

# Distinctive Types of Political Attitudes and Political Behaviors

Latent Class Analysis as a Tool for Identifying Complex Individual-level Typologies



**Jennifer Oser** | Ben-Gurion University, Israel

ECPR Standing Group on Political Culture | Lecture Series, December 13, 2022, via zoom

# Relevant studies

1. Oser, J. (2022).

**Protest as one political act in individuals' participation repertoires**

*American Behavioral Scientist*, 66(4), 510–532.



2. Bakk, Z., Di Mari, R., Oser, J., & Kuha, J. (2022).

**Two-stage multilevel latent class analysis with covariates**

*Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 29, 267-277.

Structural  
Equation  
Modeling  
A Multidisciplinary  
Journal



Structural Equation Modeling

3. Oser, J., Hooghe, M., Bakk, Z., & Di Mari, R. (2022).

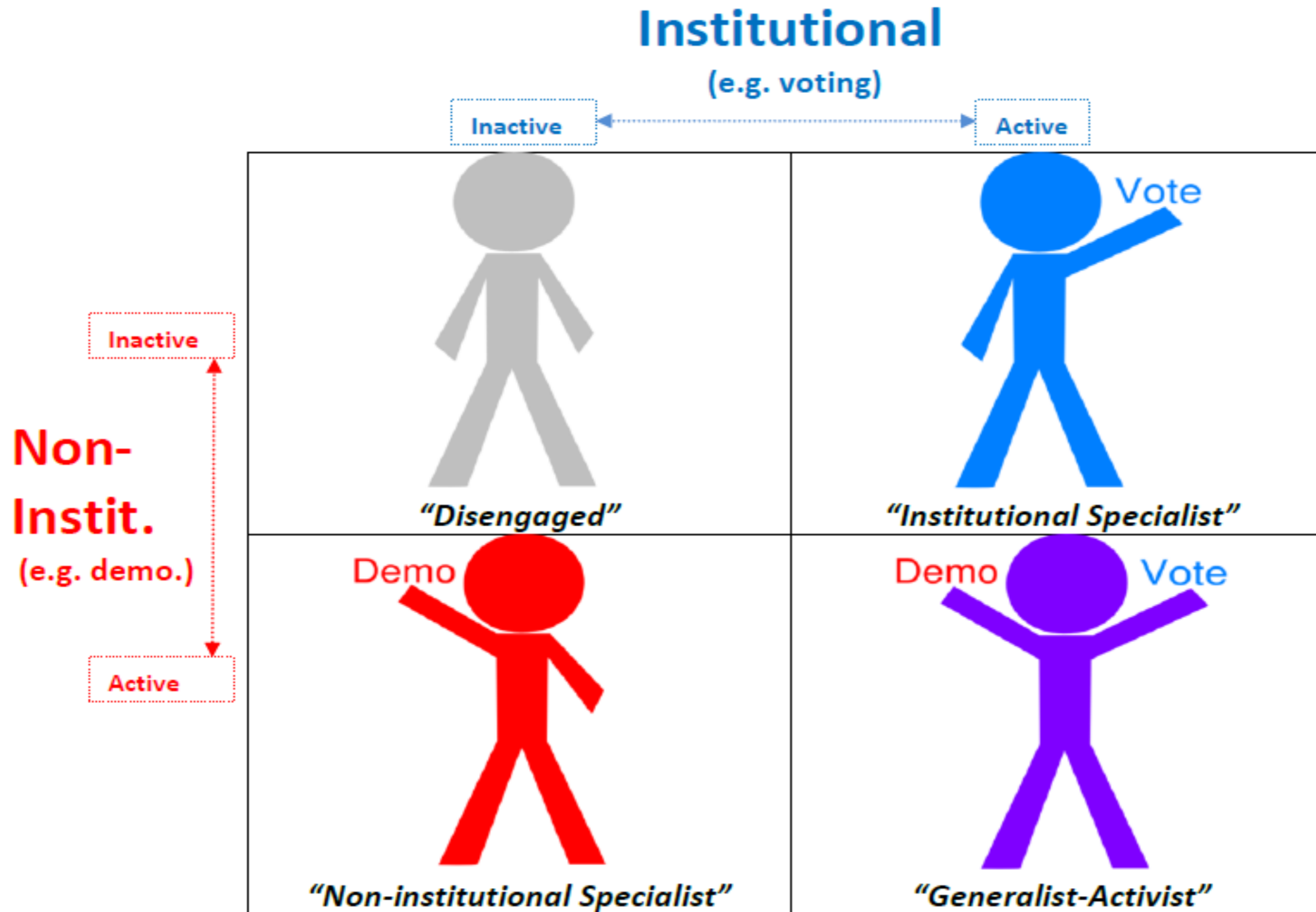
**Changing citizenship norms among adolescents, 1999-2009-2016**

*Quality & Quantity* (online first published Dec 6, 2022)



# Theory: Ideal types

## Behaviors or attitudes



# Theoretical and Methodological Shift

| <b>Political Behavior</b><br><i>ABS article</i>                             | <b>Political Attitudes</b><br><i>Quality &amp; Quantity article</i>         |
|---|---|
| Analyzing <b>participant types</b> requires a shift from focusing on single | Analyzing <b>citizenship norms</b> requires a shift from focusing on single |
| <b>political <u>acts</u></b>  | <b>normative <u>indicators</u></b>  |
| To focus on how   | To focus on how   |
| <b>political <u>actors</u></b>  | <b>individual <u>actors</u></b>   |
| Combine protest with other  | Combine distinctive indicators  |
| behaviors   | (e.g., engaged, duty)   |

# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Literature & Theory

- **“Good citizen,” duty:** Almond & Verba (1963) approach: ‘good citizen’ has a **duty** toward society and the political system. Why important?  
Citizenship norms → Political behavior → Democratic quality
- **Citizenship engagement argument** (e.g., Dalton & Welzel 2014): ‘civic culture’ approach is outdated - citizens are no longer ‘allegiant’ and want to express their own engaged opinions
- **Democratic erosion argument** (e.g., Lührmann & Lindberg, 2019; Mauk 2020) – not all groups within society are increasingly supportive of engaged and self-expressive citizenship concepts

# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Hypotheses

### **H1: Identification of engaged and duty-based norms:**

Engaged and duty-based norms are empirically identified, even among adolescents in diverse contexts.

### **H2a: Citizen engagement normative evolution:**

Engaged citizenship norms have become more prevalent as duty-based norms have declined.

### **H2b: Democratic erosion normative evolution:**

Engaged citizenship norms have declined as duty-based and even authoritarian norms have increased.

# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Data and Methods

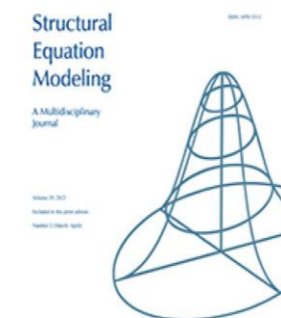
### Data:

- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)
- 1999, 2009, 2016 – countries (14) that participated in all waves (n=137,499)  
BGR, CHL, COL, DNK, EST, FIN, HKG, ITA, LVA, LTU, NOR, RUS, SVN, SWE
- Citizenship norms – full battery of indicators
- Standard socio-demographic correlates (gender, education)

### Methods:

Latent class analysis, with 2 recent developments:

- (1) Multilevel analysis: fixed effects with covariates
- (2) Measurement equivalence



Structural Equation Modeling

# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

Our prior related work with IEA data

## **1999 & 2009, Scandinavian countries (4)**

Oser, Jennifer, and Marc Hooghe. 2013. "[The evolution of citizenship norms among Scandinavian adolescents, 1999–2009](#)." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 36 (4):320-46.

## **1999 & 2009, all available countries (21)**

Hooghe, Marc, and Jennifer Oser. 2015. "The rise of engaged citizenship: [The evolution of citizenship norms among adolescents in 21 countries between 1999 and 2009](#)." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 56 (1):29-52.

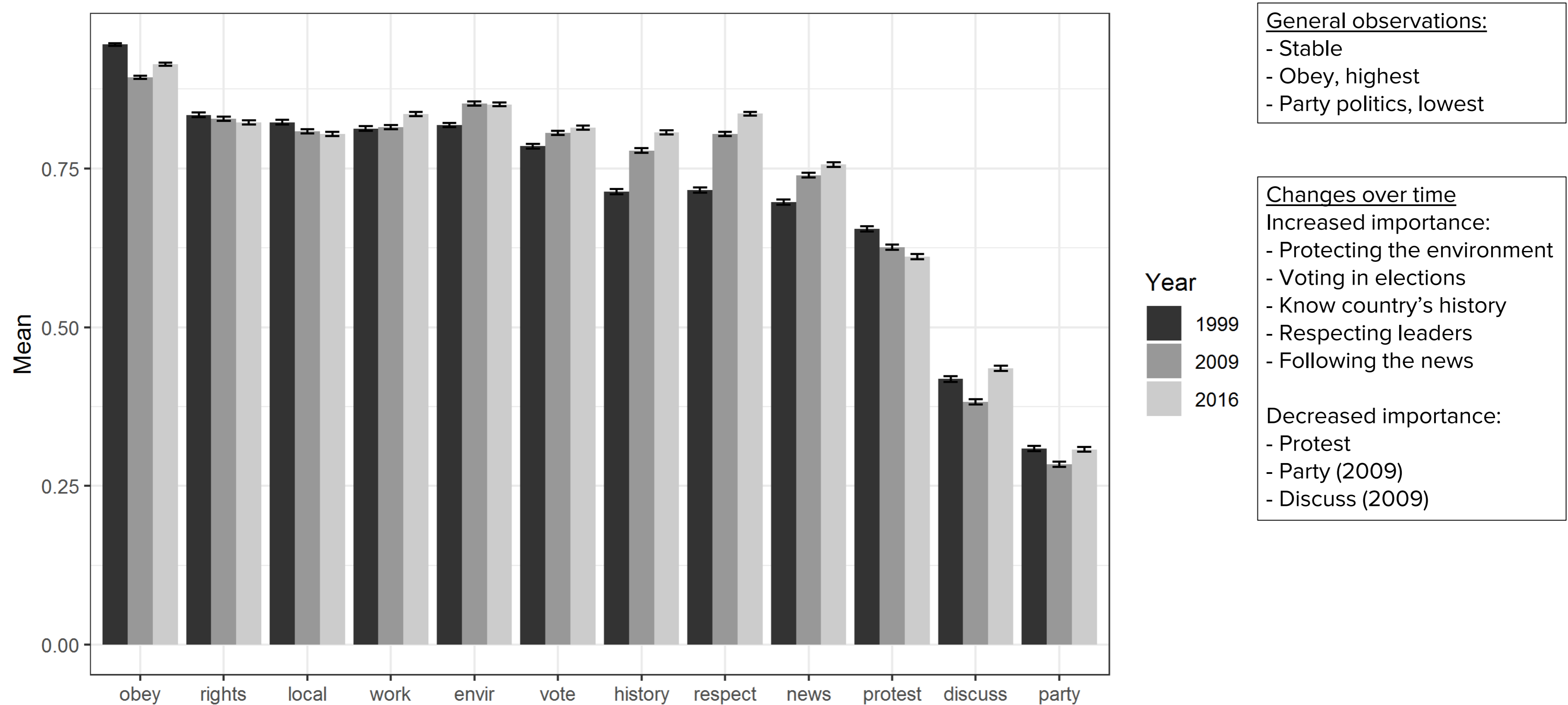
## **2016, all available countries (38)**

Hooghe, Marc, Jennifer Oser, and Sofie Marien. 2016. "[A comparative analysis of 'good citizenship'](#): A latent class analysis of adolescents' citizenship norms in 38 countries." *International Political Science Review* 37 (1):115-29.



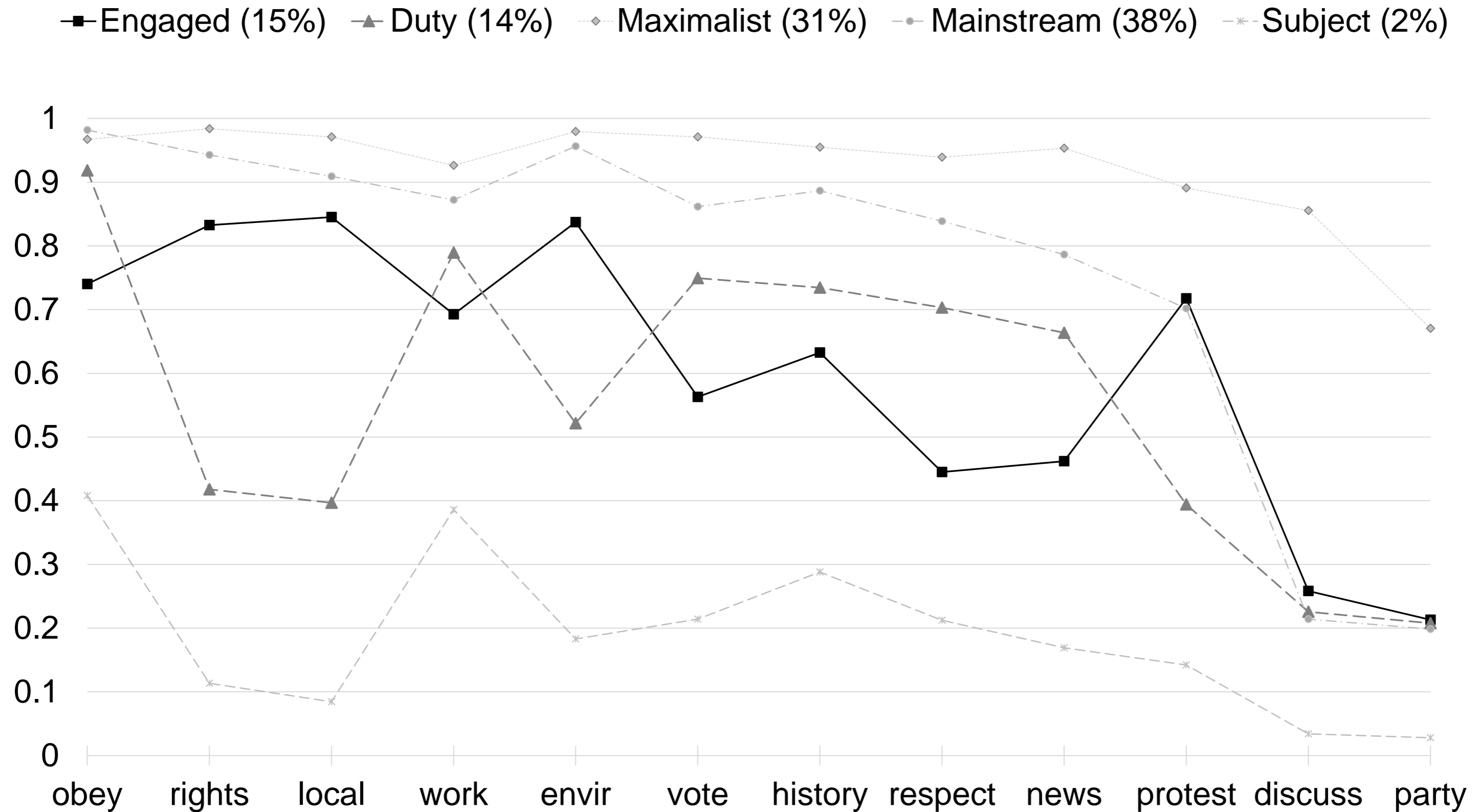
# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Trends in good citizenship indicators (Figure 1)



# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

Distinctive Norms identified by LCA step #1 (Figure 1)



# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Findings from Step #2: Multinomial Logistic Regression

### Table 1 summary

Prevalence of norms:

- Engaged and Duty-based: stable over time
- Maximalist (highest) and Subject (lowest): increased prevalence

Socio-demographic correlates: modest association

# Citizenship Norms article (Q&Q)

## Findings Related to Hypotheses

### **H1: Identification of engaged and duty-based norms: (SUPPORTED)**

Engaged and duty-based norms are empirically identified, even among adolescents in diverse contexts.

### **H2a: Citizen engagement normative evolution: (MIXED)**

Engaged citizenship norms have become more prevalent as duty-based norms have declined.

### **H2b: Democratic erosion normative evolution: (MIXED)**

Engaged citizenship norms have declined as duty-based and even authoritarian norms have increased.

# Summary and Discussion

- Theory and Method contribution of actor-oriented approach
- Implementation of methods for valid identification of types
  - (1) Multilevel analysis with covariates
  - (2) Measurement equivalence
- Next-step substantive research: connecting participant types to patterns of representation.
- Next-step methodological research, example: Differential item functioning for specific indicators (e.g., protest)

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**Additional Slides:**

**Broad Research Agenda and ERC Project**

# Research Agenda: Select Projects



## **(1) Why and how do people participate in politics?**

- Participation repertoires & inequalities, LCA (ABS)
- Citizenship norms & democratic values (BJPIR; Quality & Quantity)
- Political efficacy, online and offline participation (Pol Com)
- Digital media use & participation (POQ)

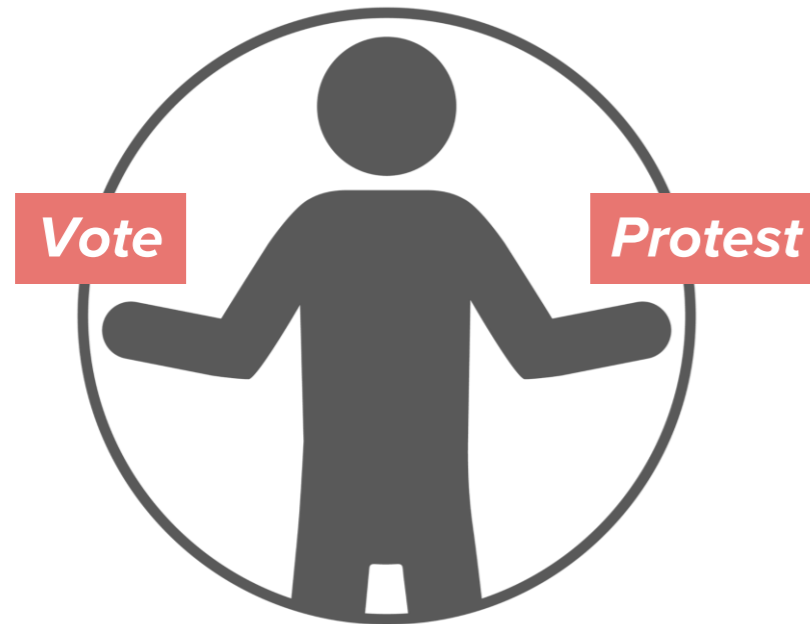
## **(2) Participation-Representation Connection?**

- Voting and social policy (Political Studies; EJPR)
- Non-institutionalized (Perspectives on Politics; JEPP)
- Efficacy and Effectiveness (Oxford Handbook chapter)
- Collective action and democracy (Annual Review PS, conditional accept)



# ERC Project - Theoretical Framework

Repertoires  
of participation



Including digital behavior

Subjective  
representation



“Political Efficacy”

Mobilizing &  
organizing



Focus: Lower status groups

## New Integration of Hypotheses

H1:  
Communication

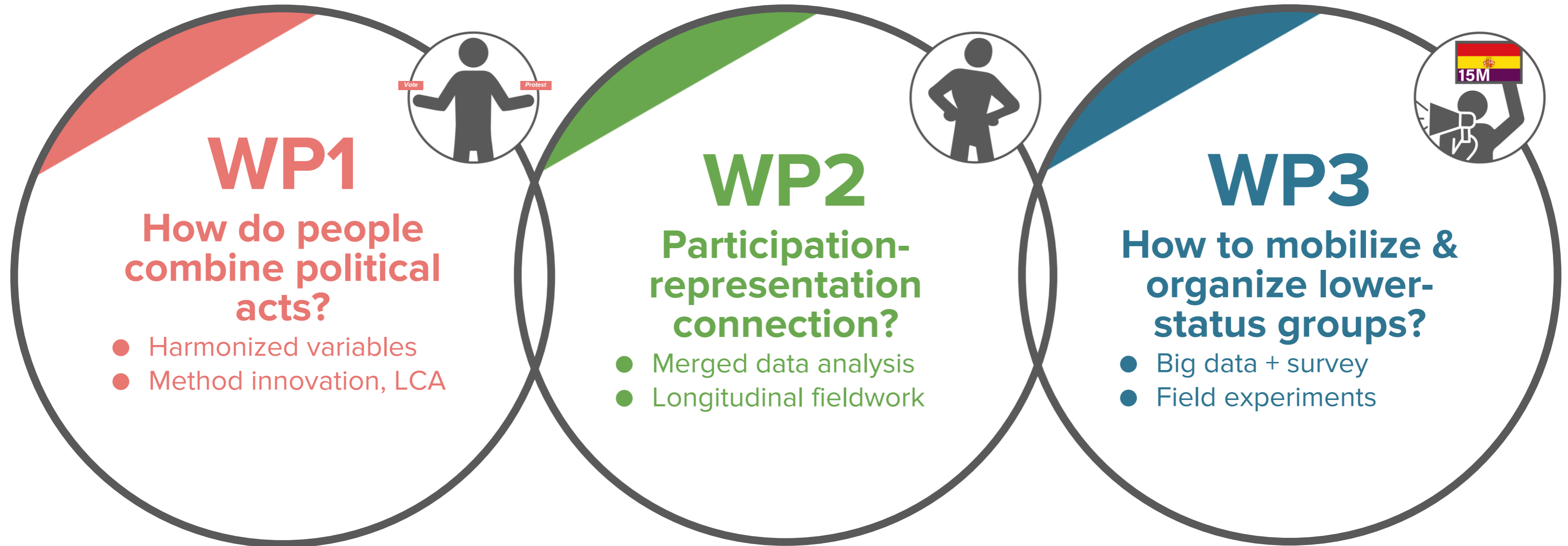


versus

H2:  
Grievance



# ERC Research Design



## Contributions

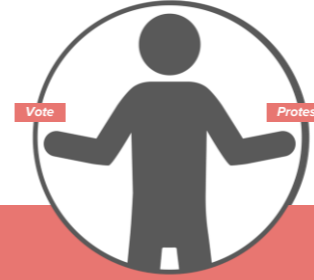
**Data:** Originally harmonized dataset

**Methods:** Innovations in analyzing repertoires

**Theory and findings:** Participation-representation connection

# ERC Project: Goals & Team

## Key intermediate goals



## Team

### WP1

Political Acts & Political Participators

#### Part 1: Months 1-20

- 1.1. Method innovation, LCA
- 1.2. Survey harmonization and analysis

**Answer RQ1:** How do people combine political acts over time?

### WP2

Participation-Representation Connection

#### Part 2: Months 21-40

- 2.1. Participation-representation statistical analysis
- 2.2. Qualitative fieldwork, longitudinal

**Answer RQ2:** Partic-rep: Communication or Grievance?

### WP3

Mobilizing & Organizing Lower Status Groups

#### Part 3: Months 41-60

- 3.1. Political content exposure, Twitter + survey
- 3.2. Civic opportunities, field experiment

**Answer RQ3:** Mechanisms that mobilize lower-status groups?



Phd 1

PostDoc 1

Phd 2

PostDoc 2

Phd 3