Participation & Representation in the Digital Age (PRD)

Jennifer Oser | Ben-Gurion University, Israel

**Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Israel
Political Science Department Seminar
November 20, 2024**

Topics

First and foremost: Note of appreciation! 🎉

1. ERC project overview, including select publications

2. Present 2 works in progress

3. Invitations to upcoming ERC project events

#1: ERC project overview, including select publications

ERC Project Website

https://www.prd-erc.eu/

Slides for today

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News

November 20, 2024

Seminar

THE HEBREW
UNIVERSITY
OF JERUSALEM

Slides for Jenny's talk in the Hebrew University political science department seminar on "Participation and Representation in the Digital Age: Interim Findings and Visions for the Future," with PRD team members Francisca Castro and Aya Shoshan contributing to the Q&A and discussion. The talk includes presenting a co-authored working paper with Francisca Castro titled "**Does Social Mobilization on Contentious Issues Affect Citizens' Evaluations of Political Elites?**"
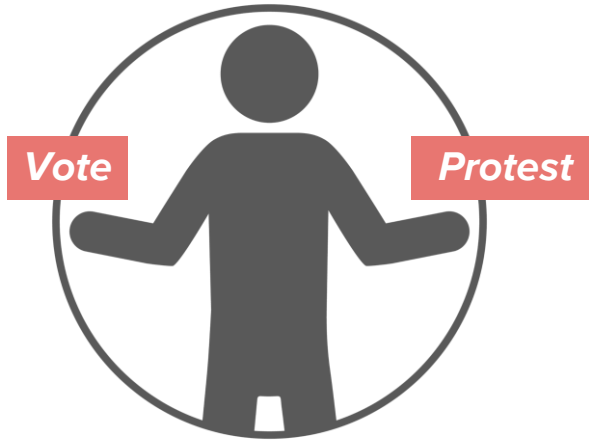
ERC project motivating puzzle:
Trends in Political Participation and Representation in the Digital Age

ERC Project's Theoretical Framework

Repertoires of participation

Vote   *Protest*

Including digital behavior

Subjective representation

"Political Efficacy"

Mobilizing & organizing

15M

Focus: Lower status groups

New Integration of Hypotheses

H1:
Communication

versus

H2:
Grievance

Oser 2022, Oxford Handbook chapter

Research Design

WP1
How do people combine political acts?
- Harmonized variables
- Method innovation, LCA

WP2
Participation-representation connection?
- Merged data analysis
- Interview fieldwork

WP3
How to mobilize & organize lower-status groups?
- Big data + survey
- Field experiments
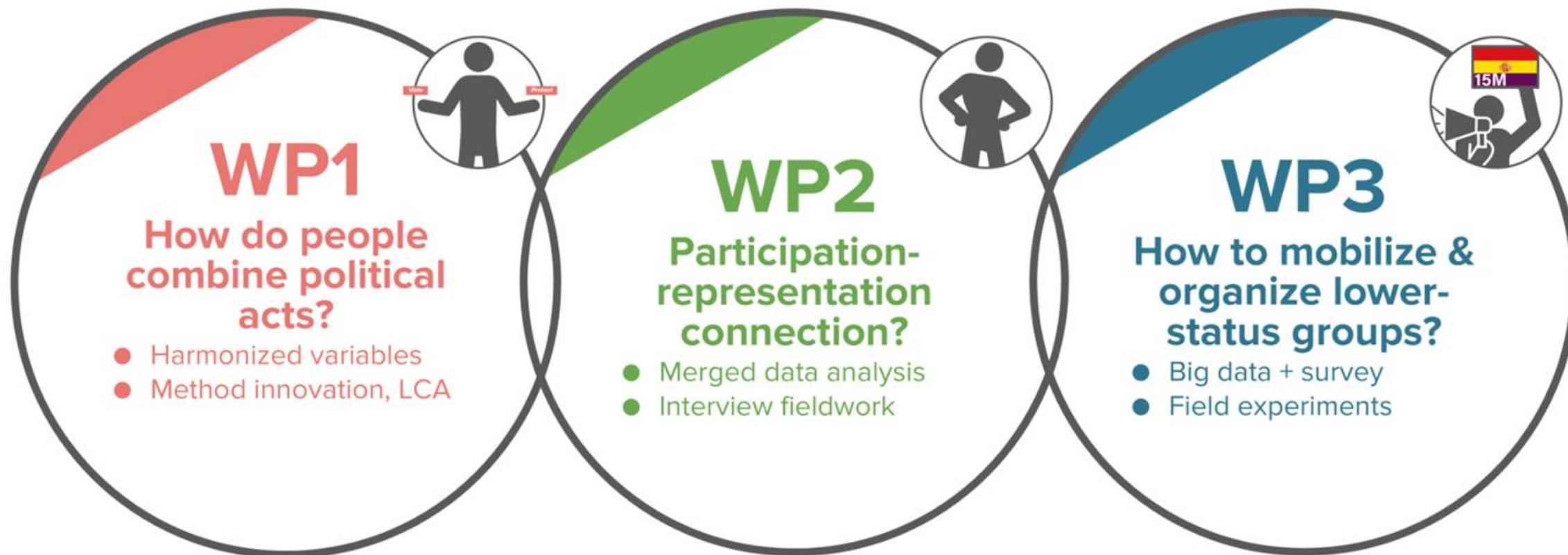
Contributions

Data: Originally harmonized dataset

Methods: Innovations in analyzing repertoires

Theory and findings: Participation-representation connection

How to Recruit a Research Team?

Raya Even David

Administrative Manager of PRD

Ben-Gurion University, Israel

Dr. Jesper Lindqvist

Postdoctoral Researcher

University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Dr. Aya Shoshan

Postdoctoral Researcher

Ben-Gurion University, Israel

PRD's Core Team

Francisca Castro

Postdoctoral Researcher

Humboldt University of Berlin & ISDC

Johan Lyrvall

PhD Student

University of Catania, Italy

Barak Zur

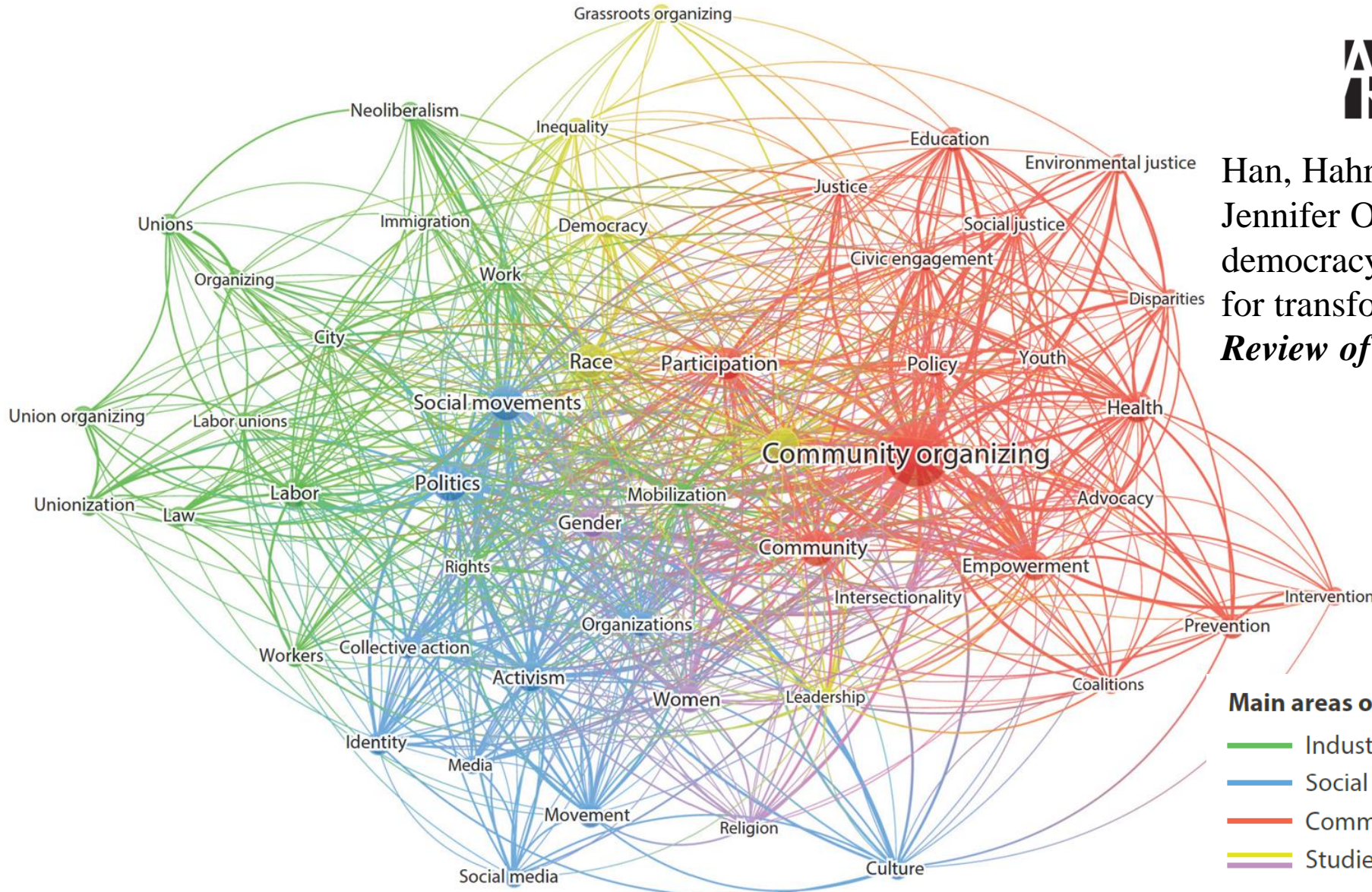**PhD Student**

Tel Aviv University, Israel

Paper #1
Organizing & Democracy

Han, Hahrie, Matthew Baggetta, and Jennifer Oser. 2024. Organizing and democracy: Understanding the possibilities for transformative collective action. *Annual Review of Political Science* 27: 245-62 doi

Figure 3. Democracy in the Terms Co-Occurrence Map.
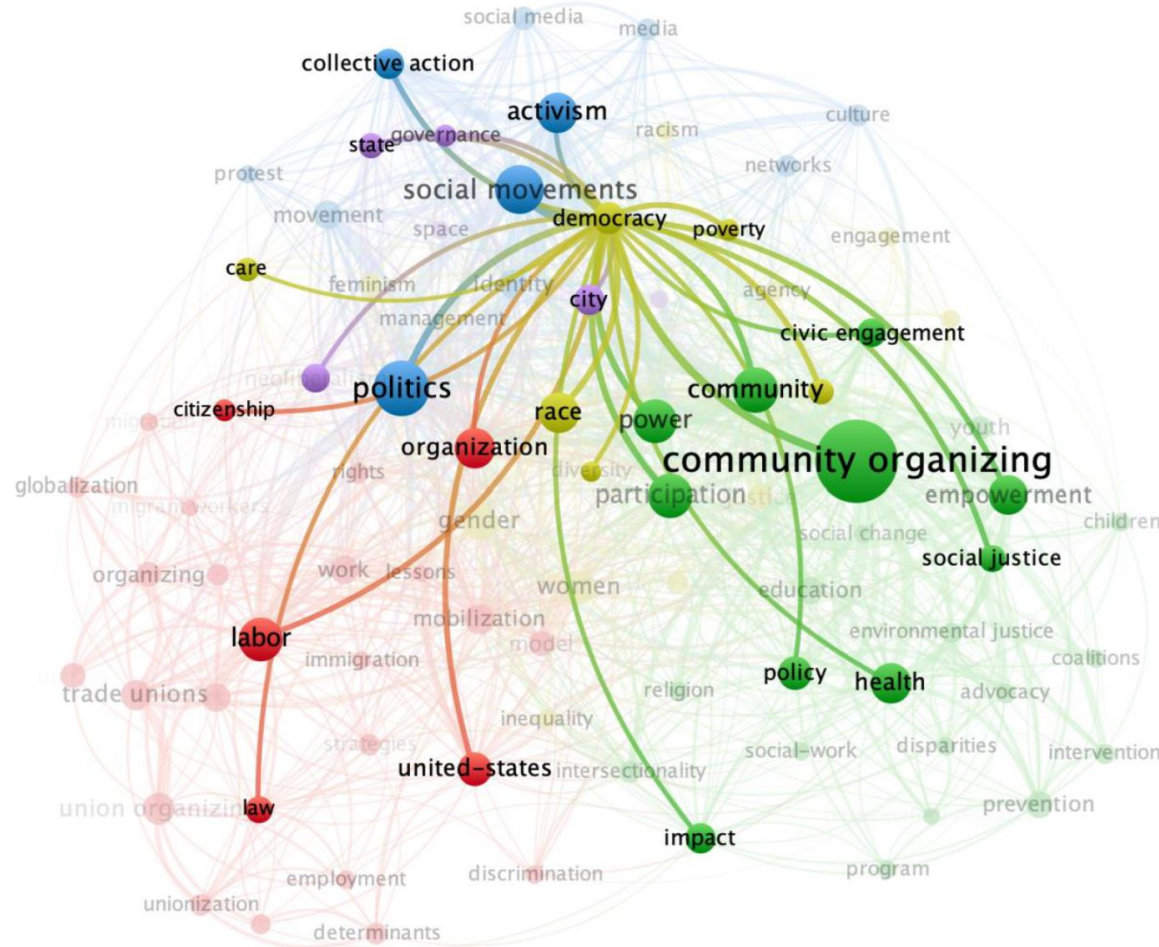
Shoshan Aya, and Jennifer Oser. In press. Visualizing scientific landscapes: A powerful method for mapping research fields. *PS: Political Science & Politics* doi, (APSA pre-print)

Note: This map, structurally identical to figure 2, visually highlights the keyword "democracy" and its relationship with other keywords.

Paper #3, and related work
Latent class analysis (LCA) methodological articles

Lyrvall, Johan, Zsuzsa Bakk, Jennifer Oser, and Roberto Di Mari. 2024. **Bias-adjusted three-step multilevel latent class modeling with covariates**. Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal 31 (4): 592-603. doi

Di Mari, Roberto, Johan Lyrvall, Zsuzsa Bakk, Jennifer Oser, and Jouni Kuha. (2024). **multilevLCA: Estimates and Plots Single-Level and Multilevel Latent Class Models**. CRAN, version 1.5.2, published 2024-10-12. https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=multilevLCA
9,134 downloads as of Nov. 17, 2024

Lyrvall, Johan, Roberto Di Mari, Zsuzsa Bakk, Jennifer Oser, and Jouni Kuha. (2024). **multilevLCA: An R package for single-level and multilevel latent class analysis with covariates, v2**. arXiv. doi
R&R requesting light revisions received Nov 14, 2024 to a Q1 journal

Accepted co-edited symposium proposal:

Kołczyńska, Marta, Sylvia Kritzinger, and Jennifer Oser, eds. Accepted. **"Data harmonization in political science and related fields: Innovations, challenges, and visions for the future."** PS: Political Science & Politics. *[Proposal accepted October 10, 2024]*

PRD proposed article:

Oser, Jennifer, and Barak Zur. "Strategizing About Data Harmonization Visions: The Case of Political Participation."

Additional proposed contributions (selected)

Yue, Hu and Frederick Solt "Wranging Pre-Harmonized Data"

Lindberg, Staffan I. et al. "DEMSCORE: Solving the Universal Harmonization of Data Across Any Unit of Analysis

PRD pipeline
Other papers and projects in progress (selected)

(1) **"Politicians Theories of Protest"** with Jamie Druckman, Lior Sheffer, Devorah Manekin, Tamar Mitts, Jae Yeon Kim, and Elizabeth McKenna

➢Experimental survey design planned to be fielded in the US in December 2024 - comparing theories of protest of politicians, citizens, and civic leaders.

(2) "**Becoming Architects of Political Change"** with Julia Schulte-Cloos & Hahrie Han

➢Visual conjoint in an online lab experiment approximating social media activity to identify mechanisms for how democratic micropractices may strengthen pro-democratic norms

(3) "**Meanings of Protest"** with Carolina Plescia and Aya Shoshan

➢Building on Plescia's ERC "Meanings of Voting" project: literature mapping, interviews, and large-n cross-national survey on ordinary people's understanding the meanings of protest.

#2: Works in Progress

Are the Politically Active Better Represented?

Jesper Lindqvist, Jennifer Oser, Ruth Dassonneville, Mikael Persson, and Anders Sundell

PRD Participation & Representation in the Digital Age

Are the Politically Active Better Represented?

- Dilemma: A democratic principle that all interests ought to be considered equally (Dahl, 1989, 86)

- "Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma" – Lijphart (1997)

- Verba and Nie (1972, 2): this question as "perhaps most important of all" - and also "the most difficult to answer."

- Competing arguments in the literature:
  - "Communication" argument: The politically active get more of the policies they want because of that they communicate their preferences to policy-makers
  - "Grievance" argument: Lack of responsiveness produces grievances, and results in political participation

What's missing?

Systematic, generalizable, cross-national evidence showing whether the politically active are better represented overall.

Research Questions

(1) **Participation-Policy Connection:** Is opinion-policy congruence higher for the politically active?

(2) **Alternate Causal Explanations:** Can alternative explanations account for a relationship between participation and opinion-policy congruence?

Scholarly ambition:
➢ **Answer the question, "Are the Politically Active Better Represented" with the best available data and methods**
➢ **Agenda-setting for future work on causal mechanisms**

Main Explanation

Figure 1: Electoral and nonelectoral channels of influence.
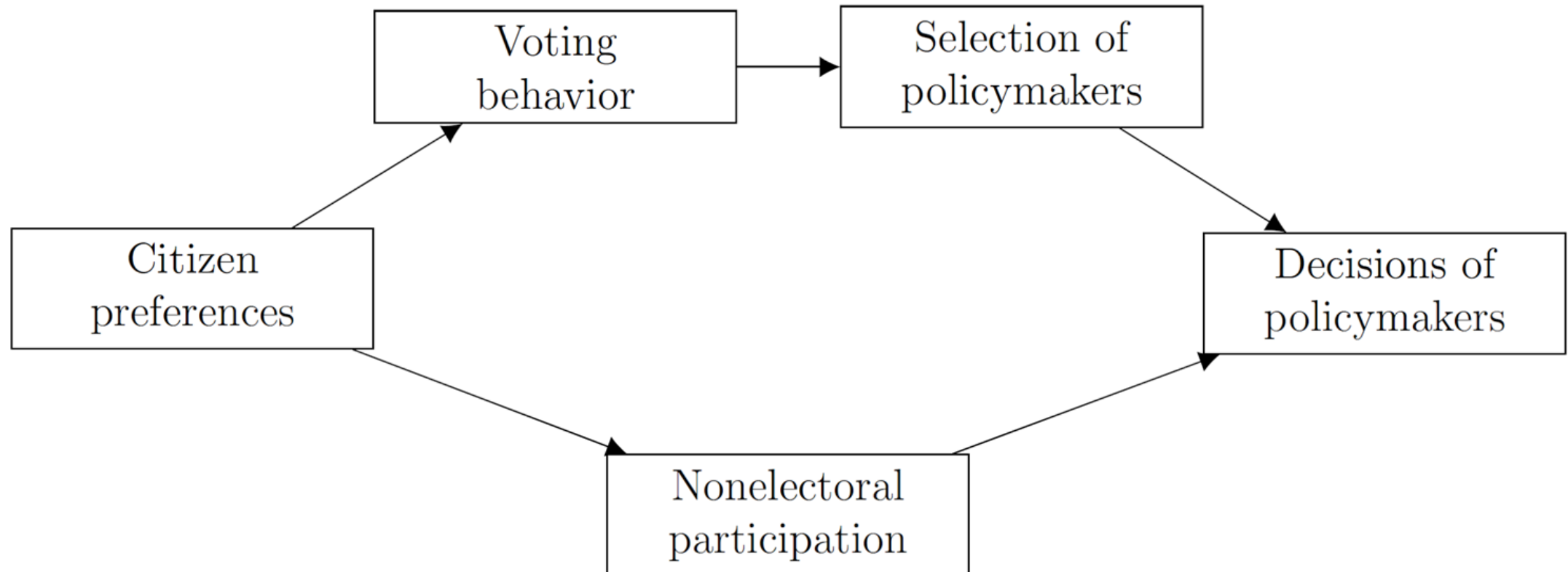
Data and Methods

- 40 countries, 20 years, 270,000 respondents
- Individual-level data: ESS (round 1-5, 7, 8), ISSP (1996, 2004, 2014)
- Country-level policy implementation data (Persson & Sundell 2024)
  - Policy topics: civil liberties, economic issues, and immigration/ethnic minority
- Independent variables
  - *Voted*: Voted in the last election
  - *Demonstrated*: Have demonstrated in the last year (or last five years)
  - Robustness test with additional nonelectoral participation indicators
- Dependent variable
  - *Opinion-Policy Congruence*: Congruence between policy support and policy implementation (proportion, 0-1)
- OLS regression with country-survey-year fixed effects

Data and Methods - Contribution

"This is, to our knowledge, the first study that analyzes cross-national

data connecting opinions to subsequent policy implementation on

multiple policy issues to assess whether those who are politically active

have better opinion-policy congruence compared to non-participators"

(p. 2)

Results: RQ1, are Participators Better Represented?

Table 2: The Positive Association Between Demonstrating and Opinion-Policy Congruence Remains When Controlling for Country-Survey-Year Fixed Effects.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Voted	−0.015**	−0.005	−0.012**	0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Demonstrated	0.031**	0.027**	0.013**	0.024**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Intercept	0.524**	0.615**	0.575**	0.674**
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Country FE		✓		
Year FE			✓	
Country-Survey-Year FE				✓
N	273,191	273,191	273,191	273,191
R^2	0.002	0.109	0.125	0.391

Note: *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. Observations weighted by the number of policy questions answered by each respondent.

Results: Alternative Explanation 1, Socio-Economic Status

Table 3: Socio-Economic Characteristics Explain Part of the Difference Between Demonstrators and Non-Demonstrators, but Does Not Fully Account for the Better Representation of Demonstrators.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Voted	0.002*	0.001	0.001	0.004*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Demonstrated	0.024**	0.024**	0.015**	0.015**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income		0.034**		0.013**
		(0.002)		(0.002)
Tertiary education			0.032**	0.034**
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Woman				−0.005**
				(0.001)
Age < 30				0.005**
				(0.002)
Age >= 60				−0.012**
				(0.001)
Rural				−0.008**
				(0.001)
Country-Survey-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	273,191	200,602	200,340	147,108
R^2	0.391	0.401	0.384	0.390

Note: *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. Observations weighted by the number of policy questions answered by each respondent. When we re-estimate Model 1 with the same sample as in Model 4, the coefficient on Voted is 0.004** and on Demonstrated 0.022**, meaning that the control variables in Model 4 account for about a third of the coefficient for Demonstrated.

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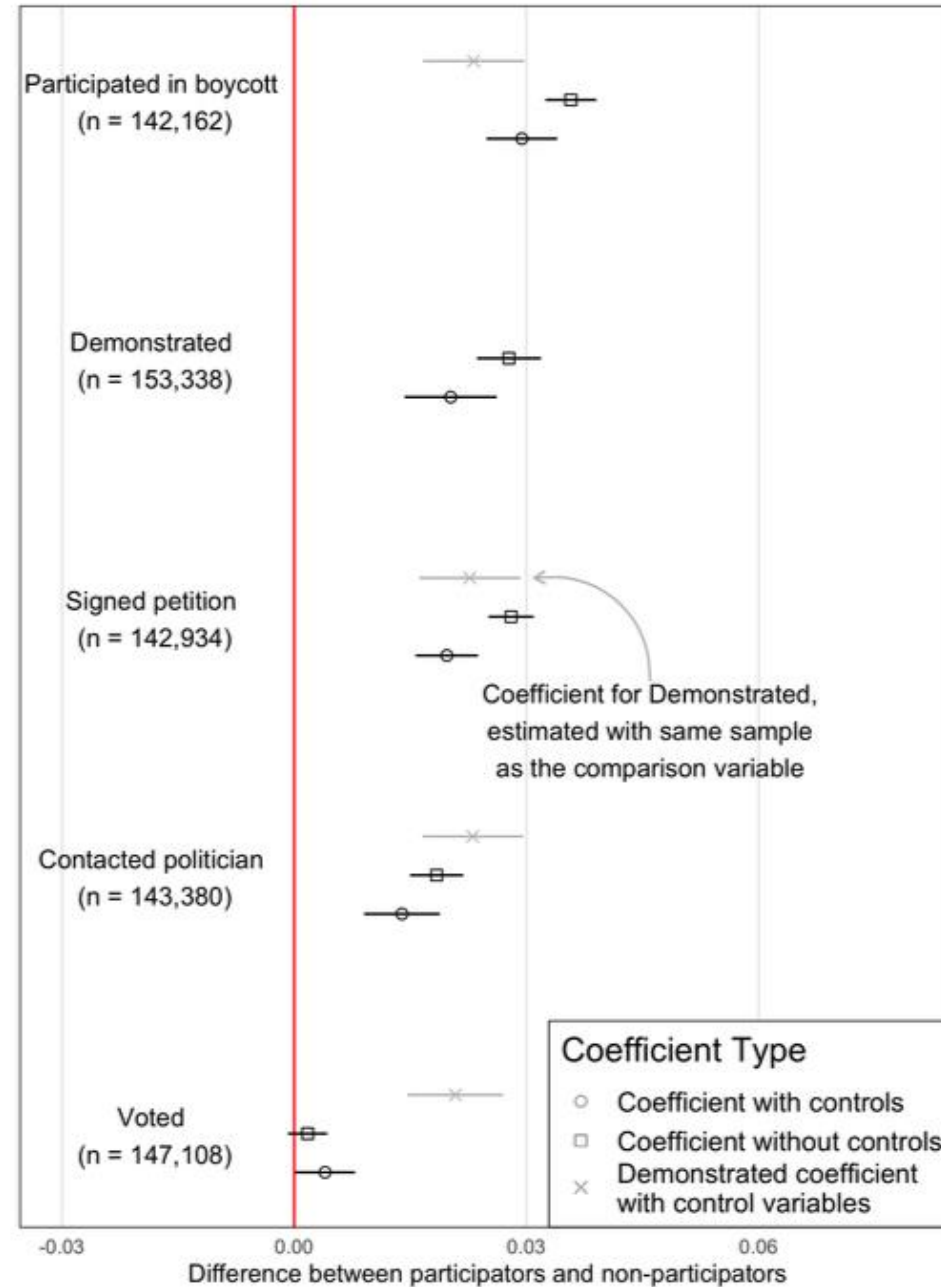# Results: Alternative Explanation 2, Political Attitudes

Table 4: Political Attitudes Do Not Explain the Difference Between Demonstrators and Non-Demonstrators.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Voted	0.001	0.003*	0.003*	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Demonstrated	0.013**	0.015**	0.015**	0.017**	0.015**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Political interest	0.014**				0.009**
	(0.001)				(0.002)
Political trust		0.007**			-0.004
		(0.001)			(0.002)
Satisfied with democracy			0.009**		0.001
			(0.001)		(0.002)
Political efficacy				0.007**	0.006**
				(0.002)	(0.003)
Country-Survey-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-economic control variables	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	146,351	144,412	136,379	50,524	45,642
R^2	0.391	0.389	0.392	0.451	0.447

Note: *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. Observations weighted by the number of policy questions answered by each respondent. Socio-economic control variables include income, tertiary education, woman, age, and rural. When we re-estimate Model 1-4 with the same sample (number of observations) as in Model 5, the coefficients for Voted are (from Model 1 to Model 4) -0.002, -0.0004, -0.001, and -0.001. For Demonstrated, the coefficients are 0.015**, 0.016**, 0.016**, and 0.016**.

# Robustness Tests – Additional Nonelectoral Participation

Figure 6: Association Between Different Forms of Political Participation and Opinion-Policy Congruence.

Research Questions & Answers

(1) Participation-Policy Connection: Is opinion-policy congruence higher for the politically active? **Yes for demonstrators, not for voters**

(2) Alternate Causal Explanations: Can alternative explanations account for a relationship between participation and opinion-policy congruence? **Partially**

Figure 1: Electoral and nonelectoral channels of influence.
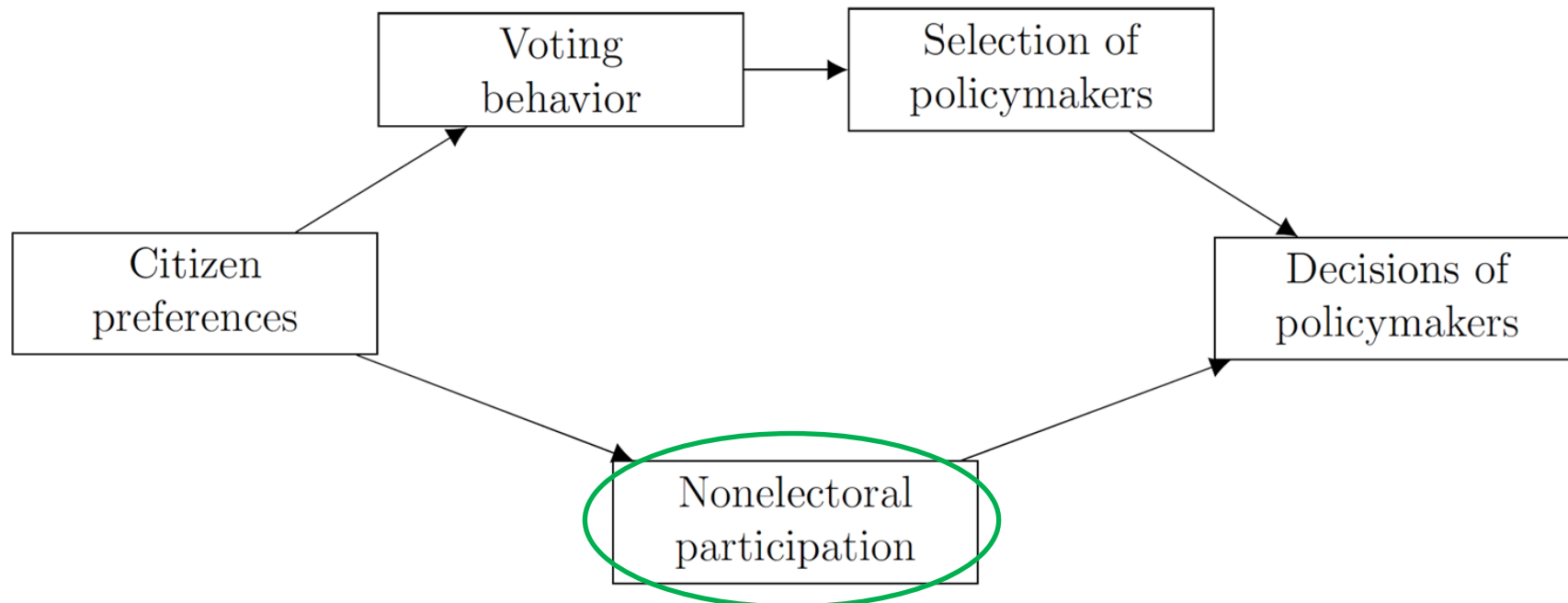
Does Social Mobilization on Contentious Issues Affect Citizens' Evaluation of Political Elites?

Francisca Castro, Humboldt University of Berlin & ISDC

Jennifer Oser, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Puzzle

Gov. Ron DeSantis: COVID-related mask mandates will never return to Florida

Latest News

DeSantis says 'no' to mask mandates in Florida

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. - Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis said COVID-related mask mandates will never return to the state amid a rise in cases across the U.S.

Research Questions

(1) How are politicians evaluated when they align with **individuals'** views on key policy issues?

(2) How does the presence of **mobilized groups** contesting these issues influence citizens' evaluations of politicians?

Theory and Hypotheses
H1: Individual-elite congruence

Congruence as alignment between citizen's preferences and public policy (Persson and Sundell 2024).

One-to-one distance between the position of the citizen and the politician (Golder and Stramski 2009).

H1: Individual-elite congruence will positively influence citizens' evaluations of politicians.

Theory and Hypotheses

H2 & H3: Elite-mobilized group congruence

(H1) Individual-Elite Congruence:
Positively impacts citizens' evaluations of politicians
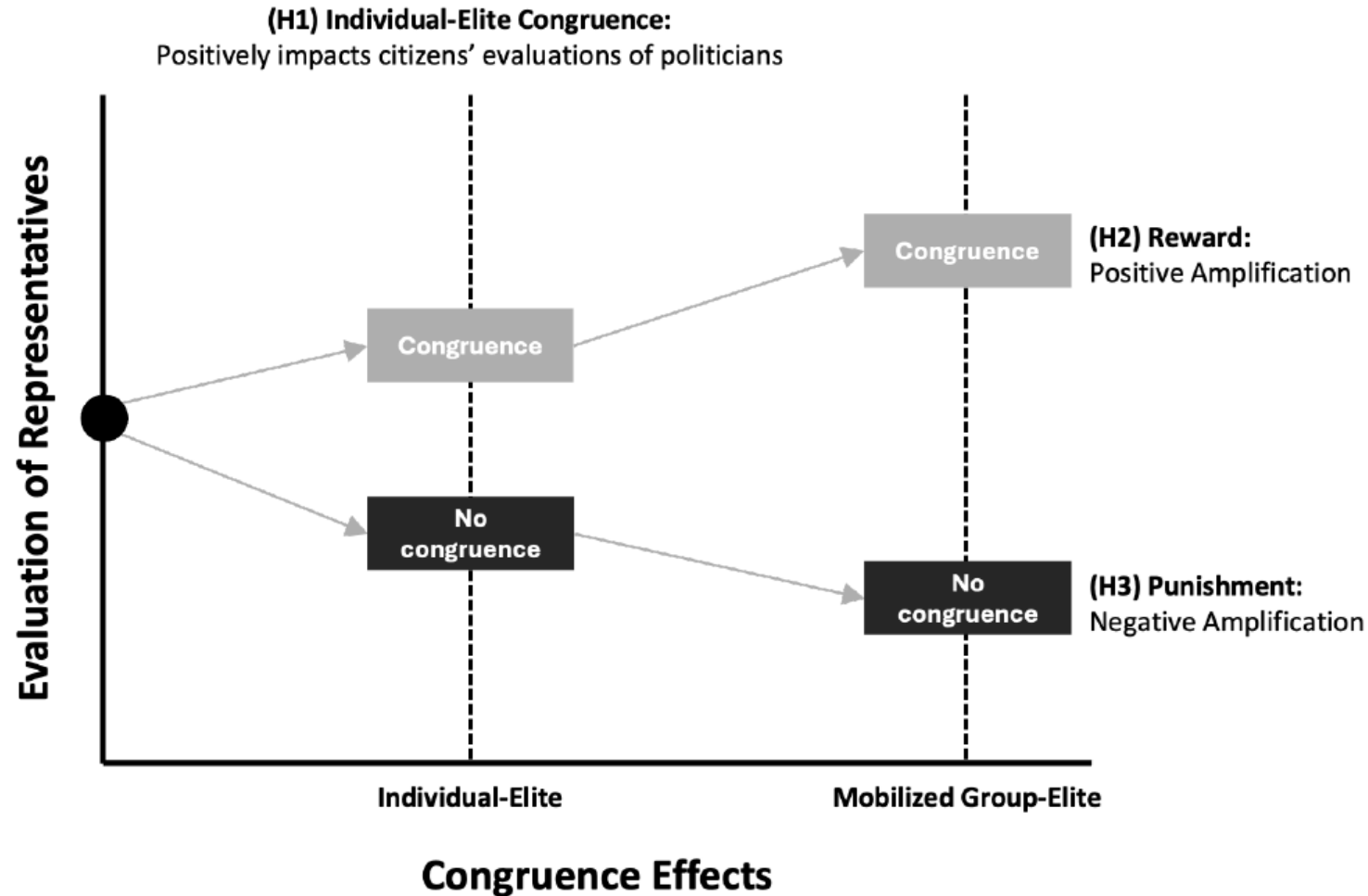
Theory: As social movements target both power holders and the broader public to build support (Bernard, Bischof, and Wouters 2020) the alignment between political elites and mobilized groups could enhance political support or lead to electoral consequences.

Theory and Hypotheses
H4: Policy Salience

H4: Policy Salience

The saliency of the policy issue (abortion) to the individual respondent will moderate the effect of citizen-elite congruence on respondents' evaluation of candidates

Research Design

Context: Argentinian Green Tide

Survey overview:

1. Sociodemographic Module

2. Political Module (e.g., party id, vote 2023, policy saliency, 3 main country problems)

3. Policy Positions Module (e.g., abortion + other current policy issues)

4. Experimental Module

- Two experimental vignettes of social mobilization (one pro-, one anti-abortion); pilot for evaluating a memory stimulation or a imaginary scenario vignette.
- Conjoint experiment: two different candidates, randomization of attributes and policy positions (congruent/incongruent policy position on abortion)

Experimental Vignettes v1 - Memory Stimulation

Experimental Vignette 1a:

During 2020, in the context of the discussion on the abortion law, there were massive marches called by different organizations, such as the Network for Access to Safe Abortion in Argentina, in favor of the Law on the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy

Experimental Vignette 1b:

Experimental Vignette 2: During 2020, in the context of the discussion on the abortion law, there were massive marches called by different organizations such as Marcha Por La Vida and other pro-life groups against the Law on Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy.

Aborto legal
El color verde inunda Argentina para reivindicar el aborto legal en 2020

▸ Miles de argentina se han reunido para celebrar que en un 19 de febrero se produjo el primer gran pañuelazo verde
▸ La concentración ha ido dirigida al Gobierno y al Congreso, a los que animan a aprobar el proyecto de despenalización

20.02.2020 | 02:10 horas

Argentina celebra el primer 'pañuelazo' verde del 2020 para reivindicar el aborto legal

Se manifiestan este sábado en rechazo al proyecto de legalización que presentó el Presidente. En Buenos Aires van del Obelisco al Congreso.

Una marcha "pro vida" en Mendoza, donde también llaman a manifestar "con barbijos, pañuelos celestes y banderas argentinas".

Experimental Vignettes v2 - Imaginary Scenario
Informed by Harris & Lin-Greenberg (In press), JEPS "Is a Picture Worth 280 Characters?

Imagine the following scenario:

In your city, recent discussions about abortion rights have led to significant public demonstrations. A group of people has gathered to express their stance on the abortion law. The protesters are [SUPPORT OR OPPOSE ABORTION]. They are wearing [COLOR] and have gathered at the main square. The demonstration is focused on [MESSAGE].

Support for abortion
- Supportive of keeping abortion legal, or
- Opposed to abortion, advocating for a repeal of the legalization

Color
- Green, symbolizing support for abortion rights, or
- Light blue, representing opposition to abortion

Message
- Demanding the government uphold the 2020 law on abortion rights, or
- Calling on legislators to reverse the 2020 abortion law and make abortion illegal again

Conjoint Experiment - After Vignette v1 or v2

Table 1: List of Candidate Attributes

Attribute	Possible Values
Age	50*, 35, 67
Gender	Female, Male*
Party Affiliation	LLA, UxP*, JxC, HxNP, FIT-U
Policy Position Abortion	1-5 Agreement Scale
Policy Position [Ad-hoc Policy]	1-5 Agreement Scale

Note: Attribute selection based on Bansak et al. (2021). Baseline categories are marked with *. For the abortion policy positions, the baseline will be the same position as the respondent. Party affiliation acronyms correspond to LLA (La Libertad Avanza), UxP (Unión por la Patria), JxC (Juntos por el Cambio), HxNP (Hacemos por Nuestro País), and FIT-U (Frente de Izquierda y de Trabajadores - Unidad).

Experimental Design v3 - Imaginary Scenario + Conjoint

Imagine the following scenario:
Imagine that in your city, there's a large protest happening on abortion rights. The protesters are **[supportive of abortion rights or opposed to abortion rights]**, wearing **[green/light blue]** and calling on the government to **[uphold the 2020 law on abortion rights or reverse the 2020 abortion law]**."

Amid these protests, two candidates for office have each made their positions on abortion known, reflecting different approaches and perspectives on this issue.

Consider Candidate A, a **[50-year-old male]** from the **[UxP party]**, who has expressed a position on abortion that **[aligns with or differs from]** the stance of the mobilized group. His position on abortion is **[mention position]**, signaling his support for legal abortion. In addition, Candidate A has a strong stance on another key issue, **[mention his stance on other policy position]**.

Now, compare him with Candidate B, a **[35-year-old female]** from the **[LLA party]**, whose position on abortion is **[2 - Disagree]**. This stance places her in opposition to the mobilized group's position and reflects a more conservative view on the issue. Her stance on **[mention her stance on other policy position]**.

Topics for Input and Discussion

-Registered Report experience and advice is welcome - especially re: conducting a pilot survey

-Revision dilemmas for experimental design:

(1) "Memory stimulation" versus "imaginary scenario"?

(2) Vignettes separate from or integrated with conjoint?

-Design revision consideration: add an additional policy issue to make the **abortion** focus less obvious, e.g., protests about **university funding**

#3: Invitations!

Events

1. Eran Halperin's lab, Dec 10, 14:30-16:00, "Social Mobilization" paper, experimental design focus

2. MPSA virtual mock talk workshop

3. Young Academy events and resources to support ERC submissions, and PI team leadership in humanities and social sciences

4. Webinar series

ERC Webinar Series Videos, 2023-4

https://www.prd-erc.eu/events

December 13

Prof. Theda Skocpol | Harvard University
"Citizen Organizing and Partisan Polarization"

January 10

Prof. Michael Delli Carpini | University of Pennsylvania
"Digital Media and Democratic Futures"

Febuary 7

Prof. Noam Lupu | Vanderbilt University
"Poll Workers and the Effects of Political Participation"

22 May 2024

Prof. André Blais | University of Montreal & Chair in Electoral Studies

"Participation and Representation"

19 June 2024

Prof. Rachel Gibson | University of Manchester & PI of ERC Advanced Grant

"Online Political Influencers"

10 July 2024

Prof. Hahrie Han | Johns Hopkins University & Director of the SNF Agora Institute

"Organizing and Democracy"

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Invitation to Webinars 2024-2025, Semester A

https://www.prd-erc.eu/events

December 4, 2024

Prof. Anne Rasmussen | King's College London
"Costs of Running and Engaging in Politics"

January 8, 2025

Prof. Ruth Dassonneville | University of Montréal
"Gender Gap in Voter Turnout"

January 22, 2025

Prof. Yotam Margalit | Tel Aviv University
"Political Consequences of Green Policies"

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Sneak Preview to Webinars 2024-2025, Semester B

https://www.prd-erc.eu/events

Carolina Plescia, University of Vienna

ERC PI Starting, DeVOTE
"The Meanings of Voting for Citizens" (OUP, in press)

Shiro Kiruwaki, Yale University
Stephen Ansolabehere, Harvard University
"Congressional Representation" (book project)

Christopher Wlezien, University of Texas
American Academy of Arts and Sciences Member
"Democratic Policy Representation is (Really) Hard"