.
 - ▶ Extraverted, enthusiastic
 - ▶ Critical, quarrelsome
 - ▶ Dependable, self-disciplined
 - ▶ Anxious, easily upset
 - ▶ Open to new experiences, complex
 - ▶ Reserved, quiet
 - ▶ Sympathetic, warm
 - ▶ Disorganized, careless
 - ▶ Calm, emotionally stable
 - ▶ Conventional, uncreative
- ▶ Response categories: Extremely poorly / Extremely well (7 categories)



Big 5 (#15): Pros and cons

▶ Pros:

- ▶ An effective theoretical addition to the tradition of CSES
- ▶ Battery is short, and measured for a length of 87 seconds for median duration
- ▶ Measurements has been validated across countries.

▶ Cons:

- ▶ How does it fit the micro/macro design of CSES
- ▶ Debates about personality traits are not settled; instrumentation still under development.



Party disagreement (#17)

- ▶ Greene proposes to complement perception of locations of parties by perceptions of their internal cohesion.
 - ▶ Two dimensions: clarity of messages and internal disagreements
- ▶ Greene adds the perceptions of parties competence to his proposal as well.
- ▶ Instruments (each question repeated for each party):
 - ▶ “Over the last twelve months, do you perceive the following parties as internally united or divided?” (Very united / Very divided, 5 categories)
 - ▶ “Over the last twelve months, do you perceive the following parties’ policy messages as consistent or inconsistent” (Very consistent / Very inconsistent, 5 categories)
 - ▶ “Here is a list of issues facing the country. Could you say for each of them which political party you think would handle the issue best?”



Party disagreement (#17): Pros and cons

▶ Pros:

- ▶ Complements CSES questions about left / right positions (and other related scales)
- ▶ Each question can be considered separately

▶ Cons:

- ▶ The full battery can be very long in accordance with number of parties included
- ▶ Distinction between consistence and homogeneity maybe not easy
- ▶ Competence is complicated if a general list of issues has to be set
- ▶ Instruments have not been cross-nationally validated



Remaining proposals



#5: Citizens' evaluation of representation

- ▶ Gabriel and Dageförde's propose to include more detailed indicators of citizens' subjective perception of the way representation works in contemporary democracies
- ▶ Survey instruments:
 - ▶ How do you feel represented by the political system (5-point scale: very good – very bad)?
 - ▶ Respondents are also asked to indicate more specifically how well they feel represented by different institutions (e.g. government, parliament, MPs, parties).
 - ▶ Finally, respondents are also asked how well or badly they feel represented regarding the values they consider as important (issues/ membership of social groups)
- ▶ Pros:
 - ▶ Broad interest in topic; fits CSES objectives; can be linked to macro-variables
- ▶ Cons:
 - ▶ Representation has been explored previously (Module 2); questions not very specific, nor pre-tested; Module could be very long.



#6: Assessing the impact of Voting Advice Applications (VAA)

- ▶ Garzia, Andreadis, Dumont, Grönlund, Marschall & Trechsel proposes a battery of question on VAA usage
- ▶ Battery of 5 questions:
 - ▶ Do you have access to the internet?
 - ▶ Websites such as [X] offer advice on how to vote on the basis of your ideas, values and policy preferences. In the weeks before the last election, did you visit such a website?
 - ▶ When did you visit such website?
 - ▶ When did you decide for which party you would have cast a vote?
 - ▶ Do you remember which party was suggested to you by the application?
- ▶ Pros:
 - ▶ Interesting, topical module of reasonable length
- ▶ Cons:
 - ▶ Applicable only to countries in which VAA is practiced and available, and that not many countries outside of Europe use this.
 - ▶ Even in Europe evidence from EES shows that such questions only apply to a very small proportion of respondents.



#18 Another Measurement of Party Identification

- ▶ New proposal to replace existing party ID questions with the following party identification question (used in GLES):
 - ▶ *Many people in Germany adhere to a particular political party for a longer period of time even if they occasionally vote for another party. What about you? In general terms, do you adhere to a particular political party?*
 - ▶ *And if so, which one?*
- ▶ Current CSES question:
 - ▶ “Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party?” (which one)
 - ▶ “Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?” (which one)
- ▶ Pros:
 - ▶ Has been shown to work in Germany and Japan. Would require fewer questions
- ▶ Cons:
 - ▶ Question wording of “adhere” is unclear in English. “Close to” conveys a much clearer meaning.
 - ▶ Introducing a new question would disrupt time-series of a widely used question. NESs might be reluctant to change their party ID question.



Survey-embedded experiments

- ▶ **#4 Vote Buying and Voter Intimidation List Experiments (Nickerson)**
 - ▶ a list experiment studying vote buying and voter intimidation
- ▶ **#9 Corruption Voting in Comparative Perspective (Tucker)**
 - ▶ Concerns about experimental part of component
 - ▶ two different states of the economy (positive or negative), and four different corruption treatments (positive-sociotropic; negative-sociotropic; positive-pocketbook; negative-pocketbook).
 - ▶ Interest in non-experimental party of proposal – especially distinction between *perceptions* of corruption and *personal experiences of corruption* (see previous discussion of Corruption)
- ▶ **#13 Voting Irregularities and Democratic Legitimacy (Ahlquist)**
 - ▶ List experiment where treatment group are shown different sets of items relating to voting irregularities.
- ▶ **Concerns:**
 - ▶ Experiments are challenging to implement in some countries and situations, and can have mode differences
 - ▶ The goal of CSES is to provide data which can assist with many research questions, whereas these experiments are often limited to a single type of analysis



Other proposals (1)

- ▶ **#2: Very brief proposal on proportional list systems as a distinct category (Schmit)**
 - ▶ Encouraged to provide more detail but no response received
- ▶ **#7: Immigrant Political Participation (Nicholson)**
 - ▶ Concerns of poor fit with CSES as it does not work well in countries where immigrants are a very small part of the population, and NES cannot be changed (sampling etc.) to focus on a specific group.
- ▶ **#11: Examination of Cyber-Participation (Steinberg)**
 - ▶ Timely topic, however, unlikely to work as proposed as question designed for developed countries.
 - ▶ Link to electoral behaviour also unclear. Revised proposal not received.



Other proposals (2)

- ▶ **#14 Ethnicity, Cleavages and Voter's Alignments (Mahato)**
 - ▶ Interesting topic (could potentially be explored with existing CSES items), but no specific questions are proposed
 - ▶ Not all countries have “ethnic cleavages” in their party systems, but CSES is a global study
- ▶ **#16 Party Membership (Kernell)**
 - ▶ Kernell’s proposal on adding two question on party membership
 - ▶ Concern that the questions were likely to get very low numbers in some countries
 - ▶ No feedback received
- ▶ **#20 Political Determinants of Anti-Vaccination Beliefs (Richie)**
 - ▶ New proposal on including two question on anti-vaccination beliefs.
 - ▶ Concern that this is unlikely to be a salient issue in all electoral contexts
 - ▶ Interesting issue but there is no obvious link to CSES objectives or electoral behaviour



Points for Discussion

1. **Type of Module:**
 - ▶ One big idea or several smaller ones?
 - ▶ Consistency with CSES aims/objectives?
 - ▶ Introduce survey experiments?

2. **What remains from before? What new questions to we introduce**
 - ▶ What part of the “time-series” do we want to keep?
 - ▶ Continuity in themes and instruments?
 - ▶ Which innovations from Module 4 do we want to keep?
 - ▶ Do we want to add new macro variables?



Type of Module

- ▶ Options for Module 5
- ▶ Core questions +
 - ▶ A Single Thematic Module (based on one or more proposals)
 - ▶ Smaller Primary & Secondary Thematic Modules
 - ▶ A Primary Module + additional sets of new questions
- ▶ Allow survey experiments?
- ▶ Fit with CSES objectives
 - ▶ Link to electoral context
 - ▶ Link to macro-data



Old and New

- ▶ **Module meant to take 10-15 minutes**
 - ▶ ~35 questions (excluding demographics)
 - ▶ More questions, the more parties in the system
- ▶ **Core questions?**
 - ▶ Vote, previous vote, party identification,
 - ▶ Left-right, like-dislike
 - ▶ Economic performance
 - ▶ System perceptions
- ▶ **Space for new questions?**



Suggested “core” in Module 5 (1)

▶ Demographics

▶ Keep

- ▶ Age, gender, education, marital status, employment status, religiosity, religion, region, electoral district, country of birth; household income, household no., no. of children; Spouse’s employment; Language spoken at home

▶ Consider including

- ▶ Parents country of birth?

▶ Take out:

- ▶ Professional Association membership?
- ▶ Year arrived in country?
- ▶ No. of children under 5?
- ▶ Race, ethnicity?



Suggested “core” in Module 5 (2)

Behaviour and Attitudes

▶ “Core”

- ▶ Vote choice/turnout/ previous vote
- ▶ Like-dislike party scales
- ▶ Left-right party placement/ self-placement
- ▶ Satisfaction with democracy
- ▶ Party ID
- ▶ Political efficacy questions
- ▶ Political information

▶ Consider including

- ▶ Like-dislike leader scales
- ▶ Retrospective state of the economy; government satisfaction
- ▶ Satisfaction with the government
- ▶ MIP question + party competence on MIP and/or general party competence question
- ▶ Campaign contact

▶ Take out

- ▶ Public expenditure (Module 4)
- ▶ Mobilization (Module 4) – keep any?
- ▶ Ownership questions?
- ▶ Standard of living?

▶ New Module questions

Thank you

– and we look forward to your comments, ideas
and input!

