

*Hong Kong*

# 65<sup>th</sup> WAPOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

JUNE 14-16, 2012

<http://wapor2012.hkpop.hk>



*The New World of  
Public Opinion Research*



PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME  
THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

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## Conference Sponsors

WAPOR 2012 Annual Conference acknowledges and gratefully expresses our appreciation to the following organizations for sponsoring the 65<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference.



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## Greetings!

Welcome to Asia! Welcome to Hong Kong!

This is the first time ever that WAPOR holds an annual conference outside Europe and North America. We in Hong Kong are most honoured to be given the privilege to make history, for the benefit of not just ourselves, we Chinese, we Asians, and we members of WAPOR, but also for the worldwide development of public opinion research.

Hong Kong is an international city. Decades ago, we saw ourselves as a window between the East and the West. Now we aspire to become a hub of international exchange of knowledge and ideas. In the area of public opinion research, we hope our WAPOR 2012 Annual Conference will be remembered as a beginning of brand new developments.

The theme of the conference, “The New World of Public Opinion Research”, has been carefully chosen to reflect this change. Over 130 presentations will be made during the conference to discuss the impacts of new methodologies, new technologies, and new paradigms to the study of public opinion in the era of new media, new mentalities, and also in many new parts of the world.

Over 200 international delegates have registered for the conference, together with more than 50 local delegates. This is record high in WAPOR’s 65 years of history. Also record high is the number organizations from Asia joining hands to make this conference a success. These include the Media and Public Opinion Research Center of Fudan University in Shanghai, the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taipei, the Macao Polling Research Association in Macau, the Korean Association for Survey Research from Korea, and the CVoter Foundation from India. As the host of the conference, the Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong is deeply grateful and encouraged by the support of so many organizations and international colleagues.



At the opening plenary session, we will announce the results of a new round of survey on the freedom to publish opinion polls worldwide. Previous surveys were conducted in 1984, 1992, 1996 and 2002, but this time we have covered a record high of 84 countries, thanks again to the support of our international colleagues.

Special thanks also go to WAPOR's sister organizations, the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and the International Social Science Council (ISSC) for holding special panels in our conference.

Moreover, during and after the conference, the Center for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford University and the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong will run a workshop on "Deliberative Democracy, Public Opinion, and Deliberative Polling", so that participants can enjoy the benefit of both activities in one go. We thank our Stanford partner for supporting our conference in this special way.

The conference will take place in the main campus of the University of Hong Kong, which has just celebrated its centenary. The annual dinner will take place in its historic building Loke Yew Hall, where the "Father of the Chinese Nation" Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), an alumnus of the university, made his historic speech in 1923.

All in all, our Hong Kong conference will stand firm on our local and international traditions cultivated by our predecessors, but we will also strive our best to break new grounds, in the development of international cooperation in general, and in the world of opinion research in particular.

After all, this is what vibrancy is about, and everyone of us in Hong Kong, in China, in Asia and in the world needs it. Enjoy your stay and enjoy the conference!

Robert Chung  
Conference Chair

## Acknowledgements

A big thank you to:

### ***Conference Chair***

Robert CHUNG, Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong,  
Hong Kong

### ***Conference Organizers***

Winnie LEE, Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong,  
Hong Kong  
Renaë REIS, WAPOR

### ***Conference Co-organizers***

Ching-Hsin YU, Election Study Center at National Chengchi University,  
Taiwan  
Baohua ZHOU, Fudan Media and Public Opinion Research Center at Fudan  
University, China

### ***Supporting Organizers***

Andy CHAN, Chu Hai College of Higher Education, Hong Kong  
Angus CHEONG, Macau Polling Research Association, and ERS e-Research  
& Solutions, Macau  
Sung Kyum CHO, The Korean Association for Survey Research, Korea  
Yashwant DESHMUKH, CVoter Foundation, India  
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## General Information

The WAPOR Annual Conference Registration' Desk is located on P4 of the Graduate House of the University of Hong Kong.

Registration Hours:

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Thursday, June 14	17:00-19:00
Friday, June 15	08:30-18:00
Saturday, June 16	08:30-14:00

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### Badges

Participation in the Annual Conference is limited to registered participants. The official conference name badge is required for admission to all sessions and meals. They will be included in your registration package at the registration desk.

### Meal Tickets

Tickets will be collected at each meal, please bring along your ticket with you.

### Conference Materials

The abstracts and papers are stored (if available) on the USB flash drive in each participant's registration package.

## Programme Overview

### Thursday, June 14, 2012

Start	End	
10:00	13:00	<b>IJPOR Board Meeting</b> Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01
11:00	17:00	<b>WAPOR Council Meeting</b> Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03 (Brown bag lunch will be provided at 12:00)
17:00	19:00	<b>Registration Desk Open / Get Together Party</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer

### Friday, June 15, 2012

Start	End	
08:30	18:00	<b>Registration</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer
09:30	11:15	<b>Opening Plenary Session</b> Opening Remarks by the Conference Chairman Robert Chung Welcome Address by the WAPOR President Tom Smith Keynote Speech "The World of Public Opinion Research" by Tom Smith Keynote Release "Freedom to Publish Opinion Poll Results" by Robert Chung Keynote Remarks by the Dean of Social Sciences of the University of Hong Kong John Burns Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre
11:15	11:45	<b>Break / Poster Session I</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer

**Friday, June 15, 2012 (Continued)**

Start	End		
11:45	13:00	<b>Concurrent Sessions I</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>Public Health Opinion</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>Public Opinion on Social Issues</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>Public Opinion on Social Media</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>Capturing International and Domestic Public Opinion through AsiaBarometer Surveys</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
		<b>E</b>	<u>The Current Situation and Development Tendency of Public Opinion in China</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
		<b>F</b>	<u>Media and Politics</u> James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03
13:00	14:00	<b>Lunch</b> Location: Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre	
14:00	15:15	<b>Concurrent Sessions II</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>AAPOR Special Panel - Exit Polling in the 21st Century: A Perspective from the USA</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming I</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>Public Opinion and Social Value</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>The Implications of New Survey Mode on Response</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
		<b>E</b>	<u>Public Opinion in China</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
15:15	15:30	<b>Break</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer	

**Friday, June 15, 2012 (Continued)**

<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>		
15:30	16:45	<b>Concurrent Sessions III</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>Public Opinion on Political Issues I</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>New Forms of Journalism and Citizen Opinion Expressions I</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>Cross-National Research</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>Alternatives and Strategies for Improving Survey Response Rates</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
		<b>E</b>	<u>Internet Polling in Chinese Societies: The Exploration of Online Survey and Online Opinion</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
16:45	17:00	<b>Break</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer	
17:00	18:15	<b>Concurrent Sessions IV</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>Deliberative Polling I</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>Sampling, Response Rates and Non-Response</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>Multi-Country Surveys: A Distinct in Sub-Field Survey Research</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>Questionnaire Design and Techniques</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
		<b>E</b>	<u>Internet and Public Opinions in China</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
19:00	21:00	<b>Award Banquet</b> Location: Loke Yew Hall	

**Saturday, June 16, 2012**

<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>		
08:30	14:00	<b>Registration</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer	
09:30	11:15	<b>Feature Plenary Session</b> Transitional Democracies: The Ground Zero of Public Opinion Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre	
11:15	11:45	<b>Break / Poster Session II</b> Location: Graduate House Foyer	
11:45	13:00	<b>Concurrent Sessions V</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>East Asian Social Survey</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming II</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>Public Opinion at Good / Bad Times</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>Public Opinion and World Value</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
		<b>E</b>	<u>E-democracy I</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
13:00	14:00	<b>F</b>	<u>Public Consultation</u> James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03
		<b>Lunch</b> Location: Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre	



**Saturday, June 16, 2012 (Continued)**

<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>		
14:00	15:15	<b>Concurrent Sessions VI</b>	
		<b>A</b>	<u>Public Opinion Online</u> Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
		<b>B</b>	<u>Public Opinion on Political Issues II</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
		<b>C</b>	<u>ISSC Special Panel: "Critical Reflections on the Future of Comparative Social Research"</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
		<b>D</b>	<u>Deliberative Polling II</u> Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02 (special panel with SI)
		<b>E</b>	<u>E-democracy II</u> Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (round table discussion with SI)
15:15	15:30	<b>Break</b>  Location: Graduate House Foyer	
15:30	16:30	<b>WAPOR Business Meeting</b>  Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01	

## Travel Information

### From Airport to Hotel

#### ***Traders Hotel Hong Kong***

**Airport Shuttle Bus** Airport shuttle buses depart every hour for an hour-long journey to the main entrance of the hotel. It costs HK\$140. Please make a reservation at least two days in advance and provide your flight name, flight number and estimated time of arrival. Reservation can be made by telephone: (852) 2974 1234 or email: reservation.thhk@tradershotels.com.

**Bus** You can travel by Airport Bus **A10** to the Traders Hotel as well. You can get on the bus at Airport (Ground Transportation Centre) stop and get off at “**Shek Tong Tsui Complex, Queen’s Road West**”. It is a one-way journey, which takes about 60-minutes and costs HK\$48.

**Taxi** The journey from the airport to the Traders Hotel takes approximately 30 minutes, and would cost about HK\$320. There will be an extra charge for luggage and a toll fee. The toll fee will be HK\$90 and luggage fee will be HK\$5 per luggage.

#### ***Le Meridien Cyberport Hotel***

**Train** You can take the **Airport Express** from The Hong Kong International Airport to **Hong Kong Station**. It costs HK\$100 and takes about 24 minutes. Upon arrival at the Hong Kong Station, follow the directional signage to get to the **Central** bus station. Then take a bus **30X** and get off at the final station- “**Cyberport**”. The Hotel is located at the left of the building of Cyberport One.

**Taxi** It takes approximately 35 minutes, and would cost about HK\$350. There will be an extra charge for luggage and a toll fee. The toll fee will be HK\$90 and luggage fee will be HK\$5 per luggage.

### ***Sheraton Hong Kong Hotel and Towers***

**Bus** Airport Bus **A21** from The Hong Kong International Airport to **Tsim Sha Tsui**. It costs HK\$33 and takes about 45 minutes. Please get off at “**Haiphong Road, Nathan Road**” bus stop. And walk along the street, the hotel is in the end of Nathan Road.

**Taxi** Taxi from the airport would cost about HK\$230. The journey takes about 30-40 minutes. There will be an extra charge for luggage and a toll fee. The toll fee will be HK\$90 and luggage fee will be HK\$5 per luggage.

### **From Airport to The University of Hong Kong (HKU)**

**Bus and MTR** We recommend you take train - Airport Express from The Hong Kong International Airport to Hong Kong Station. It costs HK\$100 and takes about 24 minutes. Upon arrival at the Hong Kong Station, follow the directional signage to get to the Central bus station. Then take bus **30X** and get off at stop “**HKU West Gate, Pok Fu Lam Road**”.

**Taxi** Taxi from the airport to HKU campus would cost about HK\$300. The journey takes about 30-40 minutes. There will be an extra charge for luggage and a toll fee. The toll fee will be HK\$30 and luggage fee will be HK\$5 per luggage.

### **From Hotels to HKU**

#### ***Traders Hotel***

**Taxi** You can take a taxi from the hotel to the University of Hong Kong. It takes about 15 minutes and costs about HK\$50.

***Sheraton Hong Kong Hotel and Towers***

**Bus and MTR** There are two ways – 1) Take a Tsuen Wan Line (red) train from **Tsim Sha Tsui** MTR station to **Central** station, then get out at Exit A. Then take a bus **30X** and get off at stop “**HKU West Gate, Pok Fu Lam Road**”. The whole journey takes about 30 minutes.

2) Take a West Rail Line (purple) train from **Tsim Sha Tsui East** station to **Austin** station, get out at Exit B2, and then walk to Jordan Road to take the bus **970**, get off at the 4th stop to at the University of Hong Kong. The whole journey takes about 35 minutes.

**Bus** Walk to the bus stop **New World Center** (about 3 minutes walk away from the hotel), and then take a bus **973**, get off at the stop “**HKU West Gate, Pok Fu Lam Road**”. The whole journey takes about 22 minutes.

**Taxi** You can take a taxi from the hotel to the University of Hong Kong. It takes about 20-25 minutes and costs about HK\$120-140.

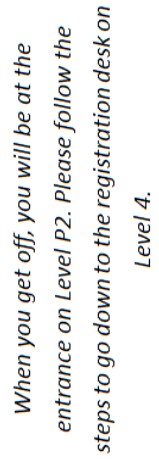
***Le Meridien Cyberport Hotel***

**Bus** Get on a bus **970** at Cyberport or Cyberport Three bus stop and get off at “**Hill Road, Pok Fu Lam Road**” and the Graduate House of University of Hong Kong. The whole ride takes about 30 minutes.

If you not sure how to get to bus stop, you may ask the direction to the bus stop at your hotel - how to get to Cyberport Three.

**Taxi** The taxi ride takes about 15 minutes and costs about HK\$35.

If you will come by taxi, please show this map to the taxi driver to ensure s/he would not get lost within the HKU Campus.



We have also prepared a number of bilingual notes to help you get to your hotel by taxi, please carry with you at all times.

Hello Driver! 司機你好!

Please take me to Traders Hotel Hong Kong.  
請帶我到盛貿飯店。

Thank you! 謝謝!

Hello Driver! 司機你好!

Please take me to Le Meriden Cyberport Hotel.  
請帶我到數碼港艾美酒店。

Thank you! 謝謝!

Hello Driver! 司機你好!

Please take me to Sheraton Hong Kong Hotel  
and Towers.  
請帶我到香港喜來登酒店。

Thank you! 謝謝!

## Do's and Don'ts in Hong Kong

**Do make use of the Octopus Card.** Octopus card is an electronic fare card that can be used by most forms of public transport, fast food restaurants and shops in Hong Kong. It is the most convenient method for payment and hence no need to bring large amount of money and coins. You are suggested to buy an On-Loan Octopus which is refundable with HK\$50 deposit during this short visiting period. You can get your Octopus card at the Hong Kong International Airport and MTR stations.

**Do stand on the right when taking the elevator.** People in Hong Kong get used to standing on the right when they take the elevator, so as to prevent blockage for passage and avoid bumping into people which may cause accidents.

**Do allow more than enough time to travel.** Traffic jam in Hong Kong is quite serious, especially during busy hours (8am-10am and 5pm-7pm). Therefore, it would be wise to leave the hotel earlier to your destination to avoid the traffic jam.

**Do bring enough clothes.** Weather in June in Hong Kong is hot and sunny. Yet, most indoor areas in Hong Kong are extremely cold, such as hotels and shopping malls. Therefore, it is good to bring a light jacket with you when you stay in an indoor area for a long period of time.

**Do take care of your belongings.** Hong Kong is one of the safest cities in the world. However, you should always take care of your personal belongings, including travel documents, cash and luggage especially when you are in a crowded place. You are suggested to keep your valuable belongings in a secured place like the hotel safe.

**Do call 999 in case of any emergencies.** 999 is Hong Kong Emergency phone number. In case of any emergencies situation, stay calm and call 999 to seek help. They are efficient and reliable.

**Don't smoke in covered areas.** Since 1 January 2007, statutory no smoking areas have been extended to cover the indoor areas of all restaurant premises, indoor workplaces, public indoor places, public transport facilities and university. No person shall smoke or carry a lighted cigarette; cigar or pipe in designated no smoking areas, or else will be liable to a fixed penalty of HK\$1,500.

**Don't forget to carry your passport and keep it with you at all times.**



## Day-at-a-Glance

**Thursday, June 14, 2012**

Time	Event	Location
10:00- 13:00	IJPOR Board Meeting	HKU Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01
11:00-17:00	WAPOR Council Meeting	HKU Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03
17:00-19:00	Registration Desk Open / Get Together Party	HKU Graduate House Foyer

Notes:

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## Day-at-a-Glance

**Friday, June 15, 2012**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Location</b>
08:30-18:00	Registration	Grad. Hs. Foyer
09:30-11:15	Opening Plenary Session	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre
11:15-11:45	Break/Poster Session I	Grad. Hs. Foyer
11:45-13:00	Concurrent Sessions I	
	<b>A</b> Public Health Opinion	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> Public Opinion on Social Issues	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> Public Opinion on Social Media	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> Capturing International and Domestic Public Opinion through AsiaBarometer Surveys	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
	<b>E</b> The Current Situation and Development Tendency of Public Opinion in China	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
	<b>F</b> Media and Politics	James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03
13:00-14:00	Lunch	Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre
14:00-15:15	Concurrent Sessions II	
	<b>A</b> AAPOR Special Panel - Exit Polling in the 21st Century: A Perspective from the USA	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming I	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> Public Opinion and Social Value	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> The Implications of New Survey Mode on Response	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
	<b>E</b> Public Opinion in China	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

15:15-15:30	Break	Grad. Hs. Foyer
15:30-16:45	Concurrent Sessions III	
	<b>A</b> Public Opinion on Political Issues I	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> New Forms of Journalism and Citizen Opinion Expressions I	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> Cross-National Research	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> Alternatives and Strategies for Improving Survey Response Rates	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
	<b>E</b> Internet Polling in Chinese Societies: The Exploration of Online Survey and Online Opinion	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
16:45-17:00	Break	Grad. Hs. Foyer
17:00-18:15	Concurrent Sessions IV	
	<b>A</b> Deliberative Polling I	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> Sampling, Response Rates and Non-Response	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> Multi-Country Surveys: A Distinct in Sub-Field Survey Research	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> Questionnaire Design and Techniques	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
	<b>E</b> Internet and Public Opinions in China	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
19:00-21:00	Award Banquet	Loke Yew Hall

Notes:

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## Opening Plenary Session

Friday, June 15, 2012, 09:30 - 11:15

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Location: HKU Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre

### Opening Remarks

*by the Conference Chairman Robert Chung*

### Welcome Address

*by the WAPOR President Tom Smith*

### Keynote Speech "The World of Public Opinion Research"

*by Tom Smith*

WAPOR President, Tom Smith, will talk about the history of WAPOR, its global scope and what lead to the first, historic Asian WAPOR conference.

### Keynote Release "Freedom to Publish Opinion Poll Results"

*by Robert Chung*

Conference Chairman, Robert Chung will announce the results of a new survey on the freedom to publish opinion polls worldwide conducted in April and May this year and covered a total of 84 countries. It is the fifth study conducted by WAPOR on this issue so far. Previous surveys were conducted in 1984, 1992, 1996 and 2002.

### Keynote Remarks

*by Dean of Social Sciences of the University of Hong Kong John Burns*

Professor Burns will say a few words to highlight the significance of holding the first Asian WAPOR conference in the University of Hong Kong.

## Poster Session I

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:15 - 11:45

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Location: HKU Graduate House Foyer

- [P01] Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Religion: Correlates of Voting Intention in the 2011 Nigerian Presidential Election**  
*Cliff Young, IPSOS Public Affairs, USA*  
*Darrell Bricker, IPSOS Public Affairs, USA*
- [P02] On legitimacy of the network public opinion expression and estimating scientifically**  
*Jiangang Hu, Nanjing Forest Police College, China*
- [P03] The 1989 Chinese Student Movement as Signalized in Newsweek and Time: An Analysis of Symbols**  
*Jin Yang, University of Memphis, USA*
- [P04] Unpuzzle the Online Opinion: The Model of Analyzing Social Media Monitoring Tools**  
*Jing Yang, Michigan State University, USA*  
*Shili Xie, Michigan State University, USA*  
*Hairong Li, Michigan State University, USA*

## Concurrent Session I A

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### Public Health Opinion

**Panel Chair: Olaf H. Werder, University of Sydney, Australia**

- [IA-1]     **Social media for sexual health**  
*W. Douglas Evans, George Washington University, USA*
  
- [IA-2]     **Public opinion and food safety: A Spanish case study**  
*Alana Mann, University of Sydney, Australia*
  
- [IA-3]     **Health literacy's connection to health behavior and policy support**  
*Olaf H. Werder, University of Sydney, Australia*
  
- [IA-4]     **Religious Beliefs, Knowledge about Science and Attitudes Towards Medical Genetics**  
*Nick Allum, University of Essex, UK*  
*Elissa Sibley, University of Essex, UK*  
*Patrick Sturgis, University of Southampton, UK*  
*Paul Stoneman, University of Southampton, UK*
  
- [IA-5]     **Assessing measurement equivalence in cross-national latent class models: an example of European public opinion on genetically modified (GM) food**  
*Sally Stares, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*  
*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*



## **Concurrent Session I B**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### **Public Opinion on Social Issues**

***Panel Chair: Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea***

**[IB-1]      Feeling closeness to China, Japan, North Korea, and the United States and policy preference toward North Korea among South Koreans**

*Jibum Kim, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Jaeki Jeong, Soongsil University, USA*

*Carl Gershenson, Harvard University, USA*

*Jeong-Han Kang, Yonsei University, Korea*

*Yun-Suk Lee, University of Seoul, Korea*

*Seokho Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

*Wonjae Lee, KAIST, Korea*

**[IB-2]      How Southeast Asians View China's Influence in Asia**

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

**[IB-3]      American Perceptions of China and the Chinese: Do The Media Matter?**

*Lars Willnat, Indiana University, USA*

*Emily Metzgar, Indiana University, USA*

**[IB-4]      Public opinion polls as a vehicle for social communication in democratic societies**

*Katarzyna M. Staszynska, Kozminski University, Poland*

## Concurrent Session I C

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### Public Opinion on Social Media

**Panel Chair: Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau, and Lun Zhan, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong**

**[IC-1] Representation of Political Discussions in Web Forums: A Cross-National Assessment**

*Hai Liang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

**[IC-2] Public Opinion between Blogosphere and Real World**

*Heng Lu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

**[IC-3] Evaluating Public Discussion of Occupying Wall Street on Twitter: Linking Twitter Streams with Search Quieres, Opinion Polls, Media Coverage, and Stock Market Index**

*Cheng-Jun Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

**[IC-4] Content or Context: Which Carries More Weight in Predicting Popularity of Tweets in China**

*Lun Zhang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

*Ya-Peng Zhang, Sina.com*

*Xiao-Hong Wang, Sina.com*

**[IC-5]      Assessing Public Opinion Trends based on User Search Queries:  
Validity, Reliability, and Practicality**

*Jonathan J. H. Zhu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Xiaohua Wang, Shenzhen University, China*

*Jie Qin, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Lingfei Wu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

## Concurrent Session I D

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02

### **Capturing International and Domestic Public Opinion through AsiaBarometer Surveys**

**Panel Chair: Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan**

**[ID-1] Japanese and Chinese Public Opinion: Can Soft Power Make a Difference?**

*Christian Collet, International Christian University, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

**[ID-2] Geriatric Peace in Asia: Analyses Based on the AsiaBarometer Surveys 2003-2008**

*Seiji Fujii, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

**[ID-3] Microfoundations of Post-Civil War Democratization in Nepal: Examining Citizens' Attitude toward Democracy through the AsiaBarometer Survey 2005**

*Yuichi Kubota, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Shinya Sasaoka, Hiroshima Shudo University, Japan*

**[ID-4] Who's Afraid of the Dragon? Asian Mass Public's Perceptions of China's Influence**

*Matthew Linley, Temple University, Japan*

*James Reilly, University of Sydney, Australia*

*Benjamin E. Goldsmith, University of Sydney, Australia*

## Concurrent Session I E

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

### **The Current Situation and Development Tendency of Public Opinion in China**

***Panel Chair: Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China***

**[IE-1] Chinese People's Knowledge, Attitude and Expression towards the Two Sessions of China--A Case Study of Shanghai Residents**

*Shuanglong Li, Fudan University, China*

*Bofei Zheng, Fudan University, China*

**[IE-2] A content analysis of populist discourses on Chinese social media**

*Ling Ma, Fudan University, China*

*Shaojing Sun, Fudan University, China*

**[IE-3] The development trend of China's public opinion and public opinion poll**

*Bing Tong, Fudan University, China*

*Di Wang, Fudan University, China*

**[IE-4] New media and opinion expression of information have-less in China**

*Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China*

*Taofu Zhang, Fudan University, China*

## Concurrent Session I F

Friday, June 15, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03

### Media and Politics

**Panel Chair: Chi Huang, National Chengchi University, Taiwan**

- [IF-1] Talking about politics: Effects of media and interpersonal communication on EU evaluations**  
*Pieterjan Desmet, Amsterdam School of Communication Research, The Netherlands*
- [IF-2] The Influence of Trust in Mainstream Media and Political Anxiety on Intention to Listen to a Political Satire: A Case of South Korea**  
*Minchul Kim, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA*  
*Ji Eun Kim, Chung-ang University, Korea*
- [IF-3] Explaining Media Trust from Partisanship, Ideology and Their Interaction**  
*Yang Liu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*
- [IF-4] Media-Political Parallelism as an Indicator in Studying Mediocracy**  
*Svetlana Bodrunova, St.Petersburg State University, Russia*
- [IF-5] Media Credibility and Its Correlate with the Popularity of the Ruling Party**  
*Syed Arabi Idid, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia*  
*Saadah Wok, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia*

## **Concurrent Session II A**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### **AAPOR Special Panel - Exit Polling in the 21st Century: A Perspective from the USA**

***Panel Chair: Paul J. Lavrakas, AAPOR, USA***

#### **Why Accurate Exit Polls are Important to Democracies**

*Michael W. Traugott, University of Michigan, USA*

#### **Exit Polling 101: An Overview to Current Methodological Approaches**

*Paul J. Lavrakas, AAPOR, USA*

#### **How the New York Times Reports Exit Poll Findings**

*Marjorie Connelly, The New York Times, USA*

#### **The Future of Exit Polling**

*Trevor N. Thompson, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

## Concurrent Session II B

Friday, June 15, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming I

**Panel Chair: Orlando J. Pérez, Central Michigan University, USA**

**[IIB-1] Focusing Events and Their Effect on Agenda-Setting**

*Jan Váně, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic*

*František Kalvas, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic*

**[IIB-2] Framing Processes and Social media: A frame analysis of the Tsoi Yuen Resistance Movement**

*Miranda Lai Yee Ma, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong*

**[IIB-3] Issue Development in a Mediated Society: The Endogenous Relationship Between Media and Publics on the Issue of European Integration**

*Marijn van Klingeren, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Hajo Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Rens Vliegthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

**[IIB-4] Media Events and Media Effects on Public Opinion: Exploring Traditional Media and Internet Effects in China**

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Patricia Moy, University of Washington, USA*

**[IIB-5] Toward an Integrated Model: The Influence of Presumed Media Influence in News Production**

*Shuning Lu, Fudan University, China & Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*



## **Concurrent Session II C**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### **Public Opinion and Social Value**

***Panel Chair: Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand***

**[IIC-1] Knowledge of and the Impact of Enforcement of the Thailand Broadcasting Act 2008 on the Thai Radio and Television Broadcasting Business**

*Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

**[IIC-2] Perceptions of the Thai Adolescents Towards Alcohol Marketing Communication and Its Impact on Their Alcohol Expectancies and Consumptions**

*Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

*Tassanee Krirkgulthorn, Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Thailand*

*Siritorn Yingrengreung, Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Thailand*

**[IIC-3] Perceptions of Male and Female Newspaper Journalists in Thailand**

*Kanyaka Shaw, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

- [IIC-4]     Driver's Attitude Towards New Traffic Law in the State of Qatar**  
*Elmogiera Elawad, Qatar University, Qatar*  
*A Diop, Qatar University, Qatar*  
*Le Kien, Qatar University, Qatar*  
*Khaled Shaaban, Qatar University, Qatar*
- [IIC-5]     Public opinion on informal patient payments: Central and Eastern European countries comparison**  
*Tetiana Stepurko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine*  
*Milena Pavlova, Maastricht University, The Netherlands*  
*Irena Gryga, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine*  
*Wim Groot, Maastricht University, The Netherlands*

## **Concurrent Session II D**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02

### **The Implications of New Survey Mode on Response**

***Panel Chair: Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea***

**[IID-1] Differences in Responses between Land line & Mobile Phone**

*Ock Tae Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Yoon Jae Jang, Seoul Women's University, Korea*

**[IID-2] Social Participation and Intent to Participate in Internet Surveys**

*U-Seok Seo, University of Seoul, Korea*

*Gihong Yi, Hallym University, Korea*

**[IID-3] Estimation Methods for Dual Frame Sample of Cell and Landline Numbers**

*Mingue Park, Korea University, Korea*

**[IID-4] The Effects of Survey Mode on Response: Results from Three Surveys about Gambling**

*Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea*

*Indeok Song, Joongbu University, Korea*

*Jong-Seok Byun, Hanshin University, Korea*

## Concurrent Session II E

Friday, June 15, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

### Public Opinion in China

**Panel Chair: Yue Zou, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA**

- [IIE-1] Research on the relationship between securities public opinion and the fluctuation of the market value of listed companies**  
*Mo Qian, Beijing Technology and Business University, China*  
*Yuan Zheng, Beijing Technology and Business University, China*
- [IIE-2] Reporting public opinion polls in China**  
*Yin Lu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*
- [IIE-3] Perception of Online Polls, Information Literacy, Political Efficacy, and Online Polls Participation in Mainland China**  
*Kevin Wen yuan Zhao, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*  
*Louis Leung, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*
- [IIE-4] The Rise of Online Public Opinion in China: Its Agenda-setting Influence on Media Coverage and Government Policy**  
*Yunjuan Luo, Texas Tech University, USA*

## Concurrent Session III A

Friday, June 15, 2012, 15:30 - 16:45

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### Public Opinion on Political Issues I

**Panel Chair: Francis Joseph Escudero, *The Philippine Senate, Philippines***

**[IIIA-1] Political trust in The Netherlands: Measurements, methods, meanings - and some reflections on public opinion research in public opinion formation**

*Paul Dekker, Tilburg University & The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, The Netherlands*

**[IIIA-2] Explaining Political Trust from Ideological Distances with Political Parties**

*Yang Liu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

**[IIIA-3] Crime, Trust and the Legitimacy of Legal Institutions: A Comparative European Analysis**

*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics, UK*

*Mike Hough, University of London, UK*

*Ben Bradford, University of Oxford, UK*

*Katrin Hohl, London School of Economics, UK*

*Tia Pooler, London School of Economics, UK*

*Jouni Kuha, London School of Economics, UK*

**[IIIA-4] The Roots of Ideological Politics: A comparison of cross-sectional and longitudinal results**

*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

*Ronald F. Inglehart, World Values Study, USA*

**[IIIA-5] The Impact of Political Institutions on Public Opinion - Policy Linkages: A Case Study of the Legislators in Hong Kong**

*Bing-Kwan Chan, Chu Hai College of Higher Education, Hong Kong*

## **Concurrent Session III B**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 15:30 - 16:45

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### **New Forms of Journalism and Citizen Opinion Expressions I**

**Panel Chair: Lu-Huei Chen, National Chengchi University, Taiwan**

**[IIIB-1] Use of a Multiportal Smartphone/Online Alternative to Traditional Survey Data Collection**

*Michael W. Link, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Jennie W. Lai, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Lorelle Vanno, The Nielsen Company, USA*

**[IIIB-2] Pre-Election Polls, Italian Voter Preferences, and Their Study Via On-Line Campaign Simulations**

*Giancarlo Gasperoni, Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna, Italy*

*Debora Mantovani, Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna, Italy*

**[IIIB-3] Heroes, Villains, and Fools: Public Opinion and Social Control in the Internet**

*Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Germany*

**[IIIB-4] Data Collection in the Age of Smartphone Applications: Key Considerations for User Experience and Emerging Engagement Techniques**

*Jennie W. Lai, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Michael W. Link, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Lorelle Vanno, The Nielsen Company, USA*

**[IIIB-5] Are blogs credible? Influence of author information on blogger credibility**

*Porismita Borah, Maryville University, USA*

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## Concurrent Session III C

Friday, June 15, 2012, 15:30 - 16:45

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### Cross-National Research

**Panel Chair: Mark Gill, MORI Caribbean**

**[IIIC-1] The Diffusion of an Innovation: Survey Research 1936-1969**

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

**[IIIC-2] A Comparative Study of Valence Politics Using the British and Taiwan Election Survey Data**

*Karl Ho, University of Texas at Dallas, USA*

*Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas at Dallas, USA*

**[IIIC-3] Patterns of media use, conversation and perceived political polarization in 10 countries**

*Hernando Rojas, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*JungHwan Yang, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Magdalena Wojcieszak, IE University, Spain*

*Sharon Coen, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK*

*Toril Aalberg, Norwegian University of Science & Technology, Norway*

*James Curran, University of London, UK*

*Shanto Iyengar, Stanford University, USA*

*Hayashi Kaori, University of Tokyo, Japan*

*Vinod Pavarala, University of Hyderabad, India*

*Gianpietro Mazzoleni, University of Milan, Italy*

*Stylianios Papathanassopoulos, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece*

*June Wong Rhee, Seoul National University, Korea*

*Stuart Soroka, McGill University, Canada*

**[IIIC-4] PAX POPULI, PAX DEI: Ten Years of Peace Polls in Comparative Perspective**

*Colin Irwin, University of Liverpool, UK*



## **Concurrent Session III D**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 15:30 - 16:45

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02

### **Alternatives and Strategies for Improving Survey Response Rates**

**Panel Chair: Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea**

**[IIID-1] Using Cell Phone for Student Surveys**

*Eun Hee Choi, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

**[IIID-2] Inaccessibility and Refusal as Unit Non-Responses of Survey Research: Test of the MAR (Missing At Random) Assumption in East Asia**

*Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

**[IIID-3] A Comparison of Response Patterns between Landline and Cell Phone RDD Surveys**

*So Hyung Park, Survey & Health Policy Research Center, Korea*

*Geon Lee, Seoul National University, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Sang Kyung Lee, Hyundai Research Institute, Korea*

**[IIID-4] Constructing Hard-To-Survey Index in Korean Labor Force Survey**

*Young Shil Park, Statistics Korea, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Ok Hee Choi, Statistics Korea, Korea*

## Concurrent Session III E

Friday, June 15, 2012, 15:30 - 16:45

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Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

### **Internet Polling in Chinese Societies: The Exploration of Online Survey and Online Opinion**

***Panel Chair: Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau***

**[IIIE-1] The Interplay of Online and Offline Opinions: A Total Public Opinion Approach**

*Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

*Xue Chang, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

*Athena Seng, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

**[IIIE-2] Application of Data Mining in Internet Research**

*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

**[IIIE-3] The Use of Web-based Survey in Communication and Public Opinion Research: Trends, Features, and Issues**

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Tianjiao Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Jiawe Tu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

**[IIIE-4] The Dynamic Relationships between Online Media Coverage, iWOM, Buzz Perception and Online Search of Celebrities in China**

*Peking Tan, Millward Brown China, China*

*Sangruo Huang, University of Minnesota, USA*

*Yuhui Li, Renmin University of China, China*

*Linyun Jiang, Renmin University of China, China*

## **Concurrent Session IV A**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 17:00 - 18:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### **Deliberative Polling I**

***Panel Chair: Shelley Xu, Stanford University, USA***

#### **Deliberative Polling in Japan**

*Sone Yasunori, Keio University, Japan*

#### **Deliberative Polling in Macau**

*Angus Cheong, eRS Research, Macau*

#### **Deliberative Polling in the United States: Vermont Deliberative Poll on Energy Choices**

*Robert Luskin, University of Texas, Austin, USA*

#### **Deliberative Polling in Poland: Poznan Deliberates on Sports Stadium Use**

*Jeremy Mann, Stanford University, USA*

## Concurrent Session IV B

Friday, June 15, 2012, 17:00 - 18:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### Sampling, Response Rates and Non-Response

**Panel Chair: Katarzyna M. Staszynska, Kozminski University, Poland**

**[IVB-1] Gender Pre-Specified Sampling: The Case of the Middle East**

*Kien Trung Le, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Abdoulaye Diop, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Darwish Alemadi, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Elmogiera Elewad, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Jill Wittrock, University of Michigan, USA*

**[IVB-2] The Unit Non-respondents to Telephone Survey in Taiwan**

*Kuang-Hui Chen, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan*

*Su-Feng Cheng, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

**[IVB-3] Within Household Sampling in the Middle East and Developing Countries: A Comparative Study**

*Kien Trung Le, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Abdoulaye Diop, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Darwish Alemadi, Qatar University, Qatar*

**[IVB-4] The Determinants of Panel Attrition in Telephone Survey: An Experience from Taiwan's Election Study**

*Kah Yew Lim, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

**[IVB-5] Retention in Multi-Mode Survey Panels**

*Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

*Kumar Rao, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

*Olena Kaminska, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

## **Concurrent Session IV C**

Friday, June 15, 2012, 17:00 - 18:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### **Multi-Country Surveys: A Distinct Sub-Field in Survey Research**

**Panel Chair: Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA**

**[IVC-1] A Case Study of continuity and change: 40 Years of Euro-barometer as a Multi-country survey**

*Pascal Chelala, TNS Opinion, USA,*

*Leendert de Voogd, TNS Opinion, USA*

**[IVC-2] A case for global-centric approach to multi-country surveys and why multi-country surveys need to be treated as a special sub-field of survey Research**

*Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion, Pakistan*

**[IVC-3] Multi-Country Surveys as a Policy Instrument in the New Globalized World of 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reflections on 10 years of Asia Barometer**

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

**[IVC-4] Media and Multi-country Survey: Communicating with “global publics”**

*Doug Miller, Globescan, USA*

*Bilal Gilani, Gallup Pakistan, Pakistan*

## Concurrent Session IV D

Friday, June 15, 2012, 17:00 - 18:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02

### Questionnaire Design and Techniques

**Panel Chair: Ellen L. Marks, RTI International, China**

**[IVD-1] The Effects of Providing Middle Options in Mail Surveys**

*Noriko Onodera, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroko Murata, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroshi Aramaki, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Kei Kono, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Miwako Hara, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Kumiko Nishi, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroshi Nakaaki, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

**[IVD-2] Item Sum: A New Technique for Asking Quantitative Sensitive Questions**

*Mark Trappmann, Institute for Employment Research, Germany*

*Ivar Krumpal, University of Leipzig, Germany*

*Antje Kirchner, Institute for Employment Research, Germany*

*Ben Jann, University of Bern, Switzerland*

**[IVD-3] Methods of measuring response effects in surveys and implications for understanding their causes**

*Caroline Roberts, University of Lausanne, Switzerland*

*Emily Gilbert, University of Essex, UK*

*Nick Allum, University of Essex, UK*

**[IVD-4] Web+Mail as a Mixed-Mode Solution to General Public Survey Challenges in the United States**

*Don A. Dillman, Washington State University, USA*

*Benjamin Messer, Washington State University, USA*

## Concurrent Session IV E

Friday, June 15, 2012, 17:00 - 18:15

Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

### Internet and Public Opinions in China

**Panel Chair: Hong Chen, Communication School of East China Normal University, China**

**[IVE-1] An Empirical Study of the Impact of Internet Public Opinion on Chinese Public Policy**

*Yungeng Xie, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

*Ping Wang, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

*Xuanao Wan, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

**[IVE-2] Digital Divide and Internet Use in China: Can the Internet Facilitate Citizenship Engagement?**

*Zhongdang Pan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Gang Jing, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Yang Liu, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Wenjie Yan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Jiawen Zheng, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

**[IVE-3] Internet facilitated civic engagement in China's context: a case study of the Internet event of Wenzhou high-speed train accident**

*Xiaowen Xu, Columbia University, USA*

**[IVE-4] Internet Use, Social Network, and Civic Participation in Urban China**

*Jianwen Zheng, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Zhongdang Pan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

**[IVE-5] Recontextualizing and Reconstructing Political Discourse: An Analysis of Political Engagement on Sina Weibo**

*Miao Feng, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*

*Siyuan Yin, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*



## Day-at-a-Glance

**Saturday, June 16, 2012**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Location</b>
08:30-14:00	Registration	Grad. Hs. Foyer
09:30-11:15	Feature Plenary Session Transitional Democracies: The Ground Zero of Public Opinion	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre
11:15-11:45	Break/Poster Session II	Grad. Hs. Foyer
11:45-13:00	Concurrent Sessions V	
	<b>A</b> East Asian Social Survey	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming II	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> Public Opinion at Good / Bad Times	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> Public Opinion and World Value	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02
	<b>E</b> E-democracy I	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)
	<b>F</b> Public Consultation	James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03
13:00-14:00	Lunch	Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre
14:00-15:15	Concurrent Sessions VI	
	<b>A</b> Public Opinion Online	Grad. Hs Seminar Room P5-01
	<b>B</b> Public Opinion on Political Issues II	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P5-03
	<b>C</b> ISSC Special Panel: "Critical Reflections on the Future of Comparative Social Research"	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01
	<b>D</b> Deliberative Polling II	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-02 (special panel with SI)
	<b>E</b> E-democracy II	Grad. Hs. Wang Gungwu Theatre (round table discussion with SI)
15:15-15:30	Break	Grad. Hs. Foyer
15:30-16:30	WAPOR Business Meeting	Grad. Hs. Seminar Room P6-01

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## Feature Plenary Session

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 09:30 - 11:15

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Location: HKU Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre

### **Transitional Democracies: The Ground Zero of Public Opinion**

The session will start with premiering the first ever Video Opinion Poll undertaken by Team CVoter in Egypt, entitled "The Scent Of Jasmine". This unique initiative was carried out during the most talked about Egyptian turmoil in Tehrir Square, where the team members of CVoter virtually camped for three weeks recoding the vox-populi during the history in the making.

The screening will be followed by a discussion panel on Transitional Democracies: The Ground Zero of Public Opinion. Here the experts of this domain from Burma, Egypt, India, Maldives, Kashmir, Pakistan, Palestine, Sri Lanka and Syria will talk about their experiences of working in the troubled areas and transitional democratic systems, about the short term and long term impacts of Arab Spring not only on geo-political scenarios but also the dynamism of Public Opinion in ground zero of such transitions.

The remarkable thing about this panel is that the panelists have been working hand in hand on these assignments and have gathered unique insights on the problems and solutions for carrying out research in these areas. Though each of the country/society is unique in its own way as far as working environment is concerned, they share a lot many insights which are common in term of human psychology and logistical challenges.

## Poster Session II

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:15 - 11:45

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Location: HKU Graduate House Foyer

- [P05]      **Kick the Bums Out?: A Structural Equation Model Exploring the Degree to which Mainstream and Partisan Sources Influence Polarization and Anti-incumbent Attitudes**  
*Johnson Thomas J, University of Texas-Austin, USA*  
*Angela Lee, University of Texas-Austin, USA*
- [P06]      **The most important problem in Japan and the World, how Japanese people saw the Great Earthquakes of March 11, 2011 and the Fukushima Nuclear Accidents after the earthquakes**  
*Midori Aoyagi, National Institute for Environmental Studies, Japan*
- [P07]      **Use globally, see globally, and act globally: Investigation on English speakers' activities on Chinese micro-blog**  
*Wan Zhang, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*
- [P08]      **Wukan Protests on Weibo: How Public Opinion Frame Democracy in China**  
*Yao Sun, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong*

## Concurrent Session V A

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### East Asian Social Survey

**Panel Chair: Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea**

**[VA-1] Diverging Paths to Happiness: Empirical Evidences from the EASS 2010**

*Ly-Yun Chang, Academia Sinica, Taiwan*

**[VA-2] Medical Care and Oriental Alternative Medicine in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan**

*Noriko Iwai, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan*

*Hideaki Uenohara, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan*

**[VA-3] Factors Leading to the Desired Body Weight in Korea and Japan**

*Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

**[VA-4] American Attitudes toward Japan and China, 1937-2011**

*Faith Laken, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Jibum Kim, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

**[VA-5] Assessing Measurement Invariance in the Attitude to Marriage Scale across East Asian Societies**

*Xiaowen Zhu, Xian Jaotong University, China*

*Yanjie Bian, Xian Jaotong University, China*

## Concurrent Session V B

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming II

**Panel Chair: Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Germany**

**[VB-1] Online Engagement and Political Participation: Reception, Expression and Sharing in Facebook Groups and Discussion Forums**

*Stephanie Jean Tsang, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

**[VB-2] Voter Advice Applications in Practice: Answers to Some Key Questions from Turkey**

*Thomas Vitiello, Sabanci University, Turkey*

*Ali Çarkoglu, Koç University, Turkey*

*Mert Moral, Koç University, Turkey*

**[VB-3] Discussing Occupying Wall Street on Twitter: Longitudinal Network Analysis of Equality, Emotion, and Stability of Public Discuss**

*Chengjun Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Pianpian Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

**[VB-4] Selectivity in Blogosphere: the Potential for Exposure to Political Information in Non-Political Blogs**

*Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA*

*Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA*

## Concurrent Session V C

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### Public Opinion at Good / Bad Times

**Panel Chair: Ching-Hsin Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan**

**[VC-1] Tracking suffering and economic deprivation in the Philippines over time**

*Mahar Mangahas, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

*Linda Luz B. Guerrero, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

**[VC-2] Perception of Economic Conditions and Support for Democratic Free Market System: The case of Poland**

*Krzysztof Zagorski, Kozminski University, Poland*

**[VC-3] Are We A Greener Nation Now? Trends in Pro-Environmental Behaviors of Filipinos (1993-2010)**

*Gianne Sheena S. Sabio, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

**[VC-4] Facing a Crisis with Calmness? Citizens Respond to the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster**

*Yuichi Kubota, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

**[VC-5] PSI: Towards a New Index of Public Opinion**

*Edward Tai, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Robert Chung, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

## Concurrent Session V D

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02

### Public Opinion and World Value

**Panel Chair: Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA**

**[VD-1] Coalition Preferences in Multiparty Systems**

*Michael F. Meffert, Leiden University, The Netherlands*

*Thomas Gschwend, University of Mannheim, Germany*

**[VD-2] Is Trust in Institutions General or Differentiated? An analysis of data from the World Value Survey**

*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

*Charles T. Salmon, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

**[VD-3] The Credibility of Credibility Measures: A Meta-Analysis in Leading Communication Journals, 1951-2011**

*Lea C. Hellmueller, University of Missouri & University of Fribourg, USA*

*Damian Trilling, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

**[VD-4] Civic Life and Democratic Citizenship in Qatar**

*Justin Gengler, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Mark Tessler, University of Michigan, USA*

**[VD-5] Opinion leadership as a predictor of political information behavior in Japan**

*Shinichi Saito, Tokyo Woman's Christian University, Japan*

*Toshio Takeshita, Meiji University, Japan*

*Tetsuro Inaba, Hitotsubashi University, Japan*



## Concurrent Session V E

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (special panel with SI)

### E-Democracy I

**Panel Chair: Kuang-Hui Chen, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan**

- [VE-1] The Role of the Internet in Taiwanese Party Politics**  
*Chiung-Chu Lin, Soochow University, Taiwan*  
*Ching-Hsin Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*
- [VE-2] Miracle Medicine for Curing Low Turnout? Evaluation of Electronic Voting in Taiwan**  
*Chia-Hung Tsai, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*  
*Eric Chen-Hua Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*
- [VE-3] Active or Passive? A Study of Taiwan's Internet Users' Political Participation**  
*Hung-Chung Wang, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*  
*Chang-Chih Lin, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*
- [VE-4] Exploring Issue Ownership in Campaign Advertising: An Experiment via Internet Survey**  
*Eric Chen-Hua Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*  
*Pei-Chen Hsu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

## **Concurrent Session V F**

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 11:45 - 13:00

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Location: James Hsioung Lee Science Building Room JLG03

### **Public Consultation**

***Panel Chair: Jeremy Mann, Stanford University, USA***

#### **Deliberative Initiative**

*James Fishkin, Stanford University, USA*

#### **An Experiment in Iceland: Crowdsourcing a Constitution**

*Jon Olafsson, Bifröst University, USA*

#### **Power 2010: Political Reform in the United Kingdom**

*Shelley Xu, Stanford University, USA*

#### **Deliberative Society**

*Alice Siu, Stanford University, USA*

## Concurrent Session VI A

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-01

### Public Opinion Online

**Panel Chair: Porismita Borah, Maryville University, USA**

**[VIA-1] Political communication in a digital world: The effects of personalization and interactive communication on citizens' political involvement**

*Sanne Kruikemeier, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Guda van Noort, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

**[VIA-2] What We See Online: A Forerunner or Echo of the Traditional Media Messages?**

*Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA*

*Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA*

**[VIA-3] Challenging selective exposure: Do people expose themselves only to online content that fits their interests and preferences?**

*Damian Trilling, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Klaus Schoenbach, University of Vienna, Austria*

**[VIA-4] Engaging the Disengaged: Examining the Relationship between Social Networking Site Use and Political Participation**

*Soo Young Bae, University of Michigan, USA*

**[VIA-5] Encountering Online Heterogeneity: Does Exposure to Online Heterogeneity Reinforce Positive Political Consequences?**

*Yangsun Hong, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Hernando Rojas, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

## **Concurrent Session VI B**

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P5-03

### **Public Opinion on Political Issues II**

***Panel Chair: Chiung-chu Lin, Soochow University, Taiwan***

- [VIB-1] Market research in politics: revealing the contribution consultants make when advising our politicians**  
*Jennifer Lees-Marshment, University of Auckland, New Zealand*
- [VIB-2] Pseudo-Opinions in Public Opinion Research. How people respond to the “Public Affairs Act”**  
*Karl-Heinz Reuband, University of Duesseldorf, Germany*
- [VIB-3] Mass Support for Populism in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis using Survey Data from the Americas Barometer, 2010**  
*Orlando J. Pérez, Central Michigan University, USA*
- [VIB-4] Partisan selective exposure, climate opinion perceptions and political polarization**  
*Yariv Tsfati, University of Haifa, Israel*  
*Adi Chotiner, University of Haifa, Israel*  
*Natalie (Talia) Jomini Stroud, University of Texas, Austin, USA*
- [VIB-5] Soft news and political cynicism: How exposure to political information genres affects public cynicism about politic**  
*Mark Boukes, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*  
*Hajo G. Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

## **Concurrent Session VI C**

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-01

### **ISSC Special Panel - "Critical Reflections on the Future of Comparative Social Research"**

***Panel Chair: ISSC Representative***

**Introductory remarks, including memorial for Prof. Sir Roger Jowell**  
*ISSC Representative*

#### **A global perspective**

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

#### **Insights from regional social survey networks**

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Benjamin Roberts, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa*

*Caroline Roberts, University of Lausanne, Switzerland*

#### **Lessons from recent comparative studies**

*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics and Political Science,  
UK*

*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

## **Concurrent Session VI D**

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Seminar Room P6-02 (special panel with SI)

### **Deliberative Polling II**

***Panel Chair: Jeremy Mann, Stanford University, USA***

#### **What Makes People Willing to Spend Extra Money on Alternative Energy? A Statistical Analysis of Polling Data**

*Tuteja Shawn, Stanford University, USA*

#### **Use of Deliberative Polling in Reforming Administrative Procedural Law**

*Yue Huang, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

#### **Amending the California Initiative Process: Reforming Towards a Better Future**

*Melody Wong, Stanford University, USA*

#### **Comparing Deliberative Polling in Dayawan (Huizhou, China) and Deliberative Polling in Macau**

*Yi Qiu, Shenzhen University, China*

## Concurrent Session VI E

Saturday, June 16, 2012, 14:00 - 15:15

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Location: Graduate House Wang Gungwu Theatre (round table discussion with SI)

### **E-Democracy II (Round Table Discussion)**

***Moderator: Robert Chung, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong***

*Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

*Fernando Cheung, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong*

*Ken Lam, Internet Society Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Jazz Ma, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Clement So, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Ching-Hsin Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

*Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China*

# *Paper Abstracts*



**Session I A****Public Health Opinion*****Panel Chair: Olaf H. Werder, University of Sydney, Australia*****Social media for sexual health***W. Douglas Evans, George Washington University, USA*

The Bedsider (bedsider.org) branded sexual health social media campaign in the USA aims to demystify birth control, help women find their preferred method of birth control, and to use it consistently and effectively. Participants enroll online or through SMS. Bedsider uses a mobile website, SMS, social networking and other applications to increase contraceptive use. This represents a new multimedia approach to behavior assessment and change. Based on Social Cognitive Theory, an ongoing evaluation examines receptivity to Bedsider messages; knowledge, attitudes and beliefs; and contraceptive use among young men and women who enroll. We describe the Bedsider strategy and early evaluation findings.

**Public opinion and food safety: A Spanish case study***Alana Mann, University of Sydney, Australia*

In the contemporary risk society (Beck, 1992) health concerns related to food safety motivate citizens to take more interest in where their food comes from, who produces it, and how. Consumer resistance to innovations such as genetically modified organisms (GMOs) is contributing to the growth of alternative food networks and agroecological farming, as promoted by global social movement La Via Campesina ('the peasant way'). This analysis of campaign message framing by La Via Campesina members in Madrid and the Basque Country reveals how public opinion is mobilised by claims that link GMOs with health risks, industrial agriculture and cultural homogenisation.

**Health literacy's connection to health behavior and policy support***Olaf H. Werder, University of Sydney, Australia*

Health literacy, a term describing a range of outcomes of health education, has a tenuous relationship with health behavior and opinions on health policy. It is regarded as one of the key criteria addressing the social determinants of

health and their impact on individual action. However, polls of educational programs and policies have neither shown improvements in health literacy nor any direct effects on attitudes or behaviors. In order to establish a clearer link of what drives support of policy and healthy behavior, this study presents a more nuanced way of addressing both outcome variables and the definition of literacy. A health response model is presented and further discussed.

### **Religious Beliefs, Knowledge about Science and Attitudes Towards Medical Genetics**

*Nick Allum, University of Essex, UK*

*Elissa Sibley, University of Essex, UK*

*Patrick Sturgis, University of Southampton, UK*

*Paul Stoneman, University of Southampton, UK*

The use of genetics in medical research is one of the most important avenues currently being explored to enhance human health. For some, the idea that we can intervene in the mechanisms of human existence at such a fundamental level can be at minimum worrying and at most repugnant. In particular, religious doctrines are likely to collide with the rapidly advancing capability for science to make such interventions. The key ingredient for acceptance of genetics, on the other hand, is prototypically assumed to be scientific literacy - familiarity and understanding of the critical facts and methods of science. However, this binary opposition between science and religion runs counter to what is often found in practice. In this paper, we examine the association between religiosity, science knowledge and attitudes to medical genetics amongst the British public. In particular, we test the hypothesis that religion acts as a 'perceptual filter' through which citizens acquire and use scientific knowledge in the formation of attitudes towards medical genetics in various ways.

### **Assessing measurement equivalence in cross-national latent class models: an example of European public opinion on genetically modified (GM) food**

*Sally Stares, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*

*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*

Cross-national patterns in public sentiments towards biotechnologies are of key interest to many science actors. But drawing cross-national comparisons is

no simple task. The sentiments themselves are complex, suggesting that multiple-item measures of these phenomena would be desirable. Statistical latent variable models are often used for this purpose. But before we can validly compare any measures of opinions, we need to be satisfied that they operate in sufficiently similar ways between countries.

While the issue of measurement equivalence has been addressed in the survey research literature for factor analysis for continuous survey items, it has received little treatment to date for latent variable models for categorical observed data. In this paper we provide an illustration of latent class analysis for public opinion on GM food, using data from the 2010 Eurobarometer survey. We theorise that respondents' answers to individual survey questions are associated with each other because they depend on their underlying type or 'class' of sentiment towards GM food. The analysis enables us to reach an interpretation of what those underlying orientations are, and how that interpretation might vary from country to country, if survey items function differently from place to place. In the paper we suggest a practical procedure for investigating differences in item functioning across 32 countries, drawing particularly on the use of marginal residual fit statistics for assessing model adequacy.

This paper is one outcome of a project in which the authors are engaged at the LSE: Latent variable modelling of categorical data: Tools of analysis for cross-national surveys, funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council.

### **Session I B**

#### **Public Opinion on Social Issues**

***Panel Chair: Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea***

#### **Feeling closeness to China, Japan, North Korea, and the United States and policy preference toward North Korea among South Koreans**

*Jibum Kim, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Jaeki Jeong, Soongsil University, USA*

*Carl Gershenson, Harvard University, USA*

*Jeong-han Kang, Yonsei University, Korea*

*Yun-Suk Lee, University of Seoul, Korea*

*Seokho Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

*Wonjae Lee, KAIST, Korea*

Understanding South Koreans' policy preferences toward North Korea is important for the future of two Koreas, and cannot be separated from the strategic interests of China, Japan, Russia, and the United States, which have influenced the Koreas' destinies since the 20th Century. Given that scholars have increasingly shown the implications of people's feeling toward another country in influencing policy preference, using the 2003-2009 Korean General Social Survey, we examine South Koreans' feelings of closeness toward these countries, and explore how South Koreans' feelings are associated with policy preference toward North Korea. Results show that, of the five countries, South Koreans feel closest to the United States (52%), followed by North Korea (28%). They feel equally close to China and Japan (10% and 9%) and least close to Russia (1%). Also, a clear trend among South Koreans from 2003 to 2009 is that closeness with the United States has increased about 12 percentage points, while closeness with North Korea has decreased about 10 percentage points. In multinomial logistic regression analyses that compare closeness with each of South Korea's neighbors, we find that, compared to the cohort born in 1945 (the year of Korean independence from Japan) or earlier, younger cohorts are more likely to feel closeness to Japan, China, and North Korea than the United States. One interesting exception is that the youngest groups (1986-1991) are not different from the older cohorts in terms of feeling closeness toward North Korea. In the relationship between closeness to these countries and supporting friendly policy toward North Korea, binary logistic regression shows that, compared to those who feel close to North Korea, those who feel close to China, Japan, and the United States are less likely to support friendly policy toward North Korea. But when we use the United States as a reference group, those who feel close to China, Japan, and North Korea are more likely to support friendly policy toward North Korea. Also, Koreans who have high levels of national pride are more likely than those who have low levels of national pride to support friendly policy toward North Korea. As a purposive belief system framework would suggest, the feelings of Korean people toward these countries seems to be an important factor in the South Korean government's course of action toward North Korea.

### **How Southeast Asians View China's Influence in Asia**

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

The emergence of China as a global power player is one of the most defining developments in contemporary world politics since the end of the Cold War. Though Chinese leaders do not expect to replace the United States as a global hegemon, they want China to be included in the select group of power players who would be responsible for influencing the international world order (Stuart-Fox, 2004). One political arena where China could establish itself as a global power is in Southeast Asia, traditionally a fertile ground for great power rivalry. More importantly, China and Southeast Asia share a long history, in which China has always been the more dominant and influential actor, and that Southeast Asia is a home to millions of Chinese immigrants. However, China's increasing role as an influential actor in Southeast Asia is met by two contrasting views (Vatikiotis, 2003). On one hand, there are those who see China's influence in the region as beneficial to Southeast Asia's economic development. On the other hand, there are concerns that China's influence in the region could threaten the security and the sovereignty of the much smaller and less powerful Southeast Asian countries. An indicator of this pessimistic view of China's influence in the region is the unresolved rival claims in South China Sea.

The proposed paper, therefore, hopes to examine the public opinion of Southeast Asian publics on China's influence in the Asian region and on their respective countries. The paper will proceed in two parts. The paper will first examine the Southeast Asian publics' impressions of China, and compare these with their impressions of United States and Japan, two of the most dominant regional actors in Asia before the rise of China as a regional actor. Secondly, the paper will discuss to what extent the Southeast Asian publics consider China as an influential actor in Asia, and whether China's influence would do more good or more harm to the region. Moreover, the paper will discuss their assessment of China's influence on their own country, and whether China's influence to their country is positive or negative.

The paper will use data from the Asia Barometer Surveys, a cross-national research program on public opinion on political values, democracy, and governance around the region. The AsiaBarometer network includes research teams from twelve East Asian political systems and five South Asian countries. The analysis, however, will be limited to Southeast Asian countries, namely: the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Singapore, and Indonesia.

**American Perceptions of China and the Chinese: Do The Media Matter?***Lars Willnat, Indiana University, USA**Emily Metzgar, Indiana University, USA*

This study analyzes investigates various possible explanations for how U.S. media coverage of China might influence perceptions Americans have about China and the Chinese people. The findings, which are based on a content analysis of 886 news stories about China published in the New York Times throughout 2010 and a national online survey conducted in early 2011, document significant associations between respondents' media use and views of China's economic, political, and military power. The survey also indicates that opinions of China and the Chinese are associated with a host of other demographic and attitudinal variables, which are likely to interact with Americans' long-term exposure to media coverage of China. No evidence was found for the proposition that those with more exposure to U.S. news about China also know more about China.

**Public opinion polls as a vehicle for social communication in democratic societies***Katarzyna M. Staszynska, Kozminski University, Poland*

Public opinion polls are considered to be a tool for communication between power elites and citizens in periods between elections, probably the only effective vehicle for such communication in contemporary democratic societies. Thus, we are trying to answer the question how public opinion polls are perceived by citizens and to what extend their definition of public opinion research depends on attitudes towards democracy in general, especially on legitimacy of the democratic order, and on public evaluation of a practical functioning of the democracy and its most important institutions in the respondents' own country. The hypothesis says that pro-democratic attitudes, such as high level of acceptance of the democratic system and its institutions lead to more accurate perception of public opinion polls as a desired and valuable vehicle for communication between power elites and electorate. The question is answered whether different perceptions of public opinion research are influenced more by a general legitimacy of the democratic system or by its

current evaluations and how strong are these determinants as compared to socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals. Different complex types of public perceptions of opinion surveys as well as their determination patterns are reconstructed by the means of multi-variable statistical analyses of survey data.

The paper presents the findings of a survey conducted by Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) in September 2010 on a nationwide representative random sample of the Polish adult population, N=1,000.

### ***Session I C***

#### **Public Opinion on Social Media**

***Panel Chair: Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau, and Lun Zhan, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong***

#### **Representation of Political Discussions in Web Forums: A Cross-National Assessment**

*Hai Liang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

Gauging public opinion through user generated content (UGC) on social media has experienced an explosive growth in recent years. Although social media have been celebrated for the equality of public expression and large participants involved, the representativeness of online opinions was called into question. This study demonstrates that public expression on the internet is unequally distributed across issues and the interests of the vocal minority and silent majority exhibit a substantial discrepancy. Through a cross national analysis of web-based political discussion forums from 54 societies with 1,218,698 threads, this study found that the user generated content in web forums is socially constructed. The inequality in reply and view distribution and discrepancy between lurker and participants are structured by political system, culture values, and so on. All these findings suggest that online user generated content as another symbolic representation of reality cannot represent the general public opinion or even the opinions of general internet users. Furthermore, the social construction of political discussion on the internet indicates what measured through UGC and the survey results are two different things in nature.

### **Public Opinion between Blogosphere and Real World**

*Heng Lu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

Blogs are arguably the work horse of social media as the opinions expressed there are more articulated and elaborated than other platforms (e.g., microblogs or online forums). However, it has remained unknown the extent to which blogs represent views of the general public. In the paper, I compare the views as expressed in randomly sampled blogs and gauged by real world statistics. Using the number of tourists for provinces and Chinese Music Chart billboard as benchmarks of real world, I assess the correlation between blog-searching results and real world statistics. The results indicate that it is vulnerable to use blog-searching results to project the real world statistics, especially for those statistics without dramatic fluctuations.

### **Evaluating Public Discussion of Occupying Wall Street on Twitter: Linking Twitter Streams with Search Quires, Opinion Polls, Media Coverage, and Stock Market Index**

*Cheng-Jun Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

To evaluate the public opinion expression of occupying Wall Street on Twitter, this paper aims to investigate time series of tweet stream, search query, media coverage, stock market, and opinion polls. The findings reveals that: first, the dynamic change of total tweet stream, retweets, discussions, and hashtags are parallel; second, tweet stream and search query are strongly correlated, while tweet stream has only weak correlation with media coverage, opinion poll of president job disapprove rate, stock market index; third, tweet stream has significant influence on search query, however, we found no evidence of statistically significant impacts of digital traces on media coverage, stock market, and president job disapproval rate. The results shed light in understanding the role of digital traces in both reflecting the longitudinal opinion intensity and influencing real world indicators of public opinion.

### **Content or Context: Which Carries More Weight in Predicting Popularity of Tweets in China**

*Lun Zhang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*



*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

*Ya-Peng Zhang, Sina.com*

*Xiao-Hong Wang, Sina.com*

Through writing short tweets in microblogging sites, millions of users document their life, provide commentary and opinions, express deeply felt emotions, and articulate ideas. How does the content generated by a user compete with the content by others to attract limited human attention? With a framework developed from heuristic-systematic model of information processing, the study aims to uncover content factors and contextual factors that will affect the popularity of tweets. In the study, the popularity of tweets is decomposed into two dimensions: width of distribution and depth of deliberation. The data of the study are 10,000 tweets randomly drawn from a popular microblogging website in China. It is found that content and contextual factors play equally important roles in predicting width of distribution of tweets, while content factors outperform contextual ones in predicting depth of deliberation of tweets. Specifically, topics of tweets and availability of supplementary information are two important content factors in predicting popularity of tweets, while user characteristics (i.e., number of followers and user types) are important contextual factors. Our findings also suggest that re-tweeting and commenting are two distinct behaviors in the context of microblogging.

### **Assessing Public Opinion Trends based on User Search Queries: Validity, Reliability, and Practicality**

*Jonathan J. H. Zhu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Xiaohua Wang, Shenzhen University, China*

*Jie Qin, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Lingfei Wu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

User search queries (i.e., words entered search engines) were initially regarded as a by-product by the search engine industry to help improve indexing services, but have quickly been recognized as a gold mine of data on user concerns, interests, tastes, etc. Major search engines, such as Google and Baidu, have even published "public opinion trends" based on the queries they receive on a daily basis. The paper aims to assess the validity (i.e., how representative of the general public) and the reliability (i.e., how much

random noise is involved) of the query-based trends, by comparing public opinion on selected issues measured by query trends and conventional surveys.

### ***Session I D***

#### **Capturing International and Domestic Public Opinion through AsiaBarometer Surveys**

***Panel Chair: Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan***

#### **Japanese and Chinese Public Opinion: Can Soft Power Make a Difference?**

*Christian Collet, International Christian University, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

Given the need to strengthen the Japan-China relationship, Collet and Inoguchi problematize the scarcity of studies that explore the reasons why public perceptions have deteriorated between these countries in recent years. They seek to test six potential explanations; generational, media, nationalistic, ideological, (institutional and personal) trust, and personal security (operationalized as living standards and daily worries). The paper primarily finds that, for Japanese, the critical problem underlying bilateral tensions is trust, and for Chinese, it is personal security. They further expand the discussion so as to examine the potential of "soft power" for improving cross-national perspectives by hypothesizing that greater exposure to one another's culture and products would increase the likelihood of believing that China/Japan are a "good" influence.

#### **Geriatric Peace in Asia: Analyses Based on the AsiaBarometer Surveys 2003-2008**

*Seiji Fujii, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

We test the hypothesis that the Asian people would prefer the government to spend more on social security and spend less on military as they become older. We found the estimation results which support the first half of the hypothesis, that is, there is a very strongly positive relationship between citizens' spending preferences on pension and their age. As to the second half of the hypothesis,

we found that people in Asia tend to prefer less spending on military as their society itself becomes older. We also found that trust in government is a very strong determinant for the citizens' preferences on military spending.

### **Microfoundations of Post-Civil War Democratization in Nepal: Examining Citizens' Attitude toward Democracy through the AsiaBarometer Survey 2005**

*Yuichi Kubota, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Shinya Sasaoka, Hiroshima Shudo University, Japan*

Post-civil war democratization is an interesting puzzle for democratization studies because the environment in the aftermath of armed conflict is unfavorable for such a transition. Literature has focused on structural contexts during and after civil war out of recognition that democratization in war-torn countries is distinct from political transition in non-civil war conditions. However, these studies have rarely addressed citizens' adherence to democratic stability and their pressure on political leaders to reach a negotiated settlement to put an end to war. To explore citizens' attitude toward democracy in a stalemated civil war, this paper examines public opinion in Nepal by employing data from the AsiaBarometer survey administered between September and October of 2005. The Nepali Civil War not only weakened security in urban areas but also transformed state-society relations and the economic system. In the stalemated civil war, the Kathmandu residents, who had had a significant influence over the decision-making of the state elites, came to favor a democratic settlement that would guarantee political order and stability.

### **Who's Afraid of the Dragon? Asian Mass Public's Perceptions of China's Influence**

*Matthew Linley, Temple University, Japan*

*James Reilly, University of Sydney, Australia*

*Benjamin E. Goldsmith, University of Sydney, Australia*

What individual attributes and attitudes consistently shape perceptions of China among people in Asian societies? Drawing upon AsiaBarometer survey data from twelve Asian countries/societies between 2006 and 2008, this study tests a series of hypotheses aimed at identifying which variables most

consistently predict individuals' perceptions of China. With the exceptions of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam, a clear plurality or a majority of respondents in each polity views China's influence positively. Concerns about domestic economic management were most consistently associated with more unfavorable perceptions of China while greater levels of contact with Chinese film and television culture consistently associated with more favorable perceptions of China. These results suggest that China is more likely to be seen as an economic rather than military threat by Asian publics, and that Asia may prove responsive to a nuanced soft power campaign by Beijing in the future.

### ***Session I E***

#### **The Current Situation and Development Tendency of Public Opinion in China**

***Panel Chair: Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China***

#### **Chinese People's Knowledge, Attitude and Expression towards the Two Sessions of China--A Case Study of Shanghai Residents**

*Shuanglong Li, Fudan University, China*

*Bofei Zheng, Fudan University, China*

How Chinese people get information, react and discuss the significant news events in the new media environment? Using CATI system, Media and Public Opinion Center at Fudan University (FMORC) has conducted a series of surveys about such events as annual National Congress Meeting. In this paper, with six-year tracking surveys, we will report the empirical findings about people's knowledge, attitude and evaluation towards these events since 2007 through five aspects.

#### **A content analysis of populist discourses on Chinese social media**

*Ling Ma, Fudan University, China*

*Shaojing Sun, Fudan University, China*

The complexity of online rhetoric speaks to the nature of social media, as well as the changing society in China. With the fast advances of new technologies, social media have blurred the lines between official and citizen discourses, user-generated and professionally-generated contents. The new media

platform poses a strong challenge and demand for government transparency. The laggard political and media systems are pressed to take some changes without comprising the political legitimacy of the communist party. The study is designed to address the following questions: in the context of significant social events, what are the characteristics of online discourses on the social media in China? What are the driving forces of those social media discourses? What outcomes and challenges of the social media discourses are bringing to China and Chinese people?

### **The development trend of China's public opinion and public opinion poll**

*Bing Tong, Fudan University, China*

*Di Wang, Fudan University, China*

This paper will analyze the historical trend of public opinion and its study in China. With detailed historical materials, we will explore and discuss the process and characteristic of public opinion development from 1949 to 1978 and then its changes in the reform and open era from 1978 to 2012. Besides the general analysis, we will especially discuss the methods and characteristic of China's public opinion poll from 1949 to nowadays.

### **New media and opinion expression of information have-less in China**

*Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China*

*Taofu Zhang, Fudan University, China*

Will new media facilitate people's opinion expression and civic participation? Especially, in the Chinese context with alarming widening of social inequalities and differentiations during the post-reform marketization, will new media have the potential to empower the information have-less to voice themselves and solve their actual problems? These questions deserve more empirical studies. In this paper, with survey data collected in Shanghai, we will empirically depict the status of opinion expression of information have-less and try to explore its various explanations.

## **Session I F**

### **Media and Politics**

**Panel Chair: Chi Huang, National Chengchi University, Taiwan**

## **Talking about politics: Effects of media and interpersonal communication on EU evaluations**

*Pieterjan Desmet, Amsterdam School of Communication Research, The Netherlands*

Both interpersonal communication and mass media communication play a central role in the development of political opinions and attitudes. As illustrated by Morley (1990), mass media and interpersonal communication should be combined in research on campaign effects: scholars should "reframe the study of political communication in the media within the broader context of domestic communication (involving the interdiscursive connections of broadcast and other media, family dynamics, and gossip networks)" (p. 123).

The conceptualization of this relation between mass media and interpersonal conversation has instigated a division between two seemingly contradictory theoretical perspectives (Mutz, 1998). The most accepted relationship is one of competition between media and interpersonal information (Lenart, 1994). Most studies following this competitive model find that, whatever the potential effects of the media, interpersonal conversation usually overrides the influence of the media (for an overview, see Lenart, 1994). The second theoretical perspective on media versus interpersonal sources uses a model of reinforcement. More interpersonal conversation about media information will increase the total media impact (Chaffee & Mutz, 1988). Moreover, mass media stimulate interpersonal discussions about politics that might otherwise not take place (Katz & Feldman, 1962).

Schmitt-Beck (2003) found that while media and interpersonal communication can be similarly influential on vote choice, yet an indirect effect can be traced as well. When voters receive cues from the mass media, they frequently talk about them with peers. Depending on the political preferences of those peers, and its concordance to the media message, the latter will be reinforced or rejected by the former. The more concordant these messages are to the preferences of the interpersonal network, the more likely it is that they will be taken into account. In this way, interpersonal communication indirectly effects vote choice through the moderation of the media effect. Political discussion then fulfils a crucial 'meta-communicative' function, supplementing the mass media (Schmitt-Beck, 2003). This article experimentally explores the interplay between interpersonal and mass communication in the context of European

Union (EU) evaluations. Two weeks after measuring their evaluations of the EU democratic performance, two hundred and seventy-five participants were assigned to the conditions of a 3 (positive EU message, negative EU message, no EU message) x 3 (EU-positive discussant, EU-negative discussant, no discussant) design, after which their democratic performance evaluations of the EU were again assessed. Each participant received a set of two articles, which they were supposed to read. Every respondent received an article which had nothing to do with the experiment, to ensure that the participants did not realize immediately that the experiment dealt with the European Union. The second article was either the stimulus material or the control article, depending on the condition. Half of the respondents read the control article, half of the respondents read the article about the democratic performance of the European Union. Within this group, half of the respondents were exposed to an article about the positive assets of the functioning of the EU, the other half were exposed to an article highlighting the negative characteristics of the EU. The control article was about a natural phenomenon. After reading the articles, the respondents were asked to participate in an online conversation. The participants were told that they were talking with another participant; however, they were actually talking to a research assistant. Half of the participants were asked in advance to talk about the EU, the other half were asked to talk about the other article. In half of the conversations about the EU, the research assistant took a pronounced positive EU perspective, in the other half, the research assistant was pronounced negative about the EU. After five minutes of discussion, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire, which was very similar to the first questionnaire, except for the inclusion of four knowledge questions about the articles.

Our preliminary results indicate that the effect of interpersonal communication on EU evaluations is stronger than the effect of mass media communication, both in a competitive and in a non-competitive setting. The effect of interpersonal communication is stronger within a competitive setting. From these results, we can also conclude that mass media effects are moderated by interpersonal communication.

### **The Influence of Trust in Mainstream Media and Political Anxiety on Intention to Listen to a Political Satire: A Case of South Korea**

*Minchul Kim, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA*

*Ji Eun Kim, Chung-ang University, Korea*

The introduction of the Internet has opened a new window for the future of politics by lowering the barrier that hurdles the production and distribution of political information. Last year, in South Korean citizens, one of the world's most wired countries, witnessed the influence of an Internet-based podcast on Korean politics. The show created even a syndrome that brought the four members of the show's hosts in the center of the political issues. The purpose of the study concerns this alternative political talk show. What makes the public in South Korea follow the alternative political talk show? Rather than examine the show's innate characteristic, this study focuses on two external factors: trust in mainstream media and political anxiety. To understand their influence on the intention to listen to the alternative political talk show, this study conducted an online survey. A total of 436 participants were recruited from an online community. The findings of this study reveal that trust in mainstream media significantly affect the intention. More importantly, the significant interaction between trust in mainstream media and political anxiety suggests that there are two distinct paths that motivate the intention to listen to the show. We discussed the implication of the findings and suggestions for a future study.

### **Explaining Media Trust from Partisanship, Ideology and Their Interaction**

*Yang Liu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

Public trust with mass media has declined dramatically and constantly since 1970s based on the time-series data from General Social Survey 1975-2010. Since mass media in America has long been accused of liberal bias, this paper first examines the role of ideology and partisanship in influencing media trust. Republicans are less confident with mass media than Democrats. Conservatives show less confidence than Liberals. Then the study examines the interaction between ideology and partisanship to unravel how ideology exerts different influences to people in different parties and with different ideological orientations. The results find that ideological views are more important to Republicans than to Democrats in evaluating media trust. And similarly Conservatives are more inclined than Liberals to adopt ideological scheme. Based on these findings in individual-level analysis, the analysis in aggregate level explains why media trust declines across years. It finds that the important source of the decline is the increasing percentage of conservative



Republicans in American society. These findings imply that ideology, partisanship and their interaction are significant impetus to speed up the decline of media trust in American society.

### **Media-Political Parallelism as an Indicator in Studying Mediocracy**

*Svetlana Bodrunova, St.Petersburg State University, Russia*

In media & political studies, media-political parallelism (MPP) has become an established subject of research. But there's no academic consensus either on its methodological implications for democratic representation studies or on shared methodology of MPP research. Some scholars have pointed out to political parallelism as a negative perversion of politically relevant features of media systems; others have detected positive influence of partisan content on political mobilization. Nonetheless, MPP has become a criterion in comparative media systems and political communication studies.

We propose a methodology of quantitative measurement of MPP in comparative perspective in the context of mediocracy studies. Based on previous research, seven parameters of measurement are proposed. Four 'primary' parameters are measured by superposition of graphs of party parliamentary distribution and media consumption figures within political spectrum. Three national cases (Germany 1998, UK 2005, Italy 2006) are investigated to show variations of the methodology. For estimation of party policy positions, The Manifesto Project dataset is used; for media, a special scale is created.

Nationally, in all the cases except the right-hand side of the spectrum in Germany in 1998, media spread follows electoral spread. This may have two explanations: either newspapers follow the position of 'median voters' or have a degree of influence upon voting behavior (which seems more probable). In Italy, political papers show results very different from generalist papers and illuminating in terms of national political discourse. Comparatively, the UK proves to have the highest parallelism but, contrary to expectations, Germany equals Italy or shows even higher parallelism. Methodologically, non-statistical secondary data on perceived media bias show results comparable to data gathered by empirical research and may be used for comparative studies. In case of Britain, estimated readership figures show predictability similar to average circulation figures.

**Media Credibility and Its Correlate with the Popularity of the Ruling Party***Syed Arabi Idid, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia**Saadah Wok, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia*

Media use and credibility are important for readers who are keen to make informed decision during election time. The attention of scholars has been attracted over the past years to understand how credibility was conceptualized, measured and how it was then related to other variables of interest. The objective of this paper is to present the findings on media credibility by relating the concept to the popularity of the ruling party. The findings from these studies, ranging from the 2004 general election to the 12th general election in 2008, and a recent study in March 2012 have related media credibility to the popularity of the ruling party pre, during and post elections. Malaysia is a fast developing country that has held its elections (and by-elections) as stipulated in the Constitution since the country achieved independence from the British in 1957.

The research questions posed was on the contribution of the various forms of media on the outcome of the elections held in the country and also during other surveys on the popularity of the ruling party.

A survey was conducted among voters nation-wide (involving more than 1200 respondents selected through quota sampling) asking them on their use of media and their evaluation of credibility of the media. Media here include newspaper, television, and internet use among the voters. Respondents indicated which party they would vote for if elections were to be held "tomorrow." Overall findings found a correlation between media credibility and popularity of the ruling party. The findings also suggest a different role being played by internet compared to the credibility of newspaper and television on the popularity of the ruling party. Findings were also reported by educational achievement.

**Session II A****AAPOR Special Panel - Exit Polling in the 21st Century: A Perspective from the USA****Panel Chair: Paul J. Lavrakas, AAPOR, USA***Michael W. Traugott, University of Michigan, USA**Paul J. Lavrakas, AAPOR, USA*

*Marjorie Connelly, The New York Times, USA*

*Trevor N. Thompson, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

Exit Polls have been used to help the news media cover voter behaviors and motivations on Election Day in democratic societies for nearly half a century. They also are used by many public sector and private sector interest groups to “make sense” of recent election outcomes. Despite the prominence they play in Election Day news and in the weeks after an election, they are largely misunderstood by most of the public and many elites. This session will focus on why high quality Exit Polling is important to democratic political processes, how their data are gathered and analyzed to project election outcomes, what news media do with the findings about voters’ motivations that Exit Poll generate, and what may happen in the coming decades for the conduct of reliable and valid exit polls.

## **Session II B**

### **Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming I**

**Panel Chair: Orlando J. Pérez, Central Michigan University, USA**

#### **Focusing Events and Their Effect on Agenda-Setting**

*Jan Váně, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic*

*František Kalvas, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic*

McCombs' and Shaw's seminal Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media (1972) opened up new space for social scientists focusing on the relationship between media and public during the process of setting public agenda through media content. These scholars, however, were paying little attention to the role of focusing events, the only exceptions being J.W. Dearing and E.M. Rogers with their Agenda-setting (1996), a classic in which they reviewed studies on policy and media agenda-setting, and T.A. Birkland who, during the last fifteen years, have studied what role is played by focusing events (Birkland, 1997, 1998, 2007). No studies have yet been dedicated to the role of focusing events during the process of setting personal agendas of the members of the public. With respect to the above mentioned, our research question stands as follows: “Does referring to a focusing event strengthen the effect of a news item on the way the respective issue is set on personal agendas of members of

public?” We base our hypothesis on the work of both Dearing and Rogers (1996) and Birkland (1997, 1998, 2007), saying that the focusing event will have a positive effect in the process of setting issues on personal agendas. To explore our hypothesis, we have chosen the cognitive portrait research design: we use individual data and study one issue on personal agendas (see the Acapulco typology, Mc Combs, 2004). Our issue is Church property restitutions in the Czech Republic, the respective focusing event St. Vitus Cathedral trial. We use data from a panel monitoring, each week, the development of preferences for the most important events from April to May 2008. We combine these panel data with results of a content analysis that monitored the total number of news items referring to Church restitutions and St. Vitus Cathedral trial (Vinopal, 2009). We also lay out an overview of historical events, in which we explain the connection between the Church property restitutions and the Cathedral trial and why they are de facto interconnected although there is no connection de iure between them. Such an unusual relationship between an issue and its focusing event gives us an extraordinary opportunity to study the effect of a news item referring to a focusing event but not referring to the respective issue. Since we were given this opportunity, we have also had an occasion to raise a second research question: “Does referring to a focusing event as such have an effect on personal agendas or does the respective issue need to be mentioned in the same set of news to get a similar effect?” Our hypothesis says that in our case, the focusing event as such will have its agenda-setting effect. Our preliminary results support our first hypothesis: the focusing event seems to have a significant positive effect on setting the respective issue onto personal agendas. The same results, however, reject our second hypothesis: the focusing event does not seem to be able to influence the agenda-setting process on its own.

### **Framing Processes and Social media: A frame analysis of the Tsoi Yuen Resistance Movement**

*Miranda Lai Yee Ma, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong*

This study attempts to investigate the construction and development of oppositional frames in a social movement, though the case study of the ‘Tsoi Yuen Resistance Movement’. Inspired by the framing perspective, this study examines the dynamics of the Internet in facilitating the framing processes. In particular, the aestheticization of political discourse will be discussed. It is

argued that the social media, with its power in transmission of textual, visual and audio messages, has largely strengthened the discursive power of frames by expanding the genre of discourses in the public sphere. Apart from traditional rational-critical discourses, the expansion of emotional-aesthetic discourses has greatly enriched the symbolic resources for political deliberations and critical reflections.

The 'Tsoi Yuen Resistance Movement' was a long-term struggle carried from Dec 2008 to Feb 2011 in which a wide array of supporters, ranging from the villagers, post-80s generations to cultural artists, opposed against the demolition of the Tsoi Yuen Village in giving way for the HK\$69.9 billion Guanzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail Link (XRL) in Hong Kong. The movement is practically significant as it triggered one of the most remarkable collective actions in which over ten thousand citizens surrounded the Hong Kong Legislative Council in opposition of the funding towards the XRL project. It is also theoretically valuable as it has successfully generated and elaborated oppositional frames to challenge the well-established developmental discourse in Hong Kong.

The Movement can be divided into three phases. In the first phase, highlighting an 'Injustice frame', was dated from Dec 2008 to Oct 2009. In which the villagers demanded no demolition or removal. The movement was then escalated to the second phase, transforming into a 'Democracy frame', dated from Oct 2009 to Jan 2010. Over ten thousand citizens were aroused in opposition of the funding towards the XRL project. However, the XRL construction fund was still approved on 16th Jan, 2010. This decision has brought the movement into the third phase, constructing a 'Choice frame', dated from Jan 2010 to Feb 2011. In this phase of the struggle, the villagers and activists fought for establishment of the first ecological village in Hong Kong – the New Tsoi Yuen Village. A community composed of the villagers, professional architects, environmental specialists, and the post-80s youngsters united to redevelop a new living place with an environmental conservative and ecological lifestyle.

In this paper, I will firstly review literature on framing study and then investigate the frame development and transformation throughout the prolonged Tsoi Yuen Resistance Movement. Furthermore, I will also discuss the aestheticization of the framing processes and its impacts, by investigating the expanded genres of discourses brought about by the aestheticized tactics employed by the movement actors.

### **Issue Development in a Mediated Society: The Endogenous Relationship Between Media and Publics on the Issue of European Integration**

*Marijn van Klinger, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Hajo Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Rens Vliegthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

Issue-development processes are often unclear and seemingly unpredictable. In this study we aim to clarify the mutual influences through which the European integration issue develops by looking at the main valence and the presence of conflict frames in the news, their effects on public opinion and vice versa. We do so by applying vector auto regression and structural equation modeling on bi-yearly data between 1997 and 2008 within four European countries. Looking at the reciprocal connection of trend in media and public opinion. Our main findings are that there are positive reciprocal influences with regard to news valence and opinions regarding European integration. Which indicate that positivism can be transferable from media to the public and vice versa. With regard to polarization, there is a negative effect on conflict frames but no effect the other way around. Showing that media do respond to the public's direction in opinion, but that they stabilize rather than catalyze.

### **Media Events and Media Effects on Public Opinion: Exploring Traditional Media and Internet Effects in China**

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Patricia Moy, University of Washington, USA*

Research examining media effects on public opinion has become increasingly nuanced as the media landscape has grown in technological sophistication. At the heart of these changes is the internet, which has made it possible for some citizens to seek information that only resonate with their own views while facilitating in others the opportunity to expose themselves to information not available in traditional, legacy media outlets. This juxtaposition of media forms is particularly salient in China, an area where on the one hand, traditional news media (i.e., television news) are strictly controlled by the Party and are mostly consumed by older adults. On the other hand, despite the heavy-handed censorship imposed upon the Chinese

cyberspace, rumors and unofficial information are frequently seen online. To what extent does the consumption of news shape three key aspects of public opinion in China? This study focuses on the process by which use of news media influences three outcome variables: (1) perceptions of the climate of opinion; (2) perceptions of opinion accuracy; and (3) one's own opinion.

The spate of research in related areas speaks to long-standing trends. Scholarship on the spiral of silence indicates that what one perceives to be the climate of opinion will shape one's likelihood of expressing one's view (Noelle-Neumann, 1993). However, in a new media landscape, it is much more difficult to determine how individuals come to perceive their environment, particularly as selectivity processes come into play (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008). Similarly, perceptions of opinion accuracy are inextricably linked not only to perceptions of the climate of opinion, but also individual-level dispositions such as issue salience, knowledge, and other personality traits (Kenamer, 1992).

This study examines the extent to which these effects hold in the new media environment in China. We examine media influences in the context of two "mega-events" organized by the Chinese government to promote a positive image of the country - the Beijing Olympics in 2008 and the Guangzhou Asian Olympics in 2010. The campaigns to promote the two events constitute two media events that were packaged with a single interpretive frame (Katz & Dayan, 1992). The traditional media's framing of events was extremely positive, while the internet allowed for the expression of alternative views toward hosting the events. Negative discussion on the internet focused on rising food prices, deteriorating traffic conditions, and unnecessary government spending, all of which were virtually ignored by almost all traditional media. Heavy media coverage of the two events allows us to address a few research questions: (1) How does exposure to different media influence audience members' opinion toward the two events?; (2) To what extent does the perception of the climate of opinion mediate the relationship between news exposure and opinion valence?; and (3) To what extent is exposure to less-controlled media outlets (i.e., the internet) associated with accuracy of opinion climate perception?

To answer these questions, we analyze data collected from two telephone surveys based on random-digit-dialing. The first was conducted in Beijing and Shanghai from August 25 to September 11, 2008. The second survey was fielded from August 12 to September 4, 2010 in Guangzhou, where the 2010

Asian Games were held. Response rates (RR1, by AAPOR standards) for the two surveys were 15.1% and 10.4%, respectively. Preliminary analyses indicate that exposure to traditional, state-controlled media in both the Beijing and Asian Olympics had a propaganda effect as well as changed perceptions of the climate of opinion. We attribute this to the prevalence of positively framed news coverage in traditional media in mainland China.

### **Toward an Integrated Model: The Influence of Presumed Media Influence in News Production**

*Shuning Lu, Fudan University, China & Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

Journalists are a group of actors whose perceptions of media influence could have important implications on process of social communication (Lee & Chan, 2009). However, the studies in communication research on journalists' perceptions of media influence have remained relatively little. This study takes a different perspective by applying the influence of presumed media influence (IPMI) to news production research. By reviewing the evolution of IPMI model and main tendencies of news production research, the current study attempts to propose an integrated model which addresses the underlying process of news production by taking journalists' perception into consideration. This work has the potential to broaden the scope of previous IPMI studies and to offer a deeper understanding of news production process. Last but not least, implications and future research agenda are also discussed and proposed.

### ***Session II C***

#### **Public Opinion and Social Value**

***Panel Chair: Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand***

#### **Knowledge of and the Impact of Enforcement of the Thailand Broadcasting Act 2008 on the Thai Radio and Television Broadcasting Business**

*Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

Section 47 of the 2007 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand legislated that "The frequency of radio broadcasting, television communications and



telecommunications is a national resource which must be available for public interest and the independent organization be established to oversee the nation's broadcasting and telecommunication business and fair allocation of the frequency to the public and business. Thus, the laws to control broadcasting business had been reformed and enacted. Among them the enactment of the Thai Public Broadcasting Service Act B.E. 2551 (2008) raised concerned from the business operators as it changed the broadcasting business's landscape. This study investigated the knowledge of the stakeholders of this law as well as their opinions on the impacts of law enforcement toward 10 issues as follows; 1) The allocation of proportion of the program and its' schedules; 2). The proportion of revenue from advertising; 3) The merger of broadcasting business; 4) Setting a standard contract to provide public services.; 5) Setting a standard contract of service between the service provider. 6) The burden of providing services to other carriers; 7) Receiving the complaint; 8) Approval of the installation of the antenna, cable or pipe laying and installing the related equipments; 9) Removal of the programs that are not appropriate; and 10) . Use the legal due process to the station directors who has failed to comply with the resolution of the Board of the Broadcasting and Telecommunication Commission. The sample comprised of 424 Thai consumers and 880 broadcasting operators. The data from the questionnaire survey were complimented with the in-depth interviews from 43 key informants form the broadcasting operators. The data revealed that the Thai consumers had low knowledge whereas the broadcasting operators had moderate level of knowledge concerning the laws on the broadcastings. The impacts level of the law enforcement ranged from high, moderate and low level toward business operations.

### **Perceptions of the Thai Adolescents Towards Alcohol Marketing Communication and Its Impact on Their Alcohol Expectancies and Consumptions**

*Jantima K. Kheokao, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

*Tassanee Krirkgulthorn, Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Thailand*

*Siritorn Yingrengreung, Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Thailand*

Problem about adolescent drinking has accelerated at the alarming rate and the first time drinker is also getting younger among the elementary grader. In

2007, statistics revealed that there were 600,000 Thai adolescents aged between 12-19 became alcohol drinkers and the number of girls has increased more than six times. Although the alcohol advertisements are restricted by Thai law, nevertheless the alcohol manufactures could still find their way to convey the message about their products to their consumer, including the adolescents through several marketing communication tactics. The questionnaire based on the data from four focus group discussions was distributed to 5,000 students at elementary, secondary and vocational students in Thailand. The study aimed to determine the impacts of alcohol marketing communications on alcohol expectancy and alcohol consumption. The Pearson's Correlation Coefficient and Chi-square were used to test the following hypotheses: 1) The Thai adolescents who have different demographic characteristics have different alcohol consumption behaviors, 2) The adolescents' alcohol expectancies are related to their alcohol consumption behaviors; and 3) Level of adolescents' perception of alcohol marketing communication are related to their alcohol consumption behaviors. The focus group discussion will be conducted after the quantitative data analysis to furnish the explanation to the problems and enable the researchers to formulate appropriate intervention measures to the national policy makers.

### **Perceptions of Male and Female Newspaper Journalists in Thailand**

*Kanyaka Shaw, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand*

The basic theme of the essay is gender and power in the field of journalism in Thai newspapers. It is not controversial to assert that journalism, historically speaking, evolved as a male-dominated field. The struggle of women journalists to achieve equality in the newsroom begs the question of whether editors were practicing a virulent form of male supremacy. It also raises the question of what the Public perceives to constitute “good” journalism has become gender-biased over time. 200 views from female journalists, 200 from male journalists, and 100 from editors suggested that Thai female journalists have assimilated into the journalistic workforce and that they need no longer be regarded as a separate group. However, 400 public opinion surveys suggested prestige and power have been associated with conceptions of masculinity. These conceptions, in turn, are associated with the beliefs that underpin the field – i.e. the image of journalism as a male-dominated field.

**Driver's Attitude Towards New Traffic Law in the State of Qatar***Elmogiera Elawad, Qatar University, Qatar**A Diop, Qatar University, Qatar**Le Kien, Qatar University, Qatar**Khaled Shaaban, Qatar University, Qatar*

In 2007 the government of Qatar enacted a new traffic law with the objectives of improving the traffic flow and reducing the road traffic-related death and accident rates in the country through policy interventions, mass media and national traffic campaigns. Three years have passed since then and one of the most important challenges of Qatar society. Using the 2011 Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) Omnibus Survey, we ask Qatari nationals and white-collar resident workers about their level of knowledge and awareness of 2007 traffic law. Respondents were also asked about the main causes of traffic accidents in Qatar and their attitudes towards the new penalties for traffic violation associated with the new law. The result of this study can be used to increase the effectiveness of traffic law and campaign in Qatar.

**Public opinion on informal patient payments: Central and Eastern European countries comparison***Tetiana Stepurko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine**Milena Pavlova, Maastricht University, The Netherlands**Irena Gryga, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine**Wim Groot, Maastricht University, The Netherlands*

The socio-political changes and health care reforms in Central and Eastern European societies, have not relegated informal patient payment into oblivion. However, the nature of these payments seems to have changed from gratitude payments to payments for better attention and quicker access. Although many European governments have searched for strategies that eliminate informal payments for health care services, public perceptions are rarely taken into account. Since insight in public attitudes towards patient payments is lacking, we compare public perceptions towards informal patient payments in six Central and Eastern European: Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Ukraine. We study the scale of and public perceptions towards informal patient payments to provide a foundation for strategies to eliminate informal cash payments as well as in-kind gifts given to physician. The data on the scale

of informal patient payment public and public perceptions of the payments were collected in nation-wide surveys carried out simultaneously in the above mentioned countries. The survey relied on an identical standardized questionnaire administrated via face-to-face interviews at respondents' home. A national representative stratified random sample was drawn in each country following a multi-staged random probability method: first identifying sampling points in each country, then selection of addresses/households at random, and finally selecting one 18-yearadult member household using the "last birthday" principle. The objective was to have 1000 completed interviews per country. For the data analysis, we apply cluster analyses, in addition to descriptive statistics, in order to identify patterns of attitudes across the countries. The survey results indicate that in all six countries, opponents of informal cash payments and in-kind gifts for health care compose more than half of all respondents. Bulgarian and Polish show the most negative attitude towards informal cash payments and in-kind gifts to physicians and other medical staff, while the most indifferent attitude is observed in Hungary. Overall, informal cash payments are more often associated with corruption compare to in-kind gifts to medical staff. Still, three forth of respondents support the eradication of informal payments. To understand these differences across the countries, we review government initiatives that focus on the elimination of informal patient payments in each country. Indeed, anti-corruption measures have been more intensive in Poland and Bulgaria, while Bulgaria introduced official patient payments to eradicate informal ones, which explains the lower prevalence of and more negative attitudes towards informal payments in these countries. At the same time, policies toward informal patient payments in the other four countries were less consistent. Overall, there was a lack of government actions. We conclude that governments should meet public expectations and opinions for effective implementation of anti-informal patient payments strategy, applying information campaigns aimed at negative attitudes to both cash and in-kind gifts given to medical staff.

### ***Session II D***

#### **The Implications of New Survey Mode on Response**

***Panel Chair: Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea***

**Differences in Responses between Land line & Mobile Phone***Ock Tae Kim, Dongguk University, Korea**Yoon Jae Jang, Seoul Women's University, Korea*

The same survey was conducted using both land line and mobile phone numbers in Korea. Respondents were asked how many people were around them as they answered and also asked questions about a number of topics. This paper analyzes this data and demonstrates how a person's surroundings may affect his responses on certain topics.

**Social Participation and Intent to Participate in Internet Surveys***U-Seok Seo, University of Seoul, Korea**Gihong Yi, Hallym University, Korea*

A Statistics Korea survey of 2009 asked a unique question about intent to participate in social surveys via the Internet in the future. Analyses first show that demographic variables such as sex, age, education, employment status, and marital status explain the intent. In addition, the frequency of reading Internet newspapers and some of social participation factors, such as non-political donation and social group participation, also do so. This suggests that Internet surveys, as they increasingly continue to complement traditional offline surveys, may include or exclude certain characteristics in the general population. This in turn may imply that sampling needs to be more carefully planned and executed to minimize potential bias issues, especially for government surveys.

**Estimation Methods for Dual Frame Sample of Cell and Landline Numbers***Mingue Park, Korea University, Korea*

Due to the rapid increase of cell-phone-only households in Korea, dual frame survey using cell and landline numbers became popular to reduce the coverage error. But studies on the estimation methods are relatively fewer than ones on the survey methodologies for dual frame survey of cell and landline phone. In this paper, we reviewed the existing dual frame estimation procedures for non-phone-based survey and investigated the possible use of these procedures for dual frame survey of cell and landline phone.

## **The Effects of Survey Mode on Response: Results from Three Surveys about Gambling**

*Sung Kyum Cho, Chungnam National University, Korea*

*Indeok Song, Joongbu University, Korea*

*Jong-Seok Byun, Hanshin University, Korea*

Surveys created to evaluate the prevalence of problem gambling have yielded different results based on the survey mode. Internet surveys show a higher rate of problematic gambling than face-to-face surveys, with telephone survey respondents being even less likely to state that they are gamblers. Survey mode, including the relatively new internet survey, seems to have an effect on responses. This paper seeks to learn what causes these differences as well as discern which mode produces the most accurate results.

### ***Session II E***

#### **Public Opinion in China**

***Panel Chair: Yue Zou, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA***

#### **Research on the relationship between securities public opinion and the fluctuation of the market value of listed companies**

*Mo Qian, Beijing Technology and Business University, China*

*Yuan Zheng, Beijing Technology and Business University, China*

The securities public opinion is the "public opinion" of investors in securities. It reflects that the sensitive information spreads and diffuses rapidly by a large number of individuals, forced turned into a group cognitive process. Sometimes, for listed companies, public opinion is only some irrelevant gossip, bringing up short-term fluctuations in market value at best. But sometimes, public opinion may make listed companies' reputation be damaged sustained, and even turned the result into the stormy sea related to life and death. In view of this, the authors has produced a weekly heat list of public opinion for the stock market, dealing with the public opinion cases of listed companies of A-share market in the weekly heat list of public opinion since October last year. We will start our research from the point of view of the listed company's market value and explore the impact of securities public opinion for the listed companies. Ultimately, we hope to provide valuable research results for the participants of securities market.

## **Reporting public opinion polls in China**

*Yin Lu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

Since the eighteenth century, public opinion-the vital view of the people-has become a routine factor in civic society. In democratic countries, it has also been significantly relevant to governmental affairs. As part of journalistic practices to organize citizens' expressions of opinion systematically, polls have become a useful news resource. Presumably, media reports of polls provide accurate information of opinion distribution for the audiences so that they learn where public opinion may stand and make enlightened decisions regarding public issues, if necessary. In the news, neither the language of the polls nor the concomitant survey results are self-explanatory. Therefore, it is theoretically and practically important to look at how public opinion polls have been integrated into political news coverage.

In China, unlike the democratic parties in the West, the Chinese Communist Party holds tremendous power and unrivaled authority. According to priming theory, citizens' political preferences are influenced substantially by frames and cues provided by the news media. It is a well known fact that news media in China are under the strict control of the state. Without access to news media to express their opinions, Chinese citizens have sought other means to do so. In recent year, more and more intense conflicts between the public and the state have emerged, bringing instability and disorder to the society. As such, polls have been used to gauge public sentiments in China. How the polls are reported in the news media, however, has yet to be systematically examined.

This study explores the following research questions: In the context of China, what sectors of public concerns have been reported in the process of opinion formation and presentation? Do the news media cover the poll results in a way that allows the public to assess the reliability and validity of the opinion survey? How do the media interpret the poll results in news stories? Does the framework of poll reports change during a long period since 1980s?

## **Perception of Online Polls, Information Literacy, Political Efficacy, and Online Polls Participation in Mainland China**

*Kevin Wen Yuan Zhao, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Louis Leung, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

The purpose of this study is to examine the degree of participation in online polls and its relationships to the perception of online polls, information literacy, and the political efficacy of Internet users in mainland China. Data were gathered from a sample of 419 Internet users aged 15 and higher. Results show that perceptions of online polls (both in effectiveness and trustworthiness) were positively correlated to participation in online polls but not to information literacy or political efficacy. Hypothesized relationships between information literacy and political efficacy and online polls participation were partially supported. Contrary to expected, political efficacy was found not to be related to online polls participation. However, regression results suggest that Internet users who often participated in online polls are usually male, literate in publishing, and believing that online polls are effective and trustworthy means to express opinions on public issues. Limitations and implications for future studies are discussed.

### **The Rise of Online Public Opinion in China: Its Agenda-setting Influence on Media Coverage and Government Policy**

*Yunjuan Luo, Texas Tech University, USA*

China has the largest Internet population in the world. Even under the restrictive government censorship, the Internet offers an alternative channel for information distribution and provides a public space for Chinese netizens to express their opinions and debate on public issues. Online public opinion originating from Internet-based platforms such as BBS forums, chat rooms, Web blogs and microblogs has begun to play a prominent role in Chinese social and political life.

One of the most significant consequences for the rise of online public opinion is that it has undermined the agenda-setting power of the traditional media and the government. In authoritarian China, the party state holds its tight control over the mass media, which serve as mass mobilization tools to set the public's agenda or "guide public opinion" (yulun daoxiang). With the emergence of the Internet, the monopoly control of information by the government is waning and the influence of official media is declining. Netizens empowered with new communication technologies have unprecedented opportunities to engage in public affairs and make their voices heard. Especially after the outbreak of incidents or contingent events such as the Sun Zhigang incident in 2003, the enormous attention paid by a large number of



netizens, called "the surrounding attention online" (wangluo weiguan), forms a powerful opinion discourse that can influence the traditional media and policy makers.

Is online public opinion really so powerful? Does online public opinion exert its influence in pushing its concerns up the media and policy agendas? How does online public opinion influence media coverage and policy decision-making process when incidents or contingent events occur? Within the theoretical framework of agenda setting, this study employed multiple methods to examine the effects of online public opinion on media coverage and government policy in China, as well as its social and political implications.

First, a quantitative content analysis was performed to explore whether and how online public opinion influences the entire issue agendas of the traditional media and the government at the national level. BBS forums, metropolitan newspapers, and the party's mouthpiece-the People's Daily-were justified in this study as the respective sources for constructing the online public agenda, the media agenda, and the policy agenda. The rank order correlation analysis and the cross-lagged correlation analysis were conducted to examine the interrelationships among these three agendas. The results show that online public opinion did not have an agenda-setting influence on the national policy agenda, whereas the government as the major agenda setter in China was able to set the agenda of online publics. Bidirectional agenda-setting influences were also found between the online public agenda and the media agenda. Online public opinion showed its influence in setting the media agenda as netizens are actively participating in content production and information distribution, while the media as a major information source had an agenda-setting effect on the online public agenda by deciding what netizens talked about in online platforms.

Second, a case study was used to examine the agenda-setting influence of online public opinion on media coverage and government decision-making in the development of individual issues. A recent high-profile case-the Yihuang self-immolation incident in 2010-analyzed in this study demonstrated that online public opinion interacted with the traditional media to make a local accident quickly transform into a national issue, pushing the government to address the public concern. During the issue development process, online public opinion was the driving force that promoted the issue salience on the media and government agendas. It acted as an agenda initiator that broke the news. After the issue climbed up the online public agenda, it spilled over into

the media agenda. The commercial media, especially metropolitan newspapers, were the first followers to pick up the issue. When online public opinion was intensified, it led to more media attention from both commercial and official media. The resonance between online public opinion and media coverage placed a tremendous pressure on the government and forced it to react accordingly, leading to the resolution of the issue.

Overall, the evidence in this study suggests that online public opinion has become a competing agenda-setting force in contemporary China. It tends to play a bigger role in promoting the salience of a specific issue rather than setting the entire issue agendas of the traditional media and the government. Nonetheless, the influence of online public opinion in individual cases can have an incremental and long-term effect on the democratization of China, pushing the government to be more responsive, accountable and transparent.

### ***Session III A***

#### **Public Opinion on Political Issues I**

***Panel Chair: Francis Joseph Escudero, The Philippine Senate, Philippines***

#### **Political trust in The Netherlands: Measurements, methods, meanings - and some reflections on public opinion research in public opinion formation**

*Paul Dekker, Tilburg University & The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, The Netherlands*

Political trust has become a core concept in recent empirical research on mass political attitudes, and a “The wealth of data and the statistical significance of the correlations are too tempting to resist, and thus trust has become a focus of scholarly attention and a presumptive cause of various desirable political outcomes.” – Clearly & Stokes (2009: 309)

In this paper I want to reflect upon simple measurements of institutional political trust as they are available in many surveys. The findings are important nowadays in public and political discussions. The numbers are used as given facts about the political atmosphere, editorials use them to comment on the performance of governments, and politicians worry or are happy depending on the trends and their role as governing party members or members of the opposition.

After saying a few words on the thinking about trust and the measurement of social and political trust, I will present some graphics about political trust in

the Netherlands in a European perspective, and trends compared to trust in other institutions. I do so to give an idea about where we are in the Netherlands and about the reliability of the measurements: do the various indicators result in the same patterns and trends? Then I talk a bit more about the Dutch Citizens' Outlooks Barometer (COB) as a source of data for our further investigations, starting with information about how people talk about trust and the scores they give to political and other institutions. This gives us an idea about the subjective meanings of the measurements, leading to conclusions about their validity. The next and last empirical part of this paper is the quantitative investigation of the political trust scores. How are they interrelated and how do they relate to indicators for political discontent, distrust, etc.? This is meant as another test of the meaning/validity of the measurement and an exploration of trust patterns: is it one-dimensional or are their different types?

In the last section I come to conclusions about what we measure and about the sense and nonsense of the publication of findings. critical indicator for success and failure of politicians in the media and public debate. However, our measurements of political trust are (almost always) very basic: How much do you trust ... politicians, parliament, government? With response options ranging from tend to trust/tend not to trust, to some value from low to high trust, what do these answers mean? In the Dutch Citizens' Outlooks Barometer (COB) we have asked ourselves this question continuously since its launch in 2008. We have discussed the meaning of political trust in focus groups and with various questions we have asked the respondents in our surveys to explain their scores and to give reasons for trust and distrust. After a brief review of the literature on measuring trust and confidence, I compare various political trust indicators for the Netherlands in the last decades (Eurobarometer, European Values Studies), I concentrate on the qualitative and quantitative data from the COB surveys (and some additional information from the focus groups): data of about 18,000 respondents (from 2008 until the first half of 2012). I further analyse the different arguments people give for (lack of) trust, and differences in correlates and backgrounds of trust measurements between groups and over time. The basic question then is: do we measure real differences in real trust or do we measure different types of trust (or different attitudes of loyalty, satisfaction ...) between people, groups and over time? Can we, and can the public, journalist and politicians trust our trust measurements?

Last but not least we reflect on possible implications of making trust findings public, and whether and how we as political scientists should take these implications into account. I present cynics and sceptics on the public use of public opinion surveys and sketch a more positive critical perspective of public opinion research as a 'communicative institution' alongside the mass media and the publicity-oriented associations of civil society.

### **Explaining Political Trust from Ideological Distances with Political Parties**

*Yang Liu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

This study tries to explain the fluctuation of political trust in American society since 1970s as the product of ideological distance with the incumbent party in presidency. Before formally testing the relationship between political trust and perceived ideological distance, this study first examines the ideological differences between different groups in these years. The trends described in this study have covered the ideological distance between average people and party elites, Democratic and Republican Party, Democrats and Democratic Party, Republicans and Republican Party, as well as Democrats and Republican Party, and between Republicans and Democratic Party. Based on the examination of ideological differences, this study develops formal models to test the relationship between political trust and the ideological distance with the incumbent party. The perceived distance in ideology from the incumbent party is negatively related to political trust. And this relationship is more significant among Republicans when Democrats are in power, compared with that among Democrats when Republican Party is incumbent.

### **Crime, Trust and the Legitimacy of Legal Institutions: A Comparative European Analysis**

*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics, UK*

*Mike Hough, University of London, UK*

*Ben Bradford, University of Oxford, UK*

*Katrin Hohl, London School of Economics, UK*

*Tia Pooler, London School of Economics, UK*

*Jouni Kuha, London School of Economics, UK*

Breakdown in trust appears to be at the heart of problems with our political institutions, with sectarian and religious conflict, and with the series of

financial crises that are facing Europe. The causes of this breakdown in trust are central to current political and social debate. It is not surprising, therefore, that criminologists have also become increasingly interested in questions about trust in justice, the legitimacy of justice institutions, and people's commitment to the rule of law. Public trust in their justice systems, public compliance with the law, and public cooperation with legal authorities - all these are crucial to the maintenance of social order, as well as important indicators of a society's health and well-being.

The Fifth Round of the European Social Survey (ESS) - which includes 45 questions on Trust in Justice - was conducted at the end of 2010 in 28 European countries. In this paper we present key findings from the 20 countries for which comparative data were available in November 2011. Around 39,000 interviews were completed across the 20 countries, with each country organising its own translation and fieldwork, to standards specified by the ESS Core Scientific Team. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in people's homes.

We present key findings from questions asked about the trust in police and courts in the fifth round of the ESS. We illustrate variation in trust in justice and legitimacy of justice institutions across Europe. Some clear patterns emerge: the Nordic countries are most trusting of their police and courts and believe that their institutions are legitimate holders of power and authority; while Eastern and sometimes Southern European countries tend to be less trusting. An important part of our country-level comparison is the multi-dimensional nature of both trust and legitimacy. Trust, we assume, is revealed in public assessments of the trustworthiness of institutions along three dimensions: effectiveness, procedural fairness, and distributive fairness. Legitimacy, we assume, is revealed in people's consent to power and their sense of the normative justifiability of power. These definitions help us to bring to life the complex and multi-faceted nature of these vital social and political phenomena.

### **The Roots of Ideological Politics: A comparison of cross-sectional and longitudinal results**

*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

*Ronald F. Inglehart, World Values Study, USA*

Political systems differ in the proportion of their citizens who see politics through an ideological lens. Over the last century, many European countries have been experienced a continuing ideological conflict reflects in social democratic parties and Christian or conservative parties. Some countries have experienced decades of rule by one ideologically based party and are gradually emerging as multiparty political systems (Haerpfer et al., 2009; Norris and Inglehart, 2009). The United States was long characterized as a political system without strong ideological political parties, but that has changed in the last 50 years and American politics are as ideological as any political system in Europe (Abramowitz, 2010; Carmines & Wagner, 2006; Fiorina & Abrams, 2008; Layman, Carsey, & Horowitz, 2006; Stonecash et al., 2000).

This proposed paper brings together two strands of analysis that provide important insights into the roots and impact of political ideology in political systems. The first half of this analysis will focus on the U.S. and will compare the results of a national cross-sectional study (the 2011 U.S. World Values Study) and a 25-year longitudinal study of Generation X (the Longitudinal Study of American Youth). The longitudinal record of the LSAY will allow an examination of the development of political ideology in the U.S. from secondary school to approximately age 40. A structural equation model will be used to identify the major factors associated with the development of ideological political partisanship in the U.S. - age, gender, education, religiosity, economic status, partisanship, and related variables - and the relationship of political ideology to engagement in the political system. These results will be compared to a national cross-sectional sample of U.S. adults that was collected as the U.S. data set for the 2011-12 World Values Survey.

The second half of this proposed analysis will use the same measures employed in the preceding 2011 U.S. WVS analysis and will compare those results to five other countries - Spain, Mexico, Russia, Malaysia, and Japan, using 2011 WVS data sets from those countries. Spain reflects the traditional conflict between a social democratic party and a right-center conservative party and has a long history of one-party rule under a fascist regime. Mexico and Japan are two democratic systems that are also emerging from extended period of one-party domination, although competing parties were allowed in both Japan and Mexico. Russia is emerging from decades of one-party Communist rule and is teetering between a new era of one-party domination and a more democratic multi-party system. Malaysia is a democratic political

system with a dominant political party, but some competition, within a Muslim society. In each of these political systems, there are varying degrees of political ideology and varying levels of political openness and competition. Within each country, the analysis will explore that level of political ideology and the relationship between political ideology and engagement in the political system.

We believe that the proposed analysis will provide a useful opportunity to examine (1) the conclusions that emerge from longitudinal and cross-sectional data sets in the same country concerning the roots and impact of political ideology at the individual level, (2) the extent and impact of political ideology at the individual level in a selected set of nations with different political histories and varying levels of political openness and competitiveness, and (3) the impact of systemic factors on the development and impact of political ideology at the individual level.

### **The Impact of Political Institutions on Public Opinion-Policy Linkages: A Case Study of the Legislators in Hong Kong**

*Bing-Kwan Chan, Chu Hai College of Higher Education, Hong Kong*

This paper builds upon institutional rational choice theory which suggests that political actors seek to act in ways which maximize their interests within the existing institutional setting. Through a case study of the legislators in Hong Kong, this paper investigates how political institutions influence elected policy elites' strategic responsiveness to the public. On the basis of the data derived from the semi-structured interviews with legislators, this paper suggests that (1) regardless of their constituencies, most elected legislators decide their policy positions in accordance with their own beliefs and their supporters' preference rather than general public opinion, and (2) politicians usually judge their supporters' views through community and personal networks rather than systematic opinion polls. From this perspective, legislators are not addicted to general public opinion. Rather, policy position is determined not only by legislators' beliefs but also by their conceptualization of their supporters' opinions. Although similar phenomena can be found in other countries, this paper suggests that Hong Kong legislators' strategies are, at least partially, facilitated by the institutional arrangements of Hong Kong, namely sector-specific interests and limited number of voters of functional constituencies and the proportional representative system and compact living

environment of geographical constituencies. Thus, this paper argues that institutional impact on constituent-representative relationships should be taken into account in the research design of public opinion-policy linkages.

### ***Session III B***

#### **New Forms of Journalism and Citizen Opinion Expressions I**

***Panel Chair: Lu-Huei Chen, National Chengchi University, Taiwan***

#### **Use of a Multiportal Smartphone/Online Alternative to Traditional Survey Data Collection**

*Michael W. Link, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Jennie W. Lai, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Lorelle Vanno, The Nielsen Company, USA*

Smartphones represent not just a new mode for administering traditional surveys, but a fundamentally different vehicle for collecting data from respondents. Smartphone applications (or "apps") provide researchers with a range of ready-made tools to collect both customary and new forms of data in a more reliable manner than self-reports, such as location, visual data, barcode scanning, in the moment surveys, and the like. Although smartphone apps are similar in some respects to other computer-assisted interviewing approaches, they also operate within a much different context. Respondents have far greater experience with and expectations of smartphone apps than they do of traditional surveys (which can often be viewed as a novelty), such as ease of use, speed, and functionality. In this respect, use of data collection apps means researchers need to pay more attention to user engagement, that is, identifying ways of enhancing a respondent's participation in a measurement (particularly in a panel or longitudinal data collection setting). Techniques such as "gamification" (the application of sociological and psychological principles that drive successful game interaction to measurement) and "social sharing" (allowing respondents to interact with others in some manner during the course of measurement) are two examples which work well for many types of smartphone apps, but have only recently begun to be applied to data collection. There are other considerations which are atypical of a traditional survey as well, such as the "flow" or routing of an app (which is often non-linear) and "visual design" (the physical look and appeal of the app). In essence, while smartphone apps may provide a critical



next step in the evolution of data collection, there is a need to develop strong scientific learnings to guide and assess these efforts. To that end, we provide one of the first detailed assessments of the use of smartphone applications as a potential replacement for more traditional survey methods. We report on data from a series of studies conducted to develop a smartphone app to capture television viewing behaviors and attitudes, which is meant to serve as a replacement for a current paper-and-pencil (PAPI) diary survey approach. The app was designed to capture all of the critical data elements normally captured in the PAPI version, but also expand the data capture in some important ways, by allowing users to express their views on current shows via a rating scale, comments, and "likes." Also, respondents received a series of "trigger surveys" throughout the 4 week field period, which are short (1-5 questions) surveys that are either "pushed" to the respondents at a particular time or "triggered" by patterns within their viewing behavior (such as watching a specific television show). The app also contains several features designed to enhance user engagement. These included "gamified" features, such as a points & status system, which allowed respondents to accumulate and view points based on their continued use of the application, and attain different statuses based on real-life jobs/roles of those who develop television programs. Respondents could also share their viewing and comments with others using the app or with their Facebook network.

We discuss some of the challenges encountered in developing a smartphone application to replace a long-standing PAPI approach, and provide empirical data tracking data entry, feature use and overall compliance by respondents. Additionally, using a split-sample design, with one set of respondents utilizing a "basic" app with no gamification and social sharing features and another set of respondents using a "full feature" app with gamification and social sharing, we assess the impact of these techniques for enhancing user engagement on both level of participation in app usage and any changes in television tuning and viewing behaviors (a potentially negative consequence of these techniques). The findings are of interest not only to those developing other forms of smartphone applications or leveraging some of the ready-made app utilities, but more broadly to the survey field in terms of our understanding of how to engage with respondents in a technology-driven world.

## **Pre-Election Polls, Italian Voter Preferences, and Their Study Via On-Line Campaign Simulations**

*Giancarlo Gasperoni, Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna, Italy*

*Debora Mantovani, Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna, Italy*

This paper reports a subset of findings drawn from a national research project – entitled “Electoral Choice: Voters’ Heuristic Strategies and Information Processing” – aiming to identify the strategies that Italian voters enact in order to combine political information originating from exposure to election campaigns and information processed during social interaction, in the wider context of the Italian political system. Recently new fields of research have focused on socio-cognitive factors that affect voting choices and information search processes enacted to formulate judgments via cognitive shortcuts (or “heuristics”). In particular, this project extends the scope of the innovative voting decision model developed by Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk and adapts it to the Italian context. The voting decision model is operationalised via “dynamic information board” simulating election campaigns tailored to observe information research strategies in which voters engage. This technique employs a controlled-environment, on-line simulation, endeavouring to reproduce a complex, realistic environment, in which the information that the voter can access changes over time. This paper, in particular, focuses on voters’ perception of pre-election polls and on polls’ role as a heuristic influencing voter choice. In the specific study here described, approximately 900 voters were asked to participate in a detailed, simulated election campaign for mayor. The fieldwork was carried out during the year 2011 and concluded in December. Among the heuristics available during the campaign, these voters were given access to pre-election polls (which respondents were free to view or not), which therefore “competed” with other sources of relevant information. A subset of voters was also exposed, during the second half of the campaign, to pre-election polls predicting the final outcome (which was unfavourable, to varying extents, for the respondent’s preferred candidate). On the whole, voters participating in our simulated election campaign displayed somewhat negative attitudes towards pre-election polls: such polls, more often than not, are deemed useless and unreliable. During the actual campaign simulation, pre-election polls were not used extensively as an information source by voters: on average, over 40% of participants ignored the polls. As regards the part of the study in which voters

were “forcibly” exposed to polls that reported unfavourable predictions for their preferred candidates, again pre-election polls seemed to enjoy little traction: only one-tenth of voters switched votes, even though doing so would favour a second preferred candidate and in some cases contribute to defeating the least preferred candidate.

### **Heroes, Villains, and Fools: Public Opinion and Social Control in the Internet**

*Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Germany*

Social control is an important dimension of public opinion. When important, value-laden, emotional issues are at stake, it becomes more and more difficult to express minority opinions in public (Noelle-Neumann, 1974; 1984; Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004). The spiral of silence theory assumes that the process of marginalizing deviationists is grounded in the social nature of individuals and serves the purpose of integrating society (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). Similar processes of dealing with nonconformists can be found within groups of people who know each other personally. However their dealing with "heroes, villains, and fools" (Klapp, 1954) follows different procedures than public opinion processes in the anonymous general public.

The present paper addresses how social control works on the internet, e. g. in large online communities like Wikipedia (Konieczny, 2009). This is a challenging field for public opinion theory and research because many online communities are on the one hand open to the anonymous general public but on the other hand are composed of a limited number of directly interacting user-accounts. Examples from the Usenet, findings of two content analyses, and survey data on Wikipedia's community are used to shed some light on social control online as well as the heroes, villains, and fools of the Internet.

### **Data Collection in the Age of Smartphone Applications: Key Considerations for User Experience and Emerging Engagement Techniques**

*Jennie W. Lai, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Michael W. Link, The Nielsen Company, USA*

*Lorelle Vanno, The Nielsen Company, USA*

The growing usage of smartphone applications (or "apps"), particularly among young adults, has opened a new frontier for data collection. This emerging method of Computer-Assisted Self-Interviewing (CASI) offers new techniques

to engage respondents on the mobile platform such as game and social mechanics to combat the decline of cooperation for surveys and longitudinal studies in particular.

The use of game mechanics is often integrated with smartphone apps in the recent years to draw on the intrinsic motivation for users to engage in a particular task. The tools for game mechanics such as earning points and badges or advancing through levels and leaderboards are used to motivate desired behaviors (i.e., "gamifying" the process but not necessarily turning the task completely into a "game"). Moreover, social sharing on networks such as Facebook is a defining attribute for today's youths and a critical feature of some of the most successful apps. The social mechanics such as comments, posting updates or "liking" the status of others are engaging features to connect users within the app community and their own social networks such as Facebook.

In addition to leveraging both game and social mechanics to maximize respondent engagement for data collection, user experience is also critical to ensure ongoing compliance of the data collection task. Researchers must also consider app usability such as interface design and special app features given the variability of smartphone devices across the mobile operating systems (currently dominated by Android, iOS and Research In Motion). The differences of screen display and capabilities across the different smartphone devices are important considerations for usability testing on the interface design of the app (i.e., screen display for data entry and frequency of scrolling or "tapping") and special app features (i.e., push notifications as reminders and trigger surveys for follow-up of specific actions) are essential to the development of a user-friendly app. Beginning in 2011, Nielsen spearheaded the effort to develop a smartphone app on Android and iOS platform to collect television viewing information from respondents as an alternative to the current method of a one-week paper-and-pencil diary survey in the United States. Respondents are asked to report their television viewing information for up to six weeks using a smartphone app downloaded on their mobile device. During the app development period, an iterative process was designed to gather qualitative feedback from participants on their user experience for the key features of the Android and iOS apps. Furthermore, a pilot study was deployed starting with the iPhone app to measure respondents' engagement for both the game and social features and to study the effect of these features on their participation (including frequency, depth

and duration of each log-in over the duration of the data collection period). The qualitative and quantitative insights will yield learning on key considerations for smartphone app design and effectiveness of the emerging techniques for respondent engagement. Furthermore, the lessons learned can help survey researchers assess whether smartphone apps can be a viable collection method for repeated measures of the hard-to-reach younger cohorts.

### **Are blogs credible? Influence of author information on blogger credibility**

*Porismita Borah, Maryville University, USA*

Of the many different types of social media such as social networking sites, wikis, podcasts, forums or microblogging, blogs are perhaps the most popular (Mayfield, 2008). A blog is an online journal consisting of links and postings in reverse chronological order, where the most recent posting appears on top of the page (O'Reilly, 2004; Blood, 2002; Eveland, & Dylko, 2007). Unlike traditional media, bloggers do not follow the rules of "objectivity", but very often hold strong ideological positions (Hennessy and Martin, 2006). Researchers have also pointed out about polarization in blog readership, such that readers seek out blogs that resonate their ideological position (Farrel, Lawrence & Sides, 2008). Yet, it is important to note that bloggers have greater influence on the general public by influencing the mainstream media (Adamic & Glance, 2005). Moreover, it is no longer a secret that mainstream journalists read blogs in their information gathering process (Farrell & Drenzer, 2008). Mainstream media have also hired some of the popular writers in the blogosphere (Tremayne, 2007). Thus, the clout of the blogosphere is no longer in doubt.

However, are blogs considered credible? Credibility of a blog could be questioned because they are not part of the mainstream media (Johnson & Wiedenbeck, 2009). Blogs have been rarely considered "an actual form of journalism" (Jones & Himelboim, 2010, p. 271). Prior research has paid attention to blog credibility but has found conflicting results. One major characteristic that stands out in the prior literature on blog credibility is the difference between blog readers vs. the general audience. Blog readers find blogs more credible than the mainstream media, while on the other hand; the general audience find blogs less credible than the mainstream media. Sample hypotheses:

H1: Credibility of a blog post would be higher when the author of the post is from the mainstream media.

H2: Credibility of a blog post would be higher when the reach of the blog is higher.

H3: Among participants who are in the journalist blog condition, those exposed to the high reach condition will regard the blog post as most credible. By using two experiments, the present study attempts to understand the factors that may influence how the general public perceive blogs. Both experiments were embedded in web-based surveys. The participants were undergraduate students enrolled at a Midwestern university. The first study (gay rights) was conducted in April 2010 and the second study (immigration policy) was conducted in the September 2011. In both studies course instructors offered extra credit for participation. All potential participants were contacted by e-mail and given the Website of the online experiment. The study examines the influence of two factors: identity of the blogger (ordinary blogger vs. journalist blogger) and reach of the blog (low vs. high) on blog credibility. To test the hypotheses, ANCOVA models were applied.

Findings show that in case of the general audience the journalist blogger was perceived as more credible. The data analysis yielded consistent findings revealing a nuanced picture of blog credibility. For example, reach of the blog seems to increase blog credibility, but mostly in case of the ordinary blogger. The findings from the present study are fundamental for an in-depth understanding of the concept of blog credibility. The study shows that reach of the blog is a significant factor in blog credibility. Implications are discussed.

### ***Session III C***

#### **Cross-National Research**

***Panel Chair: Mark Gill, MORI Caribbean***

#### **The Diffusion of an Innovation: Survey Research 1936-1969**

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

Cross-national, survey research emerged out of and developed along with many of the seminal megatrends of the 20th century including globalization and democratization. It was also shaped in important ways by such major historical events as World War II, the advent of post-bellum collective multilateralism, and the spread and collapse of Communism.

The development of cross-national, survey research is an example of what Rogers (2005) calls the diffusion of innovation. Public opinion polls were created in the United States in the mid-1930s and spread to other countries (Bulmer, 1998; Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, 1991; Heath, Fischer, and Smith, 2005; Lagos, 2008; Livingston, 2003; Norris, 2009; Oberschall, 2008; Rokkan, 1955; Smith, 2010; Verba, 1993; Zetterberg, 2008). As Verba (1993) has observed, "Survey research has been developed largely in the United States, and has been transferred from there to other western democracies and more recently to developing states," Like all diffusions, its development and trajectory was innovation specific and was both aided and hindered by the particular characteristics of survey research itself.

Its expansion was part of the more general process of globalization (Heath, Fisher, and Smith, 2005). Of course in the case of survey research, globalization involved considerable interaction between the global product (survey research) and the local markets and cultures. Thus, as Heath, Fisher, and Smith (2005) note, "Globalization of public opinion polls has not entailed a straightforward spread of a standardized 'product' throughout the world in terms of survey conduct."

Additionally, "(t)he expansion of surveys in general and public opinion polling in particular was part of the general growth of democracy within and across societies (Oberschall, 2008)." Surveys in general and public opinion polls in particular typically develop and only thrive in open, democratic societies (Butler, Penniman, and Ranney, 1981). They are rarely allowed in authoritarian regimes and seldom flourish in colonies. Democratization in general and decolonialization in particular opened up more countries to surveys.

Besides being shaped by these overarching megatrends, the development of cross-national, survey research was also influenced by important, historical events. Chief among these were the impact of World War II, the advent of post-war collective multilateralism and the founding of the United Nations, and the emergence of the Cold War and the imposition of the Iron Curtain across Europe.

This paper examines 1) the emergence of cross-national, survey research including the role of early adopters - Gallup, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), other survey-research organizations, and Public Opinion Quarterly; 2) the initial diffusion of survey research by Gallup, International Research Associates, Inc., and others, 3) foundational survey-research meetings and associations, , 4) the impact of World War II, 5) the role of the

United Nations and other international organizations including its collaboration with the World Association for Public Opinion Research, 6) the first comparative surveys, 7) the contributions of international exchanges and immigrations, 8) changing developments in the 1950s and 1960s, including the role of American influence and center/periphery diffusion, and 9) impediments to development.

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### **A Comparative Study of Valence Politics Using the British and Taiwan Election Survey Data**

*Karl Ho, University of Texas at Dallas, USA*

*Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas at Dallas, USA*

While Taiwan is in its young age of democratic development, the new Asian democracy is comparable to such western industrialized democracy as Great Britain in many areas. Election surveys and polls are so extensive in Taiwan featuring political elections every year that polls were well in par with the ones in Britain in terms of frequency and public attention. In this study, we compare the Britain and Taiwan election surveys by estimating a valence model first proposed by Stokes (1963, 1992) and published in a series of studies by Clarke et. al. (2009a, 2009b). We found that the valence model demonstrates as strong explanatory power in Taiwan election as much as in the British case. This study shows very similar results when the model is compared with a host of rival models in both British and Taiwan contexts (Clarke, Sandler, Stewart and Whitely 2009; Ho, Clarke, Chen and Weng 2011). We believe the new research model-based design of the British election surveys featuring longitudinal, panel studies can be applied in other

democracies such as Taiwan. It will provide important scientific data for state-space models to further investigate other elections such as those in Taiwan. Through comparing the BES with the Taiwan counterparts, we expect to produce more robust results by exploring election models in both matured and new democracies.

### **Patterns of media use, conversation and perceived political polarization in 10 countries**

*Hernando Rojas, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*JungHwan Yang, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Magdalena Wojcieszak, IE University, Spain*

*Sharon Coen, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK*

*Toril Aalberg, Norwegian University of Science & Technology, Norway*

*James Curran, University of London, UK*

*Shanto Iyengar, Stanford University, USA*

*Hayashi Kaori, University of Tokyo, Japan*

*Vinod Pavarala, University of Hyderabad, India*

*Gianpietro Mazzoleni, University of Milan, Italy*

*Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece*

*June Wong Rhee, Seoul National University, Korea*

*Stuart Soroka, McGill University, Canada*

Past efforts to examine political polarization have focused on party, ideology and issue-based polarization, with certain strands of the literature focusing on tolerance towards certain groups, and currently notions of affective polarization. However, despite the growing understanding of perceptual biases, and how these matter for media effects theory and research, little attention has been given to perceived political polarization. The underlying idea of this proposed perceived polarization is that regardless of the actual levels of polarization in a society, individual level perceptions of polarization, and aggregate levels of perceived polarization are bound to vary, and these variations could have an effect on people's disposition engage in certain political behaviors including: talking about an issue with others, efforts to mobilize others, and take action more generally. In this paper we seek to examine whether perceptions of polarization do vary, whether these variations tend to be country based or rather issue based, and, most

importantly, how they relate to media use and political conversation.

In particular we seek to harmonize claims that Internet use should be related to higher levels of political polarization due to selective exposure to media content (Sunstein, 2007), with our own findings that suggest that certain Internet uses are negatively related with political extremity (Authors, 2011). In order to do so, we take advantage of a 10 country comparative study that examines issues of media use, political conversation, political knowledge and polarization across countries.

### **PAX POPULI, PAX DEI: Ten Years of Peace Polls in Comparative Perspective**

*Colin Irwin, University of Liverpool, UK*

In the modern world of mass media, mass communications and globalization peace processes require the effective use of public diplomacy to achieve political legitimacy. Open, transparent, objective, public opinion research can help to unlock the full peace making potential of such diplomacy. But this requires truly independent peace research not bound to the interests of any of the conflict parties. Nine such surveys of public opinion were completed in support of the Northern Ireland peace process between April 1996 and February 2003. Critically the questions for eight of these polls were drafted and agreed with the co-operation of party negotiators to enhance the peace process by increasing party inclusiveness, developing issues and language, testing party policies, helping to set deadlines and increase the overall transparency of negotiations through the publication of technical analysis and media reports. After 30 years of failure the peace process in Northern Ireland has been a great success.

Of course I thought, in my limited experience at the time, that all peace processes were like Northern Ireland. But this is not the case. The interests of governments and political elites, both domestic and international, all too frequently can pervert the will of the people to deny them the peace that they seek. In hindsight, we were very fortunate in Northern Ireland. With elections to negotiations, independent research and an independent Chair the people were able to make their peace through the democratization of their peace process. This was the key to our success. We owned the peace process and the people's peace prevailed. This work is described in detail in my earlier WAPOR papers and, *The People's Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Irwin, 2002:

Palgrave) written so that the central lessons, of what were then being called peace polls, could be extended to the resolution of other violent conflicts around the world.

To this end the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South East Europe (CDRSEE) commissioned me to undertake peace polls in Macedonia as a prelude to free and fair elections in 2002; in Bosnia and Herzegovina to analyse the state of their peace process in 2004; and in Kosovo and Serbia as a prelude to the negotiation of a 'final status' agreement for Kosovo in 2005. This was followed up with a poll of British Muslims in the context of what George Bush was calling the 'War on Terror' in 2006. The Cvoter Foundation in Delhi then asked me to complete a peace poll in Kashmir in 2008 with follow ups in Pakistan, and that same year I started a three year programme of peace polling in Sri Lanka supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After Barack Obama was elected President and George Mitchell was appointed his Special Envoy to the Middle East I was asked to complete a peace poll in Israel and Palestine for OneVoice in 2009 and this was followed by a project in Darfur, Sudan funded by the US State Department. Finally I was able to visit Egypt during their revolution in early 2011 but no polling work was undertaken there due to legal restrictions.

This paper reviews all these peace polls in comparative perspective. Although every conflict studied was different in terms of the peoples involved, their language, history and culture, the same methodologies, including scales, have been used in all these projects so that comparisons can be made across all the peace polls undertaken over the past ten years. Without exception the peace polls identified the problems that had to be resolved at the heart of each conflict and the solutions needed to end the conflict. When this was done and acted on peace was achieved but when this was not done the peace processes continued to fail. The polls also identified repetitive conflict themes: discrimination, bad policing, violent insurgencies, poor governance and corruption, failing economies, lack of democratic accountability and interference by third parties/states. The importance of these conflict elements changed with the cycle of the violence: pre-war, war, post-war. Critically the peace polls could help people achieve peace if the political elites and those responsible for peace used the work constructively to that end. But all too frequently spoilers – domestic, regional and international – perverted the

people's will, to maintain the status quo of on-going war, occupation or violence directed against their own people. However, with the support of international institutions and standard setting, independent peacemakers can use peace polls and public diplomacy to challenge the spoilers, and help establish the people's peace.

### ***Session III D***

#### **Alternatives and Strategies for Improving Survey Response Rates**

***Panel Chair: Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea***

#### **Using Cell Phone for Student Surveys**

*Eun Hee Choi, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

This study focuses on the college population, which often has nearly complete cell phone coverage. Although Web surveys or traditional mail surveys have been widely used to survey this population, they generally report fairly low response rates that may lead to nonresponse bias. For several years we have successfully conducted cell phone surveys in a large university. We show that cell phone surveys may have high response rates. Also, we show that they have some advantages in terms of coverage of domains and measurement error.

#### **Inaccessibility and Refusal as Unit Non-Responses of Survey Research: Test of the MAR (Missing At Random) Assumption in East Asia**

*Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

Despite the ever-increasing use and reliance on survey protocol data in the social science nowadays, an undue attention has been paid in East Asia as to how unit non-responses vary by certain characteristics of interviewers and interviewees and what precisely accounts for their variations. In an attempt to fill this gap, this study tries to uncover the correlates of refusals and inaccessible, two major sub-types of unit non-responses, respectively in Korea. Analysis of the latest (2010) data of KGSS demonstrates several interesting findings: (1) unit non-responses do indeed differ from substantive or valid responses in terms of a few non-negligible characteristics of interviewers and

interviewees; (2) not merely do overall unit non-responses deviate from substantive responses, each of the two sub-types is also under the rubric of differential correlates; (3) a few correlates, such as interviewee's age and economic standing of the household, turn out to exhibit non-linear associations with refusals and/or inaccessible. The findings provide a case to suggest that response rates alone are indeed not likely to be a quality indicator, that the so-called MAR (missing at random) assumption is unlikely to be valid, and that some amount of systematic bias, as opposed to random error, is likely to bother even a carefully designed and implemented in-depth interview survey.

### **A Comparison of Response Patterns between Landline and Cell Phone RDD Surveys**

*So Hyung Park, Survey & Health Policy Research Center, Korea*

*Geon Lee, Seoul National University, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Sang Kyung Lee, Hyundai Research Institute, Korea*

We conducted a probability-based dual frame RDD survey of landline and cell phone numbers with sufficient call attempts in Korea. In this paper, we first examine whether there are significant differences in refusal, contact, and completion between cell phone and landline surveys. Second, based on our data and some sources, we cross-nationally compare the response patterns between Korea and the United States. The findings will be useful to improve response rates in Korea and to understand the differences of response behaviors between the two countries.

### **Constructing Hard-To-Survey Index in Korean Labor Force Survey**

*Young Shil Park, Statistics Korea, Korea*

*Sun Woong Kim, Dongguk University, Korea*

*Ok Hee Choi, Statistics Korea, Korea*

Response rates in national household surveys conducted by Statistics Korea have declined over the past years. This is particularly true of the Korean Labor Force Survey (KLFS), which is one of the major surveys. The purpose of this study is to construct hard-to-survey index (HTSI) to be useful in investigating sampling units such as the enumeration districts (ED's) where response rates

in the KLFS tend to be lower than others. To build the HTSI, we first define the underlying constructs to measure how difficult to conduct the survey in a sampling unit, and then we compute the scores based on regression models depending on the significant variables related to the constructs. The scores are served as the HTSI and the ED's with high scores are designated as hard-to-survey areas. We examine the performance of the HTSI by analyzing correlations with some indicators of nonresponse.

### ***Session III E***

#### **Internet Polling in Chinese Societies: The Exploration of Online Survey and Online Opinion**

***Panel Chair: Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau***

#### **The Interplay of Online and Offline Opinions: A Total Public Opinion Approach**

*Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

*Xue Chang, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

*Athena Seng, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*

Since the notion of who said what to whom in which channel with what effect was proposed by Lasswell in 1935, communication models have been changed over time. The revolution of the Internet makes the new interplay model of communication possible. This paper proposes the Total Public Opinion (TPOP) framework, a holistic approach to study the opinions generated in a society concerning social issues from three different sources of information: social media, traditional media and the general public. We will discuss some cases in Macao in order to demonstrate how this dynamic interplay works and will also explore further implications.

#### **Application of Data Mining in Internet Research**

*Tai-Quan Peng, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

The development of the Internet has made 'terabytes of data describing minute-by-minute interactions and locations of entire populations of individuals' accessible to Internet scholars. How can social researchers make use of those information to describe, explain, and predict individuals'

knowledge, attitude, and behavior? Data mining is a good way to help social researchers manage, analyze, and visualize the large-scale social information available on the Internet. The basic ideas and advantages of data mining will be introduced. Then we will talk about what can be mined online and finally illustrate how data mining can be applied to Internet research with examples.

### **The Use of Web-based Survey in Communication and Public Opinion Research: Trends, Features, and Issues**

*Fei Shen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Tianjiao Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Jiawe Tu, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

The current study aims to provide an overview of the use of online survey in communication and public opinion research. It will content analyze ten communication journals and seek to answer the following questions. First, when does online survey become popular in communication research, and how does the trajectory look like? Second, what is the average response rate and what types of sampling methods were most frequently used? Third, how do subjects participate in surveys? Finally, it attempts to highlight issues and problems that researchers encounter in online survey as well as to address the ways to relieve these problems.

### **The Dynamic Relationships between Online Media Coverage, iWOM, Buzz Perception and Online Search of Celebrities in China**

*Peking Tan, Millward Brown China, China*

*Sangruo Huang, University of Minnesota, USA*

*Yuhui Li, Renmin University of China, China*

*Linyun Jiang, Renmin University of China, China*

The paper tracked 60 celebrities in mainland China in terms of their online media coverage, consumer iWOM, familiarity, buzz perception, and online search for six months. It was found that both media coverage and iWOM influenced consumer's familiarity, buzz perception, and search of a celebrity, with media coverage possessing a higher impact on familiarity and buzz perception. Media coverage and iWOM influenced each other to build celebrity popularity. Additionally, we found the chronologically dynamic relationships such that more media coverage and search led to higher buzz



perception in the following month, while more iWOM and higher buzz perception led to more search.

### ***Session IV B***

#### **Sampling, Response Rates and Non-Response**

***Panel Chair: Katarzyna M. Staszynska, Kozminski University, Poland***

#### **Gender Pre-Specified Sampling: The Case of the Middle East**

*Kien Trung Le, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Abdoulaye Diop, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Darwish Alemadi, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Elmogiera Elewad, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Jill Wittrock, University of Michigan, USA*

Social science research utilizing nationally representative samples has entered a period of rapid expansion in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Many of these surveys are conducted with a face-to-face protocol using survey practices developed outside the region, and in some instances these techniques may not be sensitive to the cultural and religious characteristics in these countries. Without accounting for these contextual factors, survey designers risk decreasing the representativeness of the sample through sampling and non-response errors. In this paper, we focus on the matching of respondent and interviewer sex, and its implications on the survey practice in the region.

In the United States and Europe, it is not uncommon for interviewers and respondents to be of the opposite sex, and interviewer effects as a result of gender have been found to influence survey items based on women's issues and gender equality. Researchers are aware of these effects and routinely control for them in the data analysis, but they are not generally concerned about increased refusal rates or lack of cooperation as a result of interviewer gender. However, this is a central concern for data collection in Muslim societies where it is not considered appropriate for a female to speak with a male non-family member, let alone a male interviewer. Not surprisingly, results from a recent survey conducted in Qatar showed that a clear majority of female respondents would rather be interviewed by a female.

One way to address the issue is to hire only female interviewers as they can

interview both male and female respondents. However, in several MENA countries-and particularly in the Arabian Gulf, most women do not hold a driving license or have access to transportation due to culture and religion norms or restrictions (e.g., it is illegal for women in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to drive). This makes this method inapplicable unless transportation is provided to interviewers. An alternative way which is currently being used in the region is to have teams of interviewers in the field. The team can include 1 male and 1 female interviewers, or 1 male and 2 female interviewers, or 1 male and 3 female interviewers. The male interviewer in the team is usually responsible for driving while female interviewer(s) is(are) usually responsible for conducting the interviews. While this method addresses the issue, it increases significantly the field cost as more interviewers are needed during the fieldwork.

In this paper, we propose a sampling method with pre-specified respondent gender to reduce the field costs. The basic idea is that before interviewers visit the households in the sample, we randomly specify the gender of respondent for every sampled household. Knowing the respondent gender beforehand, male interviewers (instead of teams of interviewers) can be sent to households with male respondents. The field costs for households with male respondents, which usually account for half of the sample can, therefore, be significantly reduced. In addition, the respondent will be selected from household members of the same sex (instead of all household members) since the gender of the respondent has been pre-specified. This will help reduce the survey length and offer a better control of the respondent gender during the within household selection process.

However, the issue with this sampling method is that there are households in the sample with only one sex. In this case, either males or females will be oversampled if the proportion of households with males only differs from the proportion of household with females only. Also, if the information about the male/female proportion in the population is not available, then we may assign respondent gender in a proportion that differs from the one in the population, leading to gender oversampling. We therefore address this oversampling with the selection probability weight which explicitly takes into account the differences in the selection probabilities between males and females.

The new sampling method is applied to a national survey in Qatar, a country in the Middle East. We compare this survey's operations to those of a previous survey and find 27 percent reduction in the field costs. We do not find any

significant difference in gender ratio and the percent of young people between the two surveys. We believe that the method can be applied to countries in MENA with similar cultural and religion characteristics to Qatar.

### **The Unit Non-respondents to Telephone Survey in Taiwan**

*Kuang-Hui Chen, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan*

*Su-Feng Cheng, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

Researchers have been perplexed by the issue of unit non-response for a long time. It is common that selected respondents do not participate in the interview for such reasons as failure to make contact with the respondents, refusal of the respondents to participate, and inability of the respondents to participate (e.g., language barrier and absence). If the occurrence of unit non-response is not randomly distributed, some factors systematically determine whether a selected respondent will successfully participate in the survey. In this case, unit non-response may diminish the representativeness of the final sample and lead to biased estimation, and researchers cannot draw inferences from the sample coefficient to the population parameter of interest.

A variety of methods and techniques have been introduced to correct the bias resulting from unit non-response. For example, it is common for researchers to use the method of weighting in an attempt to reduce unit non-response bias. However, since researchers have little or no information about the unit non-respondents, it is unlikely for them to examine the difference between participants and non-respondents in order to estimate the loss of representativeness of the final sample as compared to the target population. Therefore, the lack of information regarding the absentees makes the unit non-response bias very difficult to deal with in a satisfactory manner.

This paper is designed to estimate the loss of representativeness caused by unit non-response by means of the information provided by the unit non-respondents' spouses in a telephone survey conducted in Taiwan. This survey was conducted in June 2011, and a national representative sample of 354 pairs of husbands and wives were successfully interviewed in this survey. In addition to these couples, while we successfully interviewed 804 married adults at the same time, their spouses did not participate in the interview because of inability, refusal, or unavailability. In other words, these absent spouses were unit non-respondents. In addition to the demographic variables

such as gender, ethnicity, income, and vocation, we inquired their spouses about their political attitudes such as party preference and political support. We are therefore able to examine the non-respondents' political preferences based on the information provided by their spouses. In this paper, the two data sets will be analyzed and compared to assess the characteristics of non-respondents regarding their demographic characteristics and political attitudes. The results of this analysis will be helpful for researchers to estimate the impact of unit non-response on representativeness of the final sample with regard to their political attitudes. Possible strategies to correct the bias resulting from unit non-response will also be discussed based on the analysis of the two data sets in this paper.

### **Within Household Sampling in the Middle East and Developing Countries: A Comparative Study**

*Kien Trung Le, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Abdoulaye Diop, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Darwish Alemadi, Qatar University, Qatar*

Within household sampling (or the selection of the respondent within the household) is an important step to ensure the quality of the survey. If a proper sampling method is not used then the resulting sample will be comprised of the "most willing" and "most readily available" persons. That is likely to include too many females, older adults, and those without employment since they are more available and more disposed towards cooperating with a survey request. The survey in this case cannot be used to represent statistics at the person-level in the target population (Gaziano 2005, Lavrakas 2008).

The list of methods used for within-household sampling is long and diverse. Despite the fact that, in theory, we should opt for methods which allow for a random selection, in practice, these methods may take more time to implement and there may also be a risk to alienate the person or respondent. Gaziano (2005) and Lavrakas (2008) provided excellent reviews of these methods. Le et al. (2011) argued that these methods were developed for application in Western countries and therefore may not be as effective in the Middle East and developing countries. The authors demonstrated that the household size is the key difference that impacts the efficacy of the sampling. Households in these countries are often much larger than those in Western countries. In addition, information used to select the adult such as the

birthday is not as routinely available in these countries as in Western countries. The authors then proposed a new method more suitable to the situation in these countries. In this study, we compare this new method to the Kish method which is the most widely used method in Middle East and developing countries. The comparison is made from the split sample technique in which the sampled households are randomly assigned to either the Kish method or the new method. That means half of the sample get the Kish method while the other half get the other method. The two methods are then compared in the following areas:

- Technical indicators: refusal and break-off rate, response rate, cooperation rate, survey length (for the whole survey and for the selection process), and the number of attempts.
- Respondent demographics: respondents' gender, age, marital status, education, employment status and earning, respondent's household structure. The results from the two methods will also be compared to the numbers from Census.
- Respondents' answers to several substantive questions.

We found higher response rate, lower refusal and break-off rate, and higher cooperation rate in the new method proposed in Le et al. The selection process using this method is quicker and less intrusive than the one using the Kish method. In terms of respondent demographics, the distributions of respondents' gender, age, education, employment status using the new method are closer to distributions from Census than the Kish method, but the differences between the two methods are not statistically significant. Overall, we found the new within household sampling a good alternative for surveys conducted in the Middle East and Developing countries.

### **The Determinants of Panel Attrition in Telephone Survey: An Experience from Taiwan's Election Study**

*Kah Yew Lim, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

In this paper, we investigate the effect from interaction between interviewer and respondent on the decision to refuse or to accept the interview in the second wave survey. We explore a two-stage multilevel model to analysis the interviewer characteristics and respondent characteristics in the same model, and include the possible interaction terms. We were able to expand our

information on respondent from the first wave survey. The data which used in this paper consists of two major parts. First, there are fifteen waves rolling survey have conducted in pre-election and a panel survey conducted after the presidential election. We collected data on 9818 individual in the first wave. In this research, the dependent variable is the result of the interview, a variable with three categories (cooperate, refuse and lost contact). The independent variables include respondent's characteristics (gender, age, education level) and interviewer characteristic (gender, age, level, job, etc.). We also include some control variables in the model include the length of interview in first wave and the time distance between first and second wave. In conclusion, the panel design variables have significant influence on respondent's decision to participate the second wave interview. On the other hands, the characteristic of respondents, include their gender, age, and education level have same influence on the result.

### **Retention in Multi-Mode Survey Panels**

*Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

*Kumar Rao, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

*Olena Kaminska, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA*

This study builds on a previously published panel recruitment experiment (Rao, Kaminska, and McCutcheon 2010), extending that analysis to an examination of the effectiveness of pre-recruitment factors such as mode and response inducements on three post-recruitment panel participation effects: attrition rates, survey completion rates, and panel data quality. The panel recruitment experiment, conducted with the Gallup Panel, netted 1,282 households with 2,042 panel members. For these recruited members, we collected data on panel participation and retention, and use it for analysis in this study.

This investigation is an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the use of probability-based panels that use multiple modes (i.e., Web and mail). While previous studies have typically looked at factors affecting panel recruitment, participation, and retention in isolation, we employ an integrated framework for examining the role of these factors on post-recruitment panel participation effects such as attrition, survey completion, and data quality.

Preliminary analysis indicates a number of interesting findings. First, higher panel survey burden (i.e., survey assignment rate) places higher expectations

on members to be an active participant in the panel, while negatively impacting their survival in the panel. Second, the effect of incentive at the time of recruitment continues to operate beyond the life of the recruitment phase; those who received the incentive to join the panel completed a greater number of surveys, compared to their non-incentivized counterparts. Interestingly, while incentivizing panel members helps in keeping them in the panel, it does not have the same effect on their performance in the panel, i.e. on panel survey completion rates.

### ***Session IV C***

#### **Multi-Country Surveys: A Distinct Sub-Field in Survey Research**

***Panel Chair: Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA***

#### **A Case Study of continuity and change: 40 Years of Euro-barometer as a Multi-country survey**

*Pascal Chelala, TNS Opinion, USA,*

*Leendert de Voogd, TNS Opinion, USA*

The Euro-barometer is by far the most active and on-going multi-country survey in the field of opinion research. It will soon complete 40 years since its inception. Even though the survey has a limited regional focus its experience can be drawn upon to develop learnings for multi-country surveys in the second decade of the 21st century. This paper will both document and analyze the historical evolution of Euro-barometer. It will also identify key "transnational publics" in Europe. The paper will be divided in 4 parts. Part 1 will give a short historical background to Euro-barometer with particular reference to quantitative documentation of number of surveys, countries covered, themes and Questions conducted and Analytical Reports prepared within the Euro-barometer organization and outside it by other scholars and academicians. It will comprise a short literature review on the 40 years of Euro-barometer as a leading multi-country survey. Part 2 will prepare a list of issues pertaining to multi-country surveys both within the sponsoring organization and by outside users. Part 3 will explore the possible impact of the new global developments, political as well as technological, on the future direction of Euro-barometer. It will also address issues such as the expansion of EU and an increasingly wider scope of EU interests. Part 4 will comprise an

exercise or a case study to diagnose transnational segments of opinion on environmentalism across EU nations. This exercise will be based on data between 2005-11. The purpose of the exercise will be to use Euro-barometer data to develop "transnational publics" on the issue of environmentalism.

### **A case for global-centric approach to multi-country surveys and why multi-country surveys need to be treated as a special sub-field of survey Research**

*Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion, Pakistan*

The paper will be divided in 4 parts. In part 1; the paper will argue that Multi-country studies should be treated as a distinct sub-field of survey research, and not a simple extension of national surveys. As such they deserve to be defined in terms of their distinct standards. These standards may apply to all phases of survey research such as the following 6 steps in a typical survey. 1- Study Design; 2- Questionnaire design and translation; 3- Sampling framework; 4- Field-work norms; 5- Data Coding and processing guidelines; 6- Analysis categories and Report Writing. In part 2, the paper will address each topic to explain the difference introduced by adopting a global-centric as opposed to a state-centric approach to multi-country surveys. In part 3 the paper will analyze a number of multi-country surveys to demonstrate the problems confronted by not adopting a global-centric approach. In part 4 the paper will present a number of case studies (based on multi-country survey data) to compare the findings through the lens of both global-centric and state-centric approaches to make a case for the suitability of global-centric approach.

### **Multi-Country Surveys as a Policy Instrument in the New Globalized World of 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reflections on 10 years of Asia Barometer**

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

This paper will be written in the context of the Conference theme which focuses on the new era (21st Century) and new methodologies. It will particularly focus on the new spaces or places by highlighting the experience of multi-country surveys conducted in Asia during the last 10 years. Considering that WAPOR is holding its first international conference in Asia the paper should suit the occasion. The paper will be divided into 3 parts. The first



part will introduce the need to consider the impact of globalization on opinion research. A "globalized" public is a new reality of the 21st century in which global consumer markets and experiences, global media, global social movements and global political compulsions are likely to develop distinct attitudes and opinions across traditional boundaries of national states. We may see the emergence of a spectrum of "globalized publics". Some publics may score high while others may score low on the globalized public' scale. This new reality gives a fresh twist to the notion of the plural "publics" introduced by Walter Lippmann nearly one hundred years ago, which played an important role in the emergence of scientific public opinion research. The publics may be within a nation-state, or cut across nations. The view of these multi-national publics can be best explored through multi-country surveys. Part 2 will deal with the notion of public opinion as a factor in making foreign policy. Much of the current literature focuses on the role of domestic opinion in foreign policy making. However we now live in a world in which transnational constituencies of opinion have become a factor in foreign policy making. Consequently, we require multi-country opinion research. In Part 3 the author will build upon his experience of being the leader of Asia Barometer, a multi-country survey done in several waves spanning over the last 10 years. In this part the author will identify "transnational publics" across 28 Asian countries in which the surveys were conducted. It will explore whether and what kind of transnational publics exist across Asian nations and its cultures spanning, among other, large populations belonging to Confucian, Hindu and Muslim societies. In summary the paper will be based upon 10 years of Asia Barometer data to explore issues related to public opinion and foreign policy making in a new globalized world and new methodologies of multi-country opinion surveys.

### **Media and Multi-country Survey: Communicating with "global publics"**

*Doug Miller, Globescan, USA*

*Bilal Gilani, Gallup Pakistan, Pakistan*

Sharing polling results with the public via the media is a key component of democracy and something social scientists see as part of our responsibility to the millions of citizens who answer our surveys each year. To do so globally is particularly important in today's world, so in need of mutual understanding across geographic, cultural and religious divides.

Since 2004, GlobeScan has been privileged to collaborate with the BBC World

Service on a twice-annual poll of representative samples of adults across 20+ countries on five continents around the world. Working closely with Dr. Steven Kull, Director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland, an approach has been developed that allows average citizens in industrialised and developing nations to have a voice on the most significant issues of the day, and to make this voice heard in settings where these issues are being discussed.

This paper presents a behind-the-scenes look at The BBC World Service Poll, the world's longest-standing - and still largest - global media poll. It presents some of the interesting findings emerging from the poll over recent years, which range from the serious (views of capitalism and the free market; and perceptions of different countries' influence in the world) to the less serious (views of online dating.) But as well as the end results, the paper explores the process involved in conducting the study; the identification of newsworthy and agenda-setting topics that address BBC programme-makers' agenda, the pivotal role of GlobeScan's field partners around the world who collect the data and give local insight, and the collaborative way by which poll findings are turned into news releases through a combination of polling and journalistic insight.

#### **Session IV D**

#### **Questionnaire Design and Techniques**

**Panel Chair: Ellen L. Marks, RTI International, China**

#### **The Effects of Providing Middle Options in Mail Surveys**

*Noriko Onodera, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroko Murata, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroshi Aramaki, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Kei Kono, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Miwako Hara, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Kumiko Nishi, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

*Hiroshi Nakaaki, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Japan*

The NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute has been conducting comparative studies on surveying methodology since 2008. In March 2010, the authors carried out an experimental mail survey with the same questions

used in a face-to-face public opinion survey series “The Japanese and Television.” This study focuses on findings from the comparison of distributions of responses in self-administered mail surveys and interviewer-administered face-to-face surveys. This paper investigates whether the presence of middle options in self-administered mail surveys affects the response tendency. Two types of questionnaires, one with middle options such as “Neither agree nor disagree” and the other without these options were used and the difference in distributions of responses was analyzed. When middle options were provided, other options showed low response rates, and vice versa. But it was also found that the balance between the extreme opposite response options remained the same. The survey also indicated that order of questions and questionnaire layout may influence the response rates of middle options. Questions asking the actual conditions of the respondents had lower rates of middle options. It is essential for researchers to give sufficient consideration not only to the content of questions but also to various other factors such as the order of questions and numbers and forms of options in designing questionnaires.

#### **Item Sum: A New Technique for Asking Quantitative Sensitive Questions**

*Mark Trappmann, Institute for Employment Research, Germany*

*Ivar Krumpal, University of Leipzig, Germany*

*Antje Kirchner, Institute for Employment Research, Germany*

*Ben Jann, University of Bern, Switzerland*

This article joins an ongoing debate about how to measure sensitive topics in population surveys. We propose a novel technique that can be applied to the measurement of quantitative sensitive variables: the item sum technique (IST). This method is closely related to the item count technique (ICT), which was developed for the measurement of dichotomous sensitive items as an alternative to the well known randomized response technique (RRT). First, we provide a description of our new technique and discuss how data collected by the IST can be analyzed. In particular we provide regression estimators that can be used to quantify the effects of covariates on the sensitive variable collected by IST. Second, we present the results of a CATI survey on illicit work and moonlighting in Germany, in which the technique has been applied. The survey was conducted in 2010 using a sample of employed people and a sample of people qualifying for basic income support ( $N = 3.211$ ). Based on an

experimental design, we compare the IST to direct questioning. Our empirical results indicate that the IST is a promising data collection technique, able to yield higher estimates of the socially undesirable behavior than direct questioning. Furthermore we present a model explaining the amount of illicit work by variables measuring expected individual gains and costs, opportunity structures and attitudes towards illicit work. Finally, limitations of the new technique are pointed out and options for improvements in future studies are delineated.

### **Methods of measuring response effects in surveys and implications for understanding their causes**

*Caroline Roberts, University of Lausanne, Switzerland*

*Emily Gilbert, University of Essex, UK*

*Nick Allum, University of Essex, UK*

An important endeavour in the field of survey methodology has been to try to understand the causes of response effects in surveys, in order to find ways to minimise their occurrence and their negative impact on data quality. One of the most influential approaches in this domain has drawn on cognitive models of the response process, arguing that measurement errors are more likely to occur when respondents reduce the amount of effort needed to execute the cognitive task of survey response optimally. When respondents 'satisfice', they tend to provide answers that merely appear satisfactory, as a result of executing the response process less thoroughly or shortcutting processes altogether (Krosnick, 1991). Certain questionnaire design features are assumed to facilitate satisficing by providing respondents with 'easy-to-select, easy to defend' response options (Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink, 2005) resulting in specific types of response effect such as non-differentiation (associated with presenting batteries of items with the same response scale), primacy and recency effects (associated with the visual and aural presentation of long lists of alternatives), acquiescence (associated with dichotomous yes/no or agree/disagree questions) and no-opinion reporting (associated with offering an explicit 'Don't Know' option) (see Krosnick, 1991 for details). In the past twenty years, satisficing theory has influenced a large body of research into survey measurement errors, and has become increasingly popular as a framework for evaluating the quality of survey data collected via different survey modes. However, there is considerable variation in the

methods used in applications of the theory, a factor that may partially account for the relatively mixed results obtained in relation to different types of response effect. In the present study, we present findings from a systematic review of the literature on satisficing, focusing specifically on the different ways in which researchers have constructed indicators of different forms of satisficing and the implications this appears to have for conclusions about the apparent causes of variations in response quality. We explore the relationship between methods of measuring satisficing and the empirical evidence that has been generated in relation to the theory's central claims. Based on our analysis, we draw conclusions about the validity of satisficing theory in relation to different types of response effect, and make recommendations regarding optimal methods for future research into survey response effects and assessments of data quality.

### **Web+Mail as a Mixed-Mode Solution to General Public Survey Challenges in the United States**

*Don A. Dillman, Washington State University, USA*

*Benjamin Messer, Washington State University, USA*

In the United States, a sharp increase in telephone coverage problems and dramatically lower response rates are bringing into question the effectiveness of the traditional RDD telephone methodology. This situation has prompted interest in address-based sampling using residential addresses, which is now recognized as our best sample frame for household surveys of the general public. In this paper I will summarize results from six recent experiments my research team has conducted, the aim of which has been to identify ways of using this sample frame in conjunction with self-administered surveys (web and mail) for conducting studies of public opinion. These studies show that it is possible to achieve response rates of 45-70%, which are far higher than any that can be achieved by telephone, with about 2/3 of the responses coming over the web. However, these studies also show that web respondents are dramatically different from those who respond in a follow-up mail request, and when the web and mail results are combined the demographics come significantly closer to representing the U.S. general public than does web alone. The results of these experiments are promising, but also raise many fundamental concerns about the consequences of using self-administered surveys that rely on visual communication without the aid of an interviewer.

My overarching purpose in this paper is examine the likely consequences of shifting towards mixed-mode designs using visual methods of surveying public opinion. This presentation will provide insights into the long-term promise of these methods in the United States as well as other countries.

#### ***Session IV E***

#### **Internet and Public Opinions in China**

***Panel Chair: Hong Chen, Communication School of East China Normal University, China***

#### **An Empirical Study of the Impact of Internet Public Opinion on Chinese Public Policy**

*Yungeng Xie, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

*Ping Wang, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

*Xuanao Wan, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China*

With the development of new media, Chinese media ecological environment has changed enormously. Chinese citizens can discuss the issues they considered important via internet, turning them into part of the public agenda and thus affecting the process of policy agenda. The paper chooses 205 from 1420 popular public opinion events, the ones which have affected public policy, and gives a preliminary description about the impact of public opinion on public policy through statistical analysis techniques. According to the research, the impact of social public opinion on national public policy was increasing year by year; national and social livelihood events, currently hot issues have the greatest influences on public policy; the events first exposed by newspaper and internet news often have significant influences on public policy; the public opinion factors that influence public policy include the types of events and whether there is the participation of third party.

#### **Digital Divide and Internet Use in China: Can the Internet Facilitate Citizenship Engagement?**

*Zhongdang Pan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA,*

*Gang Jing, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Yang Liu, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Wenjie Yan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Jiawen Zheng, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

Analyzing the merged data from sample surveys conducted in all 31 provinces of the People's Republic of China, this study explores the relationship between Internet use and citizenship engagement in that transitional society. It depicts a picture of large variations in both levels of Internet penetration and citizen engagement across various socio-geographic units in this vast country. Such variations are shown to register the uneven socio-economic development. Placed in this context, individual-level analysis via multi-level modeling shows the effects of the variables on individuals' (1) possession of material and civic competence resources, (2) psychological involvement, and (3) media use, including Internet use, on the likelihood and extent of citizen engagement. The analysis also shows that the effects of media and Internet use vary significantly across geographic units. The paper situates empirical analyses in the theoretical context of social embeddedness of the Internet and the conditions for democratizing effects of the medium.

**Internet facilitated civic engagement in China's context: a case study of the Internet event of Wenzhou high-speed train accident**

*Xiaowen Xu, Columbia University, USA*

The Internet events in China have attracted a lot of attention in studying the impact of new communication techniques on civic engagement and development of online public sphere. By analyzing the case of the Wenzhou high-speed train accident in July, 2011, this thesis explores a broad scenario where netizens apply the Internet in different ways and for different goals, including information flow, online activism, charity, and rumor refutation. The thesis attempts to show how netizens' use of the Internet affects the state-society dynamics and their relationship with other social actors, in what way it suggests improvement in China's civil society, and why these characteristics and functions of the Internet have come into being.

**Internet Use, Social Network, and Civic Participation in Urban China**

*Jianwen Zheng, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Zhongdang Pan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

Democratic potentials of the Internet have been a salient research topic. To what extent would the advent of the Internet in a transitional authoritarian society facilitate civic participation and opinion expressions among the general

public? To address this question with a focus on urban China, this study analyzed data of seven major Chinese cities extracted from a nationwide representative sample survey. The results show that, taking into account the effects of the variables representing resource-possession and psychological conditions, social networking and Internet use variables are related to both higher levels of civic participation and expressive engagement.

### **Recontextualizing and Reconstructing Political Discourse: An Analysis of Political Engagement on Sina Weibo**

*Miao Feng, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*

*Siyan Yin, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*

Micro-blogging has been one of the most popular communication tools in China, reported to have 195 million users by June 2011(CNNIC, 2011). Among the Chinese service providers, Sina Weibo (hereafter Weibo), launched in August 2009, presently claims more than 140 million users by March, 2011 (Sina Tech, 2011). The nature of micro-blogging and the rapid diffusion of mobile telephony (CNNIC, 2011) have increasingly attracted the users. One consequence of such popularity leads Weibo to become an important information source and a new public opinion field. It makes more people to participate in public events and political issues, such as

Wenzhou train collision in July, 2011 and the death of King Jong-il. Compared to the traditional media such as printed media and television, the digital environment encourages more ordinary people to be involved in the content production and dissemination, especially political issues. The government official media call for more "participatory citizens" when addressing Weibo's importance in building an open and transparent society (People's Daily, 2011). However, due to the tensions between the government control and the growth of technologies, the content on Weibo is also a product of multi-filtered techniques in China. The current study is built on and aims to extend the previous researches on people's political engagement and expression via various communication networks in China. Some of them examine the government's role in regulating the use of new technologies (Qiu, 2004), the form of internet censorship (Dai, 2000; Tsui, 2003; Zhang, 2006; Shirk, 2010), the internet activism (Yang, 2003, 2009; Zhou, 2006) and the alternative online political expressions (Meng, 2011). Another group of



scholars analyze the language use on the Chinese mobile telephone (He, 2008) and argue that language use as a social practice in online community (Yuan, 2011).

This study primarily explores people's language use and their (re)construction of political discourse on Weibo. The authors will perform a discourse analysis of micro-blogs containing the discussion of "political discourse" and "political vocabulary" on Weibo, including the original posts and comments. The analysis is based on the tradition of discourse analysis framework, which helps to understand the constitutive relationship between language and its social norms and provide empirical basis for this research (Fairclough, 1995, 2000; van Dijk, 1997). By examining the texts on Weibo, the authors also hope to extend the research scope to explore the magnitude of people's engagement in discussing and potentially formulating new political discourse online. The authors will systematically identify the major themes of the micro-blogs and clarify the elements in each theme. Usually political discourse or vocabulary is understood as a one-way communicating message from the official language universe in China. The authors also expect to examine the possibilities that Weibo provides to its users to respond to such official message by using the same official language, or the popular language or other alternative forms. By doing this, the authors could provide more in-depth insights on the wider political and social implications of using Weibo to understand people's political engagement in the newer digital environment in China.

### ***Session V A***

#### **East Asian Social Survey**

***Panel Chair: Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea***

#### **Diverging Paths to Happiness: Empirical Evidences from the EASS 2010**

***Ly-Yun Chang, Academia Sinica, Taiwan***

In light of the theory of social solidarity, this study explores the similarity and difference among Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese on the effects of social solidarity on happiness. Social solidarity is defined as fairness and social reciprocity. EASS 2010 Health module data of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are used for the analysis. Preliminary analysis provides some interesting findings:

1) Taiwanese reports a higher level of happiness than Korean and Japanese; 2) when sex, age, and marital status are taken into account, contrary to the expectation, people living in rural area reports a lower level of happiness than those in urban area; 3) consistent to the social solidarity theory, self reported social strata significantly predicts the level of happiness. Happiness benefit of social strata is found; 4) compared to the Taiwanese, Japanese receive less benefit of being happy from subjective social strata, while Korea receive the least amount of happiness benefit of social strata.

### **Medical Care and Oriental Alternative Medicine in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan**

*Noriko Iwai, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan*

*Hideaki Uenohara, Osaka University of Commerce, Japan*

Based on the EASS 2010 Health module dataset, this study examines the following three points. First, it overviews the health status and health behavior of Chinese, Japanese, South Korean and Taiwanese men and women aged 20-89: self-rated health status (SF-12), frequency of seeing a doctor, chronic diseases, B.M.I., smoking, alcohol habits, and physical activity. Second, it examines a factor structure of self-rated health status of Chinese, Japanese and South Korean. Previous studies in western culture found two factors, physical and mental. But a Japanese team which accommodated the SF-36 into Japan proposed that a three-component model fit better in Japan and also in other Asian countries: physical, emotional, and role/social. It seems that three-component model does not fit in China and South Korea. Finally, this study examines what kind of people use alternative oriental medical care in China, Japan, South Korean and Taiwan: oriental herbal medicine, acupuncture/ moxibation, and acupressure/clinical massage.

### **Factors Leading to the Desired Body Weight in Korea and Japan**

*Sang-Wook Kim, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea*

With a prevalent social emphasis on the weight control and an introduction of Western style of eating meals, an increasing number of populace nowadays prefers a slimmer body shape, often irrespective to its actual body weight. This concern has long been recurrent in the area of medical sociology and health-related studies, especially in the Western societies. Not much is known,

however, concerning what indeed accounts for the preference to a body shape in East Asia. This study thus tries to empirically identify the explanatory factors for the preference by analyzing the latest (2010) Health module survey of the EASS (East Asian Social Survey) data set. Results of data analysis in Korea and Japan indicate several interesting factors that include, most important, the BMI, health status, socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The findings are interpreted substantially in a cross-cultural context with providing a few recommendations for further studies.

### **American Attitudes toward Japan and China, 1937-2011**

*Faith Laken, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Jibum Kim, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

Gathering polling items about China and Japan, we examine how Americans think about these two powerful East Asian countries. Our study describes what kind of polling items were asked in the US toward these countries. To illustrate, according to one of the first polling items asked in the US concerning Japan in 1937, of 1,500 American adults, 43% sympathized with China, 2% with Japan, and 55% responded neither. By tracking repetitive items, we provide American attitude change over the years toward these two countries. In a short term trend about economic power in the world today, in 2008 43% of Americans responded the US was the leading economic power, 30% China, and 10% Japan. In 2011, China (43%) trumped the US (38%) and Japan (6%). Our study of polling items reveals the history of American attitudes toward China and Japan.

### **Assessing Measurement Invariance in the Attitude to Marriage Scale across East Asian Societies**

*Xiaowen Zhu, Xian Jaotong University, China*

*Yanjie Bian, Xian Jaotong University, China*

In comparative social science research, it is essential to establish measurement invariance for relevant constructs across different cultures and political economies. If this “measurement invariance (MI)” assumption is violated, any comparisons and interpretations will be invalid and misleading. In this paper we reviewed the main approaches for assessing measurement

invariance – confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and item response theory (IRT). CFA is the most popular and traditional method for evaluating measurement invariance. IRT is another technique that researchers have recently used to test MI. Based on the 2006 EASS module on family, we applied these two methods to the assessment of the measurement invariance in the attitude to marriage scale across four East Asian societies (China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan). In the CFA framework, a hierarchical multiple-group CFA models were estimated and compared using the LISREL8.8 program in order to test different types of invariance – configural equivalence, weak equivalence, and strong equivalence. In the IRT framework, the logistic regression procedure was used to detect the items with differential item functioning (DIF). The methods provided different information regarding the invariance of the EASS marriage scale.

### **Session V B**

#### **Media Effects, Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming II**

**Panel Chair:** *Thomas Roessing, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Germany*

#### **Online Engagement and Political Participation: Reception, Expression and Sharing in Facebook Groups and Discussion Forums**

*Stephanie Jean Tsang, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

This study examined college students' use of Internet for political purposes with regards to one of the most controversial issue, Housing Ownership Scheme (HOS), in Hong Kong in 2011. Reception, expression and sharing in both Facebook Groups and discussion forums were assessed in relation to political participation. Data from a survey of college students (N = 863) showed significant positive relationships between Facebook Group use in general and political participation. With regards to the specific uses in both platforms, only forum expression and sharing were significantly related to participation. Implications are discussed for political use of online engagement for young adults.

#### **Voter Advise Applications in Practice: Answers to Some Key Questions from Turkey**

*Thomas Vitiello, Sabanci University, Turkey*

*Ali Çarkoglu, Koç University, Turkey*

*Mert Moral, Koç University, Turkey*

In this article we investigate the effect of the media events that promoted the Turkish Voter Advice Application website ([www.oypusulasi.org](http://www.oypusulasi.org)) in the 2011 Turkish Parliamentary elections. Our research design combines data on the dates and medium used for the promotion of the VAA with factual data on the number of connections received, the recommendations received by users, and the 'propensity to vote' (PTV) for each party by users. By running a multiple-interrupted time series (MITS) model, we find that there is a 'double-screen' effect in the promotion campaign. In fact, the VAA was promoted through traditional media, such as television and newspapers, and through internet-based communications. We also find that the political parallelism characterizing the Turkish media system has an important impact on the composition of the users. Voters supporting conservative parties only were attracted to the website when conservative leaning media mentioned it.

### **Discussing Occupying Wall Street on Twitter: Longitudinal Network Analysis of Equality, Emotion, and Stability of Public Discuss**

*Chengjun Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Pianpian Wang, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

To evaluate the quality of public discussion on Twitter and to understand the evolution of longitudinal discussion network, we analyze the tweets of occupying Wall Street lasting 16 days by investigating the relationships among equality, emotion, and stability of online discussion. The results reveal that, first, the discussion is highly unequal for both initiating a discussion and being spoken to in the conversation; and second, the stability of discussion for receivers is much higher than that of senders; third, inequality moderates the stability of online discussion; fourth the emotion expressed in online discussion is relatively balanced and stable, however there is no significant relationship between emotion and political discussion (e.g. frequency, and standard deviation). The implications shed light on understanding the structural features and evolutions of public discussion, and linking political discussion with online social movement.

## **Selectivity in Blogosphere: the Potential for Exposure to Political Information in Non-Political Blogs**

*Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA*

*Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA*

Some scholars have become concerned that the increased media choice online and greater potential for filtering media content may lead to greater selectivity, where individuals have a fragmented information diet by pursuing non-political or supporting partisan information at the expense of political or dissenting political viewpoints. Using manually coded content analysis, this study tests the selectivity hypotheses by analyzing blog posts. Particularly, unlike previous research on selectivity in blogosphere that solely focuses on political blogs with a simplistic operationalization of blog content, this study fills the gap in literature by analyzing the extent to which and how popular phrases in online spaces during the 2008 U.S. presidential elections are presented in political and non-political blogs. The findings reveal that, while relatively infrequent, political phrases do appear in non-political blogs and cross-ideological citations (e.g., right-leaning phrases are cited in left-leaning blogs) exist in blogosphere.

### **Session V C**

#### **Public Opinion at Good / Bad Times**

**Panel Chair: Ching-Hsin Yu,, National Chengchi University, Taiwan**

#### **Tracking suffering and economic deprivation in the Philippines over time**

*Mahar Mangahas, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

*Linda Luz B. Guerrero, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

In the Philippines, Social Weather Stations ([www.sws.org.ph](http://www.sws.org.ph)) has conducted and publicly reported many statistically-representative national surveys of social, economic and political well-being. SWS constantly tracks economic deprivation, as measured by self-rated poverty (quarterly since 1992) and involuntary hunger (quarterly since 1998) since eradicating poverty and hunger are popularly and officially recognized as national goals. Since 1985, families that self-rate as poor (on a scale that also includes “not poor” and “border-line”) have ranged between 74 percent and 43 percent, with a

broadly downward trend, but with high quarterly volatility. Since 1998, families that involuntarily (qualified by “not having anything to eat”) experienced hunger in the past three months have ranged between 23.8 percent and 5.1 percent. Hunger has had high quarterly volatility, and an upward trend since 2004; it is classified as “moderate” (if experienced only once or a few times) or “severe” (if experienced often or always).

The SWS surveys also have data on suffering, derivable from items on (a) happiness, in 21 survey rounds over 1991-2011, and (b) life-satisfaction, in 18 rounds over 2002 to 2012Q1. Both items use four-point answer scales, where the lower two points indicate “moderate suffering” and “extreme suffering”. Since 1991, the only years without at least one suffering indicator were 1992-95, 1997, 1999, and 2009. In the data-series, those “unhappy” (i.e., not very or not at all happy) have fluctuated between 8 and 24 percent, and those “dissatisfied with life” (i.e., not very or not at all satisfied with life) have fluctuated between 14 percent and 39 percent. Using all SWS surveys with requisite data, this paper shows how the suffering of the poor exceeds that of the non-poor, and the suffering of the hungry exceeds that of the non-hungry. The deviations measure the social accountability for a significant extent of suffering.

### **Perception of Economic Conditions and Support for Democratic Free Market System: The case of Poland**

*Krzysztof Zagorski, Kozminski University, Poland*

Political science and public opinion surveys prove importance of the so called “economic voting” in many countries of various levels of economic development and various democratic traditions. It is now universally acknowledged that voting behavior is influenced by economic moods of the voters and that it depends more on their perceptions of the nation's economic situation than of their own subjective and objective material conditions. The proposed paper will attempt to assess the influences exerted by evaluations and - more importantly - expectations of public and private economic conditions (“public versus private purse” concerns, as political scientists use to say) on public attitudes to different aspects of the free market economy, postulates concerning the state interventionism and the pro-democracy stance rather than just on the voting for political parties or presidential candidates. Relative strength of evaluations versus expectations and private

versus public economic concerns will be investigated by multi-variable statistical analysis. Public legitimacy of free market democracy will be the finally explained variables. The analyzed data are from a series of representative public opinion surveys of Polish adult population. That will allow to compare investigated relations on different stages of Polish transformation from state socialism to free market democracy. The paper will be written in a broader reference frame of "economic imagination" research.

### **Are We A Greener Nation Now? Trends in Pro-Environmental Behaviors of Filipinos (1993-2010)**

*Gianne Sheena S. Sabio, Social Weather Stations, Philippines*

The Philippines has been lauded for having an excellent legal framework for ensuring ecological sustainability. Environment-oriented organizations have also gained greater support since the late 1980s and 1990s. Whether or not initiatives of the government and other sector have translated into concrete changes at the level of individual citizens remains a question.

In the light of this context, the present study aims to analyze trends in pro-environmental behaviors of Filipinos through time. Using data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), the study analyzes trends in pro-environmental behaviors of Filipinos in three time periods: 1993, 2000, and 2010. Pro-environmental behaviors were classified into *private* (or household-oriented) and *collective* (or society-oriented) types. Results show high engagement in private pro-environmental behaviors across all time periods. However, participation in collective social actions for the environment remained low. Minimal variations between males and females were found. Differences were more apparent by social class, showing higher engagement among the middle-to-upper group (ABC class). Urban residents had generally greater engagement in private environmentally-oriented activities.

### **Facing a Crisis with Calmness? Citizens Respond to the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster**

*Yuichi Kubota, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*



Literature expects that an attitude toward nuclear power is in direct proportion to the perceived risk of accidents at operational nuclear power plant; that is, the oppositional attitude is based on the view that nuclear technology is risky and support for nuclear power is related to a perceived low risk and/or potential benefit. However, it is misleading to assume that individuals' risk perception alone can linearly explain their position after such an accident. The association between risk perception and attitude toward nuclear power varies significantly according to country but, until now, has been largely unexamined. This article takes into consideration the effects of structural factors on that relationship by examining public attitudes toward nuclear energy after the Fukushima nuclear accident in March 2011 and reveals that the need for the efficient production of electricity (i.e., nuclear energy) outweighs concern for the potential danger of a nuclear incident. Although a country's dependence on nuclear power for the production of electricity engenders anti-nuclear attitudes, it is evident that a level of economic development largely alleviates any negativity relative to that energy source.

### **PSI: Towards a New Index of Public Opinion**

*Edward Tai, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

*Robert Chung, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*

Hong Kong is the only city in the world which has evolved from a British colony to an international city of China under "one country, two systems". Over the past decades, Hong Kong has experienced both good and bad times, socially, politically and economically. In order to study the underlying forces of opinion change, the authors have capitalized on the data collected from Hong Kong over twenty years of tracking surveys on people's views on various social, political and economical issues, conducted by the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong, to construct a Public Sentiment Index (PSI), which integrates people's satisfaction with the social environment with that of government performance. At the current stage of index construction, two sub-indices have been constructed, namely, "government appraisal" and "society appraisal", each of which comprises 4 indicators combined in various ways. PSI is designed to simplify the presentation of different forces which affect public opinion, by means of some readily understood indices, on a scale of 0-200. This presentation explains the construction process of the PSI, and

examines how PSI can be used to study public sentiment in both good and bad times. The ultimate target of this PSI is to predict the occurrence of social disorder and/or governance crisis.

### ***Session V D***

#### **Public Opinion and World Value**

***Panel Chair: Allan L. McCutcheon, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA***

#### **Coalition Preferences in Multiparty Systems**

*Michael F. Meffert, Leiden University, The Netherlands*

*Thomas Gschwend, University of Mannheim, Germany*

Coalition preferences in multiparty systems have received increasing attention in recent years, both as an additional political preference that can explain vote decisions above and beyond party preferences, and even as a superordinate political identity. In this paper, we use survey data from the 2006 Austrian and the 2009 German election campaigns to investigate the structure and accessibility of party and coalition preferences as well as the extent to which coalition preferences can be explained by party preferences and other affective and cognitive factors such as candidates, ideology, and issue positions. The evidence suggests that coalitions are indeed more than simple averages of the member parties, but that questions about most coalitions are associated with longer response times than similar questions about parties and candidates. Coalition preferences are only partially predicted by party preferences and other political preferences, with considerable variation between existing and real coalitions on the one hand and hypothetical and abstract coalitions on the other hand. The former are retrieved faster and can be explained better with existing political preferences, something that largely fails for the latter preferences. Overall, coalition preferences emerge as a fairly independent factor in multiparty systems.

#### **Is Trust in Institutions General or Differentiated? An analysis of data from the World Value Survey**

*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

*Charles T. Salmon, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

The subject of individual trust in institutions has become an important subject of social scientific investigation and debate. There is a substantial literature on the level of trust that individuals have for other individuals and groups, and several studies on trust in information from various sources and groups (Granovetter, 1973; Fukuyama, 1995; Rahn & Transue, 1998; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Ladd, 1996; Paxton, 1998; Inkeles, 2000). Although some studies have focused on trust in a limited range of institutions or authorities (physicians, government agencies, political groups), many studies appear to assume that individuals have or hold a generalized trust toward all institutions or organizations, or at least toward large clusters of similar institutions (Hill, 1981; Stolle, 1998; Damico, Conway, & Damico, 2000; Cook & Gronke, 2005). An equally plausible hypothesis would be that most individuals have and exercise the ability to differentiate among institutions in terms of confidence or trust in those institutions (Brehm & Rahn, 1997).

This proposed paper will utilize existing data from the current cycle of the World Values Survey (WVS) to examine under what conditions trust in institutions is generalized or differentiated. In the 2011-12 cycle of the WVS, each respondent is asked to indicate the level of confidence that they have in each of 19 major societal institutions. Although the full WVS data set will include approximately 70 countries, we view this analysis as the first step in an extended analysis and will focus on six countries as case studies. This case study approach will allow us to examine the patterns of trust in each society, taking into account some of the recent political and social history of that society.

For this purpose, we will focus on Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Russia, Spain, and the United States. These countries provide a broad set of contexts, ranging from a long tradition of institutional independence in the United States to a restricted range of institutional independence in Russia (Paxton, 1999; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Gibson, 2001; Letki, 2004, 2006; Johnson, 2005). Spain has had several decades of open democratic politics after several years of oppression and now exemplifies an open democratic system (Listhaug, 1984; Inkeles, 2000; Nooteboom, 2007; Miller & Pardo, 2000). Japan and Mexico are emerging from long periods of domination by a single political party, and both have displayed a healthy level of competition in recent elections (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994; Miller, Pardo, & Niwa, 1997; Miller & Pardo, 2000; Miller & Mitamura, 2003). Malaysia has a multi-party political system with a rotating

monarch elected from among nine hereditary provincial monarchs. It is a predominately Muslim society with a substantial minority of Buddhists, and it reflects a society in transition from traditional to more modern values and processes (Rothstein & Uslaner, 2005; Johnson, 2005, Letki, 2004, 2006). These six cases studies will provide an important set of contexts within which to examine the patterns of institutional trust.

Based on ongoing work in the United States, we expect to find that most adults are able to differentiate the level of trust they accord various institutions, but some adults will display a generalized or undifferentiated level of trust or distrust in institutions and the authorities they reflect. Our analysis will involve three stages.

In our initial analysis, we will utilize a set of confirmatory factor analyses (using LISREL) to examine under what conditions the pattern or structure of trust is universal or differentiated. Separate analyses will be conducted for each country and then for all six countries combined. If all of the institutions were to load strongly and positively on a single factor, we would take that result to indicate a pattern of generalized trust. To confirm that interpretation, we would compute a trust score for all institutions and separate trust scores of sets of institutions and examine the level of correlation or association among these scores.

If we find a number of institutions that load weakly on a single factor or if we find that it is impossible to derive a single factor solution, we would take that result as evidence that there is some differentiation in trust in institutions. To confirm this interpretation, we would compute a trust score for all institutions and separate trust scores of selected sets of institutions and examine the patterns of association or correlation. The observation of low positive correlations or of negative correlations would support an interpretation of differentiation in institutional trust. We note that we have done this analysis with WVS and other data in the U.S. and found a pattern of differential trust. We have not performed these analyses with data from other nations and this proposed paper will present that work.

In a second stage of analysis, we will identify and profile those individuals within each country that display a high level of differentiation in institutional trust. We will be able to identify individuals that provide a more uniform positive expression of institutional trust and those individuals who indicate a more uniform negative level of institutional trust. We will use a set of structural equation models (SEM) within each country to identify and measure

the major factors that contribute to higher levels of differentiated trust in institutions - age, gender, education, religiosity, current economic status, and social capital. We will then do a multiple group analysis of these patterns, treating each country as a group within a multi-group SEM, which will provide standardized coefficients across the six countries.

In a third stage, we will add a set of societal measures to the multi-group SEM to assess the impact of societal factors on individual levels of institutional trust. Norris and Inglehart (2009) have assembled a comprehensive set of relevant societal factors and we have access to all of those variables.

Substantively, it is important to resolve the question of whether trust in institutions is generalized or differentiated for several reasons. First, theories or models that involve trust may mis-specify important relationships if the investigator makes a wrong assumption about this issue. Second, it is possible that we will find different patterns in different countries and, if so, this will have important implications for cross-national studies and for theory building. Finally, if this analysis proves to be useful, it may become a model for examining constructs and assumptions across societies and nations.

### **The Credibility of Credibility Measures: A Meta-Analysis in Leading Communication Journals, 1951-2011**

*Lea C. Hellmueller, University of Missouri & University of Fribourg, USA*

*Damian Trilling, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

The construct of credibility has received more scholarly attention than most other communication variables. In a systematic meta-analysis of leading international communication journals (1951–2011), we examined how source, message, and media credibility are conceptualized and measured. Results suggest that various scales to measure credibility reveal inconsistency in theoretical reflection, lack operational precision, and led to insufficient replication and validation of the credibility construct. The findings provide a critical examination of 60 years of credibility research in media and communication studies.

### **Civic Life and Democratic Citizenship in Qatar**

*Justin Gengler, Qatar University, Qatar*

*Mark Tessler, University of Michigan, USA*

For decades, Western democracy promotion efforts have tended to focus on strengthening civil society and stimulating civic engagement as methods of encouraging the emergence of a democratic political culture. This is nowhere more true than in the Arab world. Between 1991 and 2001, some \$150 million dollars—more than half of all U.S. funding for democracy promotion in the Middle East—went toward this goal. Yet new public opinion data from the first-ever Qatar World Values Survey (QWVS), administered in December 2010 by the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) of Qatar University, calls into question this presumed relationship between civic participation and democratic culture. This is because, in fact, civic participation in Qatar is actually associated not only with reduced support for democracy itself, but also with a disproportionate lack of those values and behaviors thought to be essential to it, including confidence in government institutions and social tolerance. In Qatar, the QWVS reveals, civic participation cannot lead individuals toward a greater appreciation for democracy, for it is precisely those who least value democracy that tend to be most actively engaged in civil society. The QWVS asked respondents about various norms and behaviors said to be important in begetting or sustaining democratic political institutions, including about social tolerance, political interest, appreciation for democracy, confidence in government institutions, and participation in civil society organizations. Contrary to the assumptions of present Mideast democratization efforts, however, it found that civil society participation does not lead individuals toward a greater appreciation for democracy, nor toward a democratic political culture. Instead, male and female Qataris who channel their social, economic, and political ambitions through participation in civic associations are disproportionately likely to be less tolerant of others, less oriented toward democracy, and less confident in formal governmental institutions. These findings are the result of a careful multivariate statistical analysis, which offers a strong foundation for inferring, albeit not proving, causality. Thus, overall, it seems clear that associational life in Qatar does not seem to be an incubator of democracy.

### **Opinion leadership as a predictor of political information behavior in Japan**

*Shinichi Saito, Tokyo Woman's Christian University, Japan*

*Toshio Takeshita, Meiji University, Japan*

*Tetsuro Inaba, Hitotsubashi University, Japan*

This study revisits the concept of opinion leadership and examines the extent to which this classical concept is valid in explaining the patterns of voters' information behavior in a new media environment. Although the concept of opinion leadership was first introduced by Lazarsfeld and his colleagues more than 60 years ago (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), interest in this concept has reemerged in recent years (Shah & Scheufele, 2006). Recent research has highlighted the importance of the idea of opinion leadership even in the Internet age. The estimated number of Internet users in Japan has increased explosively over the past decade. According to the MPHPT estimates, the number of Internet users reached 94.6 million at the end of 2010, signifying a penetration rate of 78.2% (MPHPT, 2011). For a long period of time, the traditional media such as newspapers and television have served as the mainstream political media. However, this situation has undergone a gradual change in recent years. While newspapers and television still play a crucial role in political coverage, the Internet in general and online/social media in particular have become important sources of political information for Japanese citizens. The Internet has a great potential to change the information behavior regarding politics.

On the other hand, Japan lags behind other industrial countries in the new forms of political participation due to several reasons. For example, the Public Offices Election Law currently bans the updating of web pages that carry candidates' opinions and sending e-mail newsletters during election campaigns, although the debate over lifting the ban on Internet use as a means of conducting election campaigns has acquired momentum. As several surveys show, most electorates still depend on the traditional media, and Internet usage for acquiring political information is still limited.

Then, who are the active user of the Internet, eagerly seeking political information from it? Are they different from the consumers of traditional mass media? In order to answer these research questions, an online survey was conducted soon after the 2010 Upper House election. The sample for the online survey was drawn from Internet users who had registered in the respondent directory of a marketing research firm. Six hundred respondents who lived in the Greater Tokyo Area (one metropolis, three prefectures) answered the questionnaire online during July 16 and July 21, 2010.

Using two question items, we divided the respondents into three categories: political opinion leaders (24.0%), opinion receivers (32.7%), and non-discussants (41.2%). As for the 3 question asking the respondents from

which medium they usually get information about politics (multiple choice), the results showed that television news was the most chosen political information source for all of the three categories: opinion leaders (82.6%), opinion receivers (85.2%) and non-discussants (68.0%). Newspapers were the second most chosen information source, and news-sites on the Internet ranked third. The study also found that political opinion leaders were more likely to rely on the Internet to get information about politics than non-leaders. For example, 13.9% of the opinion leaders chose Websites of political parties/politicians as a medium for information about politics, while the corresponding figures for the non-leaders were much smaller (4.6% of the opinion receivers and 2.0% of the non-discussants, respectively;  $\chi^2=24.24$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Similarly, 12.5% of the opinion leaders said that they used large-scale bulletin board as the medium to get political information, but only 6.6% of the opinion receivers and 3.2% of the non-discussants chose this medium ( $\chi^2=12.58$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The results also showed that less than 10% of the respondents used social media such as SNS or video hosting services to gain political information, although the political opinion leaders were more likely to use these media than the non-leaders. In addition, the data indicated that the opinion leaders utilized a larger number of information sources than the non-leaders (3.83 items on average for the opinion leaders, 2.89 for the opinion receivers, and 2.05 for the non-discussants;  $F=57.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The findings show that, as far as political information seeking is concerned, Japanese voters used the Internet as a supplement to traditional news media. Meanwhile, the opinion leaders were the most active consumers of the Internet, as well as of newspapers and television news. Similar to the classical studies, there was an overlapping pattern of media use. Thus, this study confirms the value of the opinion leadership concept in explaining voters' information behavior in the Internet age.

## **Session V E**

### **E-Democracy I**

***Panel Chair: Kuang-Hui Chen, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan***

#### **The Role of the Internet in Taiwanese Party Politics**

*Chiung-Chu Lin, Soochow University, Taiwan*

*Ching-Hsin Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*



The increasing popularity of the internet has had a significant impact on electoral campaigns in Taiwan over the past two decades. It is found that both political parties or individual candidates have created campaign websites in elections. By way of qualitative and quantitative research strategies, this essay examines the functions of political party and candidates' campaign websites on the one hand and explores citizen's internet political participation on the other. The results show that the main function of party and candidates' campaign websites is to provide information in elections. Other interactive functions are less significant. Meanwhile, a clear digital gap also appears during campaigns between the urban and rural areas. Urban voters tend to visit party and candidate's website more often than rural voters. Similarly, like many studies on internet usage, those younger and more educated voters are more likely to visit party and candidate's websites. Lastly, it is found that candidate's websites have consistently attracted more voters in elections than party's websites. The differences may come from different contents provided by political party and individual candidates which the latter is more detailed and personalistic than the former.

### **Miracle Medicine for Curing Low Turnout? Evaluation of Electronic Voting in Taiwan**

*Chia-Hung Tsai, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

*Eric Chen-Hua Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

It is argued that turnout is either matter of civic duty or preference. If irreversible shortness of civic duty is responsible for low turnout, what is the remedy for that? Are people more willing to participate in elections if new voting instrument is introduced? In this study, we utilize survey questionnaires to explore how voters respond to the possible introduction of new voting technologies with respect to the current paper-based voting institution. Our preliminary results show that voters are very satisfied with the current voting system in various dimensions. Specifically, voters in general think that the current system is effective and efficient in vote counting and in turn show high level of trust in the current system. It seems that voters lack incentives to adopt new voting technology, such as electronic voting machines (i.e., e-voting) or internet voting (i.e., i-voting), to enhance quality of voting. Yet, our data also show that the use of e-voting or i-voting may increase turnout, especially among young voters. Moreover, we analyze the extent to

which digital divide, generational difference, and partisanship explain the level of support for the current system, e-voting, and internet voting.

### **Active or Passive? A Study of Taiwan's Internet Users' Political Participation**

*Hung-Chung Wang, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

*Chang-Chih Lin, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

Classic democratic theories suggest that knowledgeable citizen is indispensable to democracy and empirical research findings also confirm that informed citizens, in general, are more politically active than their counterparts. In the past, people obtain political information via contact and discussion with others (i.e., social network) and television, newspaper, and radio (i.e., traditional mass media). However, as the rapid development of high technology, internet becomes a new channel by which people are able to receive information fast and conveniently. We wonder that whether new technology plays a more effective role in promoting political participation since previous research indicates that the more information people obtain, the more likely they get involve in political activities.

To put it simple, this paper aims to investigate whether people who absorb information via internet are more politically active than those who receive information via traditional channels. By utilizing public opinion survey to measure to what extent respondents get involve in political activities in Taiwan, this paper will examine whether new technology promotes the development of democracy by enhancing users' political knowledge and establish the relationship between information channel and political participation.

### **Exploring Issue Ownership in Campaign Advertising: An Experiment via Internet Survey**

*Eric Chen-Hua Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

*Pei-Chen Hsu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*

Scholars have long disagreed about the effects of campaign advertising. While some empirical studies show that campaign advertising has brought significant impacts on voting behaviors, some indicate that such impact, if any, should be minimal as voters cast their votes mainly according to their political predisposition. This article aims to form an experiment on the basis of issue ownership model to explore whether campaign advertising works in Taiwan.

Specifically, we hypothesize that major parties tend to maintain and claim issue ownership in different ways through campaign advertising. To test our hypothesis, we form an experiment via internet survey to study the extent to which Taiwanese voters perceive issue ownership among major parties in the 2012 Taiwan presidential election. Then we measure how different parties adopt their own approaches, based on perceivable issue ownerships, to deliver their messages through campaign advertising. In order to measure the possible effect of campaign advertising, it is crucial to "control for" or "purge out" voters' predispositions. The use of internet survey serves such purpose that we can easily recruit different types of voters and set up various experimental environments to explore how campaign advertising works. We believe that this study should help us uncover how Taiwanese voters perceive issue ownership through campaign advertising and shed light on theories and practices related to electoral campaign and party competition.

### **Session VI A**

#### **Public Opinion Online**

***Panel Chair: Porismita Borah, Maryville University, USA***

#### **Political communication in a digital world: The effects of personalization and interactive communication on citizens' political involvement**

*Sanne Kruijemeier, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Guda van Noort, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Rens Vliegthart, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

Political parties and politicians increasingly use the possibilities of the Internet to communicate interactively with citizens and vice versa. The Internet also offers opportunities for individual politicians to profile themselves. These important characteristics of online political communication (i.e., interactivity and political personalization) bring politics closer to citizens, increasing their political engagement in politics. Empirical evidence for such influence is, however, scarce. In two experiments, a scenario experiment and a laboratory experiment using real-world websites, we examine whether more personalized online communication (a focus on individual politicians) and the use of interactive features increases political involvement among citizens. The

results from both studies demonstrate that both highly interactive and personalized online communication increase citizens' political involvement. Moreover, we also found that political personalization positively moderates the effect of interactivity on political involvement. Thereby, characteristics of new media may indeed contribute to democracy by fostering citizens' political involvement.

### **What We See Online: A Forerunner or Echo of the Traditional Media Messages?**

*Yu Won Oh, University of Michigan, USA*

*Rebecca Ping Yu, University of Michigan, USA*

The emergence of online channels, where individuals can create, share, and disseminate content transcending social networks and spatial boundaries, facilitate people's expectations about the possibility of online spaces as another or alternative agenda-setter. This study tracked how 631 frequently-appearing online phrases were covered by traditional news media to investigate whether the online venue really played a role in setting or developing an agenda. In addition to the percentage of top online phrases that were covered by traditional media, the time of first mention of each of these phrases, and peak time in both online spaces and traditional news stories were examined. The findings of this study indicated that online spaces might fill a unique position in terms of developing issues. These venues seemed to be particularly good at first raising issues. The presence of a certain number of the most frequent phrases that were seen and talked of exclusively online suggests that online spaces also have the potential to advance their own original topics. It, however, tends to be after traditional media has devoted the most attention to the phrases when these phrases appeared more than ever online. In this sense, what is seen online might be the forerunner of what will eventually be covered by the mainstream media, but at the same time, it is likely to continue on much like an echo of traditional media messages because the chance of seeing the issue mentioned online becomes much higher after peak attention by mass media.

### **Challenging selective exposure: Do people expose themselves only to online content that fits their interests and preferences?**

*Damian Trilling, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Klaus Schoenbach, University of Vienna, Austria*

Today's online news environment has made it easy to select news outlets that cover the topics one is personally interested in and contain the political viewpoints one shares. This might lead to a fragmentation of the audience along these two lines. Previous research often has been limited to either examining the diversity of the media offer or of the audience's media choices. This study of online news use in Austria does both to systematically assess whether such an effect exists. It first investigates actual content differences between online news outlets based on an automated content analysis (N=3,607) of content overlap and a manual content analysis (N=2,069) of topics and political bias of the coverage. In a second step, we use survey data (N=2,829) to investigate in how far online news users select outlets with topics and viewpoints that match their interests and political preferences. Results indicate that the content of different news outlets differs in terms of the topics covered, but not in terms of a general political leaning. While this precondition for audience fragmentation thus is met to some extent, we found only little evidence that people use these differences to match them with their personal interests.

### **Engaging the Disengaged: Examining the Relationship between Social Networking Site Use and Political Participation**

*Soo Young Bae, University of Michigan, USA*

This study explores the political implications of new communication technologies with a focus on their potential to facilitate citizens' engagement in political activities. In particular, this study addresses the need to investigate the *social* dimensions of Internet use, and asks whether the use of social networking sites (SNS) can meaningfully contribute to political participation. Using a nationally representative sample of U.S. adults, analyses reveal the significant relationship between social networking site use and political participation, as well as the role of two user characteristics in shaping this relationship. The results illustrate that while social uses of the Internet can generally contribute to political participation, significant differences in these relationships arise from variances in citizens' level of political interest and trust in the Internet as an information source.

## **Encountering Online Heterogeneity: Does Exposure to Online Heterogeneity Reinforce Positive Political Consequences?**

*Yangsun Hong, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

*Hernando Rojas, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*

Today, online becomes an important source of information on a daily basis (Purcell, Rainie, Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Olmstead, 2010). Scholars have been arguing whether online environment serves for promoting deliberative democracy. One line of scholars is pessimistic to the notion (Fishkin, 2000; Sunstein, 2001). They argue that online becomes fractionized into each set of homogeneity, and the availability of alternative information channels on the internet has enabled people to find like-minded information source, aggregating like-minded people, enabling selective exposure to a homogeneous information, reinforcing their preexisting political thoughts. (Bennet & Iyengar, 2008; Prior, 2007).

However, others claim that online provides a chance of being exposed to divergent political views, and the exposure to heterogeneity information eventually contributes to promote the deliberative democracy (Messing & Westwood, 2011; Price & Cappella, 2002). According to recent findings, online is heterogeneous environment because not only that there is lack of nonverbal cues such as gender and race (Blader & Tyler, 2003), but also that the lower sense of social presence encourages people to express their different point of view with others without social risks of disagreement (Bargh, McKenna, & Fitzsimon, 2002).

In fact, online offers chances to experience political disagreement even in non-political-groups such as leisure group (Wojcieszak & Mutz, 2009) and to access divergent political perspectives from different sources that are recommended from politically heterogeneous individuals through online social media (Messing & Westwood, 2011). For example, some unique functions of online such as filtering, clicking 'Like' button, and sharing news articles are more likely to lead people to experience heterogeneity information (Scheufele & Nisbet, 2011). Consequently, online heterogeneity discussion produces political deliberation and deeper public engagement with political issues (Price & Cappella, 2002). Especially, online is one of the important places where people learn about disagreeing others' rationale of their perspectives, because people rarely discuss counter-attitudinal issues in person (Mutz, 2004), but the interpersonal interactions is more prevalent

information source of counter-attitudinal content than mass media (Mutz & Martin, 2001). Therefore, we expect that the exposure to online political information would be effective in promoting deliberative democracy by increasing beneficial political consequences, such as political knowledge, political participation, and intention to talk about political issues with others, and by decreasing one's attitude extremity regarding political issues.

This study is designed to explore the relationship between the uses of online as a political information source and the political consequences, including political knowledge, political participation, attitude extremity toward a political issue, and intention to talk about a political issue with others. This study uses national telephone survey data collected between July 29 and August 20, 2010 in 10 cities in Columbia. The data contains items measuring the frequency of exposure to online political information and the political consequences such as knowledge, political participation, attitude extremity toward a controversial political issue, and intention to talk about a controversial political issue. Demographics and traditional media use were controlled.

Findings suggest that exposure to online political information enhances knowledge about political issues, decreases attitude extremity about a political issue, and encourages intention to talk about a political issue with others. However, the results show that exposure to online political information decreases political participation. In sum, except political participation, the findings of this study support the previous literature (Feldman & Price, 2008; McCleod, Scheufele & Moy, 1999; Scheufele, Hardy, Brossard, Waismel-Manor, & Nisbet, 2006; Scheufele, Nisbet, Brossard, & Nisbet, 2004), arguing that heterogeneity positively influences on political consequences and deliberative democracy. In addition, the findings seem to somewhat be consistent with previous findings of the beneficial outcomes of heterogeneity especially in the online context to the democratic citizenship (Messing & Westwood, 2011; Price & Cappella, 2002; Wojcieszak & Mutz, 2009).

## ***Session VI B***

### **Public Opinion on Political Issues II**

***Panel Chair: Chiung-Chu Lin, Soochow University, Taiwan***

## **Market research in politics: revealing the contribution consultants make when advising our politicians**

*Jennifer Lees-Marshment, University of Auckland, New Zealand*

Aside from public opinion polls, market research in politics remains a largely hidden process and activity. Even though we know all parties and governments do it, and political marketing academics engage in heated debate about it, there has been little focused study of the scope and value of political market research in practice. This paper utilises interviews with practitioners from the UK, US, New Zealand, Australia and Canada including those who conducted and advised on research for world leaders such as Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, Kevin Rudd, Helen Clark and Stephen Harper to construct lessons about what works in political market analysis. It identifies 'rules of the game' for using a range of methods of analysis - polling, focus groups, quantitative and qualitative (including deliberative and co-creation) research, segmentation, voter profiling, targeting, GOTV, candidate or opposition research, predictive market analysis, global knowledge sharing and consultation), as well as how to make the relationship between consultants and clients work. It demonstrates that market analysis in politics is a multi-varied activity, and thus the criticism that political marketing means politicians simply follow focus groups is a gross over-simplification. Instead, the purposes, uses, methods and attitudes to market analysis in politics are broad-ranging. It therefore plays a valuable role in identifying a range of potential choices that politicians can make, enhancing the decision making process – and overall leadership - of political elites.

## **Pseudo-Opinions in Public Opinion Research. How people respond to the "Public Affairs Act"**

*Karl-Heinz Reuband, University of Duesseldorf, Germany*

People often feel obliged to answer questions in surveys and produce "non-attitudes" (Converse 1964). Nowhere does this become more evident than when questions are asked about fictitious issues. The paper takes its start from a study by Bishop et al. (1980, 2005) in which people in the US were asked about the fictitious "Public Affairs Act". The replication and extension was done in Germany in 2011 on the basis of a nationwide telephone survey



(N ca.1200). Three questions are dealt with (1) how do the findings compare with the US findings (2) what factors make for pseudo-opinions: what is the role of political interest and social characteristics (3) what is the mechanism that makes for pseudo opinions: how do people react when such a question is asked? And to what extent do putative meanings play a part. Hereby also observational assessments by the interviewer were used. The relevance of the findings for the study of non-fictitious issues is discussed.

### **Mass Support for Populism in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis using Survey Data from the Americas Barometer, 2010**

*Orlando J. Pérez, Central Michigan University, USA*

This paper will use surveys conducted in 2010 in 24 nations of Latin America by the Americas Barometer project to explore the demographic and attitudinal factors that shape support for populism in Latin America. The Americas Barometer is part of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) housed at Vanderbilt University. The samples are of national probability design using multi-stratified and cluster methods with a minimum sample size of 1500 interviews and margin of error of +/- 2.5%. The impact and attraction of populist politics in Latin America has received widespread attention by scholars for generations. Populism as a means of mobilizing mass participation and shaping the modern Latin American state dates to at least the 1930s. With the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s many observers argued that populism had been abandoned. However, the recent emergence of the so-called "new left" has been linked to populist or neo-populist politics. Invariably, these "new left" politicians rely on populist rhetoric to garner mass support, and promote a type of politics that emphasizes direct personal connections between leader and follower and plebiscitarian practices linked to notions of "participatory democracy." Many observers argue that populism undermines fundamental principles of democracy such as accountability and separation of powers. While many scholars have examined the meaning of populism from an institutional and historical perspective, few studies have analyzed the extent of mass support for populist politics. This paper seeks to fill that void by employing micro-level analysis of survey data to investigate the determinants of mass support for populist politics and explore the impact of populism on citizens' democratic values. Understanding the extent and

nature of mass support for populism will help to discern the mechanisms by which populist politicians garner popular support. Preliminary analysis indicates that support for populism is greatest among the young, less educated and less wealthy individuals; who exhibit greater fear of being a victim of crime and greatest support for the sitting president. Additionally, ideology does not appear to be a significant predictor of support for populism as both the "right" and "left" exhibit support for populist measures. Moreover, support for populism also increases justification for military coup d'états. Finally, the evidence suggests that support for populism is greatest among those who express indifference between democratic or authoritarian regimes.

### **Partisan selective exposure, climate opinion perceptions and political polarization**

*Yariv Tsfati, University of Haifa, Israel*

*Adi Chotiner, University of Haifa, Israel*

*Natalie (Talia) Jomini Stroud, University of Texas, Austin, USA*

Spiral of silence theory (Noelle Neumann, 1974) assumes that a consonant and monolithic stream of messages from mainstream media, that leaves little ability for audiences to selectively seek ideologically congruent news, affects people's perceptions of the distribution of opinion in society. While these assumptions may have been valid when Noelle Neumann developed her theory 40 years ago, the new media landscape, characterized by the proliferation of ideological media outlets (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008), makes them seem outdated. How does exposure to partisan media shape opinion climate perceptions? Do audiences of conservative-leaning media perceive a conservative opinion climate while audiences of liberal-leaning media perceive a more liberal distribution of opinion? And if so, what are the macro-level social consequences? We examine these questions on two data sets collected in extremely different contexts (Study 1 in the context of the 2005 Israeli disengagement from Gaza,  $n = 519$ ; Study 2, in the context of the 2004 US presidential elections using the National Annenberg Election Survey,  $n = 5,509$ ). In both studies, selective exposure to ideological media outlets was associated with opinion climate perceptions that were biased in the direction of the media outlets' ideologies. In Study 2, we also demonstrated that opinion climate perceptions were associated with more polarized political

attitudes and that opinion climate perceptions mediated the effects of ideological selective exposure on attitude polarization.

**Soft news and political cynicism: How exposure to political information genres affects public cynicism about politics**

*Mark Boukes, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

*Hajo G. Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

The media are often blamed for electorates' low levels of political knowledge and involvement, due to the tendency to cover political news in an increasingly entertaining manner. This study investigated whether and how watching particular news genres (soft or hard) relate to political cynicism. Using a novel and sophisticated measure for media exposure, analyses of three recent surveys found a strong relationship between watching certain news programs and political cynicism. The people who watched serious news more often were less cynical about politics than people who watched popular kinds of news more often. This relation seems not to be conditional on differences of education levels, political awareness or newspaper readership. Except for one interaction between exposure to hard versus soft news and politically awareness in the most recent survey, no other interaction effects were found. In short, this paper confirms what was already expected by many. Controlling for many potential confounding variables, there still exists a strong relation between the television programs people watch and their level of political cynicism.

***Session VI C***

**ISSC Special Panel - Critical Reflections on the Future of Comparative Social Research**

***Panel Chair: ISSC Representative***

***ISSC Representative***

*Tom W. Smith, NORC at the University of Chicago, USA*

*Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan*

*Benjamin Roberts, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa*

*Caroline Roberts, University of Lausanne, Switzerland*

*Jonathan Jackson, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*  
*Jon D. Miller, University of Michigan, USA*

### **Session VI E**

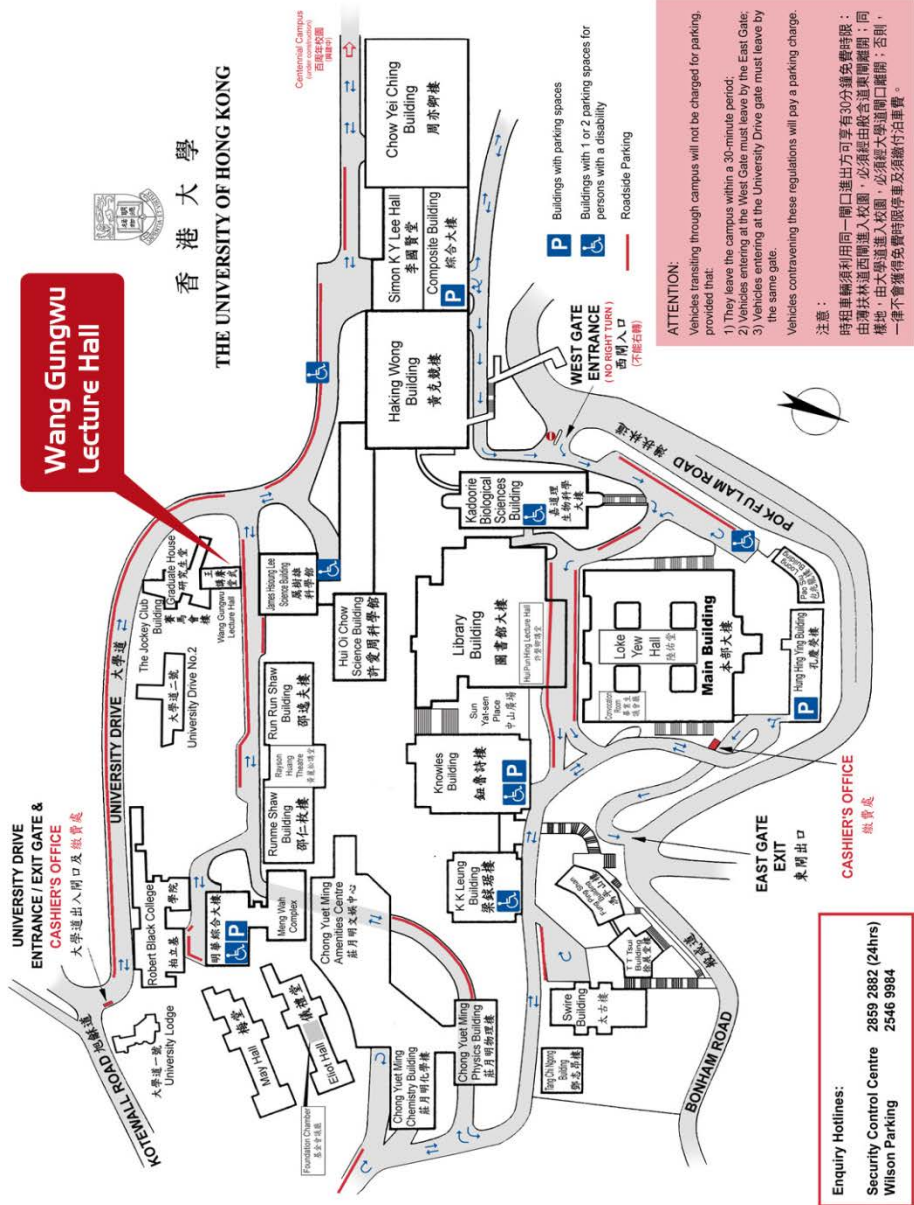
#### **E-Democracy II (Round Table Discussion)**

**Moderator: Robert Chung, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong**

*Angus Cheong, Macao Polling Research Association, Macau*  
*Fernando Cheung, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong*  
*Ken Lam, Internet Society Hong Kong, Hong Kong*  
*Jazz Ma, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*  
*Clement So, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong*  
*Ching-Hsin Yu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan*  
*Baohua Zhou, Fudan University, China*

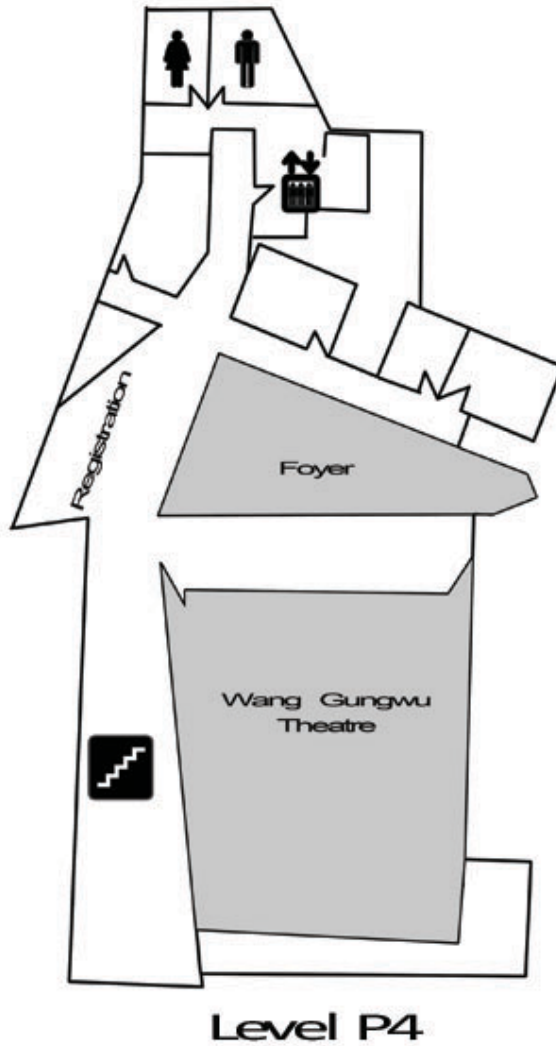
The proliferation of the internet has generated a new generation of global citizens who are fond of using new technologies, new social media, and microblogging sites. Collecting public opinion among this generation may require new tools of opinion mining, while public engagement with them may be more effective using electronic platforms, such as e-panel, e-DP and e-voting. In Taiwan campaign websites have become an important component of all election campaigns, while in Hong Kong the civil referendum of March 2012 has open a new channel of civic participation via e-voting. In Mainland China, the new media has become the most pervasive form of public opinion expression, while researchers in Macau are seriously developing tools to mine data from online platforms. It would therefore be most timely to discuss the future of e-democracy and e-opinion in a round table to wrap up this Annual Conference, the main theme of which is “The New World of Public Opinion Research”. Such a new development in this new part of the public opinion world would certainly shed light on future discussions of public opinion research in future WAPOR conferences.

*Map of the University of Hong Kong Campus*



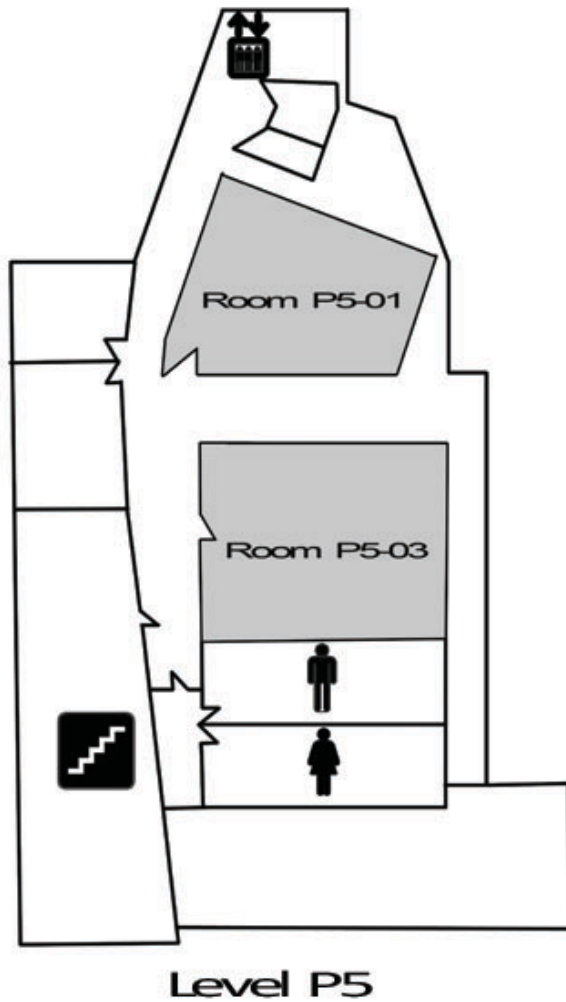
Conference Venue Floor Plans  
Graduate House – Level P4

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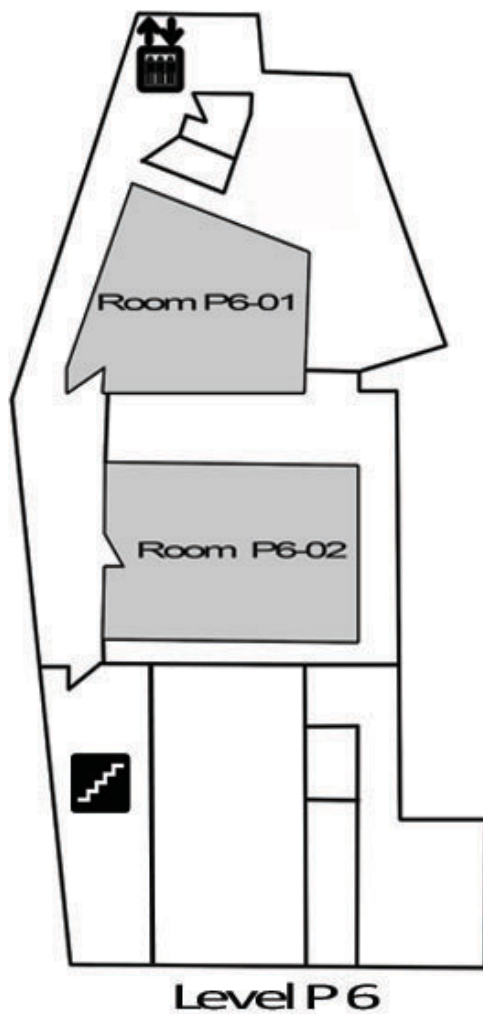
Conference Venue Floor Plans  
Graduate House – Level P5

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Conference Venue Floor Plans  
Graduate House – Level P6

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Conference Venue Floor Plans

James Hsioung Lee Science Building – Ground Floor

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## James Hsioung Lee Science Building



**G/F**

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