

## **Conference Program**

WAPOR 64th Annual Conference in Amsterdam September 21-23, 2011 Amsterdam, The Netherlands

## **Public Opinion and the Internet**

Hosted by



University of Amsterdam

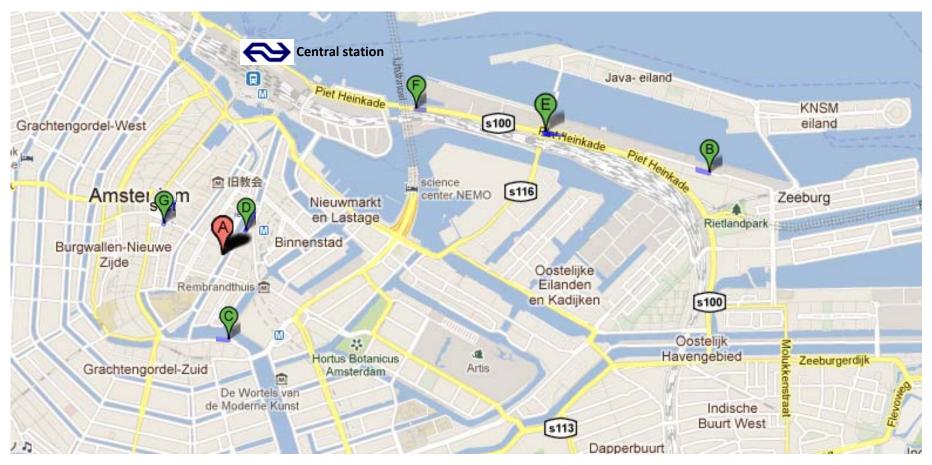
Graduate School of Communication & The Amsterdam School of Communication Research ASCoR

## Contents

Map of locations

Welcome to WAPOR 2011	3
Program and locations in bird's eye view	4
Travel	5
Do's and don'ts in Amsterdam	6
Acknowledments	7
Sponsors WAPOR 2011	8-9
Keynote	10
Program	11
Abstracts Papers	30
Abstracts PhD Workshops	79
Past Conference Locations	89
Past Presidents of WAPOR	90

Full papers will be appearing online at: http://wapor.unl.edu/amsterdam-conference-papers/



- A => Kloveniersburgwal 48, UvA
- B => Oostelijke Handelskade 34, Lloyd Hotel Amsterdam
- C => Amstel 144, Eden Hotel Amsterdam
- D => Kloveniersburgwal 29, KNAW
- E => Piet Heinkade 179, Pakhuis de Zwijger, Amsterdam
- F => Piet Heinkade 1, Star Ferry Restaurant
- G => Nes 5, Rho Hotel Amsterdam

## Welcome!

A warm welcome for our colleagues from all over the world to Amsterdam, the largest city and capital of The Netherlands and one of the most exciting cities in the world. We hope that you will feel at home in our city which is renowned for being extremely tolerant and which will probably be one of the freeest and diverse cities you will ever visit. Enjoy our city's culture, history and musea. Walk around and enjoy the network of charming 17th century canals of Amsterdam, known as the *Grachtengordel*, the architecture in the old inner city and the new docklands.

Amsterdam is home to the University of Amsterdam, whose Graduate School of Communication and The Amsterdam School of Communication Research are hosting WAPOR 2011. At the Graduate School of Communication Communication Science has grown rapidly and developed into a flourishing field of study with one-year and two-year Master's tracks in Corporate Communication, Persuasive Communication, Political Communication and Youth & Media. The Amsterdam School of Communication Reseach ASCoR, a research institute in Communcation Science, is the largest of its kind in Europe. More than 50 senior researchers are permanently associated with ASCoR and its English-language PhD program hosts more than 35 candidates.

We believe that WAPOR 2011 has a very strong program. The theme of the conference –Public Opinion and the Internet– emphasizes how the Internet provides challenges and opportunities for public opinion scholars and how the internet is changing (the study of) public opinion. The Internet has become a platform for the expression and representation of public opinion, a factor in public opinion formation, and is also used to collect public opinion data.

In addition to papers on the conference theme, papers will be presented on cutting edge research on other relevant themes of the exciting area of public opinion as well as challenges to survey research. A PhD workshop –new in the history of WAPOR– precedes the conference and the keynote will be delivered by Helen Dinerman Laureate and former colleague at the University of Amsterdam, Willem Saris.

All meetings of the conference take place in old historical buildings in the inner city of Amsterdam. On Wednesday in the East Indisch House, home of the former Dutch India Company – the first multinational in the world, and the Trippenhuis (17<sup>th</sup> century) across the street. On Thursday and Friday in Pakhuis De Zwijger, a former warehouse located in Amsterdam's docklands. The Conference Award Dinner is planned at the Star Ferry restaurant (close to the conference venue) with its superb views across the River IJ. We hope that you will find time to enjoy sightseeing and relaxing in our unique city, but if not, the choice of the conference locations guarantees at least a glimpse of the rich history of our city.

Peter Neijens & Claes de Vreese

**Conference** Chairs

## **Program and locations in bird's-eye view**

#### WEDNESDAY

Location:	Oost-Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam
	& (for one of the PhD Workshops) Het Trippenhuis, Kloveniersburgwal 29 (across the street from the Oost-Indisch Huis), 1011 JV Amsterdam
Program:	IJPOR Board Meeting
	WAPOR Council Meeting
	PhD Workshops
	Get Together Party

#### THURSDAY

Location:	Pakhuis de Zwijger, Piet Heinkade 179, 1019 HC Amsterdam
Program:	Keynote; sessions

Conference Award Dinner in Zouthaven Restaurant at Muziekgebouw aan't IJ Address: Piet Heinkade 1, 1019 BR Amsterdam (close to Conference Venue).

#### FRIDAY

- Location: Pakhuis de Zwijger, Piet Heinkade 179, 1019 HC Amsterdam
- Program: Sessions, WAPOR Business meeting

## Travel

### Travel from Airport to Hotel

### <u>Train</u>

We recommend you take a train from Schiphol Airport to Central Station (the main railway station) in Amsterdam. It is cheap, convenient and fast. You can buy a (one-way) ticket from the desk or a ticket machine (when you buy a ticket from the machine: don't select 'all trains', select 'NS only'). Price:  $\in$ 3.70.

Do not take a taxi from Amsterdam Central Station to your Hotel. The taxis at Central Station have a bad reputation (they refuse short rides, they cheat). Rather use public transport.

### <u>Taxi</u>

If you take a taxi at Schiphol airport, please make sure that you take a taxi from the official line. Do not accept offers from the taxi runners who try to convince you to accept their offer. A taxi ride to your hotel costs about  $\in$ 50.

### To Get Together / Welcome / Cocktail Party, Doctoral Workshops, WAPOR Council Meeting and IJPOR Board Meeting

Location is in the middle of the inner city, walking distance from Dam Square and Central (Railway) Station

### From Hotel to Conference Venue

If you stay in the Lloyd Hotel you can walk to the conference venue.

For other delegates: Ask directions at your hotel how to get to Central Station. At Central Station, take either:

- <u>tram line 26</u> (direction IJburg) and get out at stop Kattenburgerstraat. or

- bus 42 (direction KNSM eiland) and get out at stop Jan Schaeferbrug.

From Central Station it is a 5 minutes ride. Plus 3 minutes walk.

How to rent a bicycle http://www.iamsterdam.com/en/visiti ng/touristinformation/gettingaround/ rental/bikehire http://www.rentabike.nl/damstraat20 -22rates.html http://www.macbike.nl/ http://www.orangebike.nl/eng/contac t.shtml

#### How to get Public Transport Tickets

Information about the public transport company of Amsterdam GVB can be found here: (prices, timetables, tickets& fares)

http://www.gvb.nl/english/Pages/def ault.aspx

## Do's and Don'ts in Amsterdam

**Don't worry about crime.** Amsterdam is one of the safest cities in the world where violent crime is concerned - it almost never happens. The one thing you must be aware of is pickpockets. Pickpockets usually target tourists, whether it be at an ATM or at the train station or airport. Make sure you keep all your belongings secure and out of sight. Even though the chance you will be targeted is very slim, it is safer to just take these simple precautions.

**Don't take a taxi at Central Station:** they have a bad reputation (they refuse short rides, they cheat, etc.). It is okay to order a taxi at the hotel or from the university or from the conference venue.

*Don't take photos in the Red Light District*. Prostitutes (and in particular, their doormen) do not like having their photos taken by tourists, and any attempt to capture footage on either a camera or video recorder will result in you getting into a spot of bother. So don't take the risk.

**Don't buy any drugs.** As we all know, Amsterdam is free in the sense that you are allowed to smoke cannabis in its coffee shops, but do not attempt to buy any illegal or class A drugs off the street. Not only is it a criminal offence to be carrying over a certain amount of a class A drug, but more times than not the drugs you buy will be of poor quality.

**Don't walk in the bike lanes.** If you hear a "cling, cling" or hear someone shouting "LET OP" (Dutch for Watch Out) from behind you jump real quick or you may get mowed down by a cyclist. They do not stop for no one.

**Don't trust hotel runners.** At Central Station – and throughout downtown Amsterdam – people who look like tourists (carrying backpacks or suitcases) will be accosted by hotel runners. Do not trust them. Usually the rates they quote are invented on the spot. Once they have led you to the hotel – in an area you are not familiar with – the room rate turns out to be a lot higher. And some runners don't easily take 'no' for an answer. Too, you may end up in one of several illegal, overcrowded hotels.

**Don't overlook the trams**. Each year, several tourists die or are badly injured in collisions with trams. Do not try to outrun trams. These urban trains go faster than you can run, and they usually have the right of way. Keep in mind that when you cross the street behind a tram, another tram may be racing toward you. In addition, taxis, buses, emergency vehicles and some bozos also use the tram lanes.

**Do walk through "the 9 streets":** which are located in the Jordan area, not far from Dam Square. Berestraat, Runstraat, etc. The 9 streets are connect the Prinsengracht, Keizersgracht, and Herengracht. You'll find some great shops which you will not find elsewhere. Everything from the toothbrush shop (Nothing but items to make your teeth bright and clean) to the candle store, amazing candles of all of shapes and sizes. **Do rent a bike.** Amsterdam is flat- there are no hills. You will notice that the locals get around by bike, which is probably the best way to see the majority of the city. A bike is the best way to get from A to B. Seeing Amsterdam by bike is really a great way to see and get around the city. Watch out for the tram tracks.

*Do take a boat tour* while you are in Amsterdam as seeing the buildings from the water is totally different from dry land. From the water you have a much better view.

Sources: <u>http://ezinearticles.com/?The-Dos-and-Donts-of-Amsterdam&id=2292156</u> <u>http://www.amsterdamescape.com/dos.html</u> <u>http://www.dutchamsterdam.nl/33-things-to-avoid-in-amsterdam</u>

# Acknowledgements

A big thank you to:

*Conference Chairs* Peter Neijens, University of Amsterdam Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam

*Conference Organizers* Kathleen Hair, University of Amsterdam Renae Reis, WAPOR Elske Verkruijsse, University of Amsterdam

Scientific Committee Connie de Boer, University of Amsterdam Hajo Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam Robert Chung, Hong Kong University Jibum Kim, NORC Sophie Lecheler, University of Amsterdam Peter Neijens, University of Amsterdam Pablo Paras, Data-OPM Trevor Tompson, The Associated Press Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam

*Our sponsors* See next page

### **Sponsors WAPOR 2011**

For their support for this WAPOR 2011 conference we would like to offer our sincere thanks to:



#### Research +

Motivaction is a full-service research firm that combines quantitative and qualitative research specialties with knowledge of organizations and the environment in which they operate.

Firmly rooted in the Netherlands, Motivaction is continually in touch with what is going on in the complex and dynamic Dutch society. By interpreting trends and developments in their early stages, we translate changing forces in society and make them actionable for both government and businesses. NORC serves the public interest and improves lives through objective social science research that supports informed decision making. <u>www.norc.org</u>





### GfK. Growth from Knowledge

- GfK4Government is part of GfK in the Netherlands and specializes in research for (inter)national, regional and local government bodies.
- GfK is a full service market agency and also carries out social science studies in commission of universities (such as the European Social Survey) and other knowledge institutes like SCP, NiDi, Trimbos Institute et cetera.
- GfK is specialized in both quantitative and qualitative studies.
- For quantitative surveys we use different data collection modes like CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing, face-to-face), CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing), CAWI Computer Assisted Web Interviewing by internet) and PAPI (by mail). Lot of studies are executed using mix modes nowadays.
- Qualitative studies can be focus groups, single interviews, expert interviews (e.g. using the Delphi method).



#### Your concern is TNS-NIPO's mission

As market leader TNS NIPO anticipates the changing needs of customers. Product development –amongst other in the areas of innovation, qualitative, corporate social responsibility, and positioning- is very important. Our main asset is, however, the quality of our employees. They fulfill the growing need for insight, interpretation and advice. www.tns-nipo.com



D3 operates in 105+ countries worldwide. D3's expertise is in opinion and issues research, international assistance evaluation, strategic communications research and broadcast media audience measurement in emerging and post-conflict environments. The company builds permanent indigenous expertise and capabilities which has included companies in Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia and Mexico.



#### **About Synovate**

Synovate is one of the biggest research agencies in the Netherlands and consists of the renowned agencies Interview-NSS, Censydiam and Market & More. Synovate Nederland is part of the global Synovate organization and employs 6,700 staff in 62 countries. Our market data is the foundation for decisions in leading commercial and not-for-profit organizations. We offer a reliable, unbiased and meaningful picture of reality which forms a secure basis for decisions. www.synovate.nl or

#### www.synovate.com

# Keynote: Prof. dr. Willem Saris

Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Research (RECSM) Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

In many countries, research organizations have recently started to use online surveys to collect data. While this approach makes sense for very special groups, it is not an approach recommended for national representative samples. Most of today's online surveys exclude a large part of the population that does not have internet access and make use of self selection via advertisements; so called Opt-in panels. These two aspects of this data collection method violate the basic principle of survey research, probability sampling, and hinder the process of statistical inference.

Yet, there is an alternative way of using internet to collect data. This approach consists of drawing a probability sample of the population and asking the selected people to participate in an online survey. People who do not have internet access are provided with the necessary facilities to participate.

Although this procedure requires an important initial investment, this investment is compensated by lower fieldwork costs. Moreover, as the proportion of people with internet access increases, the costs of this initial investment decreases. This approach is in use in The Netherlands and the USA and new panels based on the same principles are now created in Germany and the UK.

This form of online data collection is faster and at least as good as face to face research, as we will illustrate. Notwithstanding its panel character this approach is also more efficient and less time-consuming for cross-section research. Given the panel structure of the design the background information and much other information is collected only once, this saves a lot of time compared with standard cross-sectional research. Therefore, I think that this probability based online panel is the data collection method for the future. This does not mean that I do not see a place for the less rigorous opt-in panels.

Prof. dr. Willem Saris is a renowned professor of research methodology. He was professor in Political Science and Research Methodology at the University of Amsterdam (the Netherlands) and is at present affiliated with Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain). He is Chairman of the European Survey Research Association and was a Member of the Methodological Advisory Board of the European Social Survey. He was awarded WAPOR's Helen Dinerman Award 2009 for his lifelong contribution to the Methodology of Opinion Research. He is a Laureate of the Descartes Research Prize 2005 for excellence in scientific collaborative research.

### Wednesday, September 21st, 2011



**Oost Indisch Huis** 

**Editorial Board Meeting** 

The East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VoC) was set up in 1602 and was the first international company with shareholders. This company focused on the trade between Europe and Asia, as well as trade within Asia. The VOC was located in the Oost-Indisch Huis until its bankruptcy in 1798. The building nowadays belongs to the University of Amsterdam. The original boardroom – the VoC Room - is worth a visit.

## Program

10.00-12.00

Room E0.02	<b>International Journal of Public Opinion Research (IJPOR)</b> VoC Room, Oost Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam 10.00 Coffee; 10.30 Start meeting.
<b>11.00-17.00</b> Room E1.18	WAPOR Council Meeting Oost Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam 11.00 Coffee; 11.30 Start meeting.
<b>12.00-13.00</b> Room E0.02	Welcome + Lunch PhD Workshops participants VoC Room, Oost Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam
13.00-17.00	PhD Workshop (see details next page)
<b>17.00-19.00</b> Room E0.02	<b>Registration Desk Open / Get Together Party / Welcome Cocktail</b> VoC Room, Oost Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam

### Wednesday, September 21st, 2011

### 13.00-17.00 PhD Workshops (Group 1)

### Location



Rembrandtzaal, Het Trippenhuis Building Kloveniersburgwal 29, 1011 JV Amsterdam Across the street from the Oost-Indisch Huis, Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CE Amsterdam where we had lunch Room 1.22

Once built by two arms-dealing brothers, then a national portrait gallery, and nowadays the headquarters of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. See documentary about the illustrious history of Het Trippenhuis - http://vimeo.com/8973278.

## Program

13.00-14.45 Session 1

Chair: Sophie Lecheler (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Expert: Jörg Matthes (University of Zurich, Switzerland)

#### **Participants**

Informative and mobilizing media: How print, television and online news affect political knowledge and participation
Damian Trilling, Tom Bakker and Klaus Schönbach, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Content Credibility and Brand Equity of Media Channels – A
Comparative Study of Print, Online and AV Medium
Madhupa Bakshi, NSHM Institute of Media and Communication, India
Journalists' Perceptions of Political Sources: Less Similar – Less
Credible? An Examination of Factors influencing U.S. and Foreign
Washington Correspondents' News Judgments of Political Sources
Lea C. Hellmueller, University of Missouri, USA

The context of content: The impact of source and setting on the credibility of news

*Tom Bakker, Damian Trilling, Luzia Helfer, Klaus Schönbach* + *Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands* 

#### 14.45-15.15 Tea break

#### 15.15-17.00 Session 2

Chair: Sophie Lecheler (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

**Expert:** Michael Traugott (University of Michigan, USA)

#### **Participants**

The power of online campaigning: The effects of personalisation and online interactivity on political involvement

Sanne Kruikemeier, Guda van Noort, Rens Vliegenthart and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands Alternatives to the public discourse in Romania

Elena-Irina Macovei, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi, Romania

The Effect of the Internet on National Identity: A Cohort Study in Hong Kong

Heng Lu, Tai-Quan Peng (Macau University of S&T) and Jonathan J. H. Zhu, City University of Hong Kong

Specialization of news audiences in the Netherlands 1988 – 2010 Anke Wonneberger, Klaus Schonbach and Lex van Meurs, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Presentation and Perception of complex Information on Television Wolfgang Wichmann, Glashuettenstr. 110, 20357 Hamburg, Germany

### Wednesday, September 21st, 2011

### 13.00-17.00 PhD Workshops (Group 2)



### Location

#### **Oost-Indisch Huis Building Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam** Of all the trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch United East India Company - (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VoC - which was created in 1602, was indubitably the most successful) **Room E0.02 The VoC Room**

## Program

13.00-14.46 Session 1

Chair: Hajo Boomgaarden (U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Expert: Yariv Tsfati (University of Haifa, Israel)

#### **Participants**

The Impact of Exposure to Foreign Culture on International News Interest

Patrick Merle and Jerod Foster, Texas Tech, USA Change in audience frames and attitudes: The effect of out-group media frames on labeling Muslims as out-group members and evaluating them negatively Anouk S. Van Drunen, Hajo G. Boomgaarden and Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam What motivates an audience to comment on news coverage online? Nina Springer, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany The American Attitude: Context Effects and the Change in Public Trust in Government (1964 - 2008) Dmitriy Poznyak, University of Leuven, Belgium

14.45-15.15 Tea break

15.15-17.00 Session 2

Chair: Hajo Boomgaarden (U. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Expert: Joop Hox (University of Utrecht, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Causes of mode-specific survey response propensity: The role of respondent involvement and peripheral cues in recruiting for Web, Telephone, Personal, and Mail Surveys

*Thomas Klausch, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands* A Survey Stopping Rule Based on Weighting for Unit Nonresponse

Taylor Lewis, University of Maryland, USA

How does offering an explicit "Don't Know" option affect the outcome of a survey?

*Jannine van de Maat, Leiden University, The Netherlands* Social media surveys: towards the development of a standardised measure scale for domestic country reputation management in South Africa

*Wadim Schreiner, Pretoria, South Africa and Frank M Go, Erasmus University, The Netherlands* 

## Thursday September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2011

Location for all Sessions:

Pakhuis de Zwijger, Piet Heinkade 179, 1019 HC Amsterdam



Pakhuis de Zwijger

Pakhuis De Zwijger (built in 1933) is a former warehouse located in Amsterdam's docklands, conveniently situated close to the inner city and the Central Railway Station. Presently it is a platform for creation and innovation. The ideal place for WAPOR!

#### 08.00-08.30 Coffee + Registration

#### **08.30-09.15** Keynote: Prof. dr. Willem Saris (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain) The Web survey, the data collection method of the future

#### 09.15-09.45 Refreshment

#### 09.45-11.15 New Media & Politics

#### Room A Chair:

Peter Neijens (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Perceptions of the media and politics: Interactions of incivility and news frames in the political blogosphere

*Porismita Borah, Maryville University, St Louis, USA* An Investigation of the Interplay between Mobile Communication, Network Ties and Civic Engagement: Implications for Trust in Others: A Working Paper

*Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA* How we get Information about Issues and Events in International Crises: Bypassing and Supplementing Traditional Media through Social Media and the Internet

*Thomas B. Christie, University of Texas at Arlington, USA* How TV news Excite Search Activities on the Web:

Dynamic Transactions between TAGESSCHAU and WIKIPEDIA Stefan Geiss, Melanie Leidecker and Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

Tinkering Selectively: Testing Competing Models of Selective Exposure and Avoidance to Political Websites and Blogs

Thomas J. Johnson, Weiwu Zhang (Texas Tech-University), and Aimee Meader, University of Texas at Austin, USA

#### **09.45-11.15** Method & Design I: Asking the Right Questions Room B Chair:

Jörg Matthes (University of Zurich, Switzerland)

#### **Participants**

Who Took the Burden to Answer on the Meaning of Left and Right? Response Behaviour on an Open-ended Question

Cornelia Zuell and Evi Scholz, GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences Survey Design and Methodology, Germany Exploring an appropriate design for the response scale of general happiness: An example by using Taiwanese data

*Pei-shan Liao, Academica Sinica, Taiwan* Design of Web Questionnaires: Matrix Questions or Single Question Formats

> Edith de Leeuw, Joop Hox and Thomas Klausch, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, Anouk Roberts and Anneke de Jongh, Flycatcher

Less questions, more data Revitalizing the European Currency in Single Source Affluent Audience Measurement Harm Hartman, Synovate, TheNetherlands Asset Nonresponse in Korean Labour and Income Panel Survey Youngshil Park, Sunghee Lee (Universit of Michigan, USA) and Soonpil Kwon, Statistical Research Institute, Statistics Korea. South Korea

#### 09.45-11.15 **Cross-national Analyses from the World Values Survey** Room C Chair:

Jeroen Slot (University of Amsterdam)

#### **Participants**

Religion and the structure of political attitudes in Latin America Alejandro Moreno (ITAM, Mexico) The impact of education and religion on attitudes toward immigrants in **European countries** Eduard Ponarin (Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia) Nation-level and individual-level factors that predict high levels of religiosity Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan, USA)

Religiosity and trust in societal institutions Jon D. Miller (University of Michigan, USA)

Christian Welzel (Jacobs University, Germany) has agreed to serve as a discussant for this panel.

#### 11.15-11.30 Refreshment

- 11.30-13.00 **New Media & Political Participation**
- Room A **Chair:**

Michael Traugott (University of Michigan, USA)

#### **Participants**

An Internet Revolution in Developing Polities? New media technologies and democratic attitudes and participation in Sub-Sahara Africa

Elizabeth Stoycheff and Erik C. Nisbet, Ohio State University, USA

Politics on the Internet and its effects on citizen engagement: Do online election campaigns matter?

Sanne Kruikemeier, Guda van Noort, Rens Vliegenthart and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands Information Overload and Political Engagement: Mediating the Effects of New Media Technology

Muzammil M. Hussain, Patricia Moy, Eike M. Rinke (University of Mannheim, Germany), Sheetal D. Agarwal and Michael Barthel, University of Washington, USA

#### 11.30-13.00 Method & Design II: Websurvey

Room B Chair:

Michael Elasmar (Boston University, USA)

#### **Participants**

Examination of the 'web mode effect' in mixed-mode survey research Sanne Lund Clement and Ditte Shamshiri-Petersen, Aalborg University, Denmark

Consistency in global non-probabilistic online samples Steven H. Gittelman, Ph.D. and Elaine Trimarchi, Mktg, Inc., New York, USA

"Don't know" the difference – An experimental comparison between Web and CATI

> Anna – Maria Schielicke and Martin Degen, Technical University Dreseden, Germany

Professional Respondents Internet Panels: A Threat to Data Quality? Suzette Matthijsse, Edith de Leeuw and Joop Hox, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

Classic Inspirations for Social Research Methodology in the time of Online Access Panels

Hynek Jeřábek, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

11.30-13.00 Gender & Public Opinion

Room C Chair:

Patricia Moy (University of Washington, USA)

#### **Participants**

Gender and Group Deliberation: Disagreement, Perceptions of Disagreement, and Consequences

Kate Kenski (University of Arizona), Peter Muhlberger (Texas Tech University) + Jennifer Stromer-Galley (University ant Albany, SUNY, USA)

Public Opinion Data and Political and Legal Reform Opportunities for Women in Lebanon, Morocco and Yemen

Lauren Serpe + Rola Abdul-Latif, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Washinton, USA

Exploring Women's Status in Iraq Through Survey Research John D. Willingham and Kevin Tillmann, D3 Systems, Inc., McLean, VA, USA

Tracking Attitudes towards Same-Gender, Sexual Behavior across Time and across Countries

Tom W. Smith, NORC, University of Chicago, USA Afghan Women's Perspective on Negotiating with the Taliban Stephen Hornbeck, D3 Systems, Inc.

#### 13.00-14.00 Lunch

#### 14.15-15.45 EU at a Crossroad

Room A Chair:

Andreas Schuck (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Effects of media coverage of the EU on the euroskeptic vote in the 2009 EP election campaign

Joost van Spanje and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

"Recipients' characteristics and country contexts as moderating factors for framing effects. An experimental study of party campaign effects in 11 countries in the run-up to the 2009 EP elections"

> Michaela Maier (University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany) and Silke Adam (University of Bern, Switzerland)

Framing European Issues in the Romanian Media Nicoleta Corbu, Mădălina Boțan, Alina Bârgăoanu, Elena Negrea, Center for Research In Comunication, Bucharest, Romania

Campaigning for Turkey? Potential Turkish accession in the media and moderated effects on public opinion

Rachid Azrout, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

## 14.15-15.45Method & Design III: Asking the Right RespondentsRoom BChair:

Tom Smith (NORC, University of Chicago, USA)

#### **Participants**

Surveying the General Population: Coverage bias in European Web Surveys

*Anja Mohorko, Joop Hox and Edith de Leeuw, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands* 

Motivated Underreporting in Screening Interviews

Frauke Kreuter, Stephanie Eckman (Institute for Employment Research, Germany) and Roger Tourangeau, University of Maryland USA

Gender Pre-Specified for Cost Control in the Middle East

Kien T. Le, Abdoulaye Diop, Darwish Alemadi, SESRI, Qatar Unviersity, Qatar, and Jill Wittrock, (University of Michigan, USA

Methodological challenges to the integration of migrant populations in public opinion research.

About target populations and adequate sampling procedures Susan Schenk, Anja Obermüller + Martin Degen, Technical University Dresden, Germany Use of Digital Ethnography to Measure Media Consumption and Consumer Behavior among South Africans during the 2010 World Cup Michael W. Link, E. Nicole Bensky, Justin T. Bailey, Karen Benezra & Hala Makowska, The Nielsen Company, New York, USA

#### 14.15-15.45 **SPECIAL SESSION: AAPOR's Transparency Initiative** Room C **History, Progress and Prospects**

Paul J. Lavrakas, Timothy Johnson, Peter Miller and Scott Keeter

AAPOR has embarked on a new approach to encouraging methodological disclosure for polls and surveys in the public domain. The Transparency Initiative provides a way for survey organizations to demonstrate their compliance with professional norms of disclosure. AAPOR publicly commends those organizations which routinely disclose aspects of survey methodology required by the AAPOR code. It has established a public archive in which the disclosed information is deposited. In addition, AAPOR has begun educational programs for survey organizations on how to document their work for disclosure. Finally, the Association has begun an educational program to inform survey sponsors and the public on how to interpret the methodological information made available through the Transparency Initiative. This panel will discuss the genesis of the initiative, how it is being implemented and the results of the program to date.

#### 15.45-16.15 Refreshment

#### 16.15-18.00 **Extremism & Xenophobia Chair:**

Room A

Hajo Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

#### **Participants**

Establishing Cross-national Equivalence of Measures of Xenophobia: Evidence from Probing in Web Surveys

> Michael Braun, Dorothée Behr + Lars Kaczmirek, GESIS -Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Germany

Attitudes Toward and Reactions To Extremism: Findings from a 2011 Survey of U.S. Muslims

Scott Keeter, Gregory Smith + Leah Christian, Pew Research Center, USA

"I don't want it. I don't want them here. This is a Christian Country"
1: Christian Nationalism, Intolerance of Muslims, and Opposition to Mosque Construction Jason B. Reineke, Erik C. Nisbet (Ohio State University, USA) and Kenneth R. Blake, Middle Tennessee State University, USA
The Predictors of Latent Support for Extremist Ideology in Pakistan Tarek Albaghal and Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA
Determinants of Support for Extremism Among Muslim Publics Richard Wike and Greg Smith, Pew Global Attitudes Project, Washington, DC, USA

16.15-18.00	Method & Design IV: Interviewers & Respondents
Room B	Chair:

Edith de Leeuw (University of Utrecht, the Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Panel attrition - Separating stayers, sleepers and lurkers Peter Lugtig, University of Utrecht, TheNetherlands
Beyond Measuring Public Opinion Trends: Visualizing the Cognitive
Structure Associated with Specific Topics Michael Elasmar, Boston University, USA
Question comprehensibility and satisficing behavior in Web surveys Toimo Lenzner, GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Germany
Does Interviewer Personality Matter for Survey Outcomes? Evidence from a Face-to-face Panel Study of Taiwan Ruoh-Rong Yu, Academia Sinica, Taiwan
Interviewer Effects in the Arab World: Evidence from Qatar

Justin Gengler + Jill Wittrock, University of Michigan, USA Community Context and Difficulty of Interview Completion in South

Korea

Jibum Kim (NORC and University of Chicago), Seokho Kim, Barum Park (Sungkyunkwan University, Korea), Jeong-han Kang (Yonsei University, Korea) and Hyunho Seok (Korea Social Science Data Archive)

#### 16.15-18.00 International Public Opinion

Room C Chair:

Esteban López-Escobar (University of Navarra, Spain)

#### **Participants**

Understanding the Link between Public Confidence in the Media and Media Freedom

Lee B. Becker, University of Georgia, USA, Cynthia English,

Gallup, and Tudor Vlad, University of Georgia, USA Filipinos and Media: Views on Ethics, Corruption, Partisanship, Role and Influence Gerardo A. Sandoval, Jeanette M. Ureta and Leo Rando S. Laroza, Social Weather Stations, Philippines Chinese and U.S. Media Coverage of the Global Recession (2008-2009) Linking Economic News and Public Sentiment H. Denis Wu, Boston University, USA Regional Basis for Perceptions of Democracy in Ukraine David Jandura and Rakesh Sharm, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Washington, USA Information Regimes, Media Use, and Citizen Political Knowledge in Sub-Sahara Africa Erik C. Nisbet, Elizabeth Stoycheff and Teresa Myers, Ohio State University, USA Does ethnic diversity within European countries and regions affect involvement in leisure, interest and activist organizations? Explaining formal social capital by constrict, conflict and contact theory *Michael Savelkoul, Maurice Gesthuizen + Peer Scheepers,* Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

#### 19.00 Dinner – Zouthaven Restaurant at MUZIEKGEBOUW AAN 'T IJ Address: Piet Heinkade 1, 1019 BR Amsterdam

Star Ferry is located nearby the Conference Venue and has a waterfront open-air seating area and superb views across the River IJ.

### Friday, September 23rd, 2011

Location for all Sessions: Pakhuis de Zwijger, Piet Heinkade 179, 1019 HC Amsterdam

08.00-08.30 Coffee + Registration

**Chair:** 

08.30-10.00 Social Media

Room A

Nicoleta Corbu (Center for Research in Comunication, Bucharest, Romania)

#### **Participants**

The Rhythms of News Storytelling on Twitter: Coverage of the January 25<sup>th</sup> Egyptian uprising on Twitter

*Zizi Papacharissi, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA* Online Social Networks as Individual's Resources for Social Capital

Janis Buholcs, University of Latvia

Twittering politicians, mainstream media and public opinion in an election campaign: who follows whom?

*Rens Vliegenthart and Tom Bakker, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands* 

Wikipedia's Potential to Shape Public Opinion

Thomas Roessing and Nicole Podschuweit, University of Mainz, Germany Social Mood Monitoring: listening to engage

Social delivery in Johannesburg: a case study

*Wadim Schreiner* (Media Tenor South Africa) and *Frank M. Go (Rotterdam, The Netherlands)* 

#### 08.30-10.00 Public Opinion & Elections

Room B Chair:

Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Sculpted Samples: an Application of the 'Michaelangelo Method' to a Study of the 2011 Canadian Legislative election Campaign

André Krouwel and Matthew Wall

'It's the party, stupid': Party positions and issue learning in the Dutch election campaign of 2010

Peter Van Aelst (University of Antwerp, Belgium) and

Annemarie Walter (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands) Explaining Cameron's Coalition: the 2010 British General Election:

How important was the Internet in the election campaign? Sir Robert Worcester and Mark Gill, MORI, Caribbean

Tolerance Democracy

Peter Kanne, TNS NIPO, The Netherlands

Political Polls in Philippine Print Media: The Presidential Electoral Campaigns 2004 and 2010 Wolfgang Wichmann, Glashuettenstr. 110, 20357 Hamburg, Germany

#### 08.30-10.00 New Ideas on Political Effects

#### Room C Chair:

Sophie Lecheler (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Charisma's framing in the public mind Esteban López-Escobar, Jordi Rodíguez Virgili and Antonio Tolsá, University of Navarra, Spain Convinced by the message or the speaker?Deliberative and intuitive information processing for persuasion and third person perception Thomas Koch and Christian Baden, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany Getting the Joke. The Negative Effects of Late-Night Political Humor on Performance Evaluations of Political Leaders Jörg Matthes, Adrian Rauchfleisch & Franziska Kohler, University of Zurich, Switzerland Can forewarning reduce biased perceptions of media? The case of hostile media and third person perceptions Yariv Tsfati and Hannah Huino, University of Haifa, Israel The Emergence of Spiral of Silence from the Individual Behavior: Agent-based Modeling of Spiral of Silence Chenjun Wang, City University of Hong Kong

#### 10.00-10.30 Refreshment

#### 10.30-12.00 Public Discussions on Line

Room A Chair:

Yariv Tsfati (University of Haifa, Israel)

#### **Participants**

'Their two cents worth': A content analysis of online readers' comments in mainstream news outlets

Dimitra Milioni, Konstantinos Vadratsikas + Venia Papa,
Cyprus University of Technology, Cyprus

Examining Online Public Discourse in Social Network Sites:

An Analysis of Political Campaign Communication in Austria
Uta Russmann, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Interpersonal-Public Communication in Discussion Forums: A Valid
Indicator for Everyday Conversation and Public Opinion?

Alexander Haas + Hans-Bernd Brosius, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Germany

New public deliberations: Twitter as a new campaign tool for public discussions

Maurice Vergeer and Liesbeth Hermans, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands Persuasion Effects of Interactive Commentary on Reader Opinion in Online News

Gyoung Kim + Kenneth Merrill, Syracuse University, USA

### 10.30-12.00 Pre-election Poll Estimation Problems in Comparative Perspective

#### Room B Chair:

Michael W. Traugott (University of Michigan, USA)

#### **Participants**

The Unnatural Left-Right Coalitions: Challenges for Pre-election Polls in Mexico

Alejandro Moreno (ITAM, Mexico), Rosario Aguilar-Pariente (CIDE, Mexico) and Vidal Romero (ITAM Mexico)

Why Did the Pre-election Polls in South Korean Local Elections Go All Wrong?: Assessing the Source of Errors using Dual-Frame Landline/Cell Phone Post-election Survey

> Sun Woong Kim (Dongguk University, south Korea), Michael W. Traugott (University of Michigan), So Hyung Park (Dongguk University) and Sang Kyung Lee (Hyundae Research Institute)

Media Coverage as a Contextual Explanation for Estimation Errors in Pre-Primary Polls in the United States

Michael W. Traugott (University of Michigan, USA) and Christopher Wlezien (Temple University, USA)

Polls at the Subnational Level: The Canadian Case Claire Durand, Université de Montréal, Canada

#### 10.30-12.00 New Ideas on Media Effects II

#### Room C Chair:

Connie de Boer (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### **Participants**

Neglected Aspects of Third-Person Effects

Hans Mathias Kepplinger, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz and Thomas Zerback, Ludwig Maximilian University Munich, Germany

Framing and Agenda-Setting: Two parallel processes in interaction František Kalvas, Jan Váně, Martina Štípková, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen and Martin Kreidl, Masaryk University, Czech Republic

Mapping uses and gratifications in the contemporary media environment

Azi Lev-On, School of Communication, AUC, Israel

The Issue of Timing and Opinion Congruity in Spiral of Silence Research: Why does Research Suggest Limited Empirical Support for the Theory?

Tamás Bodor, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, USA

#### 12.00-13.00 Lunch + Poster Session

#### Posters

The Philippines' First Outdoor Exit Poll Mahar Mangahas, Linda Luz B. Guerrero, Germelita Caron and Gerardo A. Sandoval, Social Weather Stations, Philippines Thinking in Global Averages: The Rise of a world public opinion or statistical artifact? Darrell Bricker, Ipsos Public Affairs Worldwide, Bruno Cautrès CEVIPOF-Sciences Po, France, and Cliff Young, Ipsos Public Affairs Worldwide Patterns of Internet Use among the General Public and the Youth in the Philippines Iremae D. Labucay, Social Weather Stations. Philippines Measuring Islamophobia in the Philippines Vladymir Joseph Licudine, Social Weather Stations. **Philippines** Defective Democracy and Media: A Recount of the Nine Years of Political Alternation in Mexico Roberto Valero and David Román, University of Baja California, Mexico A Song for the Deaf? The Effects of Public Arbitration in a Polarized Atmosphere Marko Bachl, Arne Spieker, Jan Kercher and Frank Bretschneider, University of Hohenheim, Germany "Public Opinion of the Thai on the Amendment of the 2007 Constitution of Thailand" Jantima Kehokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce Support for Direct Democracy across Europe Andreas R.T. Schuck, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands What's on the Country Level? The Impact of Slightly Alternative Specifications of the Country-Level Variable in Multi-Level Public **Opinion Research** Marijn van Klingeren + Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands News and political cynicism in Europe: A comparative perspective Hajo G. Boomgaarden, Andreas R. T. Schuck and Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands Q-Assessor: Developing and Testing an Online Solution to Q Method Data Gathering and Processing

Bryan Reber + Stan Kaufmann, University of Georgia, USA Measuring online opinion-leadership: A content analysis of online sources

> Christian Kolmer, Media Tenor International, Rapperswil, Switzerland

Are You a Generalist or Specialist?: The Role of Selective Media Use in the Formation of Issue Publics

S. Mo Jang, University of Michigan, USA

#### 13.15-14.45 Expression of Public Opinion Online

Room A Chair:

Kate Kenski (University of Arizona)

#### **Participants**

Memetic Emergence of Public Opinion

Marco Toledo Bastos, University of São Paulo, Brazil and University of Frankfurt, Germany

Internet as a force of cultural change: positions on gender equality among Palestinians as an example

Nader Said – Foqahaa, Ramallah, Palestine Influential Bloggers and Their Blogs: The Constitution and Formation of "The Public" and "Public Opinions" in China's Internet Sphere

Siyuan Yin, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA Willingness to Speak Out: Comparison Between Online Versus Offline

Willingness to Speak Out: Comparison Between Online Versus Offline Communication

Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA

#### 13.15-14.45 Elite Surveys

Room B

Chair:

Orlando J. Pérez (Central Michigan University, USA)

#### **Participants**

Trend-setters and Trend-spotters in a Digital Age: A Survey of IT Journalists in Germany

Oliver Quiring, Stefan Geiss + Niklaus Joacob, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

Dissatisfied Counsellors of the Information Age: A Comparative Study of Journalists and IT Journalists in Germany

Christine Heimprecht, Nikolaus Jackob, Oliver Quiring and Stefan Geiss, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany Determinants of Candidates Media Strategies during European Elections

Marjolein Moorman and Peter Neijens, ASCoR, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

#### 13.15-14.45 East Asian Panel

#### Room C Chair:

Yanjie Bian, University of Minnesota, USA, and Xi'an Jiaotong University, China

#### **Participants**

Designing Response Categories of Agreement Scales for East Asian Social Survey

Kuniaki Shishido and Noriko Iwai, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan

Who Are 'Global'? A Test of Propositions of Globalization in East Asia

Chin-fen Chang, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

Health-related Quality of Life in East Asia

*Noriko Iwai and Misa Takegami, Kyoto University, Japan* East Asian Conceptualization of Network Social Capital

Yanjie Bian, University of Minnesota, USA, and Xi'an Jiaotong University, China

#### 14.45-15.15 Refreshment

## **15.15-16.30 WAPOR Business Meeting** Room A

# **Abstracts Papers**

#### The Predictors of Latent Support for Extremist Ideology in Pakistan

Tarek Albaghal and Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA

Pakistan is a major area of concern for policy makers and academic researchers interested in the extent of support for extremist and militant Islamic sub-national groups. Recent research has used latent class models (LCM) to estimate the population size for varying levels of support for these groups among Pakistani men (Albaghal and McCutcheon 2010). This research fit a model with four latent classes, using four indicators of support for extremist ideologies, each with three response options. The largest estimated percentage of the population belonged to the oppositional class, 53.1%, followed by those leaning oppositional, 26.6%, leaning supportive, 16.3%, and supportive 4% classes. Although the supportive group is the smallest class, 4% of the Pakistani male population equates to a large number at risk of becoming involved in extremist activity. Further, including age and education categorical variables into the model showed that among the young and less educated, Pakistan's largest population segment, the supportive class made up 9% of the population. The results are suggestive as to the characteristics of those displaying varying levels of support, which can be important to both researchers and policy makers in continued efforts to understand the situation in Pakistan.

# Campaigning for Turkey? Potential Turkish accession in the media and moderated effects on public opinion

Rachid Azrout, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Although there is a considerable amount of studies explaining EU attitudes, only a few have looked into the dynamics of these attitudes. As citizens depend on information they receive from the media when dealing with issues they have no direct experience with, and most citizens do not have everyday experience with the EU, the media is likely to be a predictor of dynamics in EU attitudes. We focus on dynamics of citizens' support for or opposition against Turkish EU-membership. Enlargement in general is a key policy issue in the EU and the more specific issue of Turkish membership is especially interesting because of the relative intense debate it generates and the significant public opposition.

We hypothesize that individual exposure to evaluations in the media affects citizens' attitudes. But apart from an effect of individual exposure, we also expect the information environment to affect opinion. Following contemporary theories on media effects that not all citizens are affected in the same way, but that effects are dependent on predispositions and characteristics of the audience, we also assess how known predictors of support for enlargement, i.e. anti-immigrant attitudes and national identity, moderate the effects of information in the media.

For this we draw on the data from two sources. First, we use the media content analysis performed in the PIREDEU project. Second, we use a two-wave panel survey held in 21 member states of the EU (n = 22806). Combining the two datasets, we are able to assess individual change over the three week campaign period and use actual media content to explain dynamics.

Analyses show that individual exposure to evaluations in the media has no significant effect on support for Turkish accession. Information environment, however, has a

significant and substantial effect on attitudes change. In addition, people with negative attitudes towards immigrants and strong feelings of exclusive national identity are influenced most by negative media content.

As these people are also those who are already more likely to be negative towards accession of Turkey into the EU, it is more likely that, although most EU citizens do not have direct experiences with the Turkish accession process, the media do not so much create attitudes but rather strengthens existing attitudes.

# A Song for the Deaf? The Effects of Public Arbitration in a Polarized Atmosphere

Marko Bachl, Arne Spieker, Jan Kercher and Frank Bretschneider, University of Hohenheim, Germany

This paper analyzes the effects of public mediation as a new measure of conflict resolution in politics. The object of our study is a series of eight public mediation discussions during a dispute about a major German infrastructure project ('Stuttgart 21'). The mediation was conducted as a reaction to enduring mass protests against the project. The conflict reached its peak when more than hundred people were injured in clashes with police in autumn 2010. The conflict was widely covered and discussed by German mass media and became a national issue. During the mediation meetings, which were broadcasted live via television and internet live-streams, representatives of both supporters and opponents of the project discussed their arguments supervised by a media-tor. Although mediation is an established conflict resolution measure, e.g. in environmental conflicts, the public broadcasting of mediation sessions was innovative. Indeed, the live broadcasts of the two main television stations reached an audience of nearly 10 million people and generated extensive media coverage (PHOENIX, 2010; SWR, 2010).

We tested two opposing theoretical perspectives to analyze the consequences of this me-diation process: public deliberation and selective information exposure.

# Understanding the Link between Public Confidence in the Media and Media Freedom

Lee B. Becker, University of Georgia, USA, Cynthia English, Gallup, and Tudor Vlad, University of Georgia, USA

This paper examines the relationship between elites and public assessments of the media using a unique data source, the Gallup World Poll. The Gallup World Poll is conducted in more than 150 countries worldwide, representing more than 99% of the world's population. In 2010, Gallup asked adults in 111 countries if the media in their country had a lot of freedom, or not, and whether they had confidence in the quality and integrity of the media in their country. The media freedom was new to the 2010 surveys, while the confidence measure has been used back through 2005. The data show that elites and the public largely agree on their assessment of media freedom. Further analysis shows that public assessment of media freedom is different from the public's sense of confidence in the media.

#### The Issue of Timing and Opinion Congruity in Spiral of Silence Research: Why does Research Suggest Limited Empirical Support for the Theory?

Tamás Bodor, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, USA

One of the most frequently cited studies on the spiral of silence is a Glynn, Hayes, &

Shanahan"s meta-analysis published in 1997. Analyzing the effect size of *perceived support for one's opinion* on *willingness to speak out*, Glynn et al. (1997) claim to find negligible support for the core hypothesis of the spiral of silence theory. Even though Noelle-Neumann voiced her objections to the methodological and theoretical assumptions the meta-analysis and several other studies had made, the meta-analysis has been widely regarded as *the* verdict on the validity of the spiral of silence theory.

The proposed study centers on two aspects of Noelle-Neumann''s critique. First, as she suggested, a number of researchers mistakenly assumed that the theory universally applies to all situations. Yet, as she argued, the spiral of silence is contingent upon a number of factors, including the degree to which an issue is morally loaded, the shifting tone of the mass media coverage of the issue, and a resulting shift in the opinion climate. As a result, a spiral of silence may only be detected *if* and *when* it actually occurs. The timing of the test, therefore, must be critical in spiral of silence research. Second, Noelle-Neumann pointed out a conceptual confusion

inherent in the common operationalization of the independent variable. Taylor"s

(1982) first "formal test" of the theory seemingly established a "tradition" that the central independent variable ought to be operationalized as opinion congruity vs.

incongruity, that is, one"s perception of his/her majority vs. minority status, regardless of the actual distribution of opinions. Noelle-Neumann criticized this practice on theoretical grounds and advocated the operationalization of the independent variable as the two actual, opposing camps in a public controversy (e.g. candidate/party A vs. candidate/party B).

The proposed study utilizes the National Annenberg Election Survey on the 2004 US presidential election.

### News and political cynicism in Europe: A comparative perspective

Hajo G. Boomgaarden, Andreas R. T. Schuck and Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Political cynicism describes a gap between voters and their political representatives and is said to have increased over the past decades, arguably driven by how politics is covered in the mass media. The news media's emphasis on framing politics in terms of strategy thereby is suggested to lead citizens to perceive politics as a game that is remote from representing citizens' interests. Strategic news reporting is conceptualized as news that focuses on winning and losing, is driven by 'war and games' language, or focuses on the style and perceptions of politicians (Jamieson, 1992). This paper addresses the question whether indeed strategy framing in news media coverage leads to cynical perceptions of politics.

To investigate the relationship between strategy news and political cynicism, this study draws on a unique multi-method and comparative cross-country study design

which combines a media content analysis (N=52,009) with data from a two-wave panel survey conducted in 21 EU member states (N=32,411) during the 2009 European Parliament elections. Overall, this provides the first comprehensive overview over the impact of election coverage on public cynicism within a European context.

# Perceptions of the media and politics: Interactions of incivility and news frames in the political blogosphere

#### Porismita Borah, Maryville University, St Louis, USA

Increasingly researchers are being faced with questions about new theoretical perspectives to investigate the contemporary media landscape. The anonymity and flexibility of the online world allows the free expression of views. This same anonymity and unconstrained expression can initiate uncivil debate. Moreover, although there is an increasingly growing literature on framing, few have examined framing effects in the new media landscape. Thus, the present study uses an experiment embedded in a web survey to examine the influence of incivility on news frames for perceptual outcomes such as news credibility and political trust. Findings show that incivility increases the credibility of a news article while decreasing political trust. Further, results demonstrate the interactions of incivility and news frames. For instance, news credibility is increased only in the value-framed condition. Implications are discussed.

# Establishing Cross-national Equivalence of Measures of Xenophobia: Evidence from Probing in Web Surveys

## Michael Braun, Dorothée Behr + Lars Kaczmirek, GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Germany

Equivalence is a necessary prerequisite of any substantive analysis of cross-cultural survey data. In particular the increasing availability of data from large replicative international surveys requires tools to monitor intercultural validity of measurement instruments and its change over time. While data-analytic approaches are only helpful in deciding whether equivalence is given or not, cognitive interviewing is in principle a suitable method when it comes to identifying the causes of non-equivalence in survey data across countries.

When items eliciting attitudes or believes towards immigrants are used as indicators for xenophobia and, in particular, to compare country levels in xenophobia, a minimum of functional equivalence in the groups respondents have in mind is required.

In this paper, we report results from an international web survey where respondents were drawn from non-probability online access panels. The survey was conducted in Canada, Denmark, Eastern and Western Germany, Hungary, Spain, and the US in January 2011.

We pursue a broadly defined research question: We want to find out to what extent the ISSP immigrant questions allow for a comparison of xenophobia across countries.

# Thinking in Global Averages: The Rise of a world public opinion or statistical artifact?

#### Darrell Bricker, Ipsos Public Affairs Worldwide, Bruno Cautrès CEVIPOF-Sciences Po, France, and Cliff Young, Ipsos Public Affairs Worldwide

Our paper will explore five broad sets of issues. First, what do we actually mean by public opinion and how does this concept apply in today's increasingly globalized context? Central here for us is public opinion conceptually as the interaction between three key variables: institutional actors (politicians, governments, etc.), the public (or publics), and institutionalized forms of expressing popular will (e.g., elections, the polls, etc.). Such a model will serve as a benchmark for conceptualizing public opinion in this globalized context. Our central argument is that without the presence of these three variables public opinion is nothing more than a statistical artefact. Second, our paper will examine the growth of the institutional and intellectual infrastructure required to measure public opinion globally and cross-nationally. Our review will include seminal academic work as well as the academic, nongovernmental, and private sector institutional development making global opinion measurement possible. Fourth, our paper will discuss the rise of global and regional institutional actors (e.g., multinationals corporations, financial markets, global and regional media, transitional organization, and country brand management) who both use and react to "global averages". Fifth, we discuss the practical limitations--both analytical and methodological--of using such "global averages". Ultimately, our final goal is to show that, with certain caveats, there is an emergent world public opinion which has both practical and theoretical implications.

#### Online Social Networks as Individual's Resources for Social Capital

#### Janis Buholcs, University of Latvia

Effective social networks allow individuals to keep in touch with others, they foster collaboration between people and help to create positive and supportive environment that is of benefit to both the individual and wider social groups. By engaging in relationships with others, individuals accumulate social capital – resources that person can draw on from other members of the network to which the individual belongs. Social capital is based on reciprocal norms and trust and it can have variety of positive outcomes such as civic engagement, self-organization, and support and is also considered and is also associated with democracy and economic growth.

#### How we get Information about Issues and Events in International Crises: Bypassing and Supplementing Traditional Media through Social Media and the Internet

#### Thomas B. Christie, University of Texas at Arlington, USA

The 2011 protests throughout the Middle East revealed changes in how people get their news about current issues and events through nontraditional media such as the Internet. As more news users throughout the world turn from traditional media to the Internet for their sources of news and information, an understanding of this media migration is needed because of the linkage of this knowledge to the formation of public opinion and to the potential to effect major changes in government policies and structures.

Understanding linkages between public opinion, public policy, and traditional and non-traditional media usage may be viewed through both the agenda-setting and agenda-building theories used in mass media research.

#### Examination of the 'web mode effect' in mixed-mode survey research

#### Sanne Lund Clement and Ditte Shamshiri-Petersen, Aalborg University, Denmark

Declining response rates is one of the most significant challenges for survey based research today. Seen in isolation, traditional interviewer based data collection methods are still the most effective but also the most expensive, especially the greater difficulty in gaining responses taken into account. As a solution, mixed-mode designs have been employed as a way to achieve higher response rates, while keeping the overall costs low. In particular, the use of web based surveys has expanded considerably during the last few years, both as a single data collection method and as a component in mixed mode designs.

But web surveys are subject to points of criticism. In addition to obvious errors in relation to coverage, sampling and non-response, the underlying construct is that web surveys produce measurement errors *per se* due to more superficial cognitive processing by respondents. Thus, including web based surveys in mixed-mode designs may improve response rates at a low cost but serious mode effects on measurement presumably occur and lead to poorer survey quality.

#### Framing European Issues in the Romanian Media

#### Nicoleta Corbu, Mădălina Boțan, Alina Bârgăoanu, Elena Negrea, Center for Research in Communication, Bucharest, Romania

The coverage of EU-related issues in news has long been studied during the last decades. A lot of research has been done on visibility and prominence of European topics in the media, as well as agenda setting, priming and framing effects. However, little is still known about EU patterns of representation in news media from the EU newcomers, such as Romania. Furthermore, recent research has shown that the EU is faceless in the news: European political actors are rarely primary definers of the EU issues. The EU is often seen rather as an abstract concept than a lively reality associated with well-known representatives.

The present study focuses on European issues framing in TV and online newscasts in Romania. It seeks to identify how an important event, such as the adhesion to the Schengen area of a newly integrated country is covered by media. At the same time,

we seek to identify the visibility of the EU versus domestic political actors in the media.

# Beyond Measuring Public Opinion Trends: Visualizing the Cognitive Structure Associated with Specific Topics

#### Michael Elasmar, Boston University, USA

Most public opinion analyses describe the aggregated trends and patterns of individuals' thoughts and feelings. This has been the tradition of public opinion research since early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While describing trends and patterns is a worthy effort in itself, the goal of public opinion research needs to be enhanced in order to take advantage of the many theoretical and analytic advances of the last 20 years. Specifically, public opinion research should go beyond describing aggregated trends and patterns and begin focusing on empirically illustrating the aggregated cognitive structures associated with given topics.

This paper demonstrates the feasibility of empirically illustrating cognitive structures pertaining to specific topics. The topics at the center of this paper's focus are individuals' attitudes toward the United States and individuals' support for the U.S.-led war on terror. The data used in this paper is drawn from the Pew Global Attitudes Project survey. The people being analyzed are individuals who identified themselves as Muslims and who reside in the following countries: Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Senegal and Nigeria.

#### How TV news Excite Search Activities on the Web Dynamic Transactions between TAGESSCHAU and WIKIPEDIA

Stefan Geiss, Melanie Leidecker and Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

Recipients using the Internet as a source of information have not abandoned their previous sources of news. To promote our understanding of opinion formation in digitalized media environments it becomes more and more necessary to investigate if and how traditional news media and online sources for information have become entangled. The Dynamic-Transactional Model (DTM) of media use (e.g. Früh & Schönbach, 1982; Früh, 1991) can be applied to study this relationship. According to the DTM, media stimuli raise 'activation' towards an issue, i.e. a potential to react to an issue, especially to think about it and gather further information. We pose the question whether coverage of an issue in a traditional news outlet does excite additional online search traffic. As a test case, we investigate search traffic in the online encyclopedia WIKIPEDIA due to its lemmatized structure, high traffic, and available traffic statistics.

#### Interviewer Effects in the Arab World: Evidence from Qatar

Justin Gengler + Jill Wittrock, University of Michigan, USA

While the Arab world is experiencing a critical transition in the availability of systematic and objective public opinion data, researchers have relied on techniques developed in non-Arab societies to estimate total survey error. Interviewers are one source of measurement error in surveys, and researchers in the United States and Europe have developed techniques for detecting and reducing those errors. There are a handful of studies on interviewer effects in surveys conducted in the Middle East and North Africa, yet none, to our knowledge, examine whether the nationality of the interviewer influences respondent answers. This study asks whether and why nationality affects responses to questions about political attitudes and demographics. Using data from the 2010 World Values Survey, conducted in Qatar, the study finds strong evidence that nationality of interviewer affect responses and non-response.

#### Consistency in global non-probabilistic online samples

#### Steven H. Gittelman, Ph.D. and Elaine Trimarchi, Mktg, Inc., New York, USA

Researchers must know if the changes they see in their data are real or artifacts of an inconsistent sample frame. The quality of respondents as measured by their levels of engagement is hypothesized to be correlated with the consistency of data obtained from commercial online panels around the world. To that end, identical tracking studies were conducted among twelve panel companies in six countries (United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Brazil, India, Russia and China). A correlation was found to exist between respondent disengagement and the inability of a panel to generate replicable, consistent data using the same survey vehicle.

#### Interpersonal-Public Communication in Discussion Forums: A Valid Indicator for Everyday Conversation and Public Opinion?

#### Alexander Haas + Hans-Bernd Brosius, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

This study investigates if political discussion forums can be a valid indicator for everyday conversations about politics and public opinion. Based on considerations about the theoretical nature of communication in discussion forums – interpersonal-public communication – we assume that moderate discussion forums are able to mirror everyday conversations. The study compares the results of a representative survey in Germany with those of a content analysis of postings on a basis of 11 selected issues (e.g., financial crisis). The comparison is based on two criteria: the frequency of communication and the opinion distribution among users of discussion forums and respondents. The results indicate a general congruence between everyday conversations and discussion forums. However, coherences are influenced by the particular issues and discussion forums in question.

#### Less questions, more data Revitalizing the European Currency in Single Source Affluent Audience Measurement

#### Harm Hartman, Synovate, TheNetherlands

While response rates are dropping the need for single source information is still growing. We want to ask more and more questions, but our primary source of information, the respondent, is less and less willing to participate in long and boring questionnaires. This is especially true for audience research where the number of media titles for print, tv and websites have increased dramatically and questions of reach are considered to be very unattractive. For EMS, the widely accepted currency in European elite audience measurement for Print, TV and Web, the solution for this problem is found in using more respondents, partly online, asking less questions and use data fusion techniques to complete the data sets.

#### Dissatisfied Counsellors of the Information Age

#### A Comparative Study of Journalists and IT Journalists in Germany

Christine Heimprecht, Nikolaus Jackob, Oliver Quiring and Stefan Geiss, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

Information technology has become an integral component in everyday life. At the same time, the complexity and pace of developments in the field of information technology causes a dependency of companies and consumers on journalists, who communicate future trends and explain the new technologies in a generally intelligible way. In an information age, they are the central mediators. As a result IT journalists can even become accountable for success or failure of new technologies and competing IT-products. Therefore, it can be assumed that IT journalists need specific role orientations, routines, and skills compared to other journalists – e.g. they may feel it is their duty to diffuse innovations, explain trends, and offer orientation, rather than offering neutral accounts of current affairs. These individual-level orientations will significantly alter the content journalists produce. Against this background, an online survey of 101 IT journalists in Germany (AAPOR response rate type I: 26.4 per cent) was conducted and compared to the results of a survey of 1536 German journalists in 2005 conducted by Weischenberg et al. to answer three questions regarding individual-level influences on their work: Do IT journalists differ from journalists in general on an individual level, meaning (1) the perception of their role (2) their perception of their audience and (3) their job satisfaction?

#### Afghan Women's Perspective on Negotiating with the Taliban

#### Stephen Hornbeck, D3 Systems, Inc.

In 2010, Afghan president Hamid Karzai began a campaign to open negotiations for reconciliation with the Taliban. These negotiations included allowing former Taliban officers and officials to run for public office and also offered amnesty for Taliban combatants in exchange for an agreement to lay down their arms. These negotiations

have been supported in a large part by the U.S. military. However, it is still remains unclear how the Afghan population as a whole views these negotiations.

This paper will address the Afghan public perceptions on the government of Afghanistan opening negotiations to the Taliban. As the reintroduction of the Taliban into government could lead to a loss of rights of women and destroy the gains women have made since the fall of the Taliban, this paper will focus the differing perceptions between Afghan men and women towards these negotiations.

This paper will also speak to Afghan's views on the need for preconditions of negotiations.

# Information Overload and Political Engagement: Mediating the Effects of New Media Technology

Muzammil M. Hussain, Patricia Moy, Eike M. Rinke (University of Mannheim, Germany), Sheetal D. Agarwal and Michael Barthel, University of Washington, USA

In today's new media environment, theorists and pundits applaud the potential of technology to facilitate citizenship. However, its impact on political life is not without concern. Scholars have bemoaned the "thin citizenship" that has arisen from online engagement and that unfortunately does not translate to meaningful offline participation (Howard, 2005). Regardless of whether media technology enhances or detracts from political life, there is a consensus that citizens now are navigating political information in unanticipated fashion. But how do they do so, and with what effects? Using a series of national datasets, this paper examines how mass media use – particularly of new media technologies – influences political behavior, and the role that information overload can play in mediating these influences.

#### Regional Basis for Perceptions of Democracy in Ukraine

# David Jandura and Rakesh Sharm, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Washington, USA

Since it declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine's development as a country has been defined by significant differences in economic and political views between different regions of the country. In the political realm, these differences have manifested themselves in terms of differing attitudes toward political institutions as well as preferences for a model of development based on the European or Russian model. These differences extend to perceptions of democracy. Using Eastern and Western Ukraine as exemplars of these regional differences, analysis of trend IFES survey data reveals that perceptions of democracy in Ukraine are highly oriented along regional lines. The data further demonstrates that part of these regional differences in perceptions of democracy can be explained by differing expectations of what a democratic system of governance should deliver. The data also demonstrates that perceptions of democracy are sensitive to political events in the country.

# Are You a Generalist or Specialist?: The Role of Selective Media Use in the Formation of Issue Publics

S. Mo Jang, University of Michigan, USA

A great number of American media theorists have welcomed television as a "knowledge leveler" that reduces the inequality in political knowledge. They suggest that incidental and habitual exposure to daily evening newscasts leads to a decreased knowledge gap between the more and less educated citizens. More specifically the less educated benefit from watching television, as becoming generalists who are aware of a wide range of political, social issues regardless of their relatively low interests in politics. However, as the information environment changes, many have shown concerns over the new media that offer increased user selectivity. Consumers, especially those uninterested in politics can easily avoid news and selectively seek entertainment. Consequently, the knowledge gaps between the educated and uneducated, news junkies and entertainment fans, and the "haves" and "have-nots" widen.

This study proceeds in two steps. First, I will test two competing hypotheses: the generalist hypothesis and the specialist hypothesis. Using a national survey about a health care reform bill in the U.S., I will demonstrate whether health care-related knowledge is better predicted by general education attainment or domain-specific interest. Second, I will investigate whether presumably more selective media (e.g., Internet) actually help to foster specialists whereas more traditional media (e.g., network television, radio, newspaper) do not.

# Tinkering Selectively: Testing Competing Models of Selective Exposure and Avoidance to Political Websites and Blogs

#### Thomas J. Johnson, Weiwu Zhang (Texas Tech-University), and Aimee Meader, University of Texas at Austin, USA

While scholars agree that the rise in interest in selective exposure has been spurred by the increase in partisan content available such as political blogs and websites and the increased control users have in seeking out specific content, researchers disagree on the underlying mechanisms that lead to selective exposure in the first place. This study will compare the two competing theories of selective exposure by employing an online panel of 533 Internet users obtained through a survey conducted by a major western survey research firm. Specifically, this study will test the anticipated agreement model by employing path analysis to examine how degree of partisanship predicts how often people visit candidate/party websites and blogs that support their political opinion and how often they seek out information from candidate websites and blogs that challenge their beliefs, after controlling for demographic and political variables. Second, this study will test the issue publics model by examining the degree to which issues such as terrorism, Iraq health care and energy are judged important to an individual's vote and how well issue salience predicts selective exposure to issue-oriented websites and blogs after controlling demographic and political variables.

This study is one of the few that examines selective exposure to issue-oriented, candidate/party and media-sponsored sites and tests whether an issue-centered or a candidate-centered hypothesis better explains selective exposure and avoidance to

these sources. Second, this study explores both selective exposure and selective avoidance. Political blog and website reliance has been linked to seeking out both supportive and counterarguments, suggesting people are seeking out a variety of perspectives, not just those that support their views.

#### Framing and Agenda-Setting: Two parallel proceses in interaction

### František Kalvas, Jan Váně, Martina Štípková, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen and Martin Kreidl, Masaryk University, Czech Republic

We interconnect the framing and agenda-setting theories of mass-communication effects in this text. We postulate that the framing process creates conditions for the agenda-setting process. We argue that differently framed news have different effect in the agenda-setting process. We hypothesize that issue-specific frames, episodic frames, and value frames have a stronger agenda-setting effect than generic frames, thematic frames, and strategy frames. We suggest an explanation of the role of frames in the agenda-setting process through the theory of cognitive dissonance. We verify our hypotheses using matched panel survey data on respondents' personal agendas and media content analysis results regarding one particular issue – church restitutions. We show that indeed differently framed news have distinctive effects on setting the personal agenda. Some frames have a strong positive effect, while some other have no effect. We have even identified a frame that appears to have a slightly negative effect on setting personal agenda.

#### **Tolerance Democracy**

#### Peter Kanne, TNS NIPO, The Netherlands

What are the relevant statements of Dutch political parties? What do Dutch political parties say, what do they want, what do they tell the voters and how consequent are they? What does the electorate understand of this? How do political parties contribute to what the electorate wants?

By a study regarding the most important political issues in the Dutch elections over the last decade I will show what the electorate wants and whether it – grosso modo – receives what it wants. Is there a relation between the demands of the voters and the policy outcomes? Has voting any impact? Or in other words: does the democracy function in the sense that the power is by the people?

In my paper I will try to elucidate that there is just a limited relation between what the electorate wants, what they vote and the final policy. Partially the electorate gets the government and the policy they want and wish. Sometimes the relation is indirect or comes accidental. More often there is no relation and the government will do different things than the electorate wants. There *is* a relation between the wish of the electorate and the political practice. But on most issues this is a very *indirect* relation with a *huge delay*. On some issues there is no relation at all.

And the electorate? If they understand it and are aware of it, the electorate tolerates it. At least until now.

#### Attitudes Toward and Reactions To Extremism: Findings from a 2011 Survey of U.S. Muslims

Scott Keeter, Gregory Smith + Leah Christian, Pew Research Center, USA

This paper will examine the attitudes of the U.S. Muslim population regarding Islamic extremism in the U.S. and abroad. It will compare attitudes in 2011 with those from a 2007 U.S. survey, as well as with attitudes of Muslims living in Western Europe and in predominantly Muslim nations such as Pakistan, Egypt and Indonesia. The U.S. analysis will be based on a new survey of a random sample of 1,000 Muslims to be conducted this spring by the Pew Research Center. The study will replicate the 2007 Pew survey of U.S. Muslims, and will include a series of new questions about perceptions and concerns regarding home-grown terrorism. Comparison data will be drawn from the 2010 and 2011 Pew Global Attitudes surveys, each of which polled respondents in more than 20 nations.

# Gender and Group Deliberation: Disagreement, Perceptions of Disagreement, and Consequences

Kate Kenski (University of Arizona), Peter Muhlberger (Texas Tech University) + Jennifer Stromer-Galley (University ant Albany, SUNY, USA)

Women lag behind men in most forms of political participation, expression of political interest, expression of political opinion, news enjoyment), news comprehension, political knowledge acquisition, and elective representation (Center for American Women and Politics, 2011). Gender gaps in political engagement are not confined to the U.S ; studies have found knowledge differences between men and women in Australia, Europe, and Ghana. To better understand the reasons for gender gaps in political involvement, we examine the expressive differences between women and men in group deliberations and investigate whether women's deliberative satisfaction and willingness to engage in future deliberative exchanges differs from men.

These hypotheses and research question are tested with data from 179 Pittsburgh city residents who participated in 90-minute online deliberations about underutilized public schools. Median group size was 8 persons (range of 5 and 12 persons per group). The deliberations were coded for agreement, disagreement, as well as other types of expression (e.g., fact, opinion, social talk, process). While gender composition of the groups was not a planned variable in the study, gender composition did vary and can be examined as a factor. After the deliberations, participants filled out surveys that measured deliberation satisfaction, reevaluation, and future deliberation.

#### **Neglected Aspects of Third-Person Effects**

Hans Mathias Kepplinger, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz and Thomas Zerback, Ludwig Maximilian University Munich, Germany

The third-person effect as defined by W. Phillips Davison consists of a (a) perceptual and a (b) behavioral component, and it befalls (c) protagonists of the messages - the "white officers" in his opening anecdote – whose behavior has an (d) indirect impact on people who might not have even read the Japanese leaflets – the soldiers who have been reshuffled. Only one of the four basic elements of Davison' s theory has been intensively tested - the perceptual hypothesis. The other components have been widely neglected or insufficiently operationalized, partly because nearly all researchers have tested bystanders instead of protagonists of media coverage. For six reasons, criminal trials offer a good opportunity to test all the elements of the theory outlined by Davison. First, many trials are covered by the media and get criticized, along with the people involved. Second, judges, prosecutors, and other persons in the courtroom can be regarded as protagonists in the media reports. Third, persons involved in the trial can be categorized into distinct social groups, such as judicial professionals and laymen. Fourth, the protagonists probably speculate about the effects of media coverage on other people (perceptual component). Fifth, their perception of effects on other people might influence their behavior, affecting the sentence handed down (behavioral component). Sixth, the sentence influences the defendant (indirect effect).

The study explores media effects on protagonists in criminal proceedings and – as a consequence of court decisions – on defendants. It is based on an online survey of 447 judges and 271 prosecutors in Germany who report their cognitive and emotional reactions to media coverage and their observation of effects of media coverage on other participants in the courtroom.

The findings will be discussed with respect to the concentration of effects research on uninvolved bystanders instead on protagonists of media coverage.

# Public Opinion of the Thai on the Amendment of the 2007 Constitution of Thailand

#### Jantima Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand

This article summarized 2 studies on public opinion of the Thai people on the amendment of the 2007 Constitution of Thailand, which were conducted during the October - December 2010 for the Thai Government. The brief historical background since the first Thai constitution dated 79 years ago was given. Being the eighteenth in the row, the present 2007 Constitution also know as being the product of the Junta government called for criticism for various ground throughout the drafting process, the referendum and its enforcement. These two studies was conducted by using different data collection method such as telephone interview and focus-group interview, both shared similar research questions. It aimed to find answers to six-proposed amendment to the constitution. The result from the two studies turned out quite the same, where the majority of the people from both study support the Constitutions' change. The important results were – at the end – proposed to the Government. However; only two issues were amended on February 22, 2011.

# Persuasion Effects of Interactive Commentary on Reader Opinion in Online News

#### Gyoung Kim + Kenneth Merrill, Syracuse University, USA

With the increasingly rapid diffusion of communication technology, media audiences are taking on a more participatory role in the news process. Supplying this demand for interactivity in online news, news organizations are developing new modes of

interactivity and appropriating more economic and editorial capital towards their online

comment sections. The proliferation of these interactive features is changing the way audiences receive and use online news media, the way journalists and news producers report the news, and the way all parties involved interact with each other. In short the online news experience is a social experience. This current study focuses on whether other readers' comments effect reader's opinions and attitude formation. Fifty-two subjects participated in a between-subject experiment in 2 conditions (positive comments

or negative comments). The result showed that there was a small persuasion effect of news with positive comments. However, there was no persuasion effect of negative comments. Potential intervening variables and future research are discussed.

# Community Context and Difficulty of Interview Completion in South Korea

Jibum Kim (NORC and University of Chicago), Seokho Kim, Barum Park (Sungkyunkwan University, Korea) and Hyunho Seo (Korea Social Science Data Archive)

The aim of this study is to examine what makes interview completion difficult in the survey. It is well known that adding hard-to-get respondents is closely associated with the precision of survey estimates. However, we know little about what increases or decreases the likelihood of adding hard-to-get respondents in the survey and know less about why respondents are willing or refusing to answer in the non-Western culture.

The results show that living in apartments, locked multiplex housings or locked apartments much increases the difficulty of interview completion. The property price of the sampled block shows a monotonic relationship with the number of visits. Regarding the effects of respondent's socioeconomic characteristics, having a job is positively related to interviewers' extended effort. The higher family income, the more visits to interview a respondent. The older respondents are more likely to be willing to answer compared to the younger ones. The number of household members decreases the difficulty of interview completion. Gender, educational level, marital status, subjective happiness, and social trust have no statistically significant effects on the difficulty of interview completion.

We show that the difficulty of interview completion is affected by community contexts and individual characteristics in South Korea.

# Convinced by the message or the speaker?Deliberative and intuitive information processing for persuasion and third person perception

### Thomas Koch and Christian Baden, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany

People arrive at decisions in quite different ways. Sometimes, people judiciously ponder the pros and cons of their options, arriving at their choices in an analytical manner. At other times, however, they follow their guts, making heuristic choices. While the terminologies used to discriminate such 'central' ('deliberative') and 'peripheral' ('intuitive') decision making differ, researchers agree that the processing mode influences the outcomes of judgment formation Intuitive processing depends, chiefly, on easily available cues and heuristic associations rather than the quality of arguments: For instance, messages should tend to be accepted irrespective of their content if they are uttered by credible speakers. Deliberative processing, by contrast, reacts mostly to the argumentative content and logical consistency: Focusing on the claims advanced by a message, deliberative deciders should accept arguments regarded as sound even if the speaker is non-credible.

In this study, we argue that much can be learned about deliberative and intuitive information processing by contrasting the persuasive power of a message against people's perception of the same message's capability to influence other people.

### Measuring online opinion-leadership: A content analysis of online sources

Christian Kolmer, Media Tenor International, Rapperswil, Switzerland In order to assess the role of online sources in the public debate, this study analyzes the quotation patterns in the debate in the Internet. For ten selected news issues in the first half of 2010, German-language internet contributions were recovered with a software tool (Sysomostm) and then analyzed by human coders, assessing all references to other sources, both from the Internet as well as from the segment of classic media. The selection of issues addresses political and economic issues as well as events that met with strong coverage in classic opinion-leading media. Classic media brands – both with online and print/broadcast content – dominated quotation patterns in online debates for all of the ten issues examined. Spiegel, which is the most often quoted medium in classic outlets, dominates as well the online debate.

#### **Motivated Underreporting in Screening Interviews**

*Frauke Kreuter, Stephanie Eckman (Institute for Employment Research, Germany) and Roger Tourangeau, University of Maryland USA* 

Many national surveys include screening interviews intended to identify members of the eligible population or members of rare subgroups slated for oversampling.

Underreporting of members of these groups drives up survey costs and may introduce bias into the estimates. There is evidence that members of the target populations are sometimes underreported in screening interviews. Interestingly, members of these same groups are often well covered in surveys that do not particularly screen for them. One of the best documented instances of such a screening shortfall occurred in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1997 Cohort, with a coverage ratio of only about 70 percent of the targeted age group. All other age groups have rates above 90 percent. Such screening shortfalls are usually interpreted as signs of respondent motivation to screen out rather than refuse the survey interview. However, this form of underreporting may also reflect interviewer motivations, for field interviewers are often graded and/or paid based on their nonreponse rates, but their eligibility rates are not usually held against them.

This presentation reports results from several experimental investigations in which we varied experimentally three factors believed to affect likelihood of motivated underreporting through the sample units and one factor at the interviewer level. Factor 1 was the amount of information given about the target population in the advanced letters. Factor 2 was the format of the screener itself. Factor 3 was the interviewer incentives in the form of payments. Our design allows the estimation of main effects for each of these factors as well as their interactions. We have demonstrated that the amount of information given to respondents can drive eligibility rates, as suggested in the NLSY study mentioned above, but we also observe significant interviewer effects, suggesting interviewers also play a role in reports of eligibility. We expect to see differences in eligibility rates across payment incentive groups if the interviewers contribute to the motivated underreporting effects seen in the literature.

### Sculpted Samples: an Application of the 'Michaelangelo Method' to a Study of the 2011 Canadian Legislative election Campaign

#### André Krouwel and Matthew Wall, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

In this paper, we apply an innovative sample matching method developed by Alvarez, Franklin, de Sio and Treschel (2011) to generate several time-specific samples from data collected online by the Vote Compass Canada website during the Canadian Legislative election. Using several demographic and political items, we match each sample to the characteristics of the Canadian population, and track changes that took place in terms of party support and leadership evaluations throughout the campaign. This paper thus seeks to begin to bridge the gap between online non-random and offline randomised data collection methodologies, demonstrating that each can contribute to the quality of the other, and that, taken together they can be used to generate analytically valuable data sets that would previously have been inordinately expensive to gather.

# Politics on the Internet and its effects on citizen engagement: Do online election campaigns matter?

Sanne Kruikemeier, Guda van Noort, Rens Vliegenthart and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands The use of Internet in the communication of politics has increased tremendously. During the past decade, political parties and elected representatives used the possibilities of the Internet to inform and discuss with citizens and party members about their plans, points of view and daily business. Online communication is therefore considered to be an important element of a successful election campaign. The aim of this study is to expand the knowledge about the use and consequence of online political information during election times. As political parties especially aim at political engagement and mobilizing citizens during election times, this study further focuses on the usage of online sources and its effects during an election. First, the study addresses the question how many citizens use Internet for political information during elections (RQ 1). Second, the study poses the question how these citizens can be characterized (RQ 2). Third, the study assesses the consequences of Internet usage on several 2/3 important outcome variables during election periods such as online and offline participation, political interest and voter turnout.

# Patterns of Internet Use among the General Public and the Youth in the Philippines

#### Iremae D. Labucay, Social Weather Stations. Philippines

This paper reports on the results of two surveys on patterns of Internet use among the general public and the youth in the Philippines. The analysis is based on two surveys conducted by Social Weather Stations in March/April 2011: 1) nationwide survey of 1,200 voting-age (18 years old and above) Filipinos (the general public), and, 2) survey of 600 youths aged 15-30 in Metro Manila, and in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), a Muslimdominated region in the southern Philippines.

#### Gender Pre-Specified Sampling for Cost Control in the Middle East

### Kien T. Lee, Abdoulaye Diop, Darwish Alemadi, SESRI, Qatar University, Qatar, and Jill Wittrock, University of Michigan, USA

Nationally representative surveys administered in the Middle East and North Africa typically are conducted using survey practices developed outside the region. In some instances these techniques are not sensitive to the cultural and religious characteristics of these countries. In this paper we address two issues: 1) matching interviewer and respondent gender in a society where it is not permissible for a male to interview a female and it is commonplace for women interviewers to not drive; and 2) withinhousehold selection of respondents in a society where recall of birthdays is low and household size is large. We propose both a method which pre-specifies the gender of the respondent at the sample design stage and a within-household selection technique that is conditional on respondent gender and household size. We describe how these methods would apply in a national survey in Qatar and foresee significant cost-savings while retaining a nationally representative sample.

# Design of Web Questionnaires: Matrix Questions or Single Question Formats

Edith de Leeuw, Joop Hox and Thomas Klausch, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, Anouk Roberts and Anneke de Jongh, Flycatcher

In a matrix or grid question a series of questions are presented in a table-like format in such a way that rows are typically a set of questions and the columns represented the response options. Respondents may select one or more responses in a row, depending on the type of question. In traditional paper-and-pen survey design, these matrix questions had many advantages for the survey-designer, more questions could be presented in a smaller space, thereby saving paper, printing and mailing costs. With the onset of computer-assisted questionnaires and Internet research, these cost saving arguments are no longer valid. Still, matrix questions remain a widely used tool also in Web surveys.

There is a lot of debate about whether matrix questions are a good idea or that these should be abandoned. Our paper will start with an overview of the empirical literature on matrix-questions. We will describe the experimental setup and nonresponse, present the results, and discuss the implications for web survey design.

#### Question comprehensibility and satisficing behavior in Web surveys

#### Toimo Lenzner, GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Germany

Many studies found that the wording of a survey question can influence the answers that respondents provide. In particular, it has been shown that vague and ambiguous terms are often interpreted idiosyncratically by respondents, and thus can increase measurement error. Earlier research identified several problematic text features that reduce question comprehensibility and increase respondent effort. This paper extends upon the earlier findings and examines whether the effort required to comprehend survey questions affects response quality, and if so, whether the wording effects are moderated by respondents' verbal intelligence and motivation.

#### Mapping uses and gratifications in the contemporary media environment

#### Azi Lev-On, School of Communication, AUC, Israel

Contemporary media users are embedded in a landscape of unprecedented richness of media channels, and are better able than ever not only to consume information but also to use media to find like-minded people, send and receive relevant information, mobilize and organize for collective action using dedicated media channels. Do people make use of the various communication platforms at their disposal? Do they

use different channels for different purposes? And, how does media usage affect their sense of community?

The proposed paper examines these questions using the case of community members who were relocated against their will and dispersed throughout the country, while still having a range of shared cognitive, social and political needs. The paper looks at the evacuees from *Gush Katif*, who were removed from their communities of origin in 2005 following the decision of the Israeli government to withdraw unilaterally from the Gaza Strip. This is the first paper to examine how members of cohesive communities on-the-ground who were relocated against their will use various media, especially the Internet, to preserve the sense of community and fulfill a variety of needs.

# Exploring an appropriate design for the response scale of general happiness: An example by using Taiwanese data

#### Pei-shan Liao, Academica Sinica, Taiwan

Attitudinal scales have been widely used in questionnaire design to collect information on respondents' opinion and/or attitudes toward certain issues or events. Previous research has revealed the influence of response categories in terms of its number and labels on question answers. When applied to the measurement of general happiness, a balanced response scale that includes both positive and negative responses based on Likert-type design has been widely used. However, few have examined the appropriateness of unbalanced response scale for happiness, despite the fact that more than half of the respondents indicating their happy feelings across the world.

This study aims to reveal the optimal number of response categories and the corresponding labels by using survey data in Taiwan. It is essential to consider whether a midpoint response should be included for odd-number categories as a balanced response design. When studying certain issues such as general happiness, it may be more appropriate to use unbalance response design to obtain a distribution toward normally distributed. Also, the corresponding labels need to distinguish both of the direction and intensity.

#### Measuring Islamophobia in the Philippines

#### Vladymir Joseph Licudine, Social Weather Stations. Philippines

In 1997, British think tank The Runnymede Trust published a report entitled "Islamophobia – a challenge for us all" that defines Islamophobia as "unfounded hostility towards Islam. It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individual and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs." (The Runnymede Trust, p. 4)

Aside from this Runnymede Trust study, there have been other studies undertaken in Western societies about Islamophobia but unfortunately not in the Philippines where there is still unresolved tension between Christians and Muslims.

In the Philippines, Christians are about 90% and Muslims are only about 5%. Muslims are found all throughout the Philippines, in particular in the southern part of the archipelago, specifically the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). In ARMM, Muslims are the majority of about 90 %, and Christians are the minority of about 10%.

The literature does not provide standard questions to measure the Islamophobic phenomena. Social Weather Stations in two national surveys and an ARMM survey attempted to do this.

#### Use of Digital Ethnography to Measure Media Consumption and Consumer Behavior among South Africans during the 2010 World Cup

Michael W. Link, E. Nicole Bensky, Justin T. Bailey, Karen Benezra & Hala Makowska, The Nielsen Company, New York, USA

The 2010 FIFA World Cup was a global event in which the eyes of the world were focused on host country South Africa. For the people of South Africa it was an unparallel event and offered a unique opportunity to explore how such epic proceedings can affect the behavior of local residents in terms of their reactions to the influx of advertising, viewing opportunities and global attention. Exploring this phenomenon, we conducted a study to measure World Cup involvement, media consumption and brand purchasing/awareness among local South Africans during the period in which the games were being hosted.

This paper examines the impact of conducting a long range mobile digital ethnography study on response rates, data quality, and the various behavioral and attitudinal measures during the World Cup. The study has implications for use of smart phones as data collection devices more generally within the survey industry as well as how different types of data, such as Web-based surveys, smart phone surveys, and visual data can be captured to provide key insights to human behavior and attitudes.

#### Charisma's framing in the public mind

### Esteban López-Escobar, Jordi Rodíguez Virgili and Antonio Tolsá, University of Navarra, Spain

As Potts suggested in 2009, in the discourse about public figures, regarding if they possess or not *charisma*, this concept remains as "an indefinable aspect". *Charisma* is a word rooted in St. Paul's theological thinking, almost two thousand years ago. But since Max Weber that meaning changed being tainted with a secular content. Weber contributed to popularize the term in the field of social and political science. And after him this term entered with a stronger force in the language of political communication and mass media. Finally the term became a common token for ordinary people.

When we were planning a study about public perceptions of "politicians" and "politics" in general we included an open question regarding charisma; specifically, "If you are told a politician has "charisma", what do you understand by this? Answer me with two words". The purpose was to analyze the meaning of charisma from the reception side, instead of taking it by granted in a blurred manner. The question is how *charisma* is framed by the public. 950 people were face to face interviewed. The answers were content analyzed in accordance with two dimensions: substantive and affective (because in some cases charisma raises negative reactions), and those results were matched with a media use scale variable and a number of other sociodemographic variables.

The discussion of those results help us to take a decision about the closeness of *charisma* regarding "personality" or "perceived qualification", in such a way we could overcome the arbitrariness in using empirically this concept.

#### Panel attrition - Separating stayers, sleepers and lurkers

#### Peter Lugtig, University of Utrecht, TheNetherlands

Attrition is the process of respondents dropping out from a panel study. Respondents often miss out on one or more waves, but might return after that. They start off responding infrequently, but more often later in the course of the study. Using current analytical models, it is difficult to incorporate such response patterns in analyses of attrition, that have so far relied on two-group comparisons.

This paper shows how to study attrition in a Latent Class framework. This allows the separation of different groups of respondents, that each follow a different and distinct process of attrition. Using background characteristics to further classify respondents, we show that respondents who loyally participate in every wave (stayers) are for example older and more conscientious than attriters, while infrequent respondents (lurkers) are younger and less educated. We conclude by showing how each class contributes to attrition bias on voting behavior.

#### "Recipients' characteristics and country contexts as moderating factors for framing effects. An experimental study of party campaign effects in 11 countries in the run-up to the 2009 EP elections."

### Michaela Maier (University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany) and Silke Adam (University of Bern, Switzerland)

In this article we seek to understand whether national parties impact citizens' EU support by publicly cueing Europe as a risk or chance regarding the economy or identity. To answer this question we have conducted cross-country experimental research (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden) relying on real-world stimuli from party campaign communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament election. By introducing this new methodology to cueing research we show substantial cueing effects even when controlling for a broad range of individual and country-level explicative factors. However, these effects depend on the type of cue communicated: different dynamics occur if citizens are exposed to identity or economic cues. Beyond, our study reveals that there also exist unintended effects of cueing: positive cues with regards to EU economy led to negative effects on EU attitudes in the middle of the financial crisis.

#### THE PHILIPPINES' FIRST OUTDOOR EXIT POLL

### Mahar Mangahas, Linda Luz B. Guerrero, Germelita Caron and Gerardo A. Sandoval, Social Weather Stations, Philippines

Prior to the 2010 election, the most rapid scientific estimates of election results in the Philippines were obtained from "day-of-election" polls, done on election day in the homes of those who had already voted, rather than outside voting centers (VCs), where security threats could be posed by political partisans to both the (all-female) pollsters and the respondents. The basic findings of these polls, reported on television within 24 hours after the close of voting, accurately anticipated the results of the official Commission on Elections (Comelec) by two or more weeks. The 2010 election, however, was the first time for the Comelec's Automated Election System, using automatic counting machines and electronic data transmission, to be

System, using automatic counting machines and electronic data transmission, to be applied nationwide. The Comelec expected to substantially complete its voting count during election night itself, and so a newsworthy exit poll would have to deliver its results earlier.

# Getting the Joke. The Negative Effects of Late-Night Political Humor on Performance Evaluations of Political Leaders

Jörg Matthes, Adrian Rauchfleisch & Franziska Kohler, University of Zurich, Switzerland

For many decades, the empirical study of media and political opinions has been dominated by traditional paradigms such as priming, framing, or agenda-setting. In recent years, however, public opinion scholars have begun to expand the study of political communication effects to entertainment formats such as political humor displayed in late-night comedy.

The present study demonstrates a hitherto unknown mechanism of political humor effects. Only when viewers are able to understand the background, hints, and allusions of political humor, negative images about the target can be activated. Rephrased, to elicit persuasive effects, viewers must already have an understanding of current political events to "get the jokes". Otherwise, their laughter is based on plain silliness. The implications of these findings for past and future research will be discussed.

#### Professional Respondents Internet Panels: A Threat to Data Quality?

### Suzette Matthijsse, Edith de Leeuw and Joop Hox, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

Internet surveys are at present one of the major data collection modes in the Netherlands for market and opinion research. Also the government and universities use data from internet surveys for policy-studies and scientific research. Internet surveys are usually implemented in online panels. What are the consequences of this change in data collection paradigm, from face-to-face and telephone interviews to self-administered online questionnaires? The goal of this study is (1) to investigate whether 'professional' respondents can be distinguished in online panels using latent class analysis, and (2) whether the data quality of these 'professional' respondents differs from that of 'volunteer' respondents

# 'Their two cents worth': A content analysis of online readers' comments in mainstream news outlets

### Dimitra Milioni, Konstantinos Vadratsikas + Venia Papa, Cyprus University of Technology, Cyprus

New online technologies have created countless opportunities for citizen participation in the public debate and a potential to influence public opinion. Web 2.0 environments allow mass media audiences to publish their own content, creating a new paradigm of "produsage" with significant consequences on social practices, media and democratic society itself. This study is concerned with user-generated content that takes the form of readers' comments in popular Greek online professional news websites. Our aim is to explore whether user-generated content broadens mass media agendas, enriches mass media content and diversifies the public space. By the use of content analysis of users' comments to journalistic articles about immigration, the study's findings are reported regarding the extent to which readers raise new issues, provide additional information, and challenge journalistic opinions. Observed differences are assessed in terms of the characteristics of the journalistic texts that trigger audience responses, and the political orientation of news outlets.

# Surveying the General Population: Coverage bias in European Web Surveys

#### Anja Mohorko, Joop Hox and Edith de Leeuw, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

With the increase in Internet use across Europe, web surveys become an attractive alternative to more traditional data collection modes, such as face-to-face interviews. The main advantages of web surveys are speed of data collection and relatively low cost. As a good coverage of the intended population is one of the cornerstones of survey research, the success of Internet surveys is dependent on how well the intended population is coverage of the intended population and thus coverage of the intended population, thereby threatening the international comparability of web surveys.

The goal of this study is to investigate Internet access in countries across Europe, and whether the covered part is large enough and sufficiently non-selective to represent the entire population. The results have consequences for how successful Internet panels should be formed.

#### **Determinants of Candidates Media Strategies during European Elections**

Marjolein Moorman and Peter Neijens, ASCoR, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Political advertising has become an increasingly important communication tool in political battles for the electoral vote all around the world. Political advertising allows parties and politicians to present themselves to the people without filtering by critical journalists. With the growing number of political advertisements, also the academic interest into this phenomenon has increased. Studies that have examined the strategic choices lying behind political advertising campaigns, have mostly focused on the content of the advertisements. For example, many studies have been conducted on negative campaigning, which is popular especially in the United States. However, the media strategic choices in political advertising campaigns, are much broader. These choices have not been scrutinized until date. On the basis of the 2009 European Election Candidate Study carried out in all 27 member countries of the EU, this study analyzes traditional and new media choices in campaigns of EU candidates. Results show large differences between candidate- and party-centered advertising campaigns, candidates with different political orientations, political experience, age, and stance towards the European Union.

# Information Regimes, Media Use, and Citizen Political Knowledge in Sub-Sahara Africa

#### Erik C. Nisbet, Elizabeth Stoycheff and Teresa Myers, Ohio State University

Scholars have long identified citizen political knowledge as a key predictor of citizen mobilization and a normative cornerstone of participatory democracy. Citizen knowledge is typically viewed a function of individual ability, motivation, and opportunity to learn. . This paper builds upon previous research examining the relationships between media use and citizen knowledge and participation in developing democracies. We conceptualize national political and media systems as integrated information regimes: stable institutional arrangements (e.g. political, economic, legal, social) that create opportunities for, or constraints on, the flow and quality of political information. Our paper examines how 1) citizen political knowledge varies by type of (i.e. democratic, authoritarian) information regime and 2) how the relationship between media use and citizen political knowledge may vary across differing types of information regime.

### Willingness to Speak Out: Comparison Between Online Versus Offline Communication

#### Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA

This study, using a hypothetical scenario technique embedded within a survey, examined whether the spiral of silence continues to explain the willingness to speak out in offline and online communication. Alongside the several propositions based on the spiral of silence, how opinion expression differed according to the anonymity, size, and openness of communication situations was assessed. Findings of this study, contrary to what the spiral of silence suggests, indicate present opinion congruency was negatively associated with speaking out both offline and online. Fear of isolation, issue involvement, the level of issue knowledge, and media use were also found to be related to opinion expression, but in an inconsistent way over issues or settings. Furthermore, keeping identity anonymous and knowing people with whom to talk were important contextual features, which significantly elicited willingness to speak out offline and online, while the size of the gathering mattered only in face-to-face situations.

# The Rhythms of News Storytelling on Twitter: Coverage of the January 25<sup>th</sup> Egyptian uprising on Twitter

#### Zizi Papacharissi, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA

Twitter, a micro-blogging device launched in 2006 and presently claiming 190 million individual users is increasingly being incorporated into news storytelling. Even though only about 5% of Twitter content is devoted to news, mainstream news networks frequently poll the twitterverse for public opinion, independent bloggers use it to promote each other's or their own content, and journalists use it to supplement their own reporting. Blogs and microblogs rise to prominence as news disseminators on occasions when access to mainstream news and/or other communication media is restricted or blocked. Using prior seminal work that places emphasis on the form of news and its relevance to news values and socio-cultural context, this study attempts to describe, map, and explain the evolving rhythms of news storytelling on Twitter, through the events of the 2011 Egyptian uprisings.

#### Asset Nonresponse in Korean Labour and Income Panel Survey

Youngshil Park, Sunghee Lee (Universit of Michigan, USA) and Soonpil Kwon, Statistical Research Institute, Statistics Korea, South Korea

Asset and income questions asking exact amount are associated with high nonresponse, so survey designers have tried to reduce it by employing certain question formats such as a range card or unfolding brackets. These are follow-up questions that request respondents, who did not provide exact amount, to report the value into one of categories. Surveys like PSID and HRS have adopted a strategy of unfolding brackets, and its effectiveness has been proved.

We investigate the following specific questions. First, what is the asset nonresponse pattern in panel survey by question formats over last decade? From this question, we can examine how the use of a range question reduces nonresponse and how the reduction is different over waves. Second, do the characteristics of respondents to a range question differ from the characteristics of respondents reporting exact amount? Are asset distributions of two groups unlike? If the characteristics and asset distributions of two groups are dissimilar, categorical information obtained by a range question will contribute to improve the asset data quality. Finally, will respondents to a range question tend to answer exact value in next wave? If propensity is consistent, interviewers can somewhat anticipate whether the respondents provide exact amount or not.

#### TREND-SETTERS AND TREND-SPOTTERS IN A DIGITAL AGE?

#### A Survey of IT Journalists in Germany

*Oliver Quiring, Stefan Geiss + Niklaus Joacob, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany* 

Information technology is ever-changing – and as its applications become more sophisticated, they become more complicated for users as well. In this perplexing field, several trends such as growing digitalization, interconnectedness, and convergence are often discussed among experts and laymen. IT Journalists play a significant part in diffusing, explaining and interpreting these new technologies and in forging our understanding of future trends. On the one hand, they have expertise to judge current products and future trends, and they may suggest ideas to developers and manufacturers. On the other hand, their judgment can meaningfully contribute to success or failure of new technologies and to how people make sense of technology and innovation. Therefore, an online survey of 101 IT journalists in Germany (estimated population: 383 journalists, estimated AAPOR RR1 : 26.4 per cent) was conducted to answer four questions: (A) how do IT journalists judge the future development of the IT sector regarding technological advancement and social change, (B) how do IT journalists perceive their relationship to and their effects on the audience, (C) how do journalists perceive their relationship with and their effects on IT manufacturers?

# Q-Assessor: Developing and Testing an Online Solution to Q Method Data Gathering and Processing

#### Bryan Reber + Stan Kaufmann, University of Georgia, USA

Q Methodology systematically analyzes individuals' subjective viewpoints through a technique called Q sorting, a set of procedures in which a sample of concepts are placed in a significant order with respect to a single person and then factor analyzed to identify clusters of persons who rank the concepts in similar fashion. Though conceptually well-grounded, Q Methodology is uncommonly used by most social scientists because creating, managing, deploying, and analyzing Q investigations are substantially more difficult, time-consuming, and expensive than other research methodologies. We report here the development, testing, and use of an innovative web application that solves these procedural problems and offers the potential to make Q Methodology a primary technique in social science research.

#### "I don't want it. I don't want them here. This is a Christian Country" 1: Christian Nationalism, Intolerance of Muslims, and Opposition to Mosque Construction

Jason B. Reineke, Erik C. Nisbet (Ohio State University, USA) and Kenneth R. Blake, Middle Tennessee State University, USA In recent years Muslim immigration has been a prominent issue in public discourse in both Europe and North America. During the summer and fall of 2010, prior to mid-term

elections in the United States, the specific topic of mosque construction came to the forefront of the national debate, and an election issue in states and congressional districts where mosques were being planned or built. Using data collected from a list-assisted RDD sample (N = 614) of residents of the U.S. state of Tennessee during the fall of 2010, we examine the psychological roots of opposition to mosque construction. The study's time, place, and people were particularly apt for assessing these attitudes, because public demonstrations and lawsuits surrounding a proposal to build a new mosque near the city of Murfreesboro were being extensively covered in state, national, and international news in the timeframe leading up to and during the poll. The rich literature on tolerance tells us that threat and disliking are especially important

predictors of refusal to extend basic civil liberties to out-groups. We also know that economic stress often leads to opposition to immigration in general. Additionally, we contend that social dominance orientation, the belief that one's ingroup is inherently better than others, and Christian nationalism, the belief that the United States is a first and foremost of, by and for Christians should also lead to reduced support for mosque construction.

#### Wikipedia's Potential to Shape Public Opinion

#### Thomas Roessing and Nicole Podschuweit, University of Mainz, Germany

This paper discusses several influences of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia on public opinion. The scope of the paper is mainly theoretical, but empirical data from Germany is presented to support the theoretical assumptions.

Wikipedia is a project for the development of a free online encyclopedia. Its content is provided by a community of volunteers. The two largest language versions of Wikipedia are English (about 3.5 Million articles and an active [within the last 30 days] community of 148,715 users) and German (nearly 1.2 million articles and 27,975 active users). Wikipedia is one of the most attractive platforms on the Internet regarding the number of visitors. It is ranked by the alexa.com traffic ranking system 8th worldwide and 6th in the US as well as in Germany.

#### Examining Online Public Discourse in Social Network Sites: An Analysis of Political Campaign Communication in Austria

#### Uta Russmann, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Social Network Sites have the capacity to revolutionize public discussion as they encourage citizens to participate in politics and to engage with politicians. However, simply the fact that there is public discussion on policy issues, about political actors, on election campaigns etc., says yet nothing about its specific quality. From the viewpoint of Habermas' concept of deliberative democracy (1987) we define that only political discussion, which is oriented towards communicative principles of understanding, can promote the development of a deliberative public sphere. Along a

"quality index of understanding" we examine political parties and candidates' Facebook communication during the most recent Austrian elections in Vienna in October 2010. The political discussion is following the principles of a "quality of understanding" if political actors do not only state their positions, but also give statements of reasons. If, in the case of debatable questions, they present specific proposals for solutions, they deal with others in a more or less respectful way and they express relevant doubts concerning positions and other participants.

# Explaining the Social and Religious Bases of Extremism: Muslims and Christians in sub-Saharan Africa

### Neha Sahgal + Greg Smith, Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Washington, DC, USA

While the study of religious extremism has gained increased ground in recent years, few quantitative studies have explored the social bases of the phenomenon. Studying religious extremism poses several challenges for scholars: the analytical utility of terms such as "moderate" and "extremist" have been keenly debated. Further, lack of reliable data on these issues creates measurement problems.

Is religious extremism an expression of religious commitment or a rejection of the secular nation state? Does interfaith interaction have a mitigating effect on extremist views? The answers to these questions are relevant for both academics and policy makers alike.

Using survey data from the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life's 19 country survey of religion in sub-Saharan Africa conducted in 2009-2010, we study views of whether the use of violence against civilians in defense of religion is justifiable, and attitudes about implementing aspects of Shariah or Biblical law such as punishments like whippings and cutting off of hands for crimes like theft and robbery and stoning people who commit adultery.

### Internet as a force of cultural change: positions on gender equality among Palestinians as an example

#### Nader Said – Foqahaa, Ramallah, Palestine

The latest (youth revolutions) around the Arab world brought optimism and hope for the future of democracy in the region. While proper socio-political analysis of these events is still utterly premature, to most analysts expression of political discontent was correlated with fundamental cultural change. The dominant discourse attributes the ongoing flux to the ability of young people to express their views, organize and mobilize through modern technology. Exposure to the world of internet and the growing tendency to associate with virtual reference groups are believed to have affected young people to become more (globalized) in their values and cultural norms. This paper argues that while the use of internet among young Arabs obviously provided for a free forum for expression and mobilization, it did not play the same role in altering fundamental attitudes towards cultural norms and traditional views. The positions on gender equality are the hardest to changes as women are viewed as *the last cornerstone of the Arabic-Islamic culture and identity* in face of the encroaching globalized hegemony.

# Filipinos and Media: Views on Ethics, Corruption, Partisanship, Role and Influence

*Gerardo A. Sandoval, Jeanette M. Ureta and Leo Rando S. Laroza, Social Weather Stations, Philippines* 

In April 2008, Social Weather Stations conducted a nationwide survey of 2,250 Filipinos about their views on ethics, corruption, partisanship, role and influence of mass media in the Philippines. The survey found agreement that media in the Philippines have freedom of speech, of expression and of press, and that a large majority of Filipinos learn the news from television, distantly followed by radio and newspapers.

Majority believe that all or most media practitioners adhere to the Journalism Code of Ethics-- they are conscientized, fair and honest, exercise caution in publishing names with criminal cases, scrupulously report and interpret news, presume accused of being innocent until proven guilty, do not violate confidential information, do not ridicule or degrade any person, do not take advantage of co-media practitioners, do not let personal motives or interests influence news reporting, do not plagiarize, and refrain from writing reports which will adversely affect private reputation.

#### Keynote speach:

#### The Web survey, the data collection method of the future

Willem Saris, Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Research (RECSM, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

In many countries, research organizations have recently started to use online surveys to collect data. While this approach makes sense for very special groups, it is not an approach recommended for national representative samples. Most of today's online surveys exclude a large part of the population that does not have internet access and make use of self selection via advertisements; so called Opt-in panels. These two aspects of this data collection method violate the basic principle of survey research, probability sampling, and hinder the process of statistical inference.

Yet, there is an alternative way of using internet to collect data. This approach consists of drawing a probability sample of the population and asking the selected people to participate in an online survey. People who do not have internet access are provided with the necessary facilities to participate.

Although this procedure requires an important initial investment, this investment is compensated by lower fieldwork costs. Moreover, as the proportion of people with internet access increases, the costs of this initial investment decreases. This approach is in use in The Netherlands and the USA and new panels based on the same principles are now created in Germany and the UK.

This form of online data collection is faster and at least as good as face to face research, as we will illustrate. Notwithstanding its panel character this approach is also more efficient and less time-consuming for cross-section research. Given the panel structure of the design the background information and much other information is collected only once, this saves a lot of time compared with standard cross-sectional research. Therefore, I think that this probability based online panel is the data collection method for the future. This does not mean that I do not see a place for the less rigorous opt-in panels.

#### Does ethnic diversity within European countries and regions affect involvement in leisure, interest and activist organizations? Explaining formal social capital by constrict, conflict and contact theory

### *Michael Savelkoul, Maurice Gesthuizen* + *Peer Scheepers, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands*

In this study we aim to describe and explain the relationship between ethnic diversity and formal social capital (cf. Pichler and Wallace, 2007), which encompasses involvement in formally constituted civic organizations. This type of social capital has been linked to several positive societal outcomes, like the success of democracy, as well as wealthier, healthier and less criminal societies. Therefore, it is of special interest to study to what extent ethnic diversity affects people's involvement in such organizations, as formerly proposed by Putnam (2007).

# Methodological challenges to the integration of migrant populations in public opinion research.

#### About target populations and adequate sampling procedures

### Susan Schenk, Anja Obermüller + Martin Degen, Technical University Dresden, Germany

The USA and Canada, historically known as immigration countries, are by far not the only nations anymore that deal with immigration. The global migration has risen over the last years, so that numerous countries face the political difficulty to integrate several diverse cultures – and hence different needs and ways of life. For example, in Germany, one of the countries of the European Union with the highest number of immigrants, about 20 percent of the population (approx. 15 million people) have a migration background. Those numbers have been increasing rapidly in most countries worldwide: from 82 million international migrants in 1970 to 175 million in 2000 and to nearly 200 million today.

#### "Don't know" the difference – An experimental comparison between Web and CATI

#### Anna - Maria Schielicke and Martin Dege, Technical University Dreseden, Germany

Since more than 15 years we conduct a public opinion survey (CATI) in a large German city, dealing with topics like political participation, media use and attitudes towards local issues. Like many other surveys we have to fight with declining response rates. In the last decade more and more researchers began to use Web surveys in mixed – mode designs for additional data collection. Since July 2010 we recruit for an Online – Panel via the regular telephone – surveys. In foreseeable future – when Internet access has reached an acceptable coverage – we want to substitute the CATI – survey by the Web survey, because of several advantages (costs, presentation of questions, no interviewer effects etc.). In order of continuous data – collection, we have to make sure that the two datasets (CATI and Web) are comparable. Therefore we're planning several experiments comparing response behavior in both surveys. Several current studies dealt with the same issue, but the bulk of it depends on nonprobability samples, onetime or lagged surveys from different sources.

### Social Mood Monitoring: listening to engage Social delivery in Johannesburg: a case study

*Wadim Schreiner* (Media Tenor South Africa) and *Frank M. Go (Rotterdam, The Netherlands)* 

For developing countries social media surveys are not (yet) reliable sources/ways of gauging general perception, but are a good way to understand concerns from influential groups of people. While posing sampling challenges, social media surveys however are better equipped to measure the effectiveness of interventions and social activations than traditional surveys, since they are less influenced by the time and place of a survey.

Can social media monitoring be used as a platform for effective regional reputation management?

The research will be based in grounded theory and so will describe the attempts to select relevant social media, setting up of an analysis framework that would be able to capture conversations and the development of a database of issues, stakeholders and 'influencers' in the debate around social delivery in Johannesburg.

On the basis of the collected information, the paper will discuss a possible framework for a business model that will allow stakeholders from the private sector as well as local government to access the information, listen to the conversations and finally to engage with relevant citizens on topical issues raised.

#### Support for Direct Democracy across Europe

Andreas R.T. Schuck, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The use of direct democratic means such as referendums has become increasingly popular in recent years and popular support for direct democracy is generally high. However, previous research has yielded inconclusive results as to *who* is most supportive. The present study investigates the individual and contextual factors that explain support for direct democracy across Europe with a unique cross-national comparative study design.

Referendums are typically seen as the most prominent direct democratic instrument and are believed to increase the legitimacy of political institutions and to be an instrument to create a greater sense of political efficacy and to engage citizens. Some scholars argue that the periodic use of referendums could prevent the rise of antidemocratic movements, others warn that the use of referendums could open the door to populism and foster political intolerance because of the polarisation of political discourse.

# Public Opinion Data and Political and Legal Reform Opportunities for Women in Lebanon, Morocco and Yemen

### Lauren Serpe + Rola Abdul-Latif, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Washinton, USA

Gender-focused surveys performed by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) in Yemen, Morocco and Lebanon reveal the majority of both men and women are open to certain key political and legal reforms that would likely improve the status of women in their countries. IFES will present analysis that builds on last year's paper by including data from the Yemen survey. The paper will focus on data related to political and legal reforms in light of the current political environment in the Middle East and North Africa. The key findings point to public support for several reforms that would lead to an enhancement in women's rights, yet also highlights potential barriers.

# Tracking Attitudes towards Same-Gender, Sexual Behavior across Time and across Countries

#### Tom W. Smith, NORC, University of Chicago, USA

The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) has asked about attitudes towards same-gender, sexual behavior five times: on homosexual marriages in 1988 and on approval of same-gender sex in 1991, 1994, 1998, and 2008. Reflecting the general expansion of the ISSP, coverage increased from 8 countries in 1998, to 16 countries in 1991, 23 countries in 1994, 31 countries in 1998, and 35 countries in 2008. Approval is highest in countries of Northwest Europe and cross-national differences have been fairly stable over time. Degree of development and level of secularization independently predict greater approval. There are time trends for 31 countries. Overall, approval has increased in nearly all countries. In most countries there are large age-cohort differences with younger adults being notably more approving of same-gender, sexual behavior than older adults are. As a result, cohort turnover is a significant

cause of the general increase in approval. Ex-Socialist countries show less growth in approval than most other countries.

#### An Internet Revolution in Developing Polities? New media technologies and democratic attitudes and participation in Sub-Sahara Africa

Elizabeth Stoycheff and Erik C. Nisbet, Ohio State University, USA

Recent political uprisings in the Middle East and Sub-Sahara Africa have everyone tweeting: What role do media play in citizens' demand for democracy? The popular press has accredited recent acts of citizen organization and mobilization to individuals' Internet and cell phone use, as well as pro-democratic messages in the traditional press. But beyond journalists' anecdotes, there is not much empirical evidence to buttress these claims.

Cross-national research has examined how traditional media use shapes citizens' demand for democracy and participation, but little work has been done to extend these findings to newer media, specifically, the role of Internet and cell phone use. We hypothesize that the Internet enhances citizen demand for democratization by creating access to new information, which decreases confidence in the autocratic regimes and provides an opening for citizens' to demand democracy as their preferred form of government.

#### Memetic Emergence of Public Opinion

### Marco Toledo Bastos, University of São Paulo, Brazil and University of Frankfurt, Germany

The aim of this paper is to discuss the propagation of opinions expressed on the Internet in view of a historical development of the public opinion. In order to address that, the paper examines the debate concerning the public opinion by the theories of Walter Lippmann (1961), Niklas Luhmann (2000), Jürgen Habermas (1987) and Dirk Baecker (2005), whereas the internet understood as a digital media matrix is discussed together with the theories of Niels Finnemann (2001), David White (1964) and Kurt Lewin (1947). The relationship between media and the public opinion is defined by the historical emergence of forms of coding between communication agents, previously comprising of senders and receivers (peer to peer communication), broadcasting (mass communication) and networks of nodes (digital communication). The propagation of public opinion is depicted as a form shaped by a network of nodes, therefore suggesting a diagram for the distribution of digital messages and opinions further described as netclustering. The paper offers a synthesis of the literature on public opinion and introduces the methods and the results from a quantitative investigation into the viral propagation of messages in Twitter network.

# Informative and mobilizing media: How print, television and online news affect political knowledge and participation

# Damian Trilling, Tom Bakker and Klaus Schönbach, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Political communication research has focused extensively upon the question of to what extent and under which circumstances news media are able to affect knowledge and political participation. Such questions have of course become even more intriguing in the Internet age. Skeptics have argued that online news consumption would lower the amount of knowledge shared by wide parts of the public because of audience fragmentation: people exposing themselves to topics of their own special interest and avoiding general – interest news. Empirical evidence for such claims, however, is scarce and conflicting. Therefore, this study tries to answer the following two straightforward but fundamental questions: (1) How does Internet news use affect political knowledge compared to the effects of newspapers and television news use?; (2) How does Internet news use affect political participation compared to the effects of newspapers and television news use?

# Can forewarning reduce biased perceptions of media? The case of hostile media and third person perceptions

#### Yariv Tsfati and Hannah Huino, University of Haifa, Israel

The hostile media perception takes place when partisans of opposing sides of a social conflict judge seemingly neutral news coverage of the conflict as biased against their point of view. The third person perception refers to the human tendency to perceive larger media effects on others as compared to self. Both perceptions are considered in the communication and public opinion literature as perceptual biases originating from both cognitive and ego defensive mechanisms. Under certain scenarios, both perceptions may lead to problematic social consequences such as mistrust in democracy, minority alienation, and even support of violent protest. This happens especially when members of political minorities that hold extreme political views think that media are biased and powerful. Correcting biased perceptions of media is thus a challenge for media scholars.

This paper asks a simple question: Does merely informing people about the research literature regarding biased perceptions of media attenuate such biases? Could it be that telling people that research shows that people are biased in their perceptions of media bias (HMP) and media impact (TPP) will reduce biased media perceptions? Social psychological research demonstrates that it is possible to attenuate and even cancel cognitive biases by educating experimental participants regarding biased unconscious processing. Therefore, the current investigation hypothesizes that educating participants about the hostile media phenomenon (H1) and the third person effect (H2) would reduce these biased media perceptions.

### Defective Democracy and Media: A Recount of the Nine Years of Political Alternation in Mexico

Roberto Valero and David Román, University of Baja California, Mexico

This work presents, in a general level, the results of an investigation in which the behavior of Mexican media was evaluated, having as a starting point the political alternation of the Mexican presidency in the year 2000 when, for the first time in 71 years, the candidate from the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) did not win such election. The results derived from this research, now more than nine years away from the political transition that gave the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) the presidency, indicate a higher concentration of journalistic enterprises in fewer hands; and a rise in risks for journalistic exercise, situating Mexico as the most dangerous country in Latin America for journalists—especially after new threats coming from the narcotics trade, as well as from the continual vicious relations between the media and the political powers—deriving thus to a defective democracy.

#### 'It's the party, stupid'

#### Party positions and issue learning in the Dutch election campaign of 2010

Peter Van Aelst (University of Antwerp, Belgium) and Annemarie Walter (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Communication researchers and political scientists have always paid special attention to what citizens learn during election campaigns. Respondents' knowledge of candidates' and parties' issue positions are key indicators of information gains typically registered during the course of a campaign showed that while citizens general information about politics remained constant during the course of the campaign, there was a significant increase in campaign specific information. They operationalized campaign specific information as factual information about what issue positions three political parties took on three different issues during the 1997 Canadian election. Voters can learn from campaigns via multiple channels. In the US context special attention is given to television ads. Although these commercial ads are often criticized for being too negative and not substantive, studies have shown that the ads are mainly about issues and that they succeed relatively well in conveying those In this paper we will study the extent to which voters have issues to voters. learned about the issue positions of parties during the national election campaign of 2010 in the Netherlands.

# What's on the Country Level? The Impact of Slightly Alternative Specifications of the Country-Level Variable in Multi-Level Public Opinion Research

### *Marijn van Klingeren* + *Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

Multi-level modeling is on the rise in the social sciences. Originating from educational sciences, the idea of considering units at multiple levels, most notably focusing on individuals nested in a larger context, has gained momentum in political science, sociology and communication science alike. The underlying assumption of these multi-level models is that there is either a direct or indirect impact of contexts on people's attitudes. Though the context in which we function on a daily basis will likely have an influence on our way of reasoning, it is hard to imagine how an abstract contextual figure (e.g., GDP, education or unemployment rates), on the regional or country or even higher level, reaches and influences individuals.

In this paper, we look to find an empirical answer to this theoretical question —based on different premises as to how people experience the larger context— by creating an innovative measure. This measure includes context as a relative figure to five, rather than one, previous time points. By doing so we not only take the relative increase or decrease into account, but also the extent to which people are used to this contextual growth, decrease, shifts, changes or stability. This concept is driven by the idea that any disruption from the "ordinary" is bound to have a bigger impact than *expected* changes, but what is ordinary can be different across space and time. This new measure makes a theoretically more realistic figure to be noted by citizens, and a more compatible figure over various contexts.

# Effects of media coverage of the EU on the euroskeptic vote in the 2009 EP election campaign

#### Joost van Spanje and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Common wisdom holds that electoral campaigning matters for vote choice. However, this has hardly been convincingly demonstrated. We go beyond the extant literature by simultaneously studying voters and media during the European Parliamentary election campaign, using data from a unique two-wave panel voter survey in 21 EU member states (N=32,418), asking both vote intentions before the campaign and reported actual vote for 175 parties. We link these data to campaign coverage content data between the waves in these countries (N=52,009), drawing two conclusions. First, the more negative the European Union evaluations a voter is exposed to, the more likely s/he is to cast a vote for a Eurosceptic party. Second, in countries with high dispersion of parties on EU issues, the more a voter is exposed to framing of the EU in terms of benefits derived from membership, the less likely s/he is to vote for a Eurosceptic party.

### New public deliberations: Twitter as a new campaign tool for public discussions

### Maurice Vergeer and Liesbeth Hermans, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

The Netherlands suffers from the same symptoms many modern countries have: decreasing voter turnout, low levels of trust in politicians and politics. These symptoms indicate that modern democracies seem to dysfunction: the distance between politicians and the people is too large and politics has become too complicated. Particularly, the Netherlands has entered an era of turnoil since the assassination of candidate Fortuyn in 2002. Electoral volatility is at an all time high in the Netherlands. At the same time voter turnout seems to decline. Reversing this downward spiral seems difficult. Electoral reform to close this democratic deficit is very difficult and threatens the existing power structure. Thus, change from within politics is less likely to happen. Alternatively, the Internet, a democratic platform allowing many people nondiscriminatory access to information and communication may be able to change this. More than once, the Internet has been hailed as the savior of democracy.

Do public discussions take place within the boundaries of the party (i.e. many small ideological public spheres consisting of homogeneous networks) or are they crossing party boundaries (i.e. few large public spheres consisting of heterogeneous networks)? To what extent is the development of public discussions related to specific events during the electoral campaign?

### Twittering politicians, mainstream media and public opinion in an election campaign: who follows whom?

#### Rens Vliegenthart and Tom Bakker, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The relationships between politics, media and public opinion have been of key interest in the study of political communication. Election campaign research has mainly directed its attention to the effects of media on voters. In some instances, also party communication is being considered, but only seldom are all three elements considered simultaneously. Part of the explanation might lie in the lack of good sources for parties' communication – usually press releases are being used, but these only provide an incomplete and scattered picture of all campaign activities by political parties and its representatives. With the rise of social media, particularly Twitter, however, it is possible to track the communication of political actors in detail. Especially in those instances where a lot of politicians use this medium, as has been the case during the 2010 Dutch Parliamentary elections, it offers an excellent opportunity to analyze voiced opinions by key political actors.

Most scholarly attention in the last decade – in terms of new media developments – has been drawn to the phenomenon of citizen journalism and all sorts of 'user-generated content'. However, various recent works conclude that participation of citizens remains limited or of low quality and that collaboration with professional news organizations often does not get airborne. In this study, we explore the interaction between politicians, media and public opinion. We rely on a computerassisted content analysis of tweets by all candidates of the various political parties in the three months before the elections and media coverage of the elections, as well as aggregate-level weekly standing of the various parties in the polls.

#### The Emergence of Spiral of Silence from the Individual Behavior: Agentbased Modeling of Spiral of Silence

#### Chenjun Wang, City University of Hong Kong

The purpose of this exploratory study is threefold: first, to analytically explore the boundary conditions of the robust existence of spiral of silence; second, to gauge how

social interactions influence the formation of spiral of silence; third, to analyze the dynamic characteristics of the process in the aspect of size-dependent and time heterogeneity. By proposing an agent-based model of spiral of silence, the findings suggest: first, stable existence of spiral of silence is contingent upon the comparative

strength of mass media over reference groups; second, heterogeneous individuals" bottom-up interactions with mass media and reference groups at the local scope give rise to the spiral of silence as an emergence of macroscopic regularity, to be specific, the growth rate of spiral of silence decreases over time, the number of the people falling silent per time is in accordance with Pareto distribution.

# Political Polls in Philippine Print Media: The Presidential Electoral Campaigns 2004 and 2010

#### Wolfgang Wichmann, Glashuettenstr. 110, 20357 Hamburg, Germany

While the Arab world is changing rapidly – possibly to more democracy – established democracies around the globe are suffering from heightened discontent among their citizens. While especially young people in North African countries are using the internet to push political reforms and organize the power of many, institutionalized democracies encounter rising disinterest in what is often considered one of their highest goods: the right to vote.

Especially today, journalists are required to ensure that political systems are encountered and understood by the people. One crucial role of journalists is to transfer knowledge about the public opinion to the people.

This paper gives a short update on how the "quality" of poll reports has been interpreted in recent years. Research on information processing for example suggests that poll reports should not generally include all technical information about how a poll was done – at least within the written text. This might cause an information overload and hinder the memorization of other relevant facts. Knowing this, this paper presents an analysis of the quality of poll reports during the two recent Presidential Electoral Campaigns in the Philippines in 2004 and 2010. Concluding, ideas are summarized and suggestions are made on how the quality of poll reporting can be analyzed and improved in times of new media and a rising interest in online news-gathering.

#### **Determinants of Support for Extremism Among Muslim Publics**

#### Richard Wike and Greg Smith, Pew Global Attitudes Project, Washington, DC, USA

Over the last decade, scholars have produced a large body of literature examining the topic of Islamic extremism, although to date there have been relatively few rigorous empirical studies of public opinion toward extremism among Muslim populations. However, recent works by scholars such as Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Christine Fair, Simon Haddad, and Alan Kreuger have advanced our understanding of public opinion regarding this important subject and generated a variety of competing hypotheses.

In this paper, I plan to build upon the work of these researchers by examining data from the 2011 Pew Global Attitudes survey – a cross-national survey that will include several predominantly Muslim nations. In particular, I will analyze opinions regarding extremism among Muslim respondents in seven of the nations included in the survey: Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Palestinian territories, and Turkey. The survey will be conducted in the spring of 2011. All interviews in these countries will be conducted face-to-face among approximately 700-1,600 Muslim respondents in each

The findings should add to our understanding of public support for extremism in several nations where this remains an important topic.

#### Exploring Women's Status in Iraq Through Survey Research

#### John D. Willingham and Kevin Tillmann, D3 Systems, Inc., McLean, VA, USA

The status of Iraqi women in daily practice has remained largely hidden from international attention since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Even with extensive coverage of political instability, increasing violence, and significant turmoil in the region, questions still surround what happens in the everyday lives of women in the country.

This paper publicizes change in the opinions of women about their daily lives from March 2007 to November 2010 in Iraq and attempts to place these findings within a larger historical context. It especially focuses on issues of domestic and social gender conflict, owning a business, household finances and the ability to make purchasing decisions, occupation status, personal safety, and finally, access to voting, health care, and education.

# Explaining Cameron's Coalition: the 2010 British General Election: How important was the Internet in the election campaign?

#### Sir Robert Worcester and Mark Gill, MORI, Caribbean

The 2010 British General Election ended by producing a hung Parliament, with no single party holding a majority of seats in the House of Commons. The Conservatives had the most seats and was therefore the largest party, but fell well short of an overall majority and took the initiative to negotiate a coalition with the Liberal Democrats to take power. Given that the consensus of the opinion polls had shown throughout the election that a hung parliament was the most likely outcome and a much higher than usual proportion of the electorate admitted to not having made up their minds how to vote as the election was called, it was always likely to be a hard fought campaign where effective use of campaigning techniques could have made the key difference to the eventual outcome.

The main political parties invested more heavily than before in the use of internet tools, there was much greater use of social media and blogs since the previous general election in 2005 and those covering the election (the media and commentators) and those active in it (politicians and candidates) relied heavily on the internet. However, the 2010 election still failed to be to be 'Britain's first internet election' (as was the

case in 1997, 2001 and 2005). This paper sets out the reasons why 2010 could have been Britain's first "internet election" before analysing why this did not happen, in particular through exploring how voters interacted with the campaign. Nor did the British new media emulate the Obama 2008 election internet impact by enlisting an army of volunteers or raising campaign funds. The paper will argue that traditional British media, primarily television, was supreme in 2010 and is likely to be so for general elections to come.

#### Chinese and U.S. Media Coverage of the Global Recession (2008-2009) Linking Economic News and Public Sentiment

#### H. Denis Wu, Boston University, USA

The latest recession is the most severe economic downturn in the U.S. since the Great Depression. Given the interconnected economies and increasing globalization around the world, the U.S.-originated recession soon spread to other parts of the world, creating a global economic stagnation that still has not seemed to see the end of the tunnel in 2011. Almost all the Western economies suffer from the last wave of recession; the primary exception of the major powerhouses seems to be China, where the economic growth rate is--comparatively--stunning. The U.S. and China not only differ in their economic conditions during the time frame, their press systems, how economic issues are covered, and the trends of public opinion also vary dramatically. It is therefore interesting and theoretically meaningful to investigate how media cover the economic situations across the two countries and whether the trend of coverage is, in one way or another, linked to the public opinion about the state of the economy.

#### Influential Bloggers and Their Blogs: The Constitution and Formation of "The Public" and "Public Opinions" in China's Internet Sphere

#### Siyuan Yin, University of Illinois at Chicago, US

Whether Habermas' concept of "bourgeois public sphere" can be applied to China has been widely discussed based on China's feudal imperial history, contemporary authoritarian state, ongoing way towards a modern and industrial society. Yet, seldom scholars discuss the constitution and formation of "the public" and "public opinion" in China with empirical quantitative studies within communication framework. The public and public opinion are not only the essential parts of public sphere, but significant preconditions of democracy. Mass media is highly administrated by government and influenced by commercial market, which constrains the formation of the public and public opinion among citizens. Different from western countries as capitalist, democratic welfare states, China is a communist country influenced by the intermediation of authoritarian state and capitalist market. The power of its government is pervasive especially in controlling propaganda agencies. With the advent of Internet, access to information and opinions has been expanded which nurtures political deliberation and online activism, injecting new blood to China's political and public life. The opinions formed through online discussion have exerted great impact on many social incidents, including revising laws, revealing political scandals, affecting media's agenda setting, criticizing social injustice and class privilege and so forth. Blogs, online forum and SNS are the most frequently used tools by Chinese netizens in the era of web 2.0.

### Does Interviewer Personality Matter for Survey Outcomes? Evidence from a Face-to-face Panel Study of Taiwan

#### Ruoh-Rong Yu, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

When implementing a face-to-face survey, interviewers play an important role in determining the survey outcomes. Nevertheless, few studies attempted to analyze whether interviewer personality matters for survey outcomes. Most of the existing studies found the effects of interviewer personality insignificant or negligible. However, the personality measures used in these studies were usually not based on rigorous theories. Besides, most of these studies were exploratory in nature and used only correlations without controlling for other relevant factors.

Using the data of the respondents and the interviewers, this study utilizes the Hierarchical

This study would help us better understand the role of interviewer personality in deciding survey outcomes. In addition, the empirical findings can be applied to survey practice. By realizing the key personality traits of interviewers, the survey practitioners can use the information in recruiting interviewers.

#### An Investigation of the Interplay between Mobile Communication, Network Ties, and Civic Engagement: Implications for Trust in Others. A Working Paper

#### Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA

Some have become concerned that anytime-anywhere continuous mobile communication with close-tie networks may lead to social insularity, where one is fully engaged in the private realm of social relations at the expense of engaging with others outside of their network. This study extends on that line of research by examining the implications of mobile phone use with close ties for trust in others more broadly (i.e., those outside of one's social network). Rather than studying mobile phone use in a vacuum, the study offers a more nuanced analysis by accounting for the interactive effects of select variables that may also affect one's trust in others, namely social network size and the extent to which one is engaged in civic activities. Findings revealed no direct effect of mobile-mediated network interaction on trust in others. However, tests for the interaction effects reveal that use of the technology is moderated by network size and civic engagement such that having a small close-ties network and being less engaged civically interact with high levels of mobile communication to predict less trust in others. At the same time, this negative trend was reversed when people were active in civic participation. In other words, the findings show that the effects of mobile communication and network size are highly sensitive to whether one is active in civic affairs.

## Who Took the Burden to Answer on the Meaning of Left and Right? Response Behaviour on an Open-ended Question

Cornelia Zuell and Evi Scholz, GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences Survey Design and Methodology, Germany

One of the main topics of the German Social Survey (ALLBUS) in 2008 was "political attitudes and political participation". As in many other political science based surveys the self-placement on a left-right scale was asked as an indicator for ideological self-identification. Though left-right self-placement is one of the traditional, frequently used measures in empirical political science research, the respondents associations with "left" and "right" are only tested rarely in the last decades of survey research.

We analyse response behaviour and the influence of the aspects mentioned above by logistic regression including the indicators stepwise in five blocks. The results are, in a nutshell, that most of the five aspects have a significant influence on answering the open-ended question. In summary, there are two aspects that mainly influence response behaviour on the open-ended question on the meaning of left and right: Cognitive abilities and the response behaviour on the left right self-placement scale itself. Other tested aspects like personality and motivation help less to explain response behaviour while they are still significant indicators. The interviewer reported willingness of the respondent to participate in the interview looses its significance in the final step of the regression model.

### PANEL

4 East Asian papers:

### 1. "Designing Response Categories of Agreement Scales for East Asian Social Survey,"

#### Kuniaki Shishido and Noriko Iwai, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan

The issues of agreement scales have increasingly gained attention, as many crossnational surveys were developed. Existing cross-national surveys use various types of scales and the translations of those response statements vary even within the same country. This paper examines how differences in response categories of the agreement scale impact the distribution of responses in cross-national surveys and reports the strategies for designing the agreement scale for the EASS project. Based on the results of pretests, EASS adopted a seven-point scale with the adverb "strongly" at both ends, so that it gives a sufficient variability in response distributions for four societies.

# 2. "Who Are 'Global'? A Test of Propositions of Globalization in East Asia"

#### Chin-fen Chang, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

The theme of the module of the 2008 EASS survey is Culture and Globalization. The survey covers questions concerning cross-cultural activities, knowledge about global issues, opinions about international migration, attitudes toward globalization, and travelling experiences. Even though the survey mainly asked attitudes and experiences of respondents in East Asia, inquiry items and answers cover global issues, sites all over the world, and international contacts outside Asia. Clearly, globalization is not a single, static phenomenon, but has various dimensions, has been kept changing, and is received differently among societies and people. This paper shall test propositions of globalization from various perspectives and compare results among respondents within the region.

#### 3. "Health-related Quality of Life in East Asia"

Noriko Iwai, Osaka University of Commerce, and Misa Takegami, National Cerebral and Cardiovascular Center, Osaka, Japan

The theme of the East Asian Social Survey (EASS) 2010 module is health and society in East Asia. Besides questions on physical conditions, lifestyle habits, and healthseeking behavior, the survey incorporated the Medical Outcomes Study 12-item Short Form (SF-12) designed to assess general health related quality of life (HRQOL). Although hopelessness has been found to be associated with mortality, cardiovascular disease, depression and suicidality in Europe, the prevalence of hopelessness and correlated factors remain unknown in East Asia. The present study found that older people, especially female, are less likely to report low hopelessness both in Japan and South Korea. However, correlates of hopelessness differed between them.

#### 4. "East Asian Conceptualization of Network Social Capital"

#### Yanjie Bian, University of Minnesota, USA, and Xi'an Jiaotong University, China

Contributing to the hotly debated concept of social capital, for the 2012 EASS module we develop an East Asian conceptual framework of network social capital. The core idea is that East Asians are the cultural creators of social networking. This means that East Asians are both heavily dependent upon their interpersonal networks for social engagement and social trust, among other forms of social action, and make considerate instrumental and emotional efforts in cultivating new ties in order to expand, adjust, and enrich network social capital. There are sixty questions constructed in our 2012 EASS module on network social capital and the presentation

will focus on the contents of and hypothesized interrelationships among these measures.

### PANEL

#### **Cross-national Analyses from the World Values Survey**

We propose a panel on Cross-national Analyses from the World Values Survey. The WVS has collected data from more than 80 countries over the last 25 years and is currently in the midst of its 2011 cycle of data collection. Miller and Inglehart propose to establish an annual panel at WAPOR that will include a set of high-quality papers based on this data set and encourage younger scholars to become aware of its availability and analytic potential. For the 2011 WAPOR Annual Meeting, we propose a set of papers that will focus on the measurement and role of religion on selected attitudes and behaviors in WVS countries.

At the 2010 WAPOR Annual Meeting, Miller and Inglehart presented a paper on the measurement of religiosity across faiths and cultures. This summary index was created using a set of confirmatory factor analyses for each of 50 countries. A simplified computation procedure was developed to facilitate use by other analysts and all of the papers in this symposium use that measure of religiosity as one of the major predictor or outcome variables in their analysis. We believe that this kind of cross-national development and testing of constructs and measures is central to the purpose of WAPOR.

Chair: Jeroen Slot (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

#### Religion and the structure of political attitudes in Latin America

#### Alejandro Moreno (ITAM, Mexico)

This paper will examine the structure of political attitudes in all of the Latin American countries participating in the WVS and will examine the role of religion, personal economic well-being, community size and economy, family size, gender, age, and education as factors contributing to the development of democratic values and attitudes.

## The impact of education and religion on attitudes toward immigrants in European countries

#### Eduard Ponarin (Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia)

This paper will focus on attitudes toward immigrants in European countries and will utilize religiosity, education, personal economic well-being, community size and economy, family size, age, and gender to identify factors associated with the development of positive and negative attitudes toward immigrants.

## Nation-level and individual-level factors that predict high levels of religiosity

Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan, USA)

This paper will utilize the summary measure of religiosity and examine a combination of individual-level variables (age, education, economic well-being, gender, family size, media use, national pride, ideology) and national-level variables (UN Human Development Index, Media Freedom Index, KOF Index of Globalization) to predict the level of individual religiosity. The exploration of the linkage between individuallevel variables and national-level variables is critical to the development of crossnational theories of attitude development. The WVS is ideal of this purpose because of the diversity of countries participating in the study and the rigorous sampling methods employed in each country to capture heterogeneity within the country.

#### Religiosity and trust in societal institutions

Jon D. Miller (University of Michigan, USA)

Using a combination previous cycles of the WVS and the current cycle, this paper will examine the role of religion in the level of trust that individuals report in major institutions in each country and in international organizations. The WVS includes countries that are largely secular in their government and major societal institutions and countries that are either theocratic or heavily influenced by religious leaders and groups. This analysis will look at trust in institutions that are primarily secular and institutions that are more religious and construct a set of models to identify the factors associated with trust in different sets of institutions.

### PANEL

#### **Pre-election Poll Estimation Problems in Comparative Perspective**

While pre-election polls around the world have generally been improving their accuracy in general elections, they continue to encounter difficulties in sub-national elections. Recent polling for primary elections in the United States, gubernatorial elections in Mexico, mayoral elections in Korea, provincial elections in Canada, and elsewhere in the world have exhibited these problems. This panel will explore the common issues that pollsters face in these circumstances as well as the unique aspects of the electoral context in each country that contribute to estimation errors in such elections. There will be four papers on the panel, and all of the primary authors have indicated they will attend the WAPOR conference to present the paper.

# The Unnatural Left-Right Coalitions: Challenges for Pre-election Polls in Mexico

### Alejandro Moreno (ITAM, Mexico), Rosario Aguilar-Pariente (CIDE, Mexico) and Vidal Romero (ITAM Mexico)

During the last two decades, pre-election polls in Mexico have expanded in number and reduced their average error, especially in presidential and mid-term elections. However, recent state-level gubernatorial elections have been particularly challenging for pollsters and the inaccuracy of their pre-election estimates has increased. One of the reasons they point out is the presence of what they call "unnatural" alliances between the leftist PRD and the right-wing PAN, who have joined forces against the old ruling party, PRI. Mexican pollsters are still not sure about what causes the inaccuracy in those contexts and have developed different hypotheses, from "spiral of silence" effects to the exhaustion of conventional methodologies such as the use of the secret ballot technique. In this paper we analyze the possible sources of error in the 2010 state-level elections with left-right coalitions and discuss a collaborative project that Mexican pollsters are undertaking with the Federal Elections Institute to test accuracy hypotheses during the 2012 election.

#### Why Did the Pre-election Polls in South Korean Local Elections Go All Wrong?: Assessing the Source of Errors using Dual-Frame Landline/Cell Phone Post-election Survey

Sun Woong Kim (Dongguk University, south Korea), Michael W. Traugott (University of Michigan), So Hyung Park (Dongguk University) and Sang Kyung Lee (Hyundae Research Institute)

Prior to 2010 South Korean local elections for big-city mayors and provincial governors, often seen as a midterm referendum on the president, the leading media groups and research firms predicted that the ruling Grand National Party (GNP) would take sweeping wins in pre-election opinion polls, especially including the

metropolitan areas of Seoul and Incheon. But the GNP won only six of 16 crucial races, while its main rival, the Democratic Party, won seven; and the remaining races were won by independents and a small party. Although there has been much debate on the issues of survey methodological problems or a phenomenon known as the "spiral of silence" related to poll failures, there is always a substantial lack of scientific evidence to support them. We first describe the survey methodology adopted in most pre-election polls, and then introduce the dual frame landline/cell phone survey design used in our post-election study for investigating what they missed. Based on the results obtained from the dual frame survey, we show the potential source of errors in geopolitical or local levels and discuss some of the best ways to improve poll accuracy.

### Media Coverage as a Contextual Explanation for Estimation Errors in Pre-Primary Polls in the United States

### *Michael W. Traugott (University of Michigan, USA) and Christopher Wlezien (Temple University, USA)*

An analysis of estimation errors in the 2008 pre-primary polls suggested a number of factors that might contribute to them. This paper will extend that analysis by investigating one of the potentially significant ommitted variables in that study – the quantity and quality of the coverage that each candidate received in the mediain a brief period leading up to each event. This is the most straightforward way to capture the momentum that each candidate has as he or she moves from one event to the next. The national news stream is captured through a computerized content analysis of *The New York Times* during the 2008 primary period and used to provide additional explanation for estimation errors.

#### Polls at the Subnational Level: The Canadian Case

#### Claire Durand, Université de Montréal, Canada

There are a number of differences between elections at the national and at subnational levels. One factor is that political preferences that may cancel out at the national level can have a major impact at subnational level. Another difference has to do with the pool of voters which may not be similar. Participation is generally lower at the municipal level but also who is likely to vote varies as compared to higher levels. Finally, the resources available to conduct polls decrease as the pool of affected voters gets smaller, which produces a situation where fewer polls are conducted, among fewer respondents and with less rigorous methods. The paper will explore these factors in the case of Canada where different political parties are concentrated in different parts of the country and where mother tongue is a significant factor in voter preferences. More specifically, we will compare the factors associated with the accuracy of polls in Quebec (2007 and 2008) and Montreal (2008) elections as compared with Canadian national elections (2008).

## **Abstracts PhD Workshops**

### The context of content: The impact of source and setting on the credibility of news

Tom Bakker, Damian Trilling, Luzia Helfer, Klaus Schönbach + Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The Internet has become not only an important news source, but also a key information

resource for mainstream news organizations. With the emergence of citizen journalism and social media like Twitter and Facebook, there has been an increasing interest in people's trust in news media and the credibility of new information sources. As people for their political information primarily rely on news media, it is of key importance to understand how specific elements of news coverage influence trustworthiness. Can journalists replace face-to-face interviews with quotes from Twitter without any consequences? Is credibility affected if people increasingly rely on partisan

information sources instead of established journalistic media?

# Content Credibility and Brand Equity of Media Channels – A Comparative Study of Print, Online and AV Medium

#### Madhupa Bakshi, NSHM Institute of Media and Communication, India

Media brands in India are constantly trying to increase audience involvement with news and various ways are utilized to achieve this objective. As media managers are being constantly pushed to garner more eyeballs for television, newspaper or the online site often there are issues about the quality of the message. This study therefore explored the relationship between credibility and consumer based brand equity of media vehicles in the Indian context. Credibility was measured through Meyer's (1988) five constructs along with two new dimensions relevant to the Indian context. On the other hand, Aaker's (1991) dimensions of CBBE were used to measure the brand equity construct. Following factor analysis of the credibility index, Pearson's correlation indicated that credibility affected brand equity and through regression analysis variance in Brand Equity could be explained by credibility.

## Journalists' Perceptions of Political Sources: Less Similar – Less Credible?

#### An Examination of Factors influencing U.S. and Foreign Washington Correspondents' News Judgments of Political Sources

#### Lea C. Hellmueller, University of Missouri, USA

"Journalists list credibility as one of the greatest influences of source usage". Research shows that high credible sources are more persuasive than low credible communicators. In fact, Aristotle argued very early that credibility is positively correlated with persuasion and achieved by the speaker's personal character. Speakers' character is a pre-rational credibility evaluation element that consists of intelligence, goodness and goodwill.

One of the few definitions of credibility can be found in the work of Bentele: "Credibility is an attribute that is accredited by a receptor to human beings, institutions or communicative products in terms of an event or circumstances.". Although, there is a huge amount of research on how journalists select news, less attention has been paid to interpersonal factors such as how the credibility of a source, with *source* referring to an information source , can influence their representation in the media. Credible sources are less likely to require further verification of their stories. Thus, journalists are more likely to grant more favorable news coverage to credible sources what can have serious implications for their sources, such as politicians.

This dissertation aims to further gatekeeping theory by studying individual level influences contribution to news reporting and particularly looks at how individual level influences differences between media outlets – online news, TV, newspaper, radio, and wire services and between countries. Further, this research aims at understanding how the advent of new media transforms the autonomy and freedom of journalists and how that contributes to a re-conceptualization of Shoemaker and Vos' (2009) gatekeeping theory. Even though journalists are supposed to follow traditional professional norms like objectivity or transparency, they cannot deny the fact that they are exposed to a variety of contextual conflicting constraints.

## Classic Inspirations for Social Research Methodology in the time of Online Access Panels

#### Hynek Jeřábek, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

In the age of the Internet we will increasingly be faced with situations when the plain use of numbers, which present the distributions of attitudes or public opinions, would be the wrong strategy. Our samples and populations are frequently fuzzy, nonrepresentative, unrecognized, too small, and often entirely casual in composition. And we need to know what research design and strategy of data analysis can cope with such an unclear and tricky situation. We need to know how to arrive at valid analytical conclusions. Although we will be in a relatively complicated research situation, we will have to be able to reach sufficiently generalizable conclusions. These results should be valid not just for the 'internet' population or for 'volunteers' offering their responses to internet access panels. Our goal will be to arrive at findings that are valid perhaps just under certain, precisely defined conditions, if not generally. They will apply within certain boundaries, under clearly determined, precisely defined conditions.

#### Causes of mode-specific survey response propensity: The role of respondent involvement and peripheral cues in recruiting for Web, Telephone, Personal, and Mail Surveys

Thomas Klausch, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

Why do individuals participate in survey research? This question has concerned a generation of survey methodologists since the seminal work of Goyder (1987) and Brehm (1993). The major reasoning behind this interest is twofold. On the one hand understanding the correlates of survey response may help survey researchers to tailor their sampling strategy to individuals' preferences and hence increase survey response rates or at least to understand decreasing response rates in Western societies. On the other hand, by understanding selectivity processes methodologists hope to be able to identify those population domains in which selective response yields estimation bias and possibly adjust for it . The similarity of both approaches is the common goal to explain at one point or the other individual's survey response behavior, for example, by modeling individual's propensity to participate in survey research.

## The power of online campaigning: The effects of personalisation and online interactivity on political involvement

Sanne Kruikemeier, Guda van Noort, Rens Vliegenthart and Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Over the last years, the amount of online political communication increased tremendously.

Political parties and elected representatives are increasingly using the possibilities of the

Internet to communicate interactively with citizens and party members about their plans,

points of view and daily business. Internet offers easy access to political information, providing all kinds of opportunities for citizens to participate in political debates and for politicians to communicate interactively with voters.

The Internet does not only facilitate interactive communication, but online social media such as Facebook and Twitter, also offer opportunities to individual politicians to profile

themselves. The rapidly growing number of politicians using those new communication

instruments could be seen as a sign of increasing 'personalisation' – the shift of attention from political parties to politicians (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). Thus new online

communications instruments tend to put more emphasis on the individual politicians and are designed to facilitate direct communication between politicians and citizens. The current study is focused on these two important characteristics of online political communication. In communication research, it has often been claimed that more focus on individual politicians and the use of online interactive communication are important elements of a successful election campaign, and may foster citizens' involvement in politics. Empirical evidence for such claims is, however, relatively scarce. The current research fills this gap. In this study, we examine whether levels of personalisation of online campaigning and the use of specific interactive features indeed increases political involvement among citizens. We do so by conducting a survey-embedded experiment. Some scholars argue that a focus on the individual politician may give parties a face and voice and this may help politicians to get their messages across.

#### A Survey Stopping Rule Based on Weighting for Unit Nonresponse

#### Taylor Lewis, University of Maryland, USA

To combat nonresponse, many surveys repeatedly follow up with nonrespondents, often targeting a response rate or fixed number of cases. Acknowledging returns diminish with each wave of data collection, a recently proposed stopping rule in the literature aims at determining when the current wave's impact on a key survey estimate is inconsequential. The rule employs explicit imputation models, however, which require predictive covariates known for all sample units. This paper describes a stopping rule similar in spirit but applicable to surveys that reweight respondent records to adjust for nonresponse. The two methods are compared using data from a Web-based employee satisfaction survey. The weighting rule proves more conservative in the sense that it dictates more waves of data collection should occur. It is argued the difference is attributable to how the covariance of adjacent wave respondent data is incorporated.

# The Effect of the Internet on National Identity: A Cohort Study in Hong Kong

## Heng Lu, Tai-Quan Peng (Macau University of S&T) and Jonathan J. H. Zhu, City University of Hong Kong

National identity is a kind of collective identity that is defined as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community (i.e., nation). From constructivists' point of view, national identity is socially and historically constructed. The Internet is changing the way we create and experience our identities because of the complex nature of online interactions over the Internet. Allthough empirical studies on "national identity" or "identity politics" have grown in recent years, few has been conducted to investigate the effect of the Internet on national identity construction using large-scale representative sample data. Moreover, national identities are "points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us". The dynamic nature of national identity over time.

To fill in the gap in the literature on the effect of the Internet on national identity, a cohort study is proposed to examine the effects of Internet adoption and use on national identity in Hong Kong by using secondary survey data from a longitudinal project in Hong Kong (2002-2008).

### How does offering an explicit "Don't Know" option affect the outcome of a survey?

#### Jannine van de Maat, Leiden University, The Netherlands

'Polls have the potential to ensure that all citizens are heard by politicians and policymakers'. Since elections only take place every couple of years and the outcome does not reveal specific policy preferences, public opinion as measured by polls is one of the means for representatives to assess what the public wants. But 'public opinion... does not exist apart from the measurement procedure'. And since public opinion is or at least can be an important element of the politician's interpretation of and responsiveness towards the public in a democratic political system, its measurement is a crucial topic. The question is whether public opinion, as measured by mass opinion polls, is as robust as it is often assumed to be or that it is (partially) created by the ways the questions are asked and response alternatives are offered. This paper contributes to this debate by addressing the following question: *how does offering an explicit "Don't Know" option to the respondents of a survey affect the outcome of such a survey*?

#### Alternatives to the public discourse in Romania

#### Elena-Irina Macovei, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Romania

The research focuses on two case studies and aims to analyze the extremist opinions identified on the Romanian forums, highlighting the preferred themes of the discussion, the stereotypes exposed and their sources. The first case study includes about 1.000 opinions, expressed on the articles about a protest of several intellectuals against a TV program of the Romanian public Television (TVR), where Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the founder of the Legion, a Nazi organization created in 1927, was presented as a romantic hero. In the second case study, I analysed 1500 comments to the articles about the nuns from the monastery "Petru Vodă" who sang a fascist song as a birthday gift for the priest Justin Pârvu, which was uploaded to YouTube. In both cases, the neo-Nazis appeared on the forums, exposing propaganda ideas, contaminating some of the readers and developing an alternative to the public opinion.

### The Impact of Exposure to Foreign Culture on International News Interest

#### Patrick Merle and Jerod Foster, Texas Tech, USA

Americans are not interested in foreign news. This statement should come as no surprise since statistics have consistently highlighted a decline in foreign news

available in U.S. media over the past 25 years. Kumar (2011) stated that the proportion of staff-produced foreign stories in eight randomly selected papers by the American Journalism Review decreased from 15 percent in 1985 to four percent in 2010. Additionally, American news organizations have increasingly closed down foreign news bureaus, limiting the budget spent on correspondents responsible for generating global news (Enda, 2011; Sambrook, 2010). Regardless of which figures are under scrutiny, the demise of the foreign correspondent and its impact on the production of global news stories is apparent. Constable (2007) counted 141 foreignbased U.S. newspaper correspondents in 2006, while the American Journalism Review identified 234 correspondents in 2010, far fewer than the 307 surveyed in 2003, the last time the review conducted a census of this cohort of journalists. In light of abundant research linking direct exposure to a foreign country and intercultural awareness, this study seeks to go further and assess whether a decrease in ethnocentricity and an increase of intercultural desire and global-mindedness translates into a higher interest in foreign news. The current research, presented here as work in progress, serves as a pilot study for a year-long assessment..

## The American Attitude: Context Effects and the Change in Public Trust in Government (1964 – 2008)

#### Dmitriy Poznyak, University of Leuven, Belgium

Few other public opinion problems have received more research attention than the decline of public trust in the American national government. Trust in the Leviathan on the Potomac has declined from about 75% in 1958, to merely 20% before 2010 midterm elections. While this decline has certainly been dramatic, it is the rapid change in the levels of trust over the short periods-like during the Vietnam War, after 9/11, or Hurricane Katrina-that has puzzles researchers the most. It remains an open question whether scholars should be more concerned with the overall decline in trust, or the up and down swings in the attitude over time. Using the ANES cross-sectional timeseries data I apply a multilevel SEM approach to examine the variation in political trust on the micro- and macro-levels over time. I test for the priming hypothesis of political trust attitude by modeling the effect of national agenda on people's perception of the key important national problems, which in turn, influences their political trust. The findings counter the established idea that the decline in trust represents the vanishing systemic support of American political system. Building on the ideas of contemporary cognitive psychology, this paper instead argues, that response to trust-in-government questions largely depends on the content cues at the time of attitude construction.

# Social media surveys: towards the development of a standardised measure scale for domestic country reputation management in South Africa

*Wadim Schreiner, Pretoria, South Africa and Frank M Go, Erasmus University, The Netherlands* 

Current country reputational measurements lack a standardised scale for domestic reputation management. In South Africa, social media surveys are not (yet) reliable sources/ways of gauging general perception, but are a good way to understand concerns from influential groups of people and as such could form the basis towards an understanding of attributes that influence drivers of domestic country reputations. Can social media monitoring be used as a successful way to develop domestic country reputation attributes? To what extent are such attributes towards a country, emerging from social media analysis, reflected of image drivers contained in existing nation branding index methodologies (such as Anhold NBI or Reputation Institute CountryRep)? Can social media be used to form the basis for a 'Social modi index'?

#### Particular questions for the PhD Workshop

The candidate wishes to particularly discuss the methodology proposed for the research with fellow PhD students and experts in the field of surveys. With social media being a very young field of research, and little robust scientific data available, particularly in South Africa, an effective methodology would require the feedback from experts and students in similar fields of research. Of particular importance would be a discussion to what extent the methodology, as well as initial results could lead towards the development of a standardised measurement of social mood and eventually the construction of a social mood index as part of the domestic country reputation management.

#### What motivates an audience to comment on news coverage online?

#### Nina Springer, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany

Over the last years, news sites enabled an interactive feature to let their audience comment on coverage. Thereby, public discussions emerge; users can contribute diverse standpoints and participate in the generation of public opinion on the reported topics. The presented project aims to find out (1.) why people use this feature and (2.) how the comments influence public communication on these news sites. 30 guideline interviews with users were conducted to discover motives, and comments were content analyzed to find out about the commenters' characteristics and standpoints. While the second analysis is still in process, a variety of motives was already derived from the interview transcripts showing that people use the feature for dissonance reduction, media criticism, learning and experiencing climate of opinion (cognitive needs); for entertainment, escape, pastime, mood management and play (affective needs); contacts, inclusion, advice, role taking (social needs); self affirmation, self presentation, social comparison and identity exploration (identity related needs).

# Change in audience frames and attitudes: The effect of out-group media frames on labeling Muslims as out-group members and evaluating them negatively.

Anouk S. Van Drunen, Hajo G. Boomgaarden and Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam

How Muslims practice their religion and how Muslim immigrants integrate into their host countries, is a focal point for Western populations and allegedly for the media. Usually, media inform citizens about reality, since it is impossible for them to observe everything that happens first hand. Media organize reality by selecting certain aspects of reality and so do citizens who use certain principles to organize reality: 'primary frameworks'. Media and citizens draw from a shared repertoire of frames embedded in a culture.

In this study we investigate this repertoire of frames within the Dutch media and audience. In a previous study we researched and developed audience frames about Muslims. In that study we distinguished between media frames, audience frames and attitudes. We propose that media frames will via audience frames affect attitudes about Muslims. Schemas (the individual level of an audience frame) structure information in individuals' thought and process (media) information. Because media frames also structure information and are proposed to affect audience frames they affect how audiences structure information about a certain topic.

#### Presentation and Perception of complex Information on Television

#### Wolfgang Wichmann, Glashuettenstr. 110, 20357 Hamburg, Germany

Several studies have investigated what journalists do with poll results. This dissertation is done to answer the question: What do television viewers do with poll results? This dissertation is designed to reveal what TV viewers actually do with political poll results that are presented to them via television broadcast. In order to find out how the information of political poll results is processed by a television viewer, expertise and a theoretical framework of the field media psychology is applied. The most relevant theory for this study is the Limited Capacity Model by Annie Lang. Lang combined findings and perceptions of two different disciplines: information-processing of cognitive psychology and social science effects research in mass communication. After a series of empirical studies, she presented a very useful data-driven model.

#### Specialization of news audiences in the Netherlands 1988 – 2010

#### Anke Wonneberger, Klaus Schonbach and Lex van Meurs, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

In this study, we analyze exposure to political information programs on TV in the Netherlands over the last two decades. Based on people-meter data, we compare serious and light news as well as current-affairs formats. In a world of mediated politics, exposure to current-affairs information is an integral part of political or civic engagement. Especially TV programs have long been regarded as being able to reach large audiences across socioeconomic groups and varying degrees of political interest and sophistication. Audiovisual forms of presentation are assumed to aid attention and learning of the less interested more easily than other news sources. But viewers nowadays can not only choose more easily to watch or to avoid political information, they can also choose between a diversity of different programs that deal with news and current-affairs issues. News and current-affairs programs originally had a clear focus on political information that is sometimes referred to as "hard news", mainly reporting on political actors, societal issues or decisions. During the last decades, new formats have been introduced that cover less public-policy issues and more local news, human interest or celebrities.

### **Past Conference Locations**

64 <sup>th</sup> (2011):	Amsterdam, The Netherlands
63 <sup>rd</sup> (2010):	Chicago, Illinois, USA
$62^{nd}$ (2009):	Lausanne, Switzerland
61 <sup>st</sup> (2008):	New Orleans, Louisiana, USA
$60^{\text{th}}$ (2007):	Berlin, Germany
59 <sup>th</sup> (2006):	Montreal, Canada
58 <sup>th</sup> (2005):	Cannes, France
$57^{\text{th}}$ (2004):	Phoenix, Arizona, USA
56 <sup>th</sup> (2003):	Prague, Czech Republic
55 <sup>th</sup> (2002):	St. Petersburg, Florida, USA
$54^{\text{th}}$ (2001):	Rome, Italy
53 <sup>rd</sup> (2000):	Portland, Oregon, USA
52 <sup>nd</sup> (1999):	Paris, France
51 <sup>st</sup> (1998):	St. Louis, Missouri, USA
50 <sup>th</sup> (1997):	Edinburgh, Scotland
49 <sup>th</sup> (1996):	Salt Lake City, Utah, USA
48 <sup>th</sup> (1995):	The Hague, The Netherlands
47 <sup>th</sup> (1994):	Danvers, Massachusetts, USA
46 <sup>th</sup> (1993):	Copenhagen, Denmark
45 <sup>th</sup> (1992):	St. Petersburg, Florida, USA
44 <sup>th</sup> (1991):	Luxembourg
43 <sup>rd</sup> (1990):	Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA
nd	, , ,

 $42^{nd}$  (1989): Stockholm, Sweden

### Past Presidents of WAPOR

1947-1948 1949-1950 1951-1952 1953-1954 1955-1956 1957-1958 1959-1960 1961-1962 1963-1964 1965-1966 1967-1968 1969-1970 1971-1972 1973-1974 1977-1978 1979-1980 1981-1982 1983-1984 1985-1986	Jean Stoetzel, France James White, UK John F. Maloney, USA Jan Stapel, The Netherlands Leo P. Crespi, USA Bjorn Balstad, Norway Mark Abrams, UK Helen Crossley, USA Karl Georg von Stackelberg, Germany Leo Bogart, USA Eric da Costa, India Adri Bakker, The Netherlands Wim J. de Jonge, The Netherlands Juan Linz, Spain/USA Irving Crespi, USA Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, Germany Yvan Corbeil, Canada Robert M. Worcester, UK Seymour Martin Lipset, USA
1987-1988 1989-1990	Hans L. Zetterberg, Sweden Frederick C. Turner, USA
1991-1992	Elizabeth H. Nelson, UK
1993-1994	Philip E. Meyer, USA
1995-1996	Wolfgang Donsbach, Germany
1997-1998 1999-2000	Maxwell E. McCombs, USA Miguel Basáñez, Mexico
2001-2002	Brian Gosschalk, UK
2001-2002	Kathleen A. Frankovic, USA
2005-2004	Esteban Lopez-Escobar, Spain
2003-2008	Michael W. Traugott, USA
2009-2010	Thomas Petersen, Germany
2011-2012	Tom W. Smith, USA

(Conference Program: version September 5th 2011)