API-414 CITIZEN POLITICS

Spring 2009

1 credit

Pippa Norris

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CONTACT DETAILS:

Class time: Mondays and Wednesdays 2:40- 4:00pm
Class place: Littauer 280
Shopping: Monday 26th January 2009
First class: Wednesday 28th Jan 2009
Last class: Wednesday 29th April 2009
Lecturer: Pippa Norris, McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics
Office: Littauer 110, Kennedy School of Government
Office Hours: Tuesdays 2.00-4.30pm (Sign-up sheet on the door)
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Weblog: http://pippanorris.typepad.com/
Class website: www.pippanorris.com under ‘classes’
Faculty Assistant: Camiliakumari Wankaner
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Email: camiliakumari_wankaner@Harvard.Edu
Assessment: Course assignments, no exam

COURSE SYNOPSIS:

Aims and objectives of STM103:

This course provides the analytical knowledge and practical skills to understand patterns of mass activism in democratic politics worldwide, including in established and newer democracies. The course covers the nature of mass belief systems, modes of political activism and protest politics, value change and ideological orientations, electoral behavior, the structure of political alignments, confidence in government, issues of political representation, and the implications of citizen politics for democratic institutions.

The first half of the course will review the research literature to understand the theoretical concepts and empirical literature. The second will then apply these in research projects using cross-national time-series survey datasets, such as the World Values Survey, the Afro-barometer, the Latin-Barometer, the Euro-Barometer, and the European Social Survey. The course will also provide an introduction to using Stata and/or SPSS for survey analysis.

The course will be invaluable for any seeking to develop familiarity with the major theories of mass activism and the practical skills in analyzing survey data from the growing array of cross-national social surveys.
## Class Schedule 2009:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Due dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wed 28 Jan</td>
<td>Overview: Roadmap of the class</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mon 2nd Feb</td>
<td>The evolution of cross-national opinion research and data sources</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wed 4th Feb</td>
<td>Introduction to the first dataset: ISSP 2004 (GESIS) Lab exercise #1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mon 9th Feb</td>
<td>Introduction to SPSS and Stata for survey analysis Lab exercise #2</td>
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</table>

### Part II: Theories and evidence of citizen politics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Due dates</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wed 11th Feb</td>
<td>Modes of political participation</td>
<td>#1 LabEx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wed 18th Feb</td>
<td>Explanations of activism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mon 23rd Feb</td>
<td>Values</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Wed 25th Feb</td>
<td>Ideologies</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Mon 2nd Mar</td>
<td>The social basis of party support: weakening cleavages?</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wed 4th Mar</td>
<td>Partisan loyalties and voting choice</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mon 9th Mar</td>
<td>Issue voting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wed 11th Mar</td>
<td>Implications for democracy</td>
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### Part III: Analyzing citizen politics

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Due dates</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mon 16th Mar</td>
<td>Defining researchable questions</td>
<td>#2 LitRev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wed 18th Mar</td>
<td>Introduction to cross-national datasets and archives: Lab exercise #3</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mon 30th Mar</td>
<td>Selecting suitable cross-national cases and identifying datasets</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wed 1st Apr</td>
<td>Reality checks and replication: Lab exercise #4</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mon 6th Apr</td>
<td>Professional presentation of multivariate analysis: Lab exercise #5</td>
<td>#3 LabEx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Wed 8th Apr</td>
<td>Effective graphics, figures and cases: Lab exercise #6</td>
<td>#4 Memo</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mon 13th Apr</td>
<td>Group discussion of research designs</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Mon 20th Apr</td>
<td>Cross-national and time-series analysis</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Wed 22nd Apr</td>
<td>Group discussion of draft report presentations</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Mon 27th Apr</td>
<td>Contextual multi-level effects: Lab exercise #7</td>
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### Conclusions

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<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Due dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Wed 29th Apr</td>
<td>Conclusion &amp; wrap up</td>
<td># 5 Report</td>
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*Note university holidays:* No class will be held on President’s Day (M 16 Feb), during spring break (21-29th March) or due to a conflict schedule involving international travel on Wed 15th Apr (i) Assignments are due to be handed in *at the start of the class* on these dates. Occasional guest speakers may be added to the schedule.
ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION:

General points for all assignments:

- Participants are expected to keep up with the required readings and to attend classes every Monday and Wednesday.

- Various survey dataset will be used in class for the lab exercises and the assignments. See the ‘links’ section of the class website for downloadable files.

- Late policy: Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late assignments will be marked down a third of a grade (such as from A to A-) for each day following the due date.

- Your assignments are designed to be crafted as professional reports, representing evidence-based policy analysis, rather than written as personal essays or standard academic papers. The aim is to produce work which could be published by international agencies, multilateral organizations, bilateral donors, and national governments, as well as distributed internally within organizations. You need to consider how your work would be read and critiqued by representatives from governments and national stake-holders in the region. It needs to be carefully written and supported by direct evidence derived from the available datasets and from citations to existing research.

- Communicate your argument in a clear, concise and effective manner, designed for a non-technical readership. These are not academic research papers designed for journal publication.

- Use appendices and endnotes to explain more technical matters.

- Use effective endnote references citing sources from the peer-reviewed research literature, as suggested from the extensive readings listed in the syllabi and others related publications. Use endnotes to support any contentious claims, to provide your client with further sources of evidence, and to acknowledge any data sources.

- Use professional graphs, figures and tables with clear, short descriptive titles, and with full explanatory notes and data sources below each one.

- Integrate short, vivid cases and concrete illustrations to illustrate specific ‘good practice’ programs and strategies.

- The standard you should seek to achieve is equivalent to the World Bank Development Report or the UNDP Human Development Report. Consult these sources to check the format and writing style.

1. THE FIRST TWO LAB EXERCISES. SUBMISSION DEADLINE: 11TH FEB (10%)

Details will be given out in class. The exercises will be problem sets which can be completed from the lab sessions.

2. THE LITERATURE REVIEW REPORT CHOSEN FROM DISCUSSION TOPICS LISTED IN CLASSES 5-12. SUBMISSION DEADLINE: 16TH MARCH (20%)

Choose ONE of the discussion questions listed in the syllabus in classes 5-12. The literature review should draw upon the recommended readings and research literature on the selected topic listed in the syllabus, as well as upon any online resources and publications.

Your report should be structured with subheadings to cover the following topics:
I. The executive summary of the plan of your report and the major conclusions;

II. Summary of the core topic;

III. Review of the literature organized thematically;

IV. Conclusions and implications;

V. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, if used.)

VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you are encouraged to work collaboratively with others, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade. The report should be about 2,500-3,000 words in length in professional format. More details will be given out in class nearer the deadline.

3. THE NEXT TWO LAB EXERCISES. SUBMISSION DEADLINE: 6TH APRIL (10%)

Details will be given out in class. The exercises will be problem sets which can be completed from the lab sessions.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN MEMO. SUBMISSION DEADLINE: 13TH APRIL (10%)

You are asked to produce a 3-4 page memo summarizing your research project. The memos will be presented in small groups in class to generate feedback and discussion. Your memo should use the following sub-heads:

I. The executive summary of the plan of your report and the major propositions;

II. Summary of the core topic under investigation;

III. Summary of the literature/arguments;

IV. Summary of the dataset, questions, and methods used for analysis;

V. Conclusions and next steps;

VI. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, and any multivariate analysis tables, if used.)

VII. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

5. FINAL RESEARCH REPORT. SUBMISSION DEADLINE: 29TH APRIL (40%)

You are asked to develop a complete research report which integrates what you have learnt throughout the class. The reports should be 15-25 pages in length, using the following subheadings:

I. The executive summary of the plan of your report and the major propositions;

II. Summary of the core topic under investigation;

III. Summary of the literature/arguments;

IV. Summary of the dataset, questions, and methods used for analysis;

V. Analysis and major findings
VI. Conclusions and implications;

VII. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, and any multivariate analysis tables, if used.)

VIII. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

6. CLASS PARTICIPATION (10%)

Lastly, everyone will be expected to participate in class, including through brief class exercises. Sessions will involve discussing the readings, group exercises, report presentations, case studies, and debates about controversial issues.

REQUIRED BOOKS:

You should plan to purchase the following available from Amazon, the Harvard Coop, and other bookshops. All other materials can be downloaded from journals available at Harvard. You will need to go through the Hollis security screen to download these.


To find other journal literature, use the SSCI Web of Science index. A guide to using this for effective literature reviews will be given in the 4th class. You can get access here:

http://eresearch.lib.harvard.edu/V/1MRP6QDQ83C7MHEPFH9CGT7JUBR25SFETH5EJ62DIIL3KARRGYH-26745?func=native-link&resource=HVD02803

For book searches, use Harvard’s Hollis catalogue http://lib.harvard.edu/ which links to Google books.
# DETAILED READINGS, SCHEDULE AND TOPICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>PART I: INTRODUCTION: ANALYTICAL TOOLS AND DATASETS FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wed 28 Jan</td>
<td>Overview: Roadmap of the class</td>
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</table>
|   | Discussion topics | • Why have cross-national social and public opinion surveys expanded so rapidly since the early-1990s?  
• What are the major pros and cons of using social surveys to gauge public assessments of the quality of governance? |
|   | Required readings | None |
| 2 | Mon 2nd Feb | The evolution of cross-national opinion research and data sources |
|   | Discussion topics | • What are the challenges of questionnaire measurement validity in cross-national survey research? What techniques can help to minimize these problems?  
• Can social and public opinion surveys be conducted with any degree of reliability in states lacking the conditions of freedom of expression? |


Kuechler, Manfred (1987) ‘The utility of surveys for cross-national research’, *Social Science Research*, 16, 229-244.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Online resources</th>
<th>Asia Barometer <a href="http://www.eastasiabarometer.org">www.eastasiabarometer.org</a> and <a href="http://www.asianbarometer.org/">http://www.asianbarometer.org/</a></th>
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<tr>
<td>European Social Survey</td>
<td><a href="http://naticent02.uuhost.uk.uu.net">http://naticent02.uuhost.uk.uu.net</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup International Voice of the People</td>
<td><a href="http://www.voice-of-the-people.net/">www.voice-of-the-people.net</a></td>
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<td>Global barometers</td>
<td><a href="http://www.globalbarometer.net/">http://www.globalbarometer.net/</a></td>
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<td>Latinobarometro</td>
<td><a href="http://www.latinobarometro.org">www.latinobarometro.org</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>New Europe Barometer</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk">www.cspp.strath.ac.uk</a></td>
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<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>Wed 4th Feb</th>
<th>Introduction to the first dataset: ISSP 2004 (GESIS) Lab exercise #1</th>
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**Discussion topics**
- What concepts of citizen engagement underlie the questionnaire design in the 2004 ISSP? What forms of engagement are excluded?
- What underlying normative notions of democracy are implicit in the design of the ISSP 2004?
- What are the potential sources of measurement error arising from the research design of the ISSP?

**Required readings**
- Overview of topics, variables and questions (top item), the full codebook and the data for the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 2004 survey are available for downloading from: [http://www.gesis.org/en/services/data/survey-data/issp/modules-study-overview/citizenship/](http://www.gesis.org/en/services/data/survey-data/issp/modules-study-overview/citizenship/)

Lab exercises will use ZACAT, the online facility as GESIS to run some simple descriptive statistics for the ISSP2004, including frequencies and cross-tabs. No
familiarity with the program is needed before this session.

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<tr>
<th>4 Mon 9th Feb</th>
<th>Introduction to SPSS and Stata for survey analysis Lab exercise #2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Required readings</td>
<td>Overview of topics, variables and questions (top item), the full codebook and the data for the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 2004 survey are available for downloading from:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introductory Guide to Using Stata (Download from <a href="http://www.pippanorris.com">www.pippanorris.com</a>)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introductory Guide to Using SPSS (Download from <a href="http://www.pippanorris.com">www.pippanorris.com</a>)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Introduction to using the SSCI Web of Science for literature reviews</td>
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<tr>
<th>5 Wed 11th Feb</th>
<th>PART II: THEORIES AND EVIDENCE OF CITIZEN POLITICS</th>
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</table>
| Discussion topics | • Does the traditional distinction between ‘conventional’ and ‘protest’ politics still make sense?  
  • What measures of citizen engagement are available in social surveys and what aspects of contemporary activism are lacking?  
  • How would you construct reliable scales of citizen activism from the ISSP-2004? |


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<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>Wed 18th Feb</th>
<th>Explanations of activism</th>
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<tr>
<td>Discussion topics</td>
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<tr>
<td>• What are the strengths and limitations of the civic volunteerism model suggested by Verba and colleagues?</td>
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<td>• How far can we generalize from explanations of turnout to analyze other dimensions of civic activism?</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Is turnout eroding?</td>
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| Required readings |
Recommended supplementary resources | See class 5
---|---
7 Mon 23rd Feb | **Values**
Discussion topics | • What is Inglehart’s theory of the cultural roots of democratic regimes?
• Is support for democracy a universal value?
Inglehart, Ronald and Christopher Welzel. 2003. ‘Political culture and democracy - Analyzing cross-level linkages.’ *Comparative Politics* 36 (1): 61-+
Inglehart, Ronald. 2003. ‘How Solid is Mass Support for Democracy and How Do We Measure It?’ *PS: Political Science and Politics*.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>Wed 25th Feb</th>
<th>Ideologies</th>
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</table>
| Discussion topics | • Is there a coherent cluster of attitudes and values associated with left-right ideological orientations?  
• What are the core values associated with societal modernization?  
• Is modernization associated with the ‘end of ideology’ (Bell) or only the end of ‘left-right’ ideological values? | |
| Recommended supplementary resources | See class 7 plus  
| 9 | Mon 2nd Mar | The social basis of party support: weakening cleavages? |
| Discussion topics | • Are traditional social cleavages weakening or being reinvented as cues for voting behavior and party choice?  
• Is class still relevant for voting behavior? | |
10 Wed 4th Mar  

Partisan loyalties and voting choice  

Discussion topics  
- Is there good evidence that mass partisan loyalties have eroded in established and newer democracies?  
- Does the concept of partisan identification provide a useful analytical tool in Western European democracies?  

Required readings  

Recommended supplementary resources  
See class 9 plus  


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<th>11 Mon 9th Mar</th>
<th>Issues, leaders, and performance voting</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discussion topics</td>
<td>• Are short-term factors (including issues, leaders, government performance, and media campaigns) increasingly significant drivers in voting behavior?</td>
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<tr>
<th>12</th>
<th>Wed 11th Mar</th>
<th>Implications for democracy</th>
<th>#2</th>
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</table>
| Discussion topics | • What are the implications of cultural change for democratic values and attitudes?  
• Is there good evidence for the ‘critical citizens’ thesis? |  |  |
**American Political Science Review** 68: 951-72.


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### PART III: ANALYZING CITIZEN POLITICS

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<tr>
<th>13</th>
<th>Mon 16th Mar</th>
<th>Defining researchable questions</th>
<th>#2LitRev</th>
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</table>
|    | Discussion topics | • What are the key research issues emerging from your readings in Part II of the class which you want to develop as your research report?  
• What are the key testable empirical propositions which you want to examine?  
• How would you seek to operationalize the key concepts? |

**Required readings**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14</th>
<th>Wed 18th Mar</th>
<th>Introduction to cross-national survey datasets and data archives: Applied Lab Exercise #3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Required readings</td>
<td>Prior to the class you should consider which dataset you want to use, browse the following, and download the codebook and technical details.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Online resources**  
Asia Barometer [www.eastasiabarometer.org](http://www.eastasiabarometer.org) and [http://www.asianbarometer.org/](http://www.asianbarometer.org/)


European Social Survey [http://naticent02.uuhost.uk.uu.net](http://naticent02.uuhost.uk.uu.net)


Global barometers [http://www.globalbarometer.net/](http://www.globalbarometer.net/)


Latinobarometro [www.latinobarometro.org](http://www.latinobarometro.org)

New Europe Barometer [www.cspp.strath.ac.uk](http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk)

### Discussion topics

- What are the main criteria you recommend in selecting cases and why?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of the ‘most similar’ and the ‘most different’ research designs?

### Required readings


### Recommended supplementary resources


### Discussion topics

- What are the main potential sources of error in terms of sampling, measurement, coverage and non-response? What techniques are appropriate to guard against these errors?
- How can multi-method approaches help interpret the meaning of survey results?

### Required readings

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 Wed 8th Apr</td>
<td>Effective graphics, figures and cases: Applied Lab exercises #6</td>
<td>Lab exercise</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Mon 13th Apr</td>
<td>Group discussions of research design</td>
<td>Workgroup discussions of your research design memos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Required readings Wilson, Sven E. and David M. Butler. 2007. ‘A lot more to do: The sensitivity of time-series cross-section analyses to simple alternative specifications.’ <em>Political Analysis</em> 15 (2): 101-123.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>21 Wed 22nd Apr</td>
<td>Group discussion of draft report presentations</td>
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