

The Cross-Pressured Citizen:

Revisiting Social Influence on Political Behavior

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Motivation:

Groups and Political Behavior

- Long history of research on relationship between group membership and political behavior
- One particular interest: “cross-pressures”

Cross-Pressures: Intuition

	Young	Old
Urban	Reinforcing Pressures	Cross-Pressured
Rural	Cross-Pressured	Reinforcing Pressures

Cross-Pressures

- Lots of hypotheses:
 - \uparrow Cross pressures \rightarrow \downarrow Partisanship
 - \uparrow Cross pressures \rightarrow \downarrow Political Participation
- No systematic tests
- One problem: no tool for measuring
 - Particularly in multi-party system

Contributions of Current Project

- Introduce a novel, flexible measure for “cross-pressures”
 - Any number of parties
 - Any political context
- Use this measure to test outstanding hypotheses on effects of cross-pressures
 - Are cross-pressured less partisan?
 - Do cross-pressured participate less?
 - [Do cross-pressured vote differently?]

Cross-Pressures: Measure

Young

Old

Urban

**Reinforcing
Pressures:**
Low CP Score

**Cross-
Pressured:**
High CP Score

Rural

**Cross-
Pressured:**
High CP Score

**Reinforcing
Pressures:**
Low CP Score

Outline of Paper

- **Constructing “Cross Pressure Scores”**
- **Testing Hypotheses:**
 - **Partisanship and political participation at one point in time in one country (Annenberg 2004)**
 - **Partisanship over time in one country (ANES cumulative file, 1952-2004)**
 - **Political participation in multiple countries (CSES, 2nd Wave)**

Questions for CSDP

(Not all of which will make sense yet)

- Do we need to report results using both versions of the cross-pressure score?
- Aggregate findings vs. the micro-level findings?
- Do we want a separate “introducing the measure” paper?
- For the US data, does it make more sense to focus on “theories of partisanship” (a DV paper) or “cross-pressured citizens” (an IV paper)
- Should we combine US and comparative data in one paper, or should comparative be a separate paper?

The Cross-pressure Score Algorithm

Step 1:

Regress individuals' party preferences on demographic variables via (multinomial) logit



Step 2:

Calculate predicted probabilities for each individual of supporting each party



Step 3:

Calculate the variation in predicted probabilities for each respondent



Step 4:

Subtract variation from 1 and normalize to create cross-pressure scores

Cross-Pressures Scores

Young

Old

Urban

Pr(P1): 0.9
Pr(P2): 0.1
High Variation
Low CP Score

Pr(P1): 0.5
Pr(P2): 0.5
Low Variation
High CP Score

Rural

Pr(P1): 0.5
Pr(P2): 0.5
Low Variation
High CP Score

Pr(P1): 0.1
Pr(P2): 0.9
High Variation
Low CP Score

Creating CP Scores: 2004 Annenberg dataset

- **Step 1**
 - What dependent variable (for party preference) should be used?
 - Vote intention/vote choice
 - Which values of the DV (i.e., which parties) should be included in the initial regression?
 - US Simple: Democrats and Republicans
 - Which demographic variables should be included?
 - [“Best” demographics](#)
- **Step 3**
 - How do we calculate the variation in predicted probabilities?
 - Absolute differences between probabilities

Hypotheses Reiterated

- \uparrow Cross pressures \rightarrow \downarrow Partisanship
- \uparrow Cross pressures \rightarrow \downarrow Political Participation

Testing CP Scores: 2004 Annenberg dataset

- Eight behaviors:
 - Generic partisanship (binary for partisan / not partisan)
 - PID strength (note: only partisans)
 - turnout / turnout intention
 - political interest
 - frequency of political discussion
 - whether the respondent tried to influence others
 - whether the respondent attended meetings / rallies during campaign
 - whether the respondent donated to campaigns
- *Expectation: Higher cross-pressures lead to less partisanship and lower levels of political participation.*

Effects of Cross-Pressure Scores on Political Behaviors in the United States (Annenberg data)

	Partisanship	Partisan Strength	Turnout	Political Interest	Discussion	Influence	Attendance	Contribution
CP Score	-0.351*** (0.041)	-0.510*** (0.053)	-0.202* (0.120)	-0.083*** (0.017)	-0.266*** (0.041)	-0.381*** (0.122)	-0.104 (0.215)	-0.440** (0.187)
Constant	0.305 (0.188)	-0.691*** (0.134)	-2.796*** (0.289)	1.021*** (0.046)	-0.228** (0.116)	-2.397*** (0.329)	-4.476*** (0.654)	-6.596*** (0.610)
Observations	78186	50383	15760	62421	80914	9352	9366	9343
Chi-squared	3042.04	4019.70	277.99			1364.24	441.71	1040.48
R-squared				0.170	0.210			

Standard errors in parentheses

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

NOTE: Other independent variables were omitted from the table for reasons of clarity.

Creating CP Scores: 1952-2004 ANES dataset

- **Step 1**
 - What dependent variable (for party preference) should be used?
 - Vote intention/vote choice AND Party Identification
 - Which values of the DV (i.e., which parties) should be included in the initial regression?
 - US Simple: Democrats and Republicans
 - Which demographic variables should be included?
 - “Best” demographics
- **Step 3**
 - How do we calculate the variation in predicted probabilities?
 - Absolute differences between probabilities

Looking Deeper: Endogeneity with PID in Step 1?

- If PID is DV of ultimate analysis, how can we use PID to construct CP score (which will be IV in ultimate analysis)?
- PID plays two different roles
 - Stage 1: Proxy for party preference
 - Stage 2: DV of partisans and non-partisans
 - Exact same Stage 2 distribution could generate infinite number of Stage 1 distribution
- Stage 1 creates CP score for every individual
 - Non-partisans could look very similar to partisan OR
 - Non-partisans could look very different from partisans

Looking Deeper II: Why Create Two Measures?

- Two different measures of party preference
- Vote choice indicates immediate preference,
- PID indicates long-term preference
- No idea which is “correct” ...
- Maybe interesting theoretical story?
 - Immediate behavior (turnout, campaign contributions) → Vote choice
 - Long-term behavior (partisanship, general interest in politics) → PID

Hypotheses Reiterated

- **↑ Cross pressures → ↓ Partisanship**

Effects of Cross-Pressures on *Partisanship* (Pooled ANES Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
CP Scores (Vote Choice)	-0.283*** (0.065)		-0.170*** (0.070)
CP Scores (PID)		-0.369*** (0.066)	-0.313*** (0.071)
Constant	-0.673*** (0.185)	-0.633*** (0.183)	-0.555*** (0.187)
Observations	25482	25694	25418
Chi-squared	1741.76	1773.65	1745.02

Standard errors in parentheses

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1% (one-tailed)

NOTE: Other independent variables were omitted from the table for reasons of clarity.

Effects of Cross-Pressures on *Partisan Strength* (Pooled ANES Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
CP Scores (Vote Choice)	-0.229*** (0.077)		-0.121* (0.084)
CP Scores (PID)		-0.346*** (0.078)	-0.290*** (0.085)
Constant	-1.007 *** (0.228)	-0.980*** (0.225)	-0.909*** (0.230)
Observations	16833	17016	16803
Chi-squared	1971.24	2011.72	1978.84

Standard errors in parentheses

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1% (one-tailed)

NOTE: Other independent variables were omitted from the table for reasons of clarity.

**Effects of Cross-Pressures on Partisanship
(By-Year ANES Data)**

Year	Vote Choice	PID
1952	-0.105 (0.314)	-0.304 (0.321)
1956	-0.259 (0.344)	-0.854 (0.328)***
1960	-1.157 (0.384)***	-0.881 (0.435)**
1964	0.208 (0.462)	0.109 (0.384)
1968	-0.807 (0.366)**	-0.600 (0.330)**
1972	-0.193 (0.275)	-0.012 (0.260)
1976	-0.259 (0.274)	-0.255 (0.246)
1980	0.227 (0.344)	-0.273 (0.309)
1984	-0.426 (0.252)**	-0.489 (0.267)**
1988	-0.512 (0.313)*	-0.467 (0.295)*
1992	-0.108 (0.243)	-0.342 (0.215)*
1996	-0.401 (0.280)*	-0.309 (0.267)
2000	0.020 (0.278)	-0.017 (0.278)
2004	-0.297 (0.334)	-0.178 (0.340)

*** = $p < 0.01$ (one-tailed)

** = $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

* = $p < 0.10$ (one-tailed)

Cell entries are regression coefficients and SEs on by-year regressions of partisanship dummy variables.

**Effects of Cross-Pressures on Partisan Strength
(By-Year ANES Data, among Partisans)**

Year	Vote Choice	PID
1952	-0.530 (0.342)*	-0.866 (0.338)***
1956	-0.297 (0.366)	-0.366 (0.322)
1960	0.087 (0.377)	-0.865 (0.405)**
1964	-0.154 (0.433)	-0.578 (0.357)*
1968	-0.746 (0.436)**	-0.562 (0.375)*
1972	0.256 (0.358)	-0.080 (0.313)
1976	0.047 (0.349)	-0.183 (0.310)
1980	0.039 (0.430)	0.376 (0.411)
1984	0.298 (0.324)	-0.513 (0.327)*
1988	-0.760 (0.399)**	-0.366 (0.368)
1992	-0.129 (0.318)	-0.575 (0.278)**
1996	-0.228 (0.354)	-0.400 (0.333)
2000	-0.286 (0.357)	-0.325 (0.357)
2004	0.289 (0.454)	0.658 (0.466)*

*** = $p < 0.01$ (one-tailed)

** = $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

* = $p < 0.10$ (one-tailed)

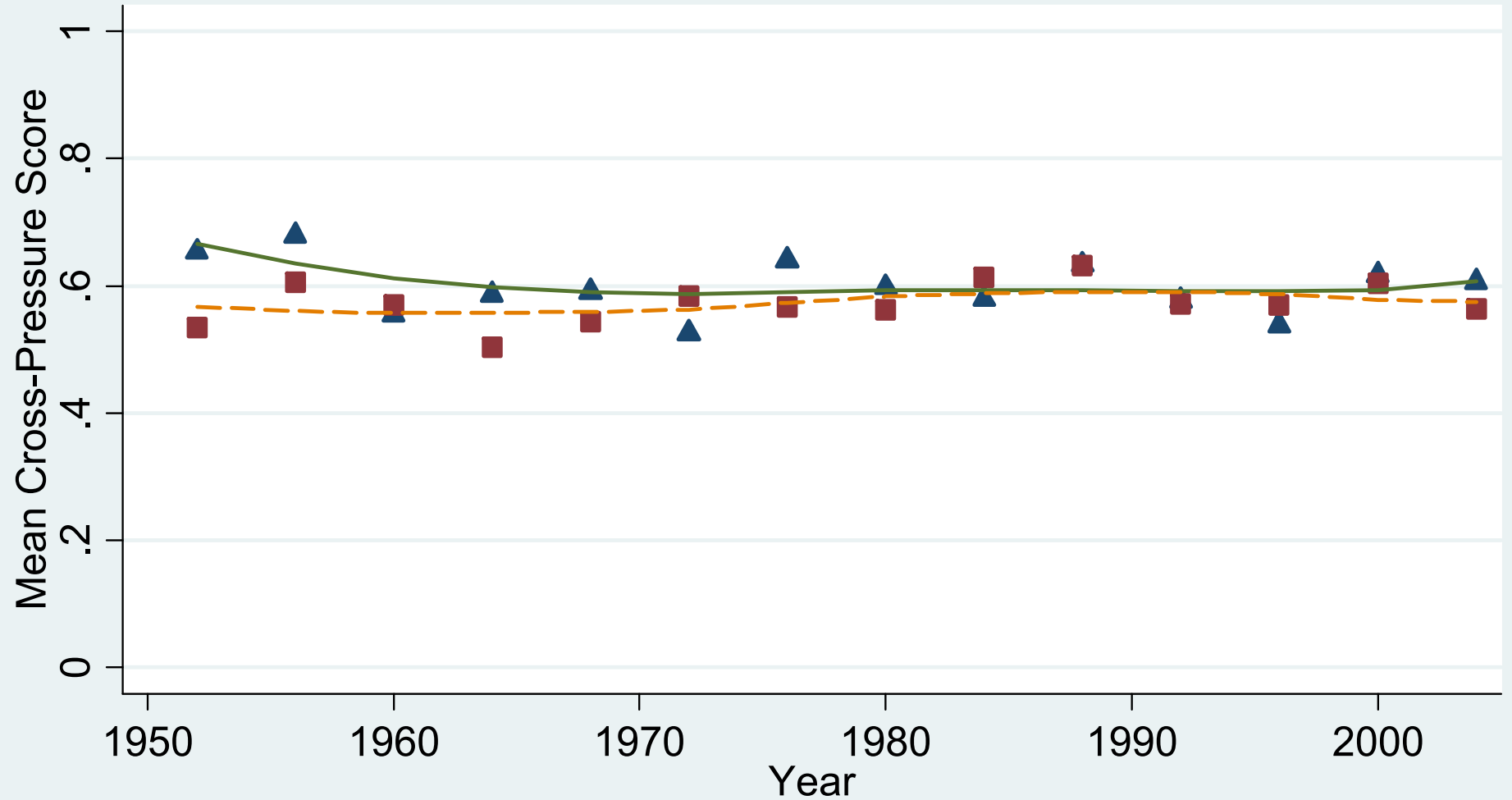
Cell entries are regression coefficients and SEs on by-year regressions of partisanship dummy variables.

Patterns in Cross-Pressure Scores Across Demographic Groups

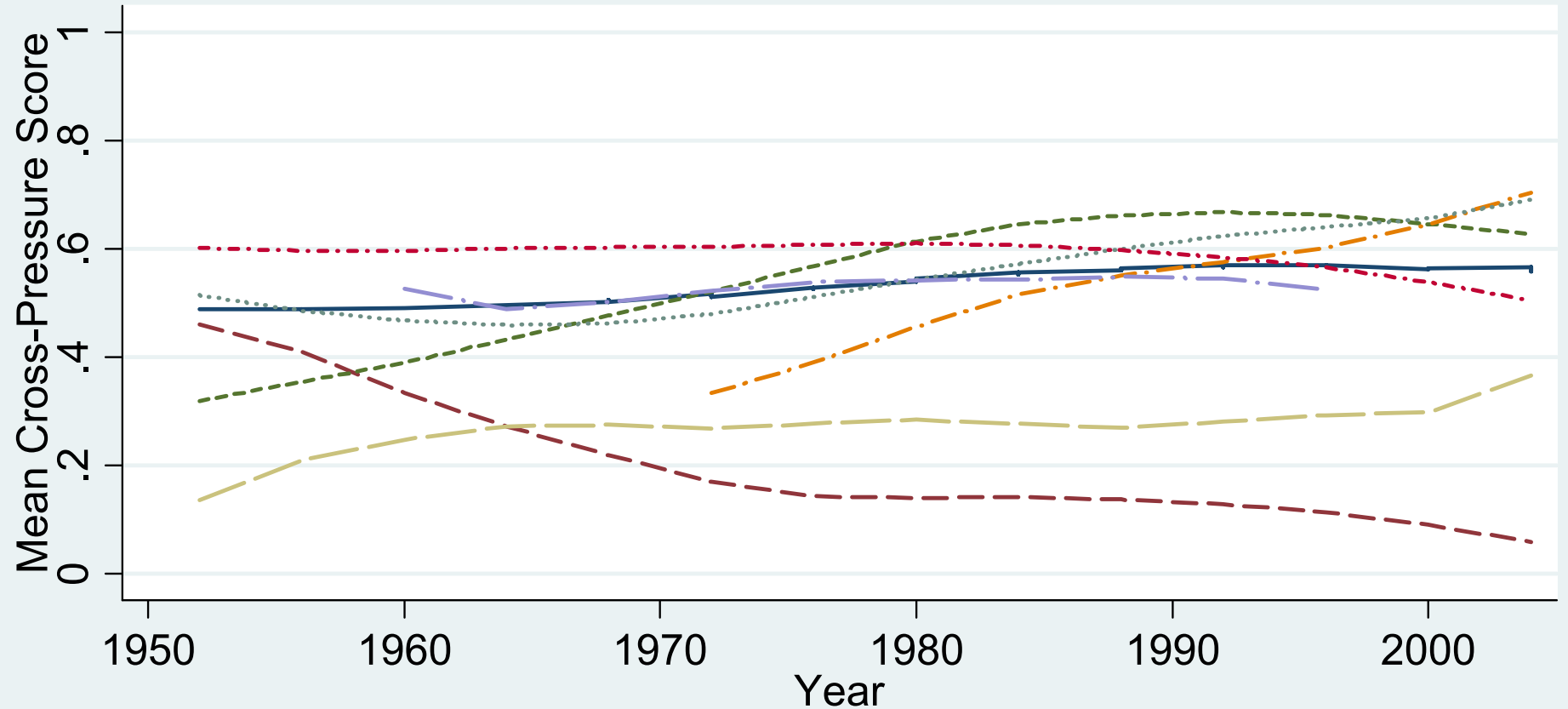
- **Average CP scores of total population over time**
- **Average CP scores of sub-populations over time**
- **Can plot CP and Aggregate Partisanship**

- **Question: can aggregate cross-pressure scores help us to understand something new about US politics?**
 - **Partisan realignment?**
 - **“ins” and “outs” of politics?**

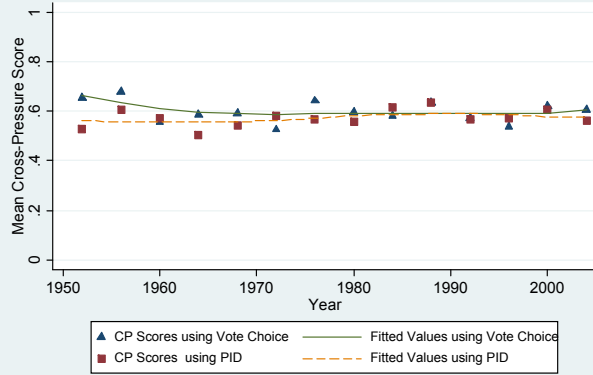
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among All Respondents



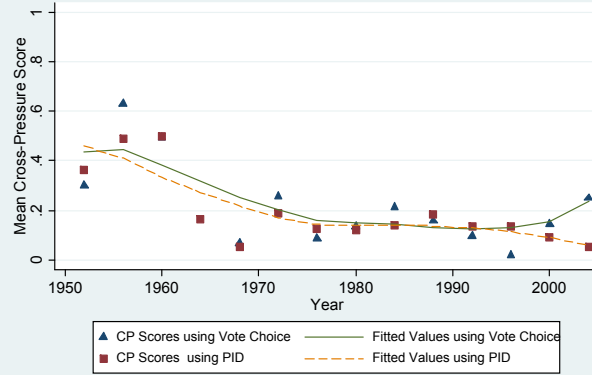
Average Cross-Pressure Scores (based on PID) by Year Among Various Demographic Groups



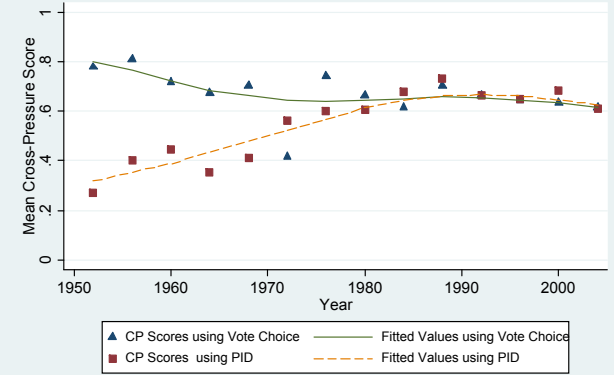
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among All Respondents



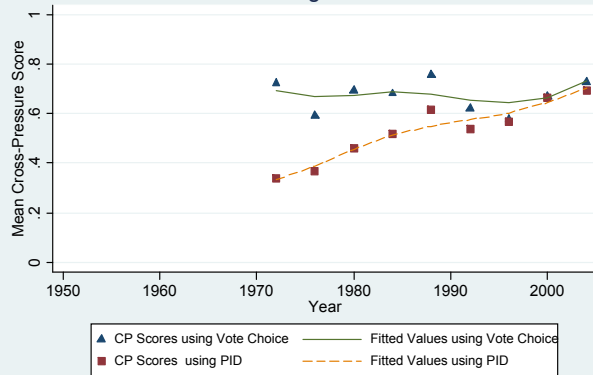
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among Blacks



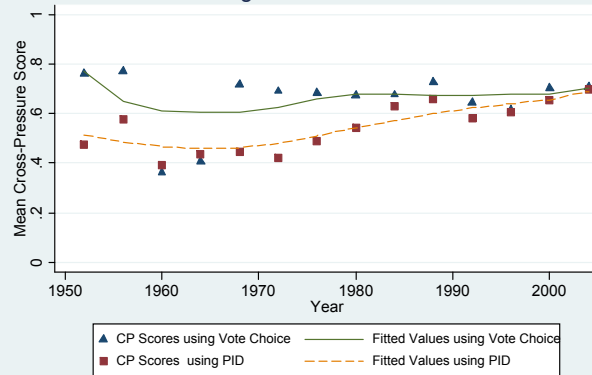
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among All Southern Whites



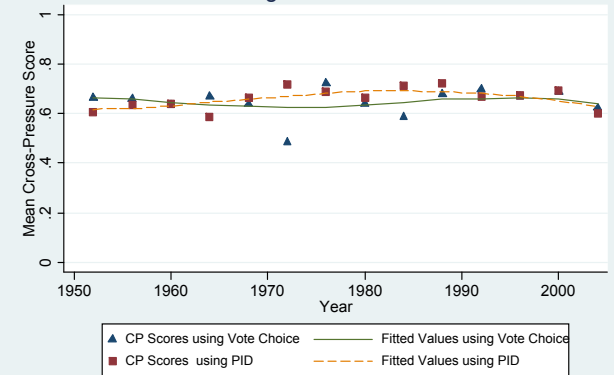
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among Latinos



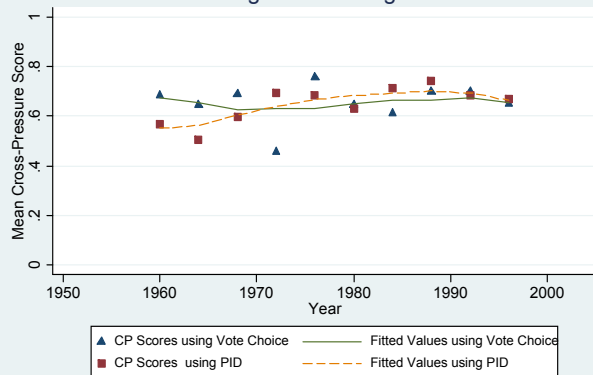
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among Non-Latino Catholics



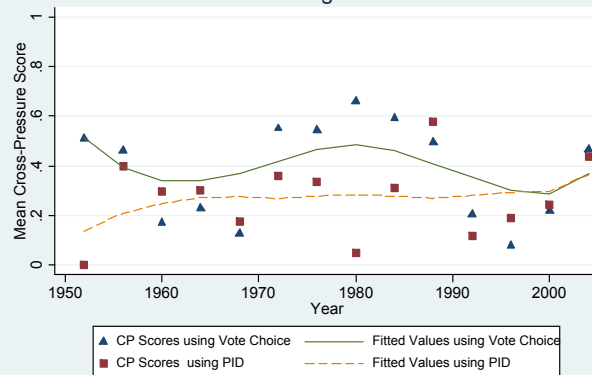
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among White Protestants



Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among White Evangelicals



Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year
Among Jews



Cross-Pressures by Groups

- Above average CPs: White Evangelicals, White Protestants
- Below average CPs: Blacks; Jews; Urban
- Average CPs: Protestants (all), married, unmarried, rural, suburban, soccer moms
- Changing
 - Blacks decrease from 50s – 70s
 - Latinos increase (but only PID version)
 - Catholics increase (esp. PID version)
 - White Southerners (mainly in PID)

Testing CP Scores: CSES Wave 2 dataset

- Five countries, to have variation in political systems and number of parties
- 2 in US, 3 in UK, 4 in S. Korea, 6 in Israel, 7 in Poland
- Test whether CP scores affect voter turnout
- *Expectation: Higher cross-pressures lead to lower likelihood of voter turnout.*

Creating CP Scores: CSES Wave 2 dataset

- **Step 1**
 - What dependent variable (for party preference) should be used?
 - Parliamentary vote choice (US Presidential)
 - Which values of the DV (i.e., which parties) should be included in the initial regression?
 - Minimum of 5% vote and 20 respondents
 - Which demographic variables should be included?
 - “Same” demographics
- **Step 3**
 - How do we calculate the variation in predicted probabilities?
 - Variation across Top 3 parties

Robustness checks

- Different proxies for party preference (PID vs. Vote Choice)
- Different numbers of parties (Poland example)
- Different sets of variables (core vs. country-specific in CSES)
- Different variation calculation methods (Difference in Top 2, Variance Top 3, Variance All)

Effects of Cross-pressure Scores on Voter Turnout (CSES2 Data)

	US	UK	South Korea	Israel	Poland
CP Score	-0.590 (0.45)	0.408 (0.80)	0.337 (0.69)	-0.998 (0.70)	-1.276* (0.71)
Constant	-1.549* (0.86)	-3.010*** (0.98)	-3.587*** (1.02)	1.895 (1.24)	-3.354*** (0.72)
Observations	1058	857	1486	1205	1783
Chi-squared	183.16	173.79	169.46	70.64	382.29

Standard errors in parentheses

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

NOTE: Other independent variables were omitted from the table for reasons of space

Conclusion

- **Developed a method of calculating cross-pressures**
- **Shown its usefulness in predicting various elements of political behavior in a variety of countries**
- **Demonstrated its robustness to a range of specifications**

Questions for CSDP

(Hopefully they all make sense now)

- Do we need to report results using both versions of the cross-pressure score?
- Aggregate findings vs. the micro-level findings?
- Do we want a separate “introducing the measure” paper?
- For the US data, does it make more sense to focus on “theories of partisanship” (a DV paper) or “cross-pressured citizens” (an IV paper)
- Should we combine US and comparative data in one paper, or should comparative be a separate paper?

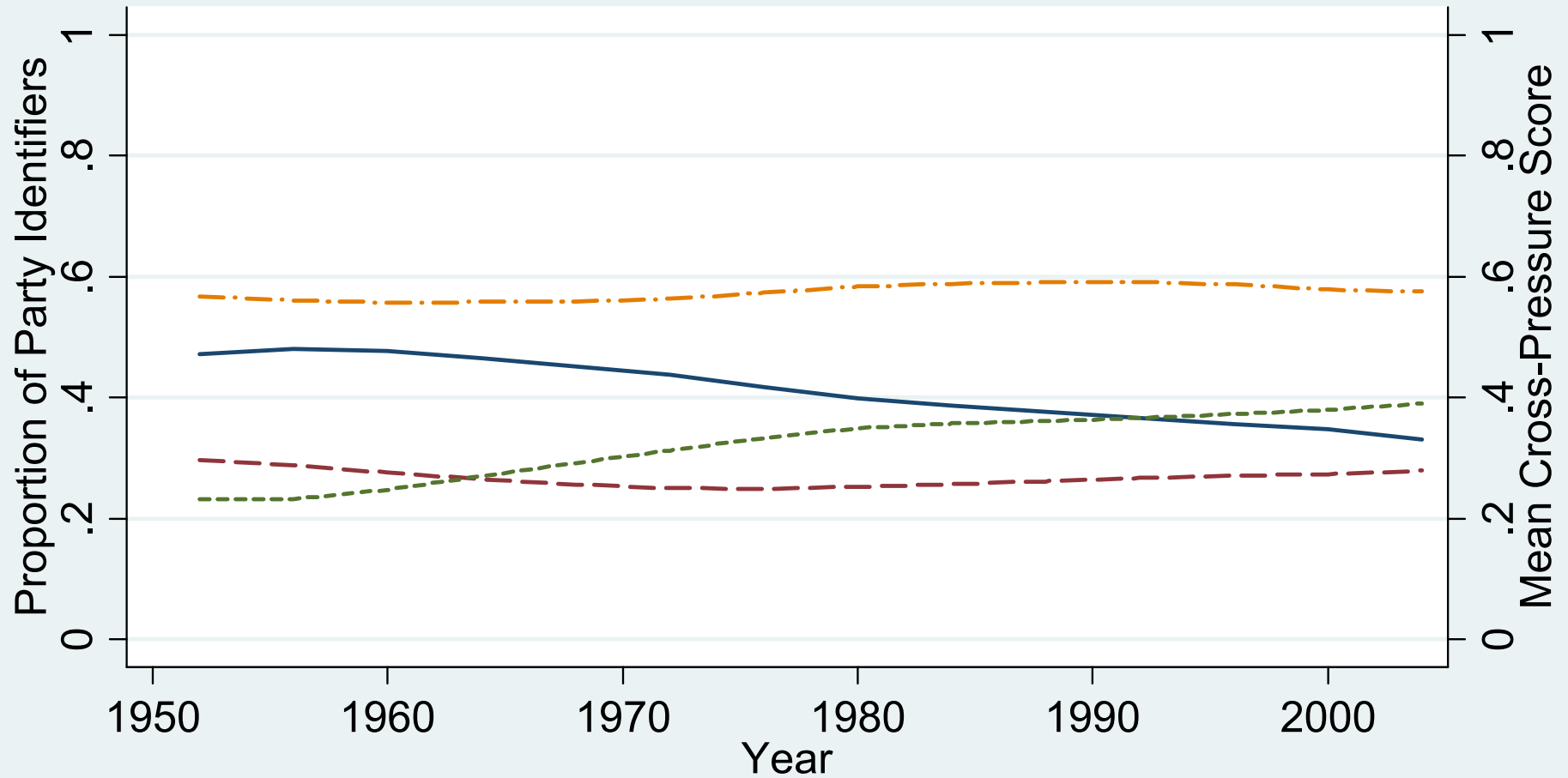
Additional Slides

Yearly counts for each respondent group

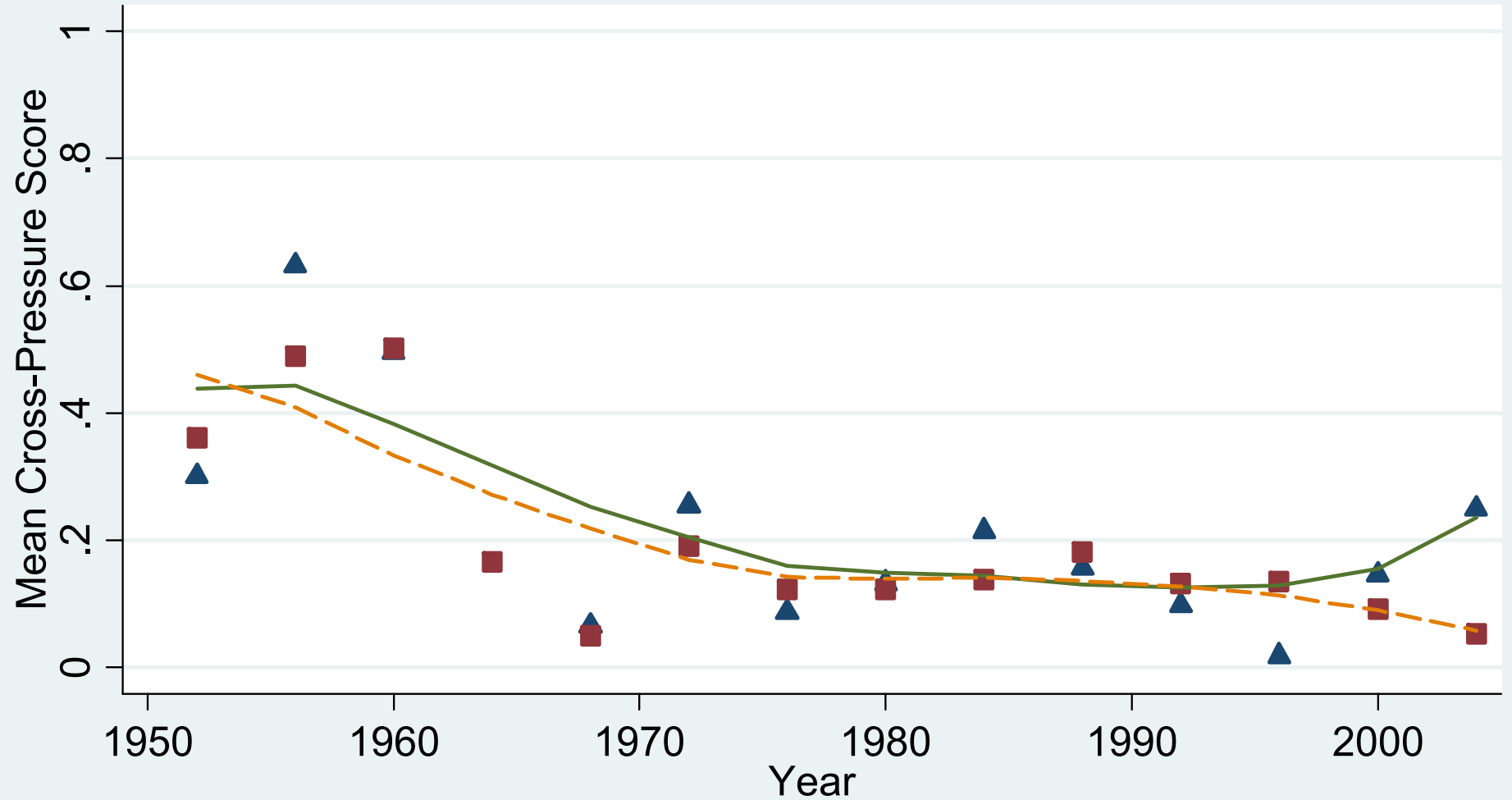
Year	All	Catholics	Non-Latino Catholics	Evangelicals	White Evangelicals	Protestants	White Protestants	Jews	Blacks	Latinos
1952	1899	387	387	n/a	n/a	1281	1125	59	171	n/a
1956	1762	372	372	n/a	n/a	1287	1149	56	146	n/a
1960	1181	229	229	292	226	816	733	38	97	n/a
1964	1571	349	349	452	329	1105	957	45	159	n/a
1968	1557	337	337	475	370	1102	961	42	149	n/a
1972	2705	640	609	809	603	1850	1580	61	267	35
1976	2248	549	508	648	453	1469	1204	52	224	43
1980	1614	370	340	463	312	1014	822	51	187	49
1984	2257	582	478	649	427	1387	1094	53	257	128
1988	2040	484	393	677	414	1318	990	31	272	127
1992	2485	582	486	799	506	1469	1076	47	318	152
1996	1714	425	359	544	331	1005	722	32	217	112
2000	1807	460	388	n/a	n/a	996	715	43	210	113
2004	1212	292	244	n/a	n/a	672	429	35	187	88

Year	Married	Unmarried	Urban	Rural	Suburban	Suburban Women	Union Men	White Southerners	Rich White Southerners	Poor White Southerners
1952	1382	n/a	620	719	560	296	265	315	170	145
1956	1411	351	438	858	466	254	228	354	188	166
1960	946	233	261	609	311	169	152	245	159	86
1964	1192	379	469	612	490	261	199	287	148	139
1968	1102	455	406	680	471	246	197	314	176	138
1972	1804	894	698	1167	840	460	330	540	350	190
1976	1419	823	616	843	789	442	249	403	266	137
1980	974	638	442	540	632	359	218	355	206	149
1984	1272	967	525	788	944	534	242	406	292	114
1988	1116	922	494	683	863	484	206	389	246	143
1992	1352	1123	635	809	1041	542	217	471	299	172
1996	930	783	465	573	676	378	152	369	234	135
2000	935	858	284	313	409	230	116	427	210	217
2004	625	586	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	96	213	142	71

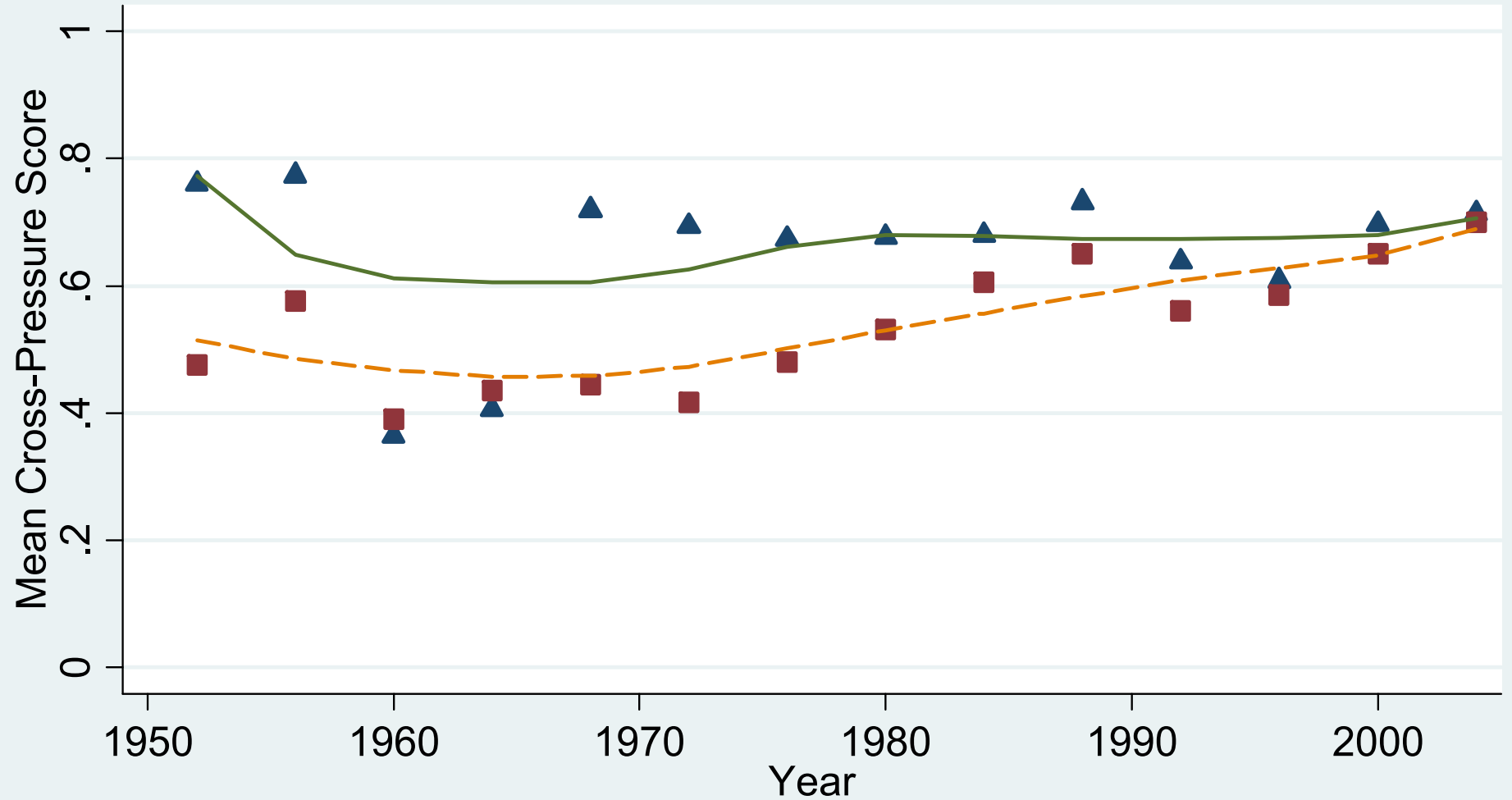
Aggregate Partisanship among All Respondents and Cross-Pressure Scores Based on PID



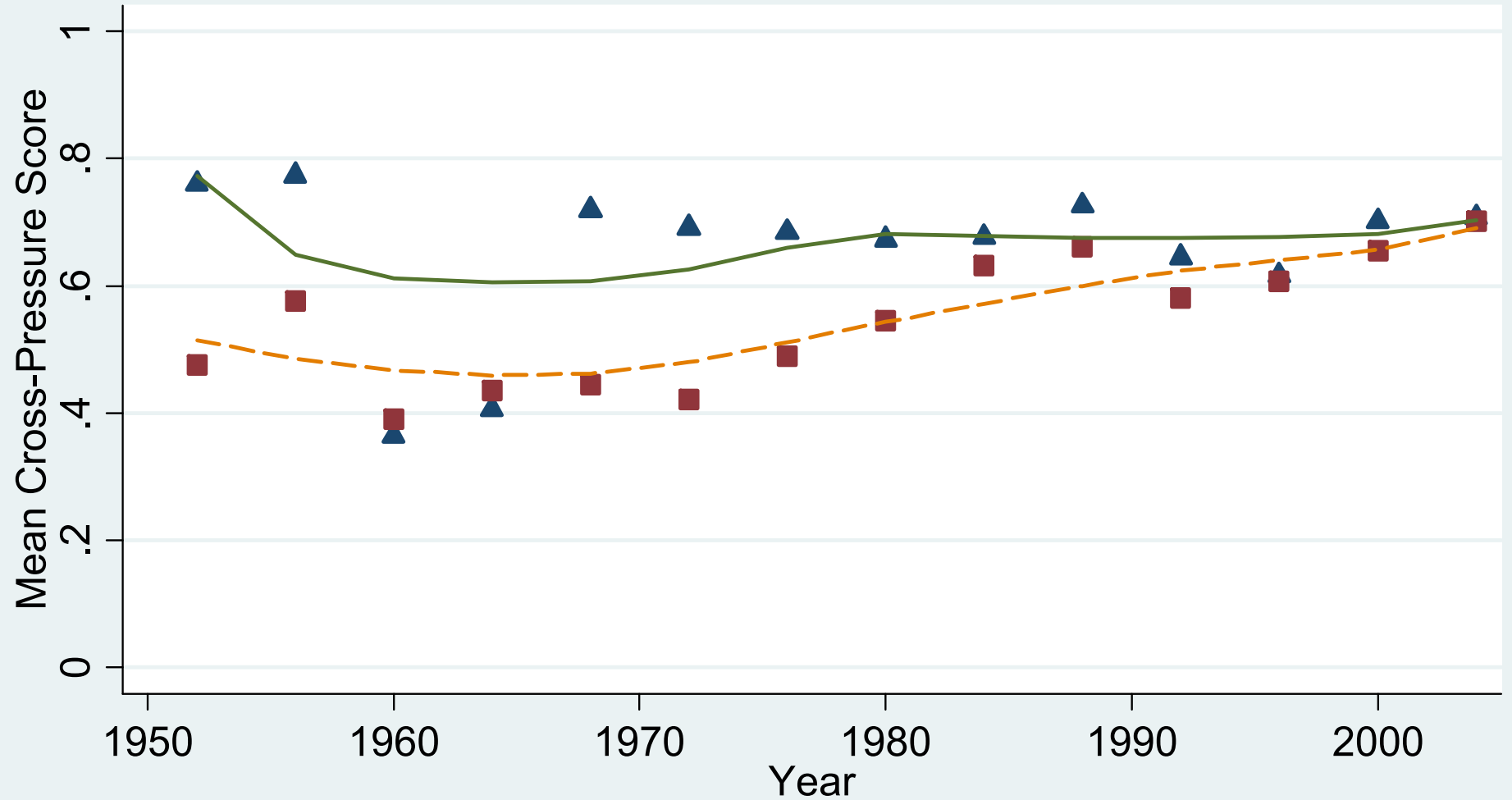
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Blacks



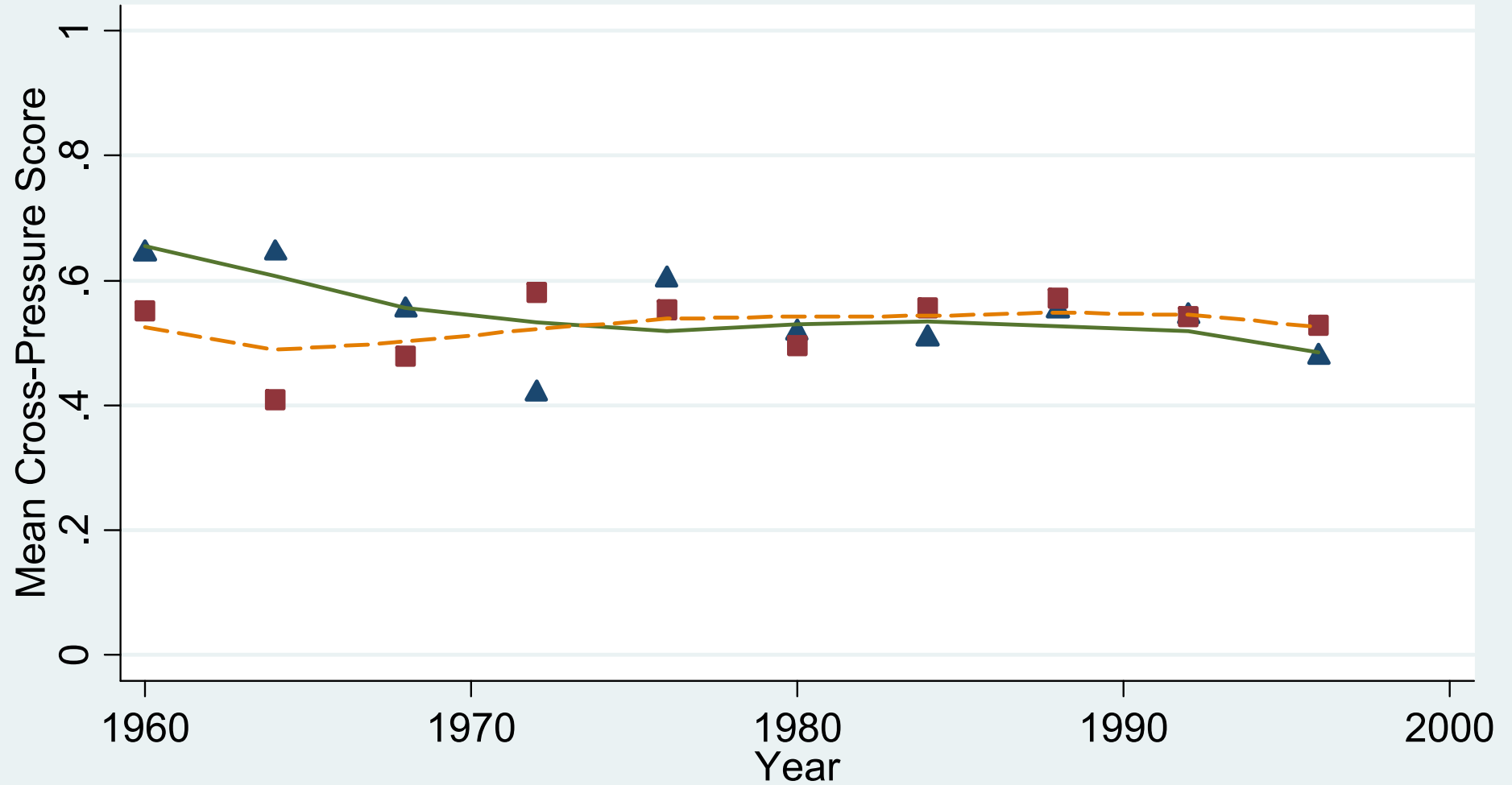
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Catholics



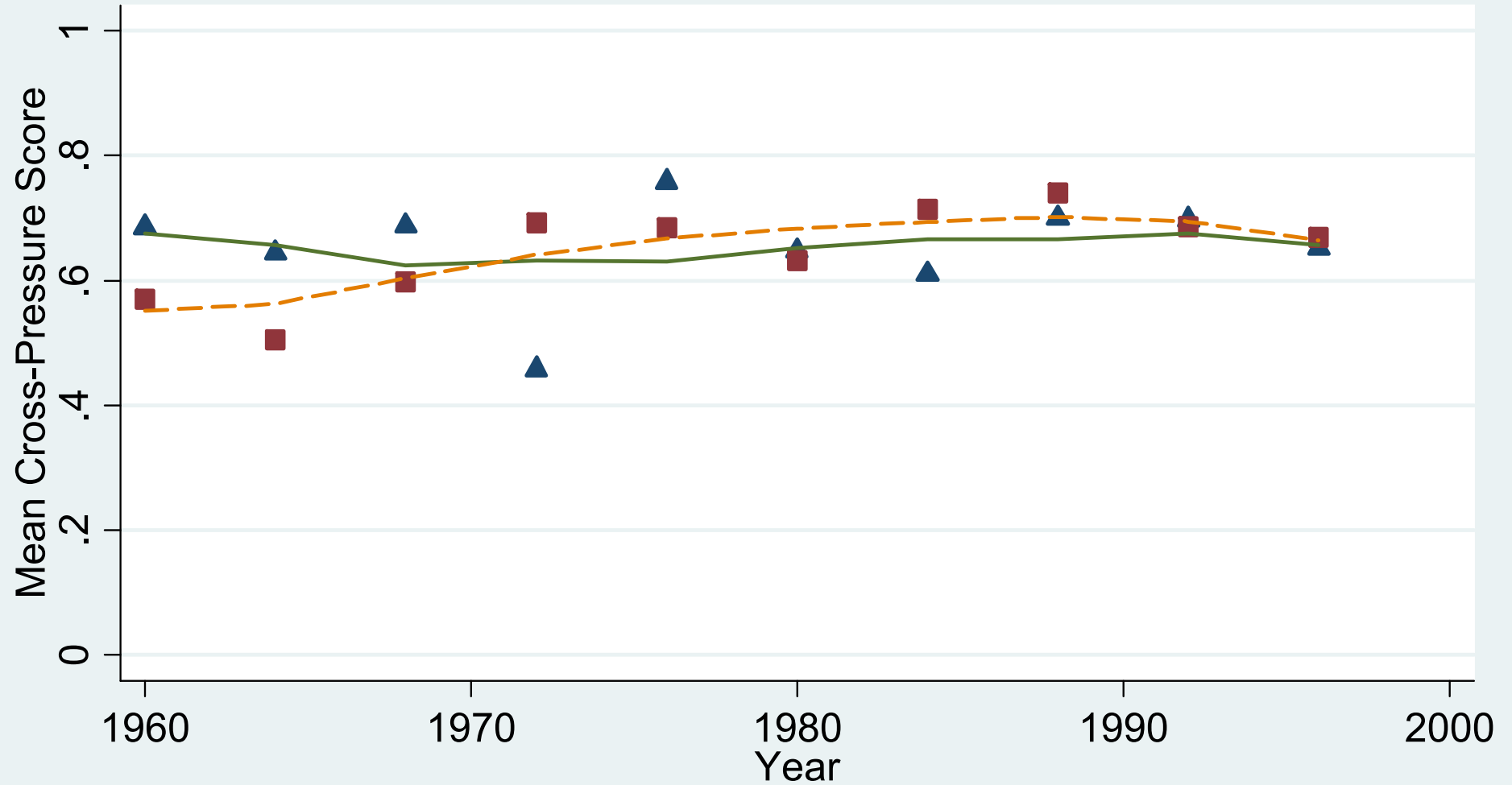
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Non-Latino Catholics



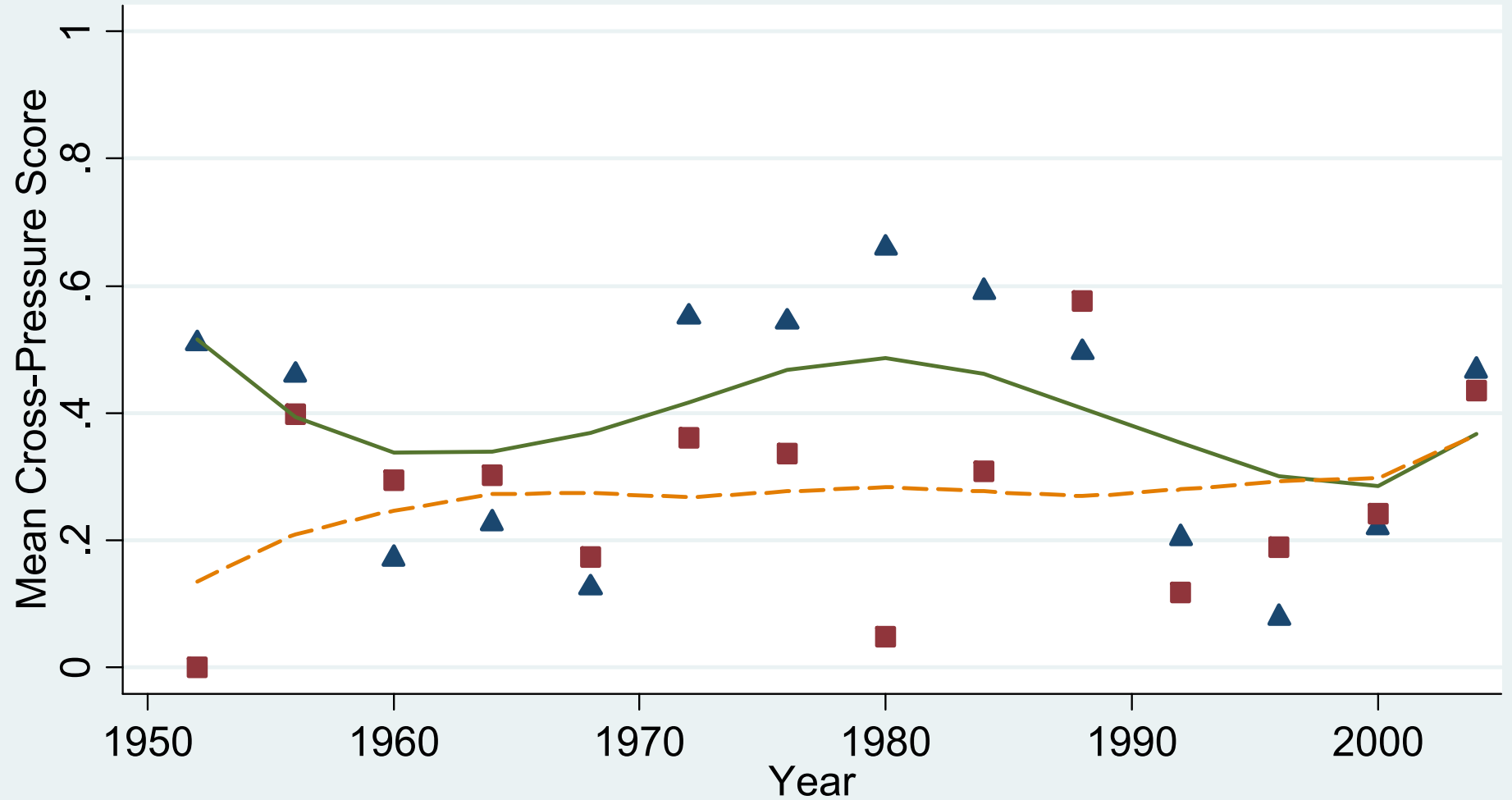
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Evangelicals



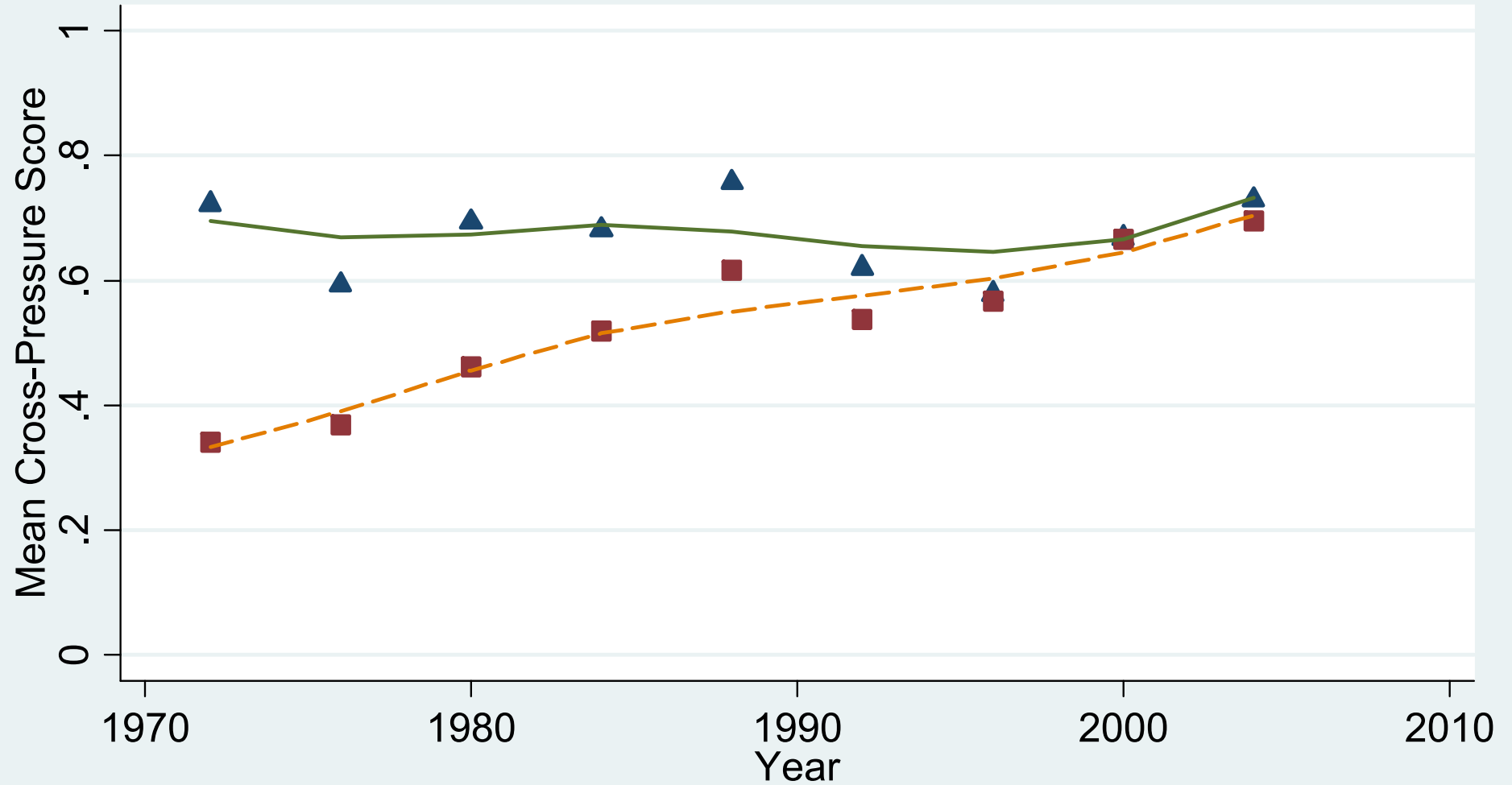
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among White Evangelicals



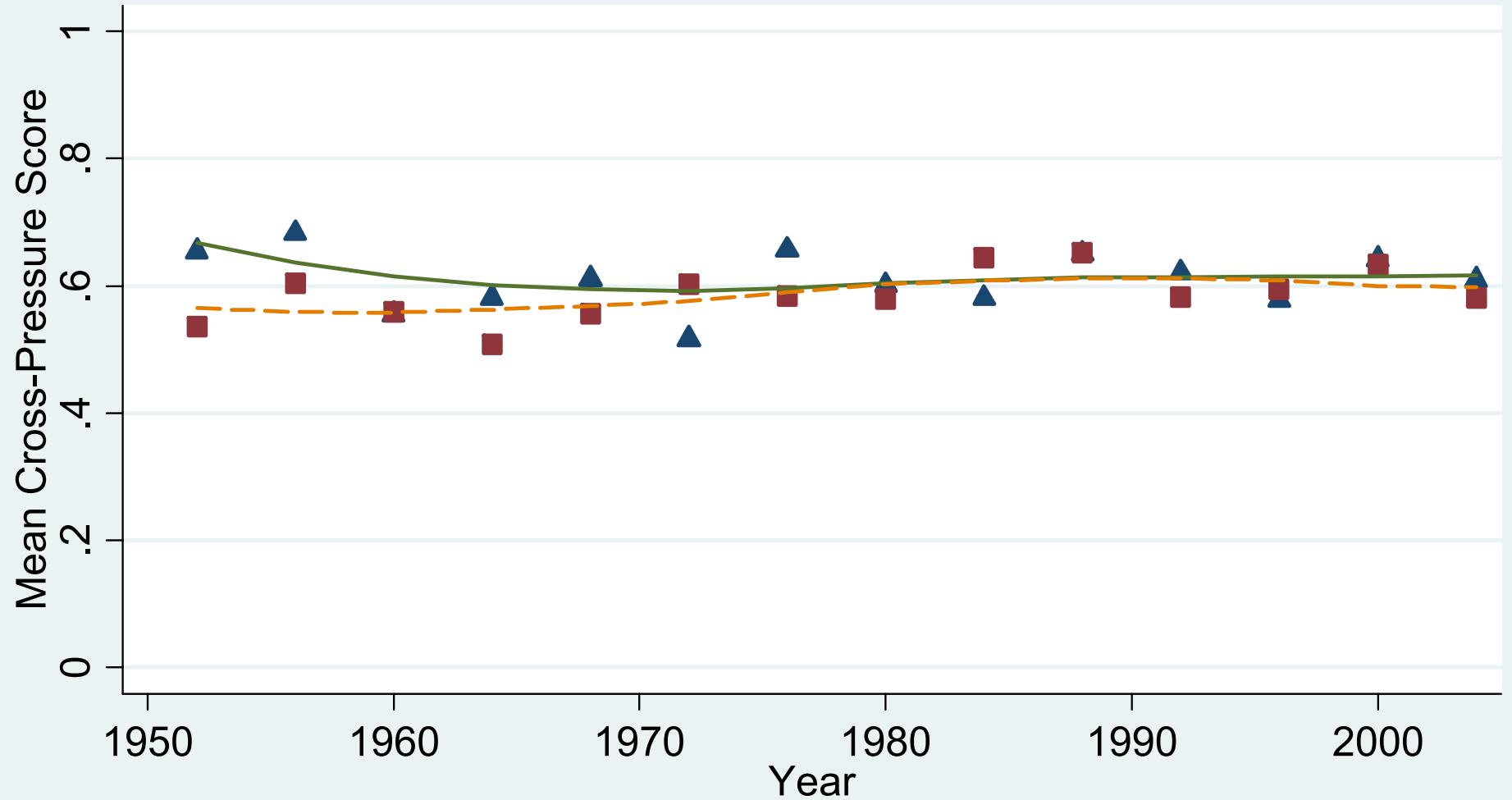
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Jews



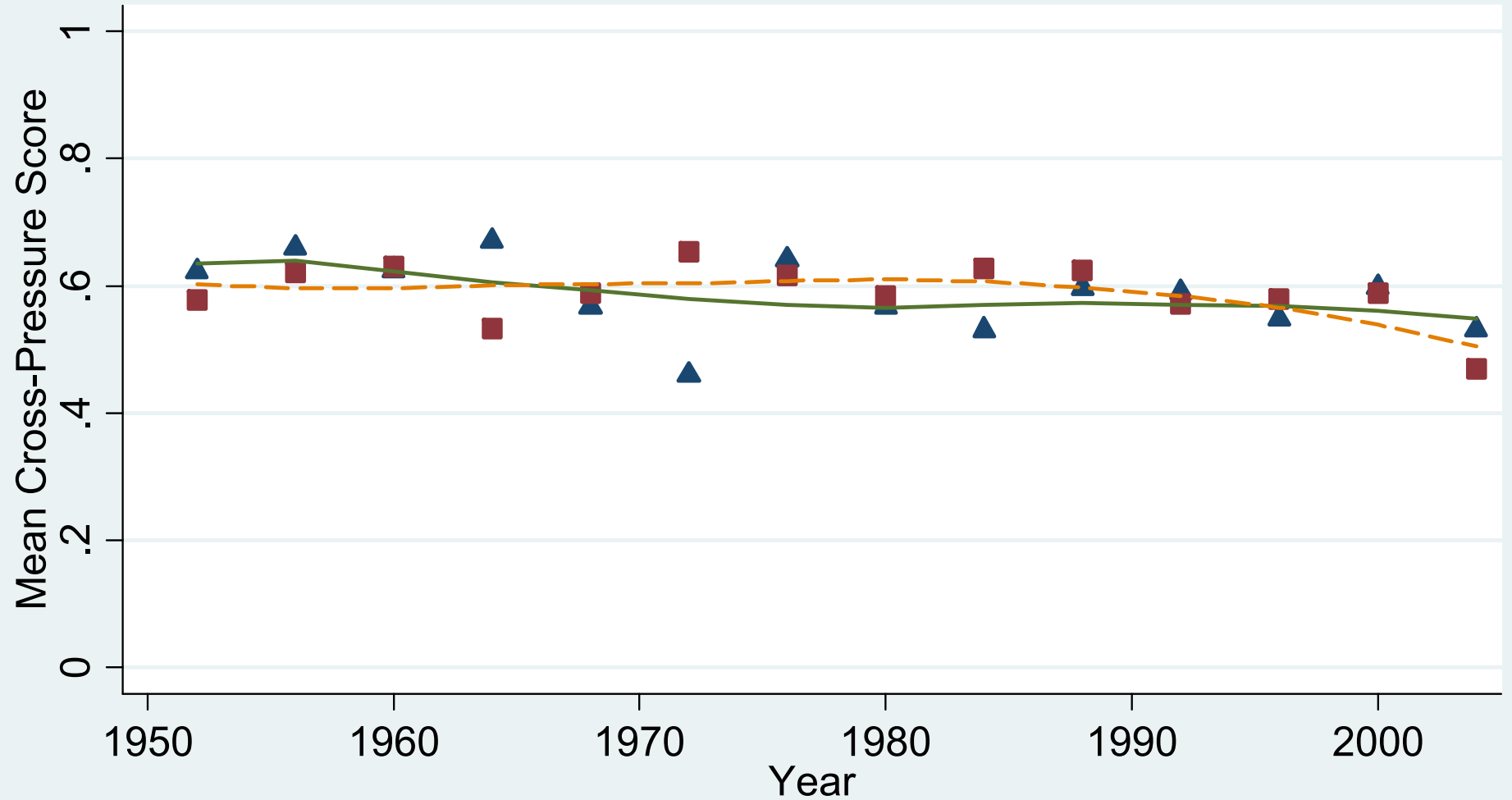
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Latinos



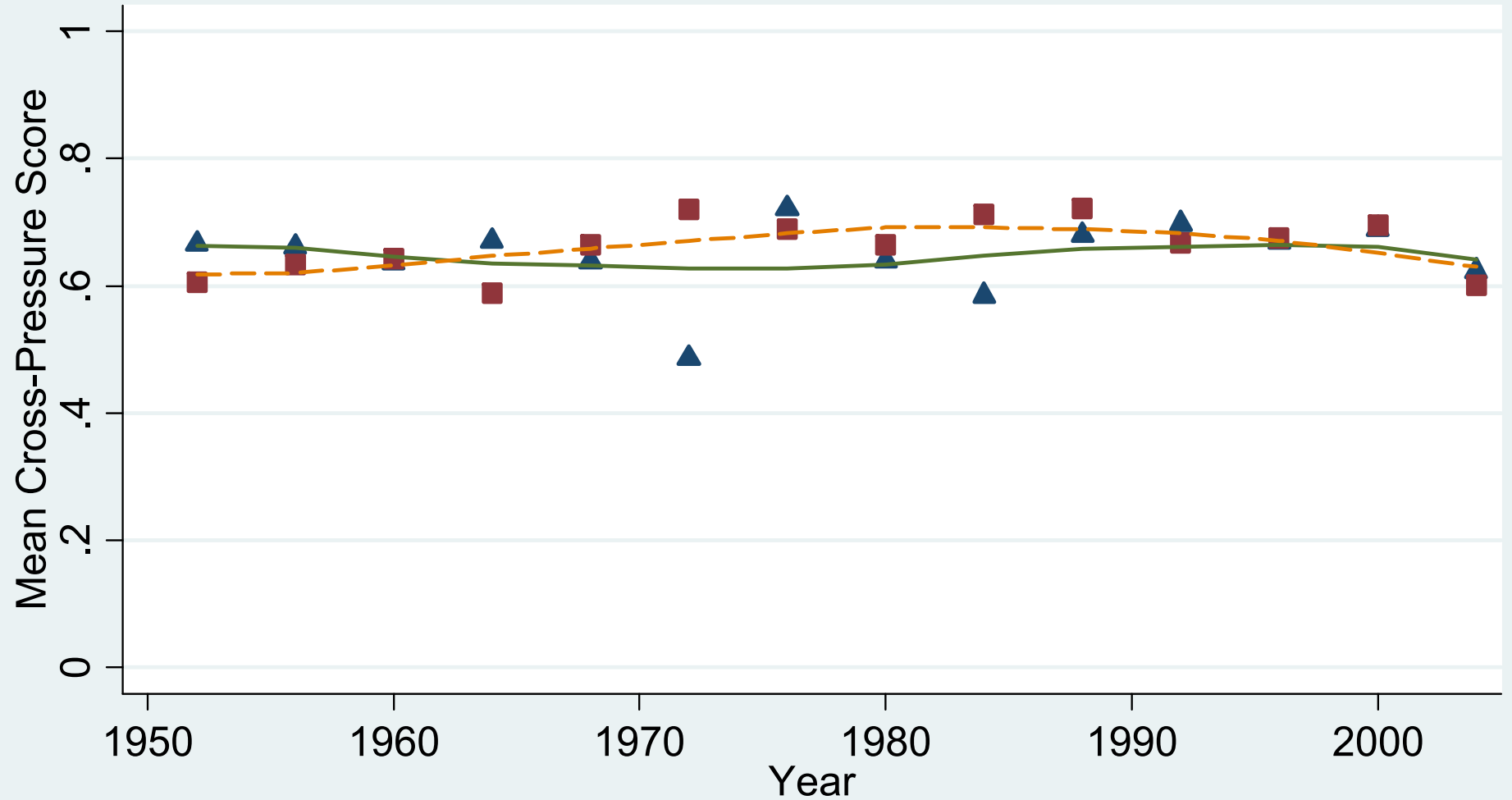
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Married People



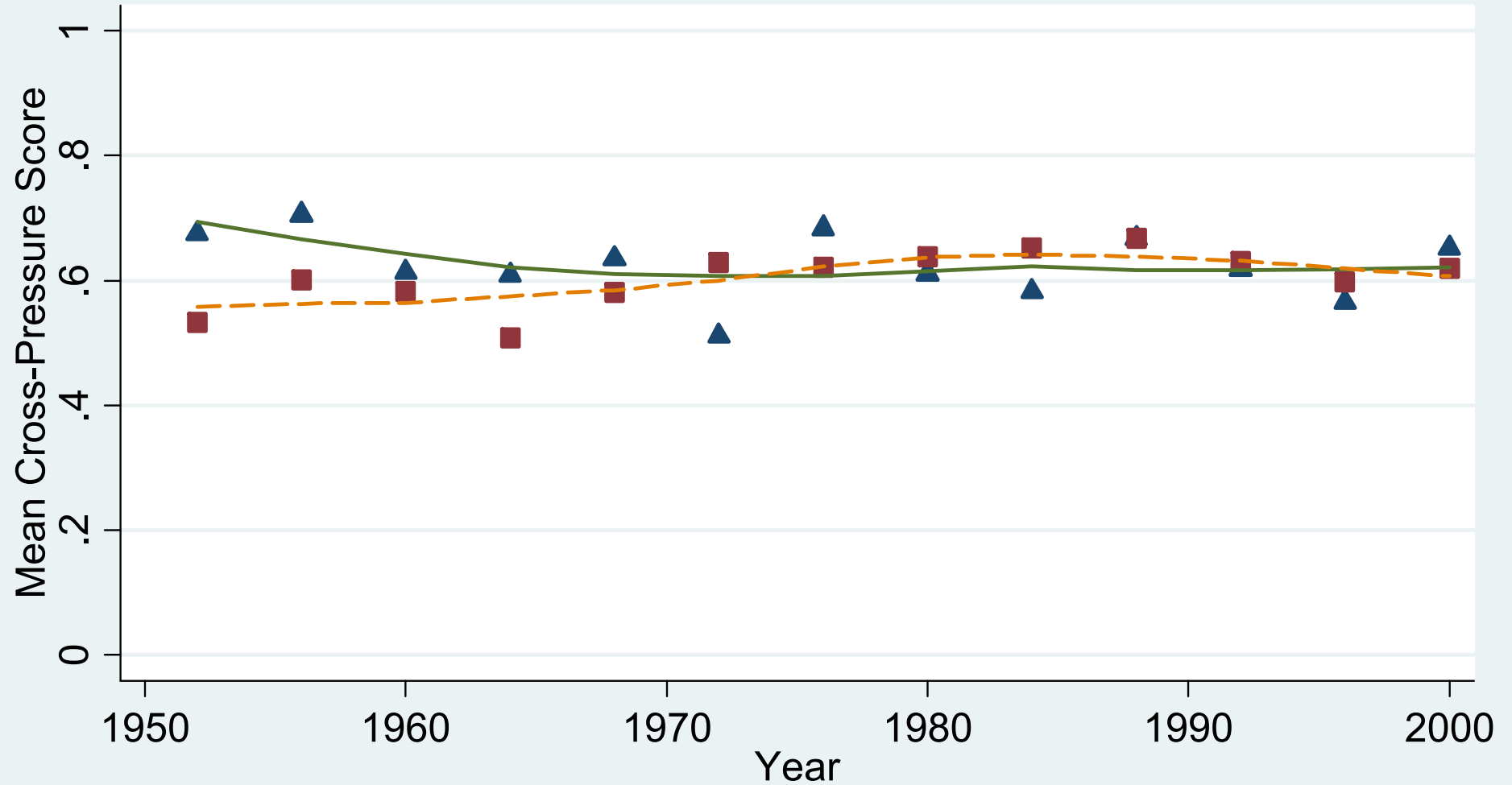
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Protestants



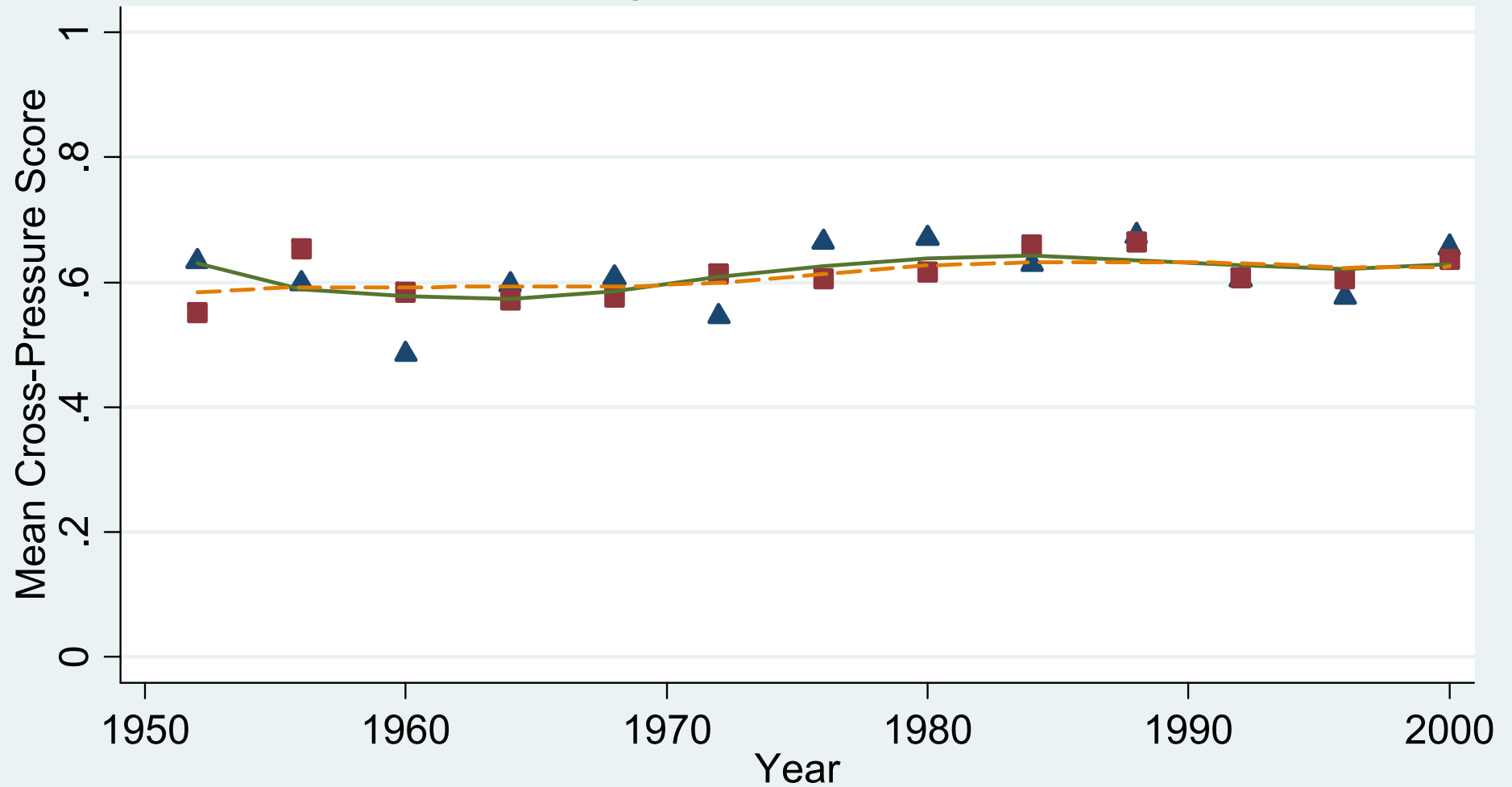
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among White Protestants



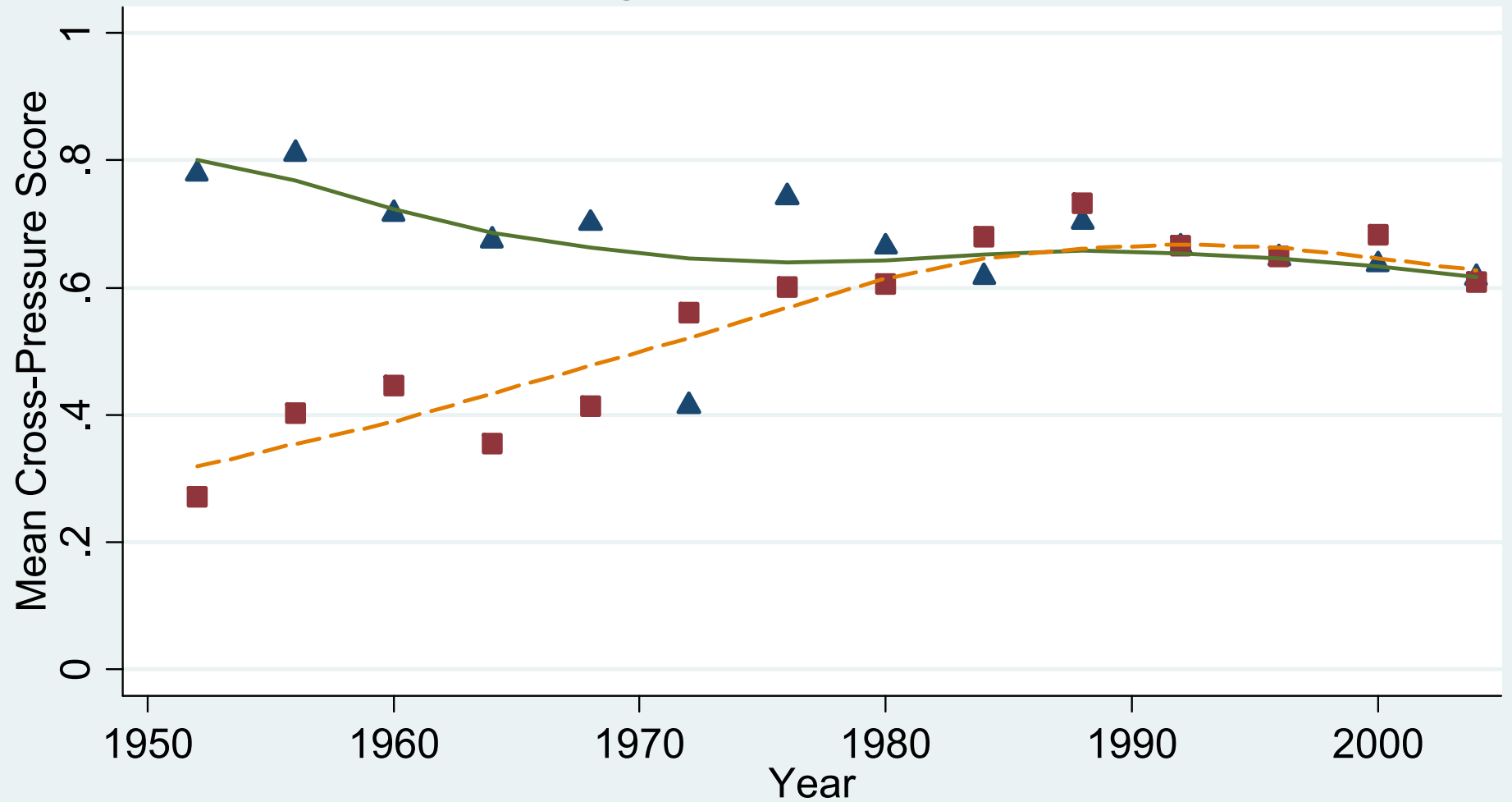
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Rural People



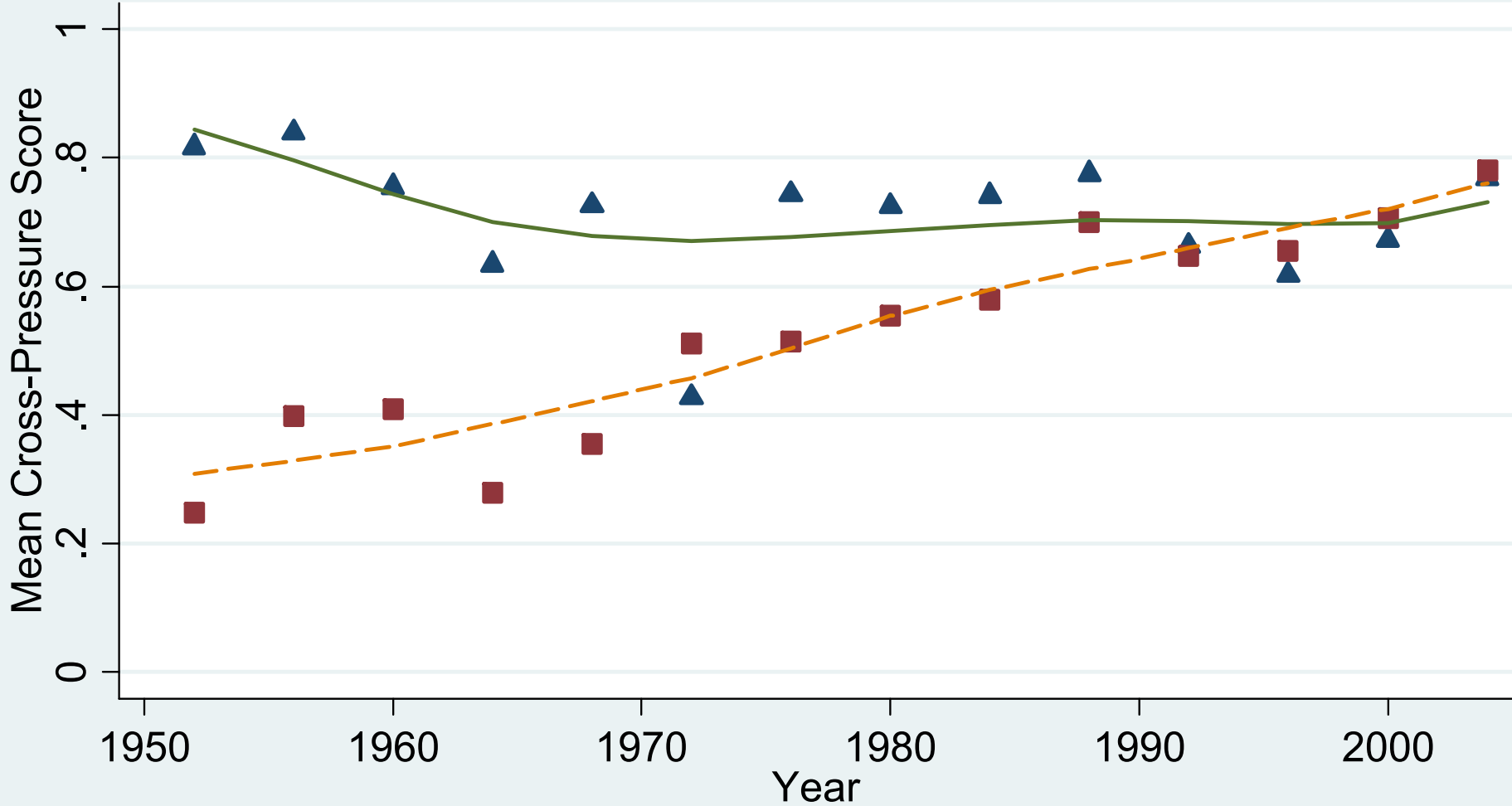
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Suburban Women



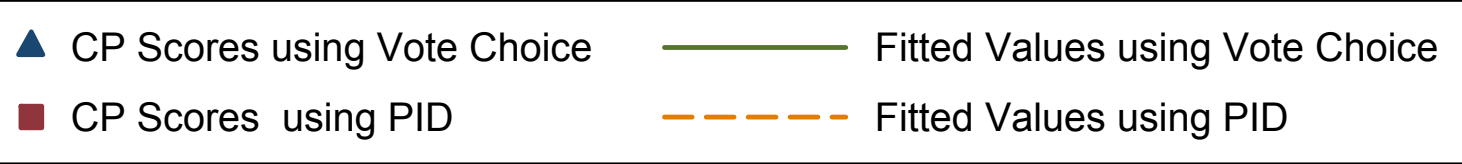
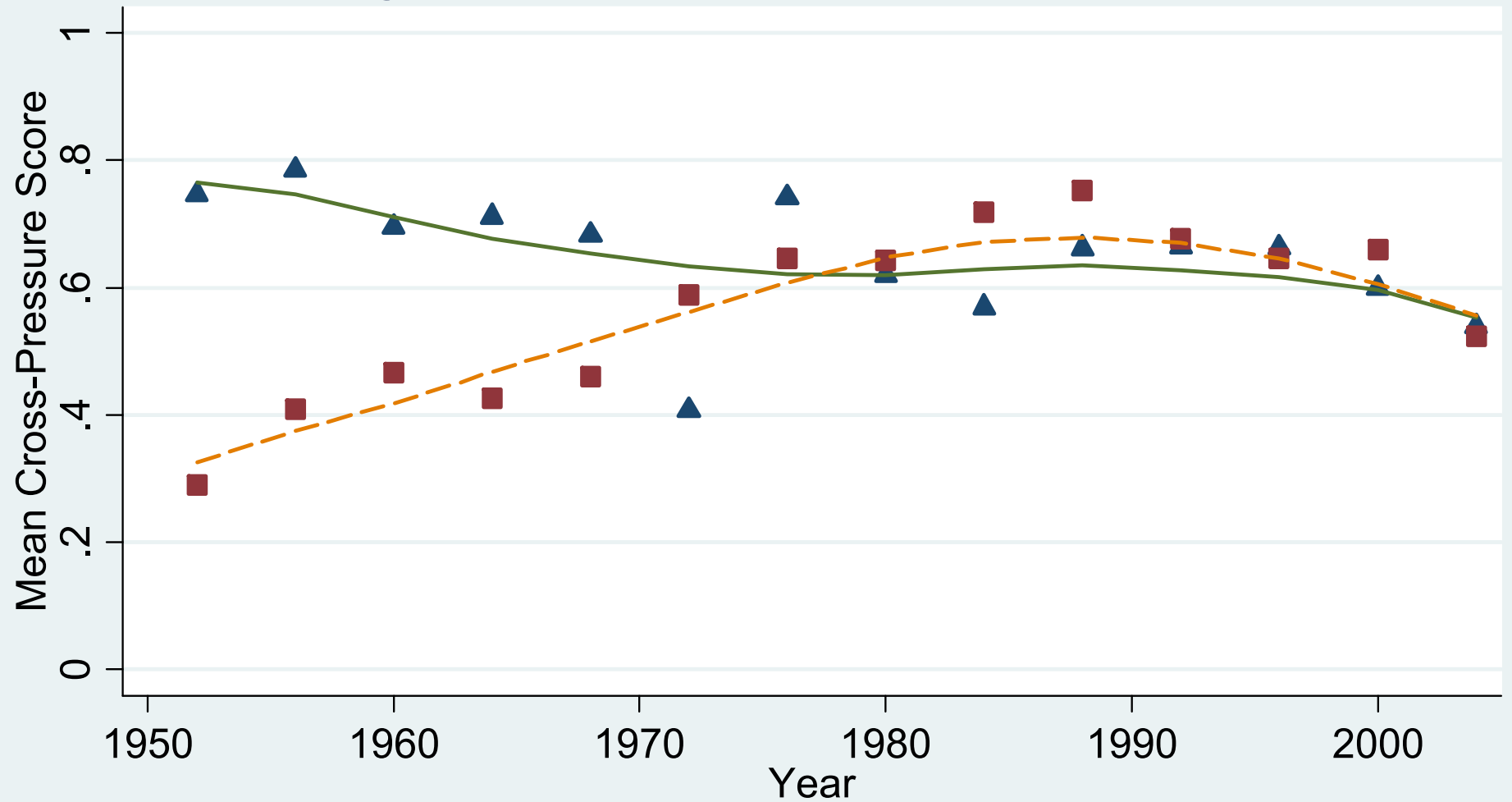
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among All Southern Whites



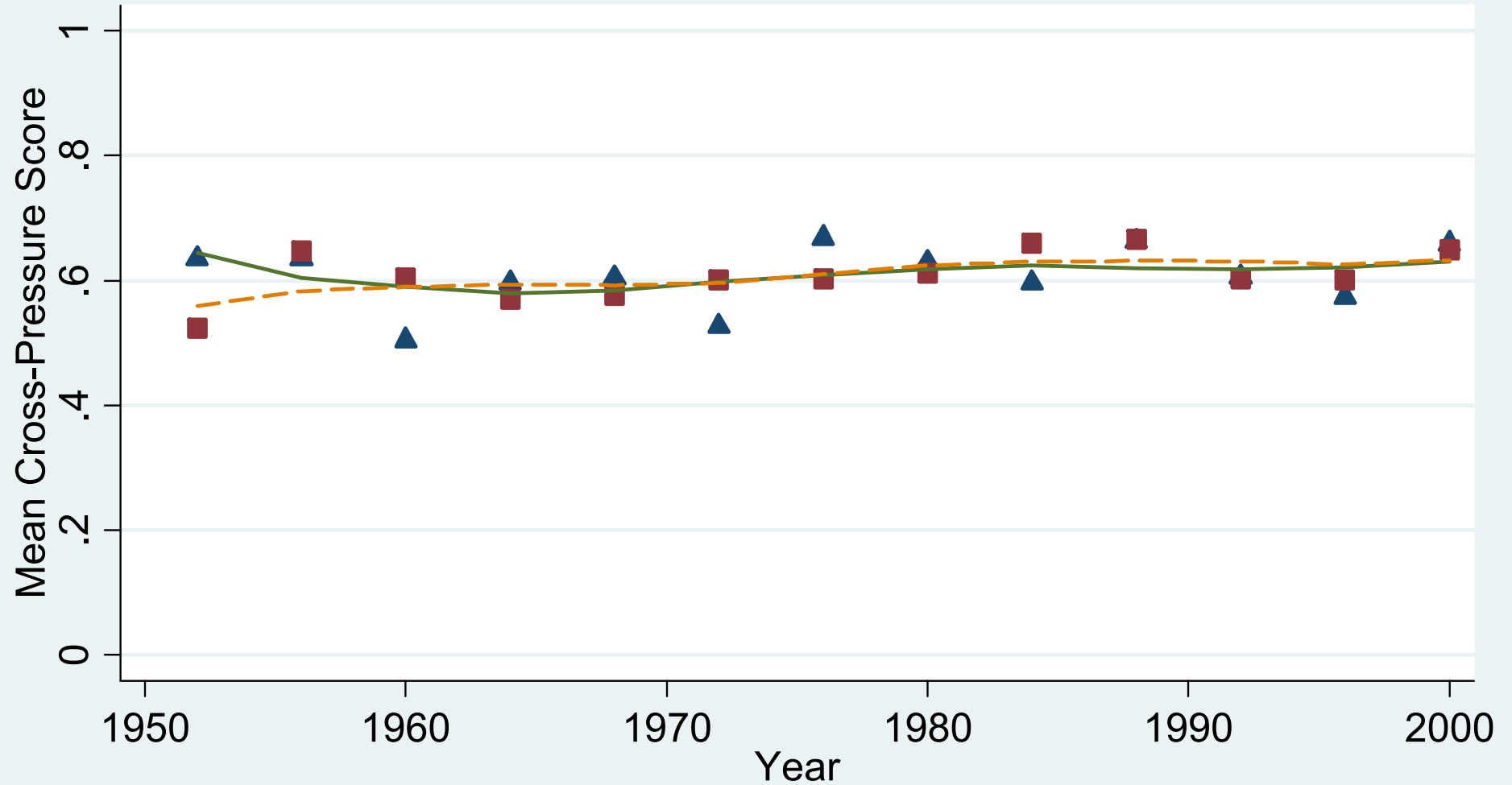
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Southern Whites, Below-mean Income



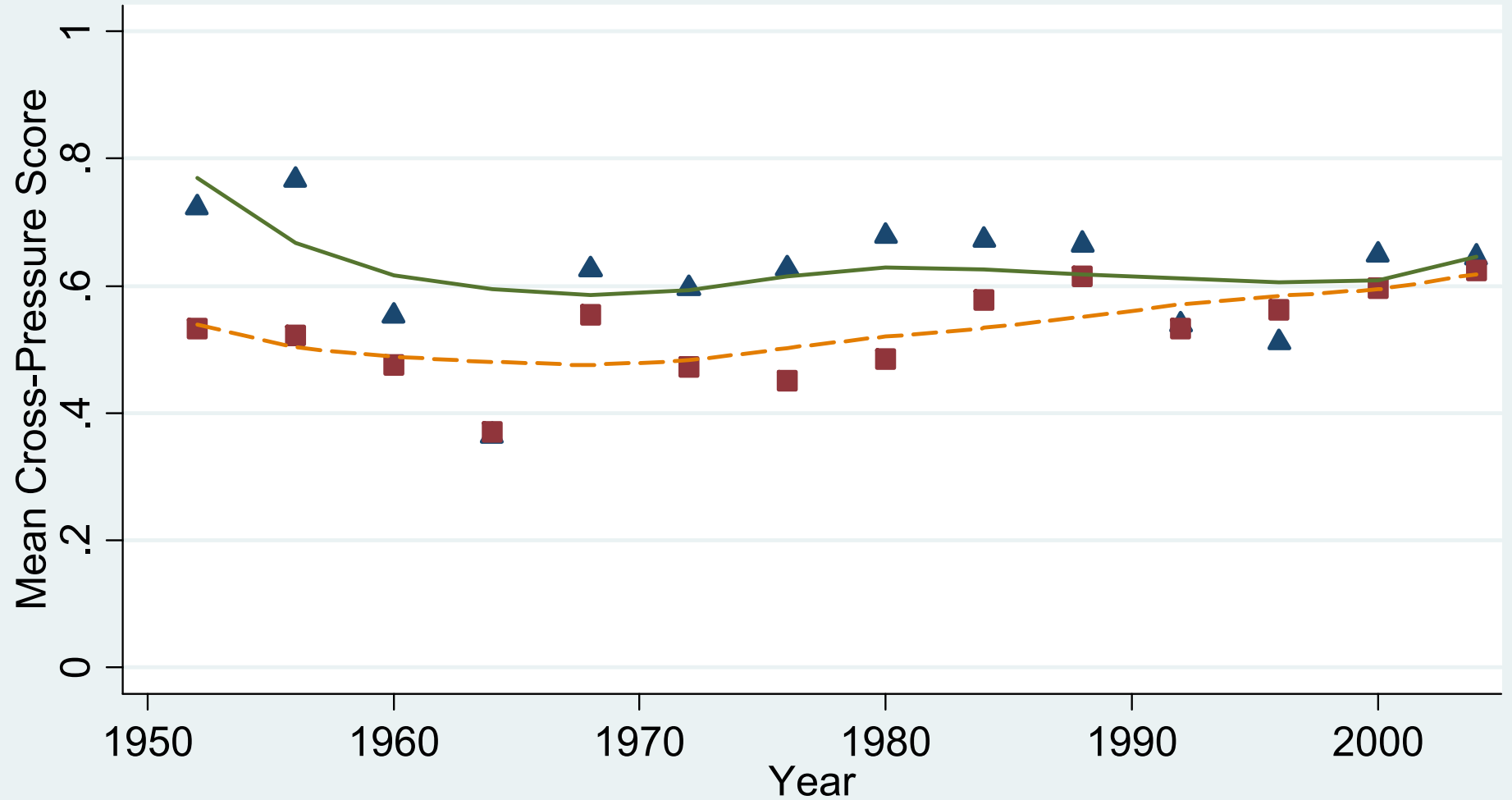
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Southern Whites, Above-mean Income



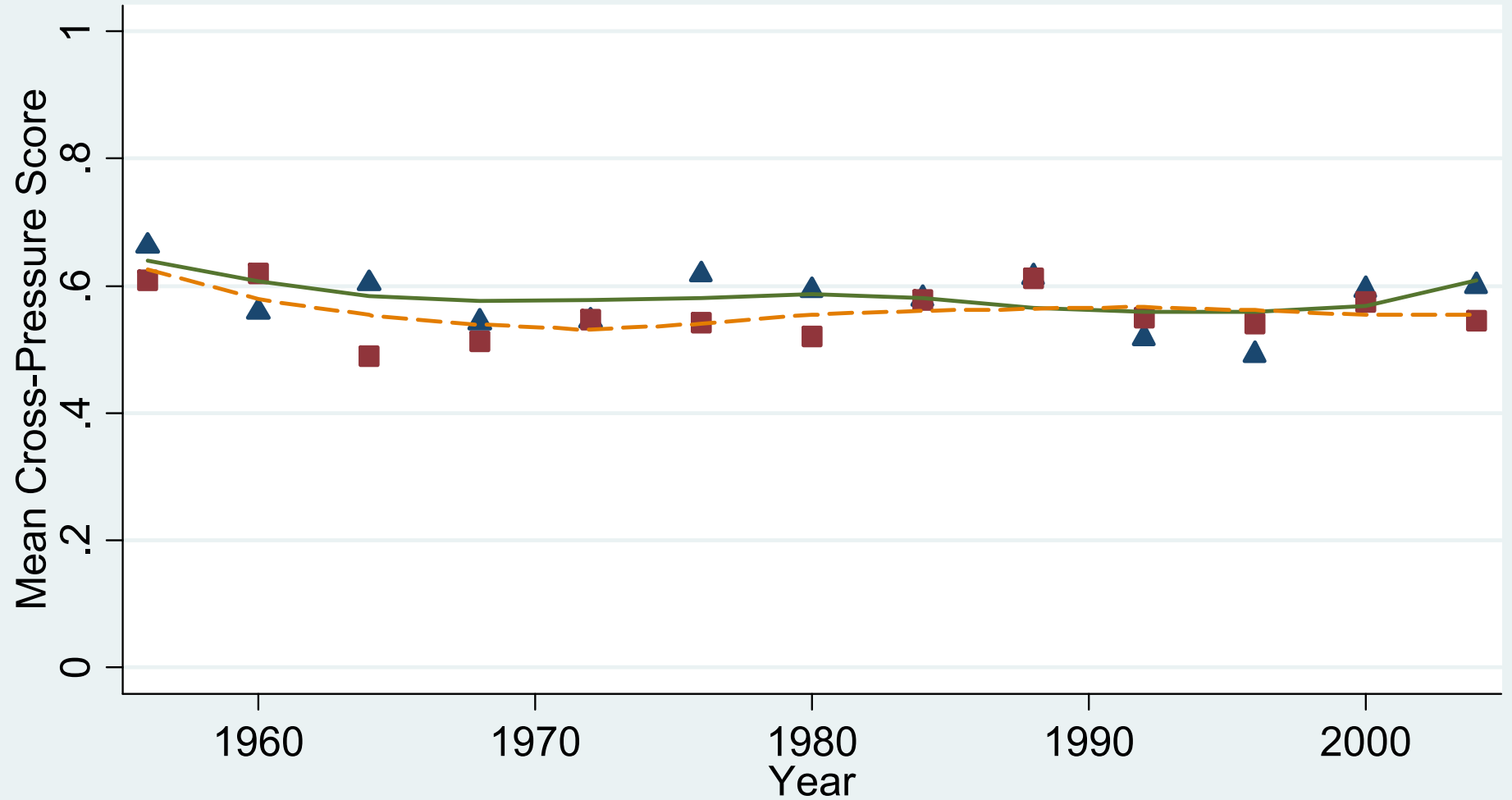
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Suburban People



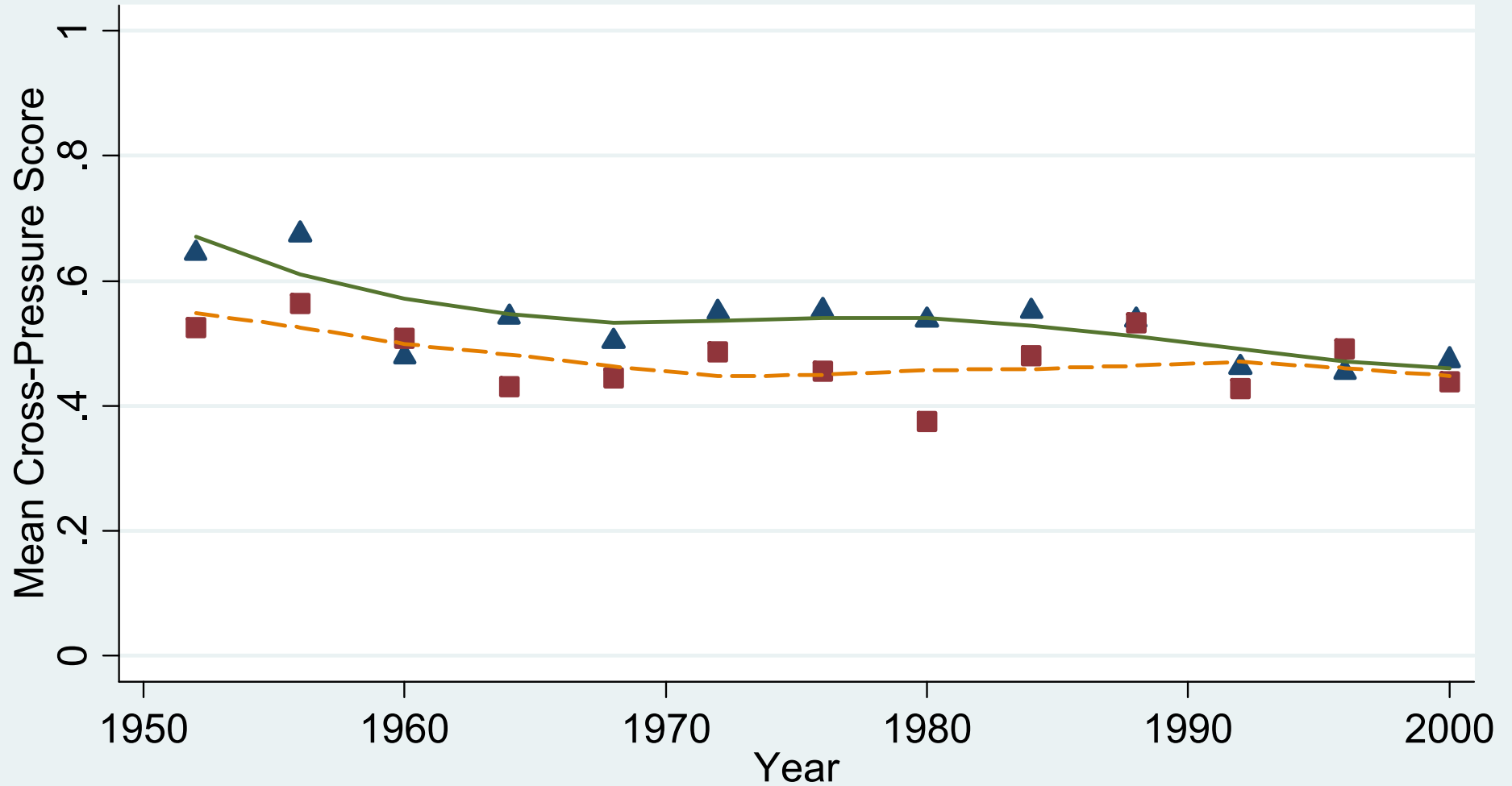
Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Union Men



Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Unmarried People



Average Cross-Pressure Scores By Year Among Urban People



Robustness Check: Different Proxies for Party Preference

**Correlation of Cross-Pressure Scores Created Using Vote Choice and
Partisanship from CSES2 Data**

Country	Variation-calculation Method	Variable Set	Correlation
United States	First Differences	Core	0.6301
United States	First Differences	Country-Specific	0.6846
Great Britain	First Differences	Core	0.7229
Great Britain	First Differences	Country-Specific	0.6070
Great Britain	Top-3 Variation	Core	0.7337
Great Britain	Top-3 Variation	Country-Specific	0.6477
South Korea	First Differences	Core	0.5534
South Korea	First Differences	Country-Specific	0.5259
South Korea	Top-3 Variation	Core	0.5053
South Korea	Top-3 Variation	Country-Specific	0.4801
South Korea	Full Variation	Core	0.5153
South Korea	Full Variation	Country-Specific	0.4987
Israel	First Differences	Core	0.4888
Israel	First Differences	Country-Specific	0.5504
Israel	Top-3 Variation	Core	0.6423
Israel	Top-3 Variation	Country-Specific	0.6818
Israel	Full Variation	Core	0.7071
Israel	Full Variation	Country-Specific	0.7349
Poland	First Differences	Core	0.7352
Poland	Top-3 Variation	Core	0.7736
Poland	Full Variation	Core	0.8233

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Robustness Check: Different Numbers of Parties

Correlations Between Cross-pressure Scores Calculated with Different Numbers of Parties in Poland

First Differences Method

	Four Parties	Five Parties	Six Parties	Seven Parties
Five Parties	0.9420			
Six Parties	0.9126	0.9659		
Seven Parties	0.9056	0.9576	0.9957	
Eight Parties	0.8942	0.9411	0.9802	0.9858

Top-3 Variation Method

	Four Parties	Five Parties	Six Parties	Seven Parties
Five Parties	0.8941			
Six Parties	0.8746	0.9702		
Seven Parties	0.8610	0.9513	0.9914	
Eight Parties	0.8499	0.9331	0.9776	0.9881

Full Variation Method

	Four Parties	Five Parties	Six Parties	Seven Parties
Five Parties	0.9036			
Six Parties	0.8754	0.9614		
Seven Parties	0.8478	0.9226	0.9839	
Eight Parties	0.8400	0.8949	0.9629	0.9829

Cell entries are pairwise correlations between cross-pressures scores calculated using the (row) number of parties and those calculated using the (column) number of parties.

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Robustness Check: Different Sets of Variables
Correlations Between Cross-pressure Scores Using Alternative
Sets of Variables

Country	Variation-calculation Method	Correlation
United States	First Differences	0.4567
Great Britain	First Differences	0.8442
Great Britain	Top-3 Variation	0.9052
South Korea	First Differences	0.9086
South Korea	Top-3 Variation	0.9165
South Korea	Full Variation	0.9323
Israel	First Differences	0.5842
Israel	Top-3 Variation	0.6729
Israel	Full Variation	0.6978

Note: Correlations are between cross-pressure scores created using core and country-specific sets of variables in the same country. Poland is excluded because it did not have relevant country-specific variables.

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Robustness Check: Different Variation Calculation Methods
Correlations between Variation Calculation Methods in the CSES2 Data

Country	Demographic Variables	Correlation between:		
		FD & Full	FD & Top-3	Top-3 & Full
Great Britain	Core	n/a	0.9136	n/a
Great Britain	Country-specific	n/a	0.9249	n/a
South Korea	Core	0.8545	0.8751	0.9730
South Korea	Country-specific	0.8500	0.8691	0.9733
Israel	Core	0.8678	0.9117	0.9715
Israel	Country-specific	0.9286	0.9468	0.9863
Poland	Core	0.9075	0.9575	0.9576

FD = Scores calculated using First Differences

Top-3 = Scores calculated using variation of Top-3 parties

Full = Scores calculated using full variation (all parties)

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Creating CP Scores: 2004 Annenberg dataset

- US is simple (two parties)
- Single dataset → no worrying about comparability
- Demographic variables: age, gender, education, income, employment status, union household, race, origin, religion & religiosity, urbanity, gun-owner, gay/lesbian
- Because of large size, nearly all demographics highly significant in predicting vote choice / intention

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PID vs. Vote Choice (cont.)

- **Importantly: does the difference between CP scores calculated with vote choice and PID tell us anything?**
- **Perhaps. We would expect them to be very similar in times of partisan stability, but changes during the course of party realignments might occur at different rates.**
- **If we see, for example, that increases in CP scores from vote choice lead increases in CP scores from PID, this would suggest that voters are typically subject to cross-pressures on vote choice before they are pressured on partisanship. This would testify to the “stickiness” of partisanship in the face of party realignments.**
- **Still much more to study before drawing firm conclusions.**