

# **CSES Module 5**

## **Democracy Divided**

### **People, Politicians and the Politics of Populism**

**August, 2016**

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# 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!

