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PUBLISHERS PROPOSAL

Critical Citizens Revisited

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2. SYNOPSIS:

An important issue arising from contemporary developments in democratization concerns the state of public support for the principles and practices of democratic governance. An accumulating body of survey evidence suggests that in recent decades citizens in many established democracies have grown more distrustful of politicians, doubtful about public sector institutions, and disillusioned with government leaders, although simultaneously endorsing democratic ideals. A burgeoning body of cross-national data elsewhere – in Latin America as well as Post-Communist states, in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as Asia and the Middle East – suggests that around the globe many citizens express similar sentiments. This phenomenon represents the rise of ‘critical citizens’, which is conceptualized here, most simply, as those who simultaneously aspire to democratic values or principles as the ideal form of government yet who are skeptical in their evaluations about the way that political institutions work in
practice. Far from a small minority, as the book demonstrates, many people worldwide fall into this category.

Over the years, a substantial empirical research literature and extensive popular commentary has examined political trust, especially in established democracies, generating a fragmented body of knowledge. This book integrates disparate findings about this phenomenon into a more comprehensive theoretical comparative framework providing new insights into the causes and consequences of the rise of critical citizens.

The first section of the book is essentially diagnostic. Little consensus has emerged about the most appropriate normative and empirical interpretation of trends in the evidence. Observers continue to debate whether the available survey indicators of public opinion reflect a relatively superficial and healthy skepticism about the performance of specific public sector agencies and the normal ups and downs in political fortunes expected of any government, or alternatively whether they suggest more deep-rooted loss of trust in public officials, lack of faith about core government institutions, and fundamental doubts about democratic principles. Another important issue which remains unresolved concerns the relationship between democratic ideals and practices, in particular whether faith in democratic values gradually spread downwards to encourage trust and confidence in the institutions of representative democracy. Or whether, instead, skepticism about the way that democratic states work will eventually diffuse upwards to corrode and undermine core support for democratic principles. Or, alternatively, it may be that these tensions between ideals and practices persist in parallel.

Accordingly the first section of the book seeks to examine whether there is plausible systematic evidence that democratic aspirations have indeed strengthened over time, and the public has simultaneously become more skeptical about the performance of political institutions, as so commonly assumed. If so, who are the critical citizens? And how does this pattern vary cross-nationally across global regions and under different types of regimes? We begin by disentangling the evidence because many of the indicators available from survey data often prove complex to interpret, displaying internal tensions, important cross-national variations, and fluctuating erratic trends, rather than the simple linear declines depicted in popular commentary. For more than half a century, many studies have examined the dynamics of political trust in established democracies and post-industrial societies, especially research in the United States. Despite a burgeoning literature, far less is known about trends across a wide range of emerging democracies and developing countries.

The second central concern of the book is analytical: how do we explain the critical citizen syndrome? Despite extensive scrutiny, there is also little agreement in the research community about the underlying root causes of political disaffection. It has not been clearly established whether the rise of critical citizens over successive decades is due primarily to social developments transforming the cultural values, social trust and civil skills of individual citizens (on the demand-side), coverage of public affairs by the news media (as the key intermediary agency), or a rational response by citizens to the structure of political institutions and the growing failure of government performance in delivering public goods and services (on the supply-side). This study examines a wide range of empirical data, using multilevel models, to analyze these explanations. Rather than treating each factor separately, as is the tendency in the research literature, the general theory developed in this study integrates them into a coherent framework where citizens, media and governments interact as the central actors.

The last question concerns impact: what are the systematic consequences of this phenomenon – and why does it matter – including for political activism, for the contemporary challenges of governance in contemporary societies, and for regime stability and transition? Many theorists have long argued that public support for the political system – including an optimal level of trust in government institutions – is essential for the sustainability of the regime. Without a broad reservoir of political trust, it is thought
that newer democratic regimes are more vulnerable to collapse. The reality, as we will document, shows a more complex picture. The conclusion summarizes the major findings about critical citizens and considers the broader theoretical and policy implications.

This new book builds upon the edited volume, *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance* (1999), published by Oxford University Press a decade ago. This developed into a text which is widely cited in the literature, as shown by over 200 citations in the journal literature, as documented in the Web of Science SSCI. The erosion of trust which was documented in the chapters of the earlier volume provided an overview of trends which still remains useful, but nevertheless the trends need updating to cover developments during the recent years, and the analysis and explanations of this phenomenon, in particular, remain under-theorized.

A decade later, it is time to return to some of the concerns which sparked the original volume, using a broader range of evidence, covering many more nations, and more sophisticated techniques of multilevel analysis. *Critical Citizens Revisited* adopts a multilevel research design combining aggregate and survey data, as well as using illustrative country cases and selected regional comparisons, to focus upon this phenomenon.

(i) To compare individuals living within societies worldwide, attitudes and values are derived from analysis of the World Values Survey 1981-2007 (WVS), now covering over 90 countries, with most attention focusing on the fifth wave, conducted in 2005-2007. This wave has monitored the many aspects of system support, including the strength of national identities and national pride, trust in political institutions, and support for democratic ideals and values. Previous work by the author on processes of value change, focused on issues of gender equality, religiosity and mass communications, is thereby enriched by considering public opinion towards political systems. In addition, the book draws upon many other sources of survey data, including the Eurobarometer series for trust in institutions, satisfaction with democracy, and attitudes towards social change from the early-1970s to 2008. The Global-barometers also provide more in-depth contemporary comparisons for other regions, including 20 countries in Africa, the Latino-barometer with 18-nations, and the 5-nation Arab Barometer.

(ii) To compare government performance worldwide, we draw upon multiple national indicators available from the Quality of Governmence (QoG) time-series and cross-national datasets. The data classifies patterns of government performance found in 191 contemporary independent nation-states worldwide. This includes indicators such as those on levels of democracy, rule of law, government effectiveness, regime stability, corruption, press freedom, media access, human rights, and other related issues of good governance. The QoG datasets are compiled by the University of Gothenberg and derived from sources such as the World Bank Institute, Reporters without Borders, and Freedom House. Time-series cross-sectional data is analyzed using regression models with panel-corrected standard errors to compare changes in government performance under diverse contexts, regimes, and types of society. A broad-brush perspective facilitates classification and comparison of societies, both across nations and over time.

(iii) To examine news media coverage, data is provided by Media Tenor, which has carried out comprehensive content analysis in selected countries since the mid-1990s. The study will focus upon four cases – Germany, Britain, the U.S. and South Africa – where there is the longest time-series data concerning news media reporting about government and public affairs.
Lastly, to compare specific cases, the study will select particular countries to facilitate closer examination of the underlying causal mechanisms at work. Narrative stories that are highly accessible for readers, and that also help us to understand and explain historical developments and processes of democratization within particular nations, will be integrated into the text. The book will compare societies selected to be relatively similar in many regards, such as in their cultural heritage and level of development, but which differ in their trust in government. The combination of cross-national large-N comparisons with paired cases is a strong design that maximizes the potential benefits of each approach. If similar results can be supported by each, this increases confidence in the robustness of the findings and conclusions.

The book will contribute towards the research literature on comparative politics, democracy and democratization, comparative sociology, political development, comparative public opinion, international relations, political science, political behavior, and public policy.

The book’s strengths are that it focuses on a key controversy at the heart of the social sciences and the public policy agenda; it draws on a unique body of contemporary public opinion data with exceptional breadth; the scope of the study means it will have an international market; the volume will synthesize the literature and present the results of original research; and, as discussed in the review section, there are few equivalent volumes on the market produced within the last decade.

Chapter Synopsis:

I: Introduction

Chapter 1: The puzzling phenomenon of critical citizens

As attached, this chapter discusses the key issues covered in the book and outlines the plan of the book.

II: Deconstructing the critical citizen syndrome

Chapter 2. The concept of critical citizens

The book opens by updating trends in the dynamics of the critical citizen syndrome, focusing upon fluctuations over time - including the rise and fall - in democratic aspirations and institutional confidence in many countries around the globe. Chapter 2 deconstructs and unpacks the concept of critical citizens and explores the dimensionality of systems support. We need to establish through factor analysis whether the five-fold schema used to understand systems support in the earlier volume continues to prove appropriate with the updated survey data, especially in the light of additional attitudinal indicators and a far wider range of countries. It may be that attitudes which cluster together within established democracies, where citizens have the longest experience of living under this type of regime, show far weaker ties in other types of states and cultural regions where the public has little or briefer experience with democratic practices. This chapter describes the technical detail about this study, including sources of cross-national and time-series survey data, the various available measures and their interpretation, the use of multilevel analysis, and the classification of regimes used throughout the study.
Chapter 3: Worldwide democratic aspirations

Chapter 3 then focuses upon democratic aspirations, understood as expressions of support for the principles, ideals, and values of democratic regimes. Public opinion surveys have commonly measured democratic aspirations by gauging agreement with the idea of democracy, monitoring approval of democracy as the 'best form of government' and as 'a good way of governing', weighing the value or importance of democracy, and measuring preferences for democratic regimes over authoritarian rule. We now have accumulated evidence for mass support for democratic principles in a wide range of countries, as well as in different types of states, and the research literature commonly suggests that support for democratic ideals is widespread around the world. As Diamond summarizes a recent review of the survey evidence: “Strikingly, the belief that democracy is (in principle at least) the best system is overwhelming and universal. While there is a slightly higher preference for the Western industrialized countries, in every region – even the former Soviet Union and the Muslim Middle East – an average of at least 80 percent of people polled say that democracy is best.” Nevertheless it still remains unclear what people understand when they express support for democracy, and how deeply they actually aspire to democracy, especially in societies such as China, Vietnam and Saudi Arabia where the public has little or no direct experience of living under this type of regime. This study explores whether people are merely expressing lip-service to these notions, representing relatively superficial and uninformed expressions of opinion, or whether attitudes are more deeply grounded in a cognitive understanding which reflects the standard principles outlined in democratic theory.

Chapter 4: Skepticism about democratic practices

Building upon this foundation, chapter 4 proceeds to analyze trust in democratic practices, focusing upon confidence in public sector institutions. The study aims to see whether the long-term and sustained erosion of trust in governments, parliaments, the civil service, and political parties, documented in the earlier book, has been sustained during the last decade, and how far institutional confidence varies among different types of regimes worldwide. The study distinguishes between confidence in public and private sector institutions. The emphasis is examining trust on the public sector, including in the national government, parliaments, the civil service, the judiciary and courts, the armed forces, and the police. But it is important to compare trust in private sector institutions as well, exemplified by labor unions and major companies, as a benchmark to see whether the public has increasingly lost faith in all authorities, or whether this is a particular problem for political agencies. The global economic recession also represents a natural experiment to see whether a trade-off is involved, if the precipitate fall of public confidence in bankers, financiers and business has restored public confidence in the public sector, as people look to governments to bail out the economy, or whether, instead, a crisis of confidence triggered by the slump has caused deteriorating faith in both sectors simultaneously. Interpretations need to be cautious, avoiding unduly alarmist and ‘chicken little’ predictions of democratic crisis. Cross-national surveys report far from consistent, linear, or uniform longitudinal trends; instead dynamic movements in public opinion often fluctuate downwards erratically over time, like a drunken sailor stumbling downhill. Nevertheless the overall trend reported in many studies suggests an overall fall in public confidence has occurred for many major institutions in the public sphere.

The focus of the chapter examines public attitudes towards formal political institutions, such as Congress or Westminster, distinguishing this orientation from perceptions about the specific incumbents or officeholders, such as specific local representatives and MPs. To understand attitudes more fully, however, the chapter also compares the degree of public skepticism towards public officials with other professions. This aspect is most commonly measured by generalized trust for politicians and public officials, and by evaluations of the performance of particular presidents, prime ministers, party leaders,
and representatives, as monitored in regular national opinion polls. An erosion of confidence in the major institutions of representative democracy, is potentially a far more serious threat to democracy than a loss of trust in politicians. In democratic states, leaders come and go with swings of the electoral pendulum, and trust in them is expected to rise and fall according to citizens’ evaluation of their performance. A wealth of evidence suggests that trust in leaders or particular administrations are subject to greater short-term fluctuation than confidence in institutions. 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. 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.\(^3\)

The general diagnosis from the earlier volume, confirmed by subsequent studies, indicated a serious and significant long-term erosion of public support had occurred for many of the core institutions of representative democracy, weakening the links connecting citizens and the state. In particular, Russell Dalton’s chapter scrutinized trends from the 1960s until the early-1990s in many older democracies, documenting falling confidence in parliaments, parties, and politicians.\(^4\) In ensuing research, Dalton reviewed a wide range of indicators in eighteen advanced industrialized economies and long-standing democracies, updating the analysis to the end of the twentieth century.\(^5\) The results confirmed the persistence of trends observed earlier, with citizens living in these societies becoming more distant from political parties, more critical of political elites and institutions, and less positive towards government, and yet with no erosion of support for democratic principles and values, or any weakening of identification with the nation-state. By updating the analysis through more recent cross-national surveys, and extending the comparisons to many other parts of the world, we can examine whether these trends have continued to persist and deepen over time in the early twenty-first century, or alternatively whether criticism of democratic institutions and processes has gradually eroded general faith in democratic ideals.

III: Explaining the critical citizen syndrome

Understanding the critical citizen syndrome more fully is an important part of this study but it is even more challenging to disentangle the multiple alternative explanations surrounding this phenomenon. The number of rival hypothesis in the literature can prove daunting, for example a recent study in the Netherlands identified ten distinct propositions which could potentially account for falling public confidence and trust in the Dutch government.\(^6\) The next section of the book outlines a range of rival theories and then uses multilevel models with a range of individual and aggregate data, and selected case-studies, to test the most important factors driving support for government. We apply multilevel models, as the most appropriate approach to analyzing both individual and aggregate data. Studies suggest that previous work relying solely on standard single-level regression models to analyze contextual effects has produced misleading results which over-estimate the significance of the findings.\(^7\) We focus here on analyzing empirical evidence for four of the most plausible types of explanations, each generating a series of testable empirical propositions.

**Chapter 5: Culture: Values, social trust, and cognitive skills**

Chapter 5 examines the main cultural theories of this phenomenon. Perhaps the most common account of the erosion of trust in government theorizes that citizens have evolved over time, whether in terms of their cultural values and orientations towards authority (Inglehart), their levels of social trust and networks (Putnam), or their reservoir of cognitive and civic skills (Dalton).\(^8\) These developments are seen to be in response to long-term processes of societal modernization and generational change, with theories emphasizing the ‘demand’ side of the equation. Even if the state does not alter, in this perspective, cultural accounts emphasize that citizens have changed their social psychological
orientations over recent decades, becoming more informed, less deferential, and more demanding in their expectations about the performance of public officials and the state.

Chapter 6: Probity: Scandal and corruption

Although extremely common in the mainstream research literature, cultural accounts have come under growing pressure from alternative supply-side perspectives which emphasize the role, performance, and structure of government. Chapter 6 analyzes the empirical evidence surrounding probity theories, highlighting the role of scandals, corruption, and deteriorating standards of public life. In this view, any erosion of confidence in government and disenchantment with politicians can be attributed to the impact of well-publicized cases of scandals or corruption, which are widely thought to tarnish the reputation of the legislative, executive or judicial branches of government, making public officials less trustworthy. Despite the appeal of this account, and the recent expansion of research into the causes and consequences of corruption, little systematic cross-national and time-series evidence has demonstrated a clear connection between incidents of scandals and corruption, on the one hand, and changes in levels of political trust, on the other. Moreover we also need to disentangle the separate components underlying this explanation, since political trust could have fallen in recent years because of: (i) a decline over time in the actual behavior of public officials, notably through the growing frequency or severity of actual incidents of scandal and corruption; (ii) rising public expectations about the appropriate ethical standards governing sexual and financial behavior in public life; and/or (iii) growing coverage by the news media in reporting these types of stories.

Chapter 7: Performance: Public expectations and government delivery

Another alternative account concerns performance theories, examined in Chapter 7, focused on gaps between public expectations and government delivery of public goods and services. Theories of political economy focus on how government performance drives confidence in government and trust in political leaders. Economic performance is often regarded as particularly important for political trust, but international affairs, such as a foreign policy crisis or outbreak of conflict, and issues of social justice and welfare, may also play a role. This perspective can also be disaggregated into different components, according to the key actors.

On the demand-side, the dynamics of support may reflect the public's overall evaluation of the performance of political leaders and, more generally, perceptions of the capacity of the administration to manage the delivery of public goods and services. This account emphasizes rising expectations which citizens bring to the role of government, such as whether the public believe that health care, employment, and welfare should be the primary responsibility of the state, the non-profit sector, or the market. The public may also hope for improvements in broader dimensions of the political performance of the regime, for example in terms of the state's overall effectiveness, opportunities for voice and participation, or its record on human rights and rule of law.

On the supply-side, the capacity of the state to deliver public goods and services may have gradually diminished, for example due to the 'shrinking state', where powers which used to be the responsibility of the national executive and legislature have been transferred to the non-profit and private sectors, as well as to both local and global levels of governance. Moreover in many of the world's least developed countries which have moved towards democracy and strengthened human rights, such as Benin, Mali and Ghana, the capacity of the state to delivery basic services, such as schooling, clean water and health care, remains extremely limited. In this context, the failure of democracy to deliver a better life for citizens, despite populist promises made by politicians at election time, may gradually encourage disillusionment with this form of governance.
Lastly, many performance accounts emphasize the importance of key intermediaries connecting citizens and the state. The news media may be expected to play a particularly important role in this process by priming citizens about which issues are important, such as the role of foreign affairs, social problems or economic issues, as well as by framing whether the performance of the government on these issues is perceived positively or negatively. Irrespective of the actual performance of the state, negative news, or excessive attention to government failures, may encourage public disillusionment with perceived performance.

Chapter 8: Institutions: Winners and losers

Chapter 8 scrutinizes institutional theories, emphasizing the role of power-sharing democratic structures. This thesis suggests that the pattern of winners and losers from the political system is structured by the constitutional arrangements, meaning the core institutions of state and the rules of the game, both written and unwritten. Some citizens win, others lose. Some parties and groups are mobilized into power, others are mobilized out. Over a long period of time, this accumulated experience can be expected to shape general orientations towards the political regime. At the simplest level, if citizens feel that the rules of the game allow the party they endorse to be elected to power, they are more likely to feel that representative institutions are responsive to their needs, so that they can trust the political system. On the other hand, if they feel that the party they prefer persistently loses, over successive elections, they are more likely to feel that their voice is excluded from the decision-making process, producing generalized dissatisfaction with political institutions. Over time, where constitutional arrangements succeed in channeling popular demands into government outcomes, then we would expect this to be reflected in diffuse support for the political process. The structure of power-sharing and power-concentrating democratic institutions can be compared – along with levels of institutional confidence among partisan winners and losers within each context.

There is therefore greater scholarly consensus in the research literature surrounding the diagnosis of trends than their explanation. Often separate studies focus on one of the theoretical dimensions with partial empirical tests, without controlling for the full range of explanatory factors, or examining whether the effects of models are robust when utilizing alternative dependent variables. A more comprehensive general theory, developed in chapter 2, provides a more satisfactory and complete way of understanding this phenomenon. This study uses multilevel analysis with evidence derived from surveys of public opinion, aggregate indicators of government performance, and media coverage of public affairs, to determine the most plausible causes for the rise of critical citizens.

IV: The consequences of the critical citizen syndrome

Why does this development matter? The tensions between ideals and practices can be regarded in a positive light, if the spread of democratic principles and aspirations around the world may eventually spread downwards to strengthen public confidence and generalized trust in the workings of representative institutions essential for democratic governance. Critical citizens who aspire to democracy can also be a force for radical reform in the world, fuelling popular demands that states with poor human rights records come to resemble democratic principles more fully. A degree of skepticism about government can be regarded as a healthy for democracy; classical liberal political theory was founded on the need for vigilance about the potential abuse of power by the state. These ideas led the framers of the U.S. constitution to establish a set of institutions explicitly designed to limit government power. The tensions between democratic aspirations and reality are commonly regarded as dangerous, however, triggering alarm bells that prolonged and deep disenchantment with the performance of particular political leaders, lack of confidence with specific parties in government, and disillusionment and loss of trust in core representative institutions will eventually spread upwards to corrode faith in democracy itself, like dry rot weakening the foundations from below, with the capacity
to undermine popular support for fragile democratic states. Alternatively, lack of congruence may not matter; there are many aspects of life where aspirations are out of kilter with experience. People may be able to juggle and balance these tensions quite easily, if they compartmentalize each dimension separately.

Chapter 9: Staying home: citizen apathy and civic disengagement?

Identifying the consequences of the rise of critical citizens is therefore important for many reasons. There is probably the broadest consensus concerning the implications for political behavior. It is widely believed that growing cynicism about government will deter conventional political participation and civic engagement. Ever since Almond and Verba, an extensive body of evidence has demonstrated how social psychological attitudes influence why and how citizens choose to engage in public affairs. Hence positive feelings of political trust, internal efficacy, and institutional confidence in parties, legislatures and the government are predicted to strengthen conventional activism such as voting participation, party membership, and belonging to voluntary associations. Chapter 9 analyzes the evidence for these claims.

Chapter 10: ‘A pox on all their houses’: Fuelling contentious politics?

Moreover alienation with the regime is commonly expected to affect protest politics, as considered in Chapter 10, if lack of trust fosters unconventional activism, support for anti-state radical movements, and even occasional outbreaks of radical violence seeking to challenge state authorities. The study explores whether critical citizens are more likely to engage in acts such as demonstrations, whether they are more likely to express support for radical change, and whether the proportion of critical citizens in a country is associated with Polity IV indicators of political dissent and violence.

Chapter 11: Governance, democratic reform, and regime stability

Perhaps most importantly, the growth of critical citizens may also potentially have significant consequences for governance, democratic reform movements, and ultimately for regime stability, issues considered in Chapter 11. The growth of critical citizens may limit the state’s capacity to govern effectively; Easton theorized that political trust affected the ability of democratic states to raise revenues, to gain public consent for public policies, to implement decisions, and to ensure voluntary compliance with its laws. In particular, he theorized that systems support was associated with the willingness of citizens to obey the law and pay taxes without the penalty of coercion, thereby facilitating effective government. Previous research has found that trust in government institutions was significantly associated with the reported willingness to obey the law voluntarily, although other factors proved stronger predictors of compliance, notably the levels of economic development and democratization of the society. Citizens who support the regime are expected to believe that the laws are legitimate and should therefore be followed voluntarily. The concept of regime legitimacy can be understood, in Seymour Martin Lipset words, as “the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate and proper ones for the society.” By contrast a crisis of legitimacy in democratic states is likely to contribute towards pressures for either institutional reform or more radical social change.

There may also be consequences for the type of public policies which the public is willing to support; Hetherington argues that declining political trust in America was associated with a conservative turn in public policy, with lack of confidence in the U.S. federal government reducing public support for progressive redistributive programs on issues such as poverty, racial equality and health care. If people no longer feel that government policies are going to prove effective or well-administered, then this could encourage neoliberal attempts transfer many public services from the state to the non-profit or private sectors.
Moreover there are also plausible reasons why the quality of good governance may also be undermined.\textsuperscript{25} People may be more willing to engage in illegal acts, to cheat on their taxes, or to use bribery and corruption, and thus to undermine rule of law in fragile states, if they have little confidence in the integrity and legitimacy of their government and public officials.\textsuperscript{26} Good governance has proved an issue of growing concern for the international development community, particularly for countries such as Russia, Colombia and Mexico which are characterized by widespread tax avoidance, rampant crime and corruption, and ineffective law enforcement.

Lastly regime stability may also be affected by political trust. Congruence theory, developed by Eckstein, emphasizes that regimes which outlast famine as well as feast need to be founded upon people’s beliefs in legitimate authority.\textsuperscript{27} Where the attitudes of citizens are congruent with the type of regime, then Eckstein claims that the conditions exist for durable and long-lasting institutions. Hence autocracies are thought to be more stable where most citizens accept the legitimacy of this form of rule. Democratic regimes are also regarded as sustainable where the public expresses general confidence in the core institutions of representative governance, including parties, parliaments and executives, where they participate through conventional channels, and where many adhere to the principles of democratic governance. Any consequences for regime instability will probably be greatest in fragile multicultural communities, where secessionist movements and armed militia are challenging the nation-state in struggles for independence and self-governance. Nancy Bermeo suggests that if ordinary people are not willing to stand up and defend representative institutions when these are under threat, then fragile democracies can be undermined.\textsuperscript{28} Democratic breakdown can occur for diverse reasons, whether due to a military coup (such as in Thailand), the heady appeal of populist parties and the reassertion of executive power (as in Venezuela), thuggery, intimidation, and strong-man rule (as in Zimbabwe), or the more gradual erosion of human rights through a series of one-party manipulated electoral contests (as in Russia).

\textit{Chapter 12: The causes and consequences of critical citizens}

For all these reasons, understanding the tensions between lack of trust and confidence in government, and yet strong support for democratic ideals, has been a perennial issue in the social sciences, as well as a popular topic of debate among journalists, commentators and policymakers. In the conclusion, Chapter 12 reviews all the key findings throughout the volume and summarizes the implications for theories of cultural change, for citizens, and for democratic governance.

3. READERSHIP:

The aim is to produce a clear, thematic, and original analysis of the causes and consequences of trust in government based on primary research. The book is designed to provide a research monograph in the field of comparative political science, sociology, and public opinion. It will be of interest for colleagues and graduates, although it will also be accessible as a secondary text for a wider readership of undergraduates, journalists, and practitioners. The book will include standardized tables, figures, and maps covering trends in public opinion, to provide clear reference information. More technical research issues will be dealt with in greater detail within endnotes. The main target readership will be in the U.S. and Europe, although the thematic approach will raise relevant questions for a broader international market.

\textit{Critical Citizens Revisited} will provide a secondary text for courses in comparative politics, comparative sociology, globalization, development, international relations, anthropology, political science, comparative public opinion, political behavior, and public policy. The book would suit a publisher with the organization and commitment to promote this book internationally, as well as within the US.
4. THE AUTHOR:

PIPPA NORRIS is the McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.


She has published in many journals, such as the British Journal for Political Science, Political Studies, Political Communication, the European Journal of Political Research, the International Political Science Review, Electoral Studies and Legislative Studies, and she co‐founded The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics. Her work has been translated into more than a dozen languages, including German, Dutch, Italian, Swedish, Spanish, French, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Hungarian, Russian, and Polish.

In terms of public service, she recently served for 18 months as the Director of the Democratic Governance Practice in the United National Development Programme in New York, on leave from Harvard. She has also been an expert consultant for many international official bodies including the United Nations, UNESCO, International IDEA, the NED, the World Bank, the Inter‐Parliamentary Union, the National Democratic Institute, the Council of Europe, the UK Electoral Commission, and the Afghanistan Reconstruction Project. In the political science profession, she has served on the executive bodies of the American Political Science Association (APSA), the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the Political Science Association of the UK (PSA), and the British Politics Group of APSA. She has been President of the Women and Politics Research Group and the Political Communication section of APSA and Co‐Founding Chair of the Elections, Parties and Public Opinion Group (EPOP) of the PSA.

A well‐known international speaker, she has held visiting appointments at Columbia University, the University of California‐Berkeley, the University of East Anglia, the University of Oslo, Cape Town University, the University of Otago, and the Australian National University. Prior to Harvard she taught at Edinburgh University. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Politics and Philosophy from Warwick University, and Masters and Doctoral degrees in Politics from the London School of Economics (LSE). She has taught at Harvard since 1992, at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and Harvard’s Government Department. Full details can be found at http://www.pippanorris.com
5. REVIEW OF THE MARKET: WHY A NEW BOOK?

The book draws on the extensive body of literature, mainly published as research articles in scholarly articles using survey data to analyze public attitudes towards democratic governance.


Excluding the American studies and the older comparative literature, more recent edited books currently on the market include Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds) How People View Democracy (2008, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press), first published as a series of articles in the Journal of Democracy. This incorporated regional analysis of Globalbarometer data from around the world, as well as some more general theoretical introductory chapters.

Another edited collection assembled by Mattei Dogan Political Mistrust and the Discrediting of Politicians (2005, Leiden: Brill) compares the erosion of confidence across European democracies, as well as presenting analysis of this phenomenon in specific regions and countries (such as Argentina, Nigeria and France).

In addition, there is Charles F Andrain and James T. Smith. 2006. Political Democracy, Trust and Social Justice: A Comparative Overview. (Boston: Northeastern University Press). This emphasizes the performance-based explanation, drawing upon the 1995 wave of the World Values Survey for evidence.

The most ambitious recent single authored book, and the closest rival to the proposed volume, is Russell Dalton’s Democratic Challenges Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies (2004, Oxford: Oxford University Press). This study combines both theoretical and empirical analysis. Dalton argues that orientation of citizens towards the state have changed in established democracies, with an erosion of support for politicians, political parties and political institutions. The main causes are complex but Dalton highlights the importance of changing public expectations of government, the proliferation of special interest groups, and the performance of governments. Dalton also emphasizes the substantial consequences of these developments for democratic processes. The Dalton volume is a thorough and imaginative study but it focuses upon established democracies and post-industrial societies, excluding broader comparisons. Moreover although agreeing about the rise of the critical citizen syndrome, this idea is never operationalized by Dalton; instead separate components are examined, weakening the theoretical power of the analysis.

Lastly, there are also many interpretative essays, exemplified by Colin Hay Why we Hate Politics (2007, Malden, MA: Polity Press), which theorized about this phenomenon but without presenting systematic evidence in support of the key claims. Hence Hay argues that political disenchment in established democracies (especially Britain) is due to the changing nature of power relations, particularly the
shrinking role of the state due to the related phenomenon of globalization, privatization, and marketization. This is an intriguing but underdeveloped idea which is not examined with any systematic empirical evidence.

Nevertheless, despite the richness of the journal literature, far less work has sought to test some of the central propositions arising from trust in government using systematic and rigorous comparisons of the structure and performance of government combined with the cross-national survey analysis of public opinion and content analysis of media coverage of public affairs. By tapping into each of these sub-fields, this book provides a unique perspective. The scope and mixed (quantitative and qualitative) method of this study therefore set it apart from much of the previous literature. The number of volumes published recently indicates considerable interest in this phenomena and the need for further theoretical and empirical development on this topic.

6. PROPOSED LENGTH:

The book is designed to be about 96,000 words in length. This allows about 8,000 words per chapter, plus about thirty graphical figures, a technical appendix, an integrated bibliography, name index and subject index. Despite the use of cross-national time-series data, there will be fewer tables in this book that in some of my previous volumes, allowing more space for the case-study descriptions.

7. PUBLICATION SCHEDULE:

The manuscript is planned for delivery to the publisher by 31st November 2009, with a view to publication no later than August 2010, for launch at the APSA annual meeting.

8. CONTRACT:

Developing the book has involved some general expenses, particularly the employment of research assistants to assemble standard material for the tables. Some of these funds have been raised from institutional sources but I would expect some contribution from the publisher. Accordingly among the provisions I would wish to see in the contract are:

- An advance against royalties of $3500 payable on signature of the contract;
- An advance against royalties of $3500 payable on submission of the typescript;
- Forty paperback copies of the book to the authors (no hardback copies);
- Consultation on the design and layout of the book, including the cover;
- Text will be submitted on disk;
- The publishers will be responsible for producing the index, in consultation with the editors;
- Simultaneous publication in hardback and paperback, the latter priced for the student market.

9. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

As attached.


