

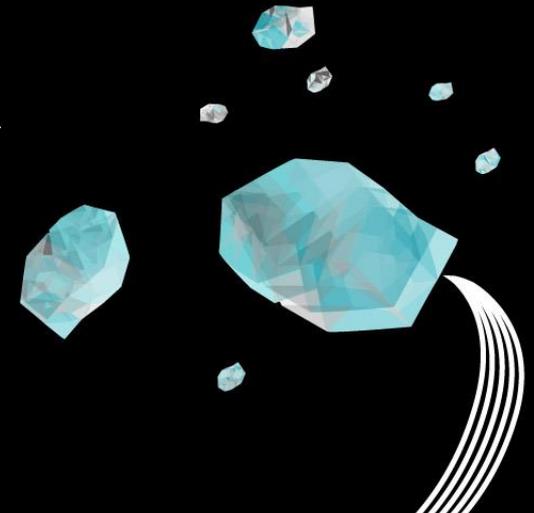
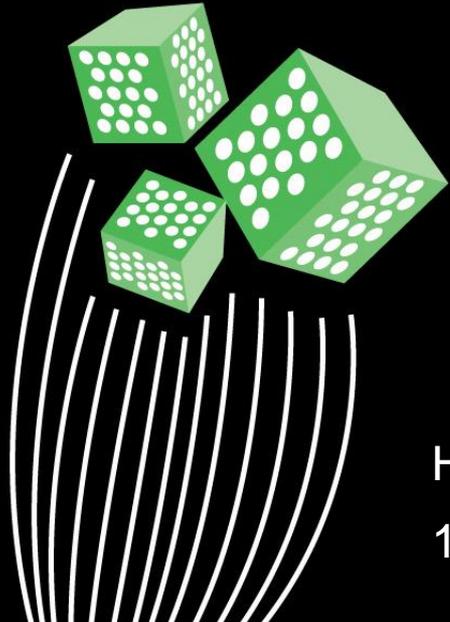


Measuring Partisan Identities

Martin Rosema

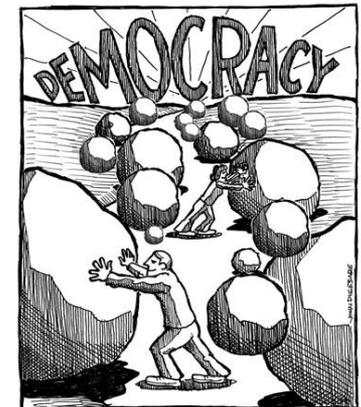
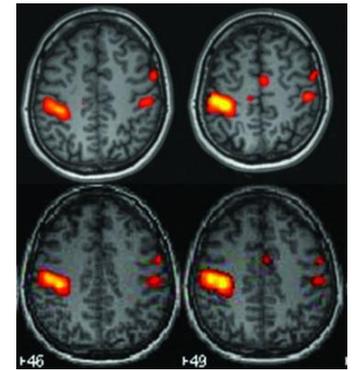
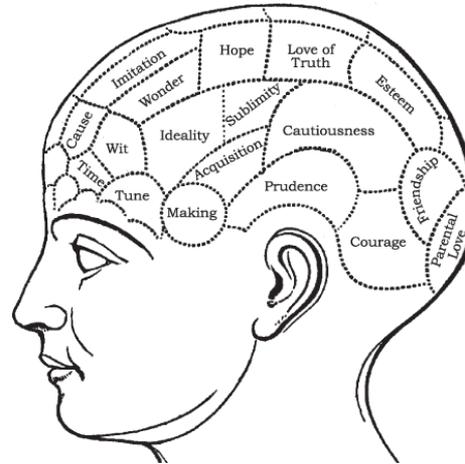
HOT POLITICS LAB, AMSTERDAM

14 FEBRUARY 2020



MY MAIN RESEARCH FOCUS

ELECTIONS AND REFERENDUMS



A QUESTION FOR MY RESEARCH

Can the measurement of partisan identities be improved
by using multiple items that are combined into a single scale?



Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse,
Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes

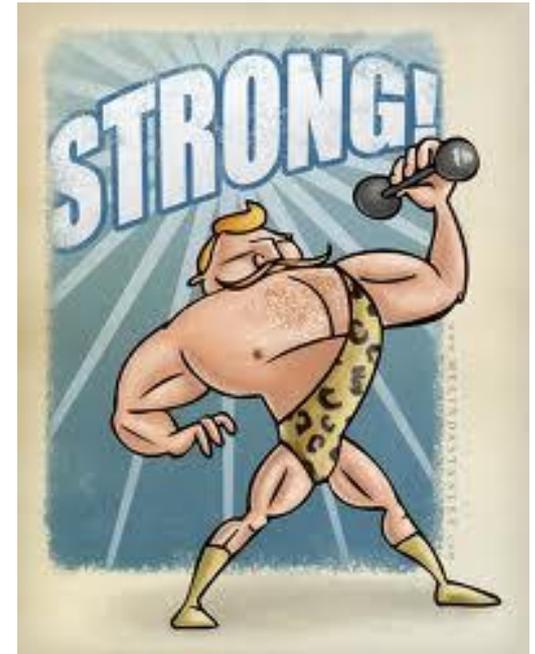
The American Voter Unabridged Edition



MEASUREMENT OF PARTISAN IDENTITY: TWO STANDARD SURVEY ITEMS IN USA

- Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?
- Would you call yourself a strong Republican (Democrat) or a not very strong Republican (Democrat)?
- Answer options form a 5-point scale:

|-----|-----|-----|-----|
strong D. weak D. Independent weak R. strong R.



LITERATURE THAT WE* BUILD ON

(* BANKERT, HUDDY & ROSEMA, 2017)

- **Partisanship as a social identity**

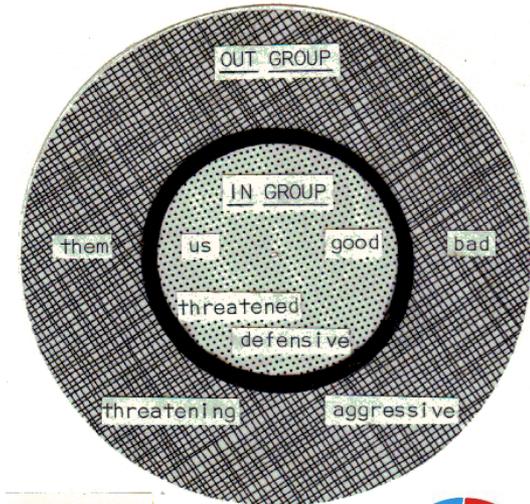
Tajfel & Turner (1979, 1986)

Green, Palmquist, and Schickler (2002)

- **Measurement of partisan identities**

Greene (1999, 2001, 2004)

Mason, Huddy & Aaroe (2015)



-
- **What is your favourite sports team or club?**



ALTERNATIVE MEASUREMENT OF ‘SOCIAL IDENTITY’: AN INDEX USING MULTIPLE ITEMS

	Rarely or Never	Some- times	Often	Always
When I speak about this club, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	[]	[]	[]	[]
I am interested in what other people think about this club	[]	[]	[]	[]
When people criticize this club, it feels like a personal insult	[]	[]	[]	[]
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this club	[]	[]	[]	[]
When this club loses a match, my day is ruined	[]	[]	[]	[]
When I meet someone who supports this club, I feel connected with this person	[]	[]	[]	[]
When I speak about this club, I refer to them as “my club”	[]	[]	[]	[]
When people praise this club, it makes me feel good	[]	[]	[]	[]

OUR RESEARCH

- **Design items to measure partisan identities and collect data in multi-party systems**
- **Analyse the items' measurement properties and the validity of the new measure (index)**
- **Use the new measure to analyse multiple party identification**
- **Study causes, consequences and stability of partisan identities in multi-party systems**

Measuring Partisanship as a Social Identity in Multi-Party Systems

Alexa Bankert¹ · Leonie Huddy² · Martin Rosema³

OUR RESEARCH

- **Design items to measure partisan identities and collect data in multi-party systems**
- **Analyse the items' measurement properties and the validity of the new measure (index)**
Bankert, Huddy and Rosema (2017).
Political Behavior, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 103-132
- **Use the new measure to analyse multiple party identification**
- **Study causes, consequences and stability of partisan identities in multi-party systems**



OUR RESEARCH – PHASE 1

- Design items to measure partisan identities
- Collect data in multi-party systems
- Analyse the items' measurement properties
- Analyse the validity of the new measure
(and compare it to the traditional measure)

FOUR STUDIES ON PARTISAN IDENTITY IN EUROPE

GERMANY, NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, UK

- Pilot study in Germany with bachelor thesis project
- LISS panel in the Netherlands
- Swedish Citizen Panel (Gothenburg)
- British Election Study (BES)



PILOT STUDY: GERMANY

BACHELOR THESIS PROJECT: SURVEY BY STUDENTS

- EP Elections 2009
- Online post-election survey
(N = 257)

- Non-representative sample
 - male 55%, female 45%
 - mean age = 30 years
 - 61% from three regions
(Berlin, Brandenburg,
Nordrhein-Westfalen)
 - large left-wing majority
 - 81% are partisan (N = 207)



GERMANY	Never	Some- times	Often	Always
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	[]	[]	[]	[]
I am interested in what other people think about this party	[]	[]	[]	[]
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	[]	[]	[]	[]
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	[]	[]	[]	[]
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	[]	[]	[]	[]
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	[]	[]	[]	[]
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	[]	[]	[]	[]
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	[]	[]	[]	[]

GERMANY	Never / Sometimes	Often / Always
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	94	6
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	92	8
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	76	24
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	75	25
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	70	31
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	60	40
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	57	43
I am interested in what other people think about this party	50	50

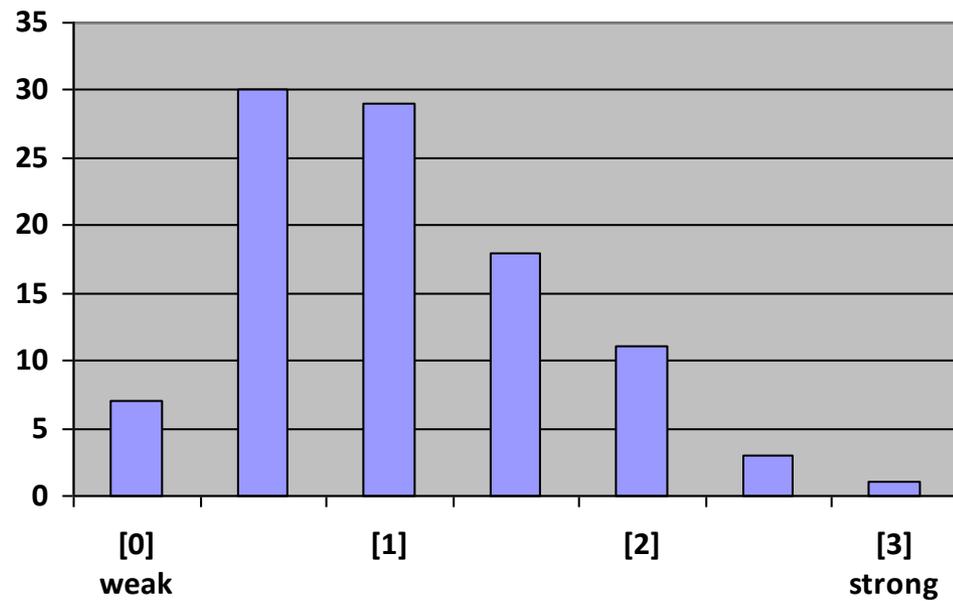
GERMANY	Never / Sometimes	Often / Always
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I am interested in what other people think about this party	50	50

GERMANY	Never / Sometimes	Often / Always
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RESULTS: INDEX OF 8 ITEMS

- Cronbach alpha = 0.86



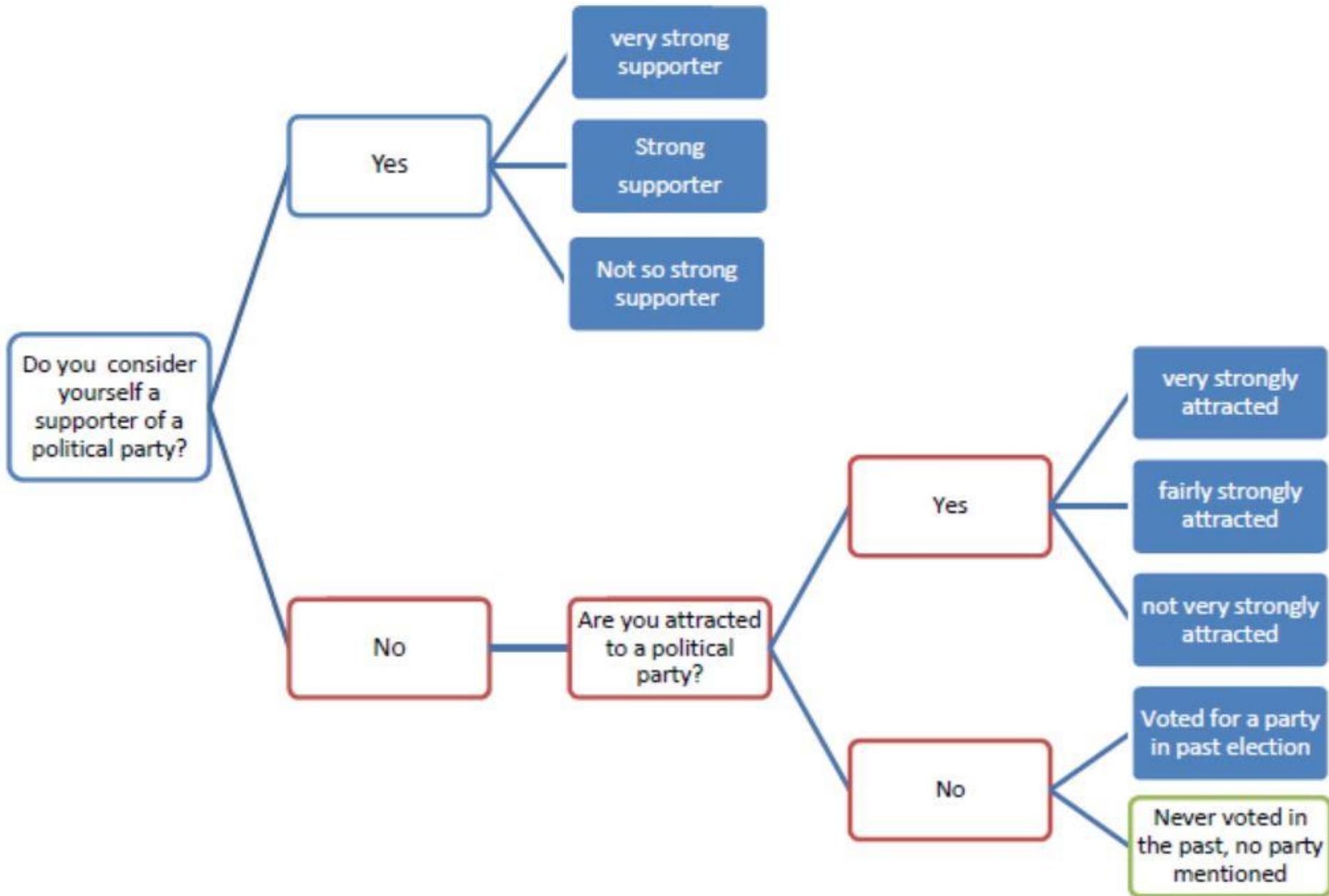
STUDY 1: THE NETHERLANDS

LISS PANEL

- National elections 2012
- 'Representative' two-stage sample (household-based)
- Politics and Values module
- Online pre-election survey (N = 5.187; 75% response)
- Online post-election survey



Figure 1: Measurement of Partisanship in the LISS Pre-Election Wave



THE NETHERLANDS	Never / Sometimes	Often / Always
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	97	3
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	94	6
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	93	7
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	92	8
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	84	16
I am interested in what other people think about this party	74	26
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	71	29
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	70	30

THE NETHERLANDS

Never / Sometimes

Often / Always

When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult

97

3

If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined

94

6

When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”

93

7

When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”

92

8

When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person

84

16

I am interested in what other people think about this party

74

26

When people praise this party, it makes me feel good

71

29

I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party

70

30

THE NETHERLANDS

Never / Sometimes

Often / Always

When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult

97

3

If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined

94

6

When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”

93

7

When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”

92

8

When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person

84

16

I am interested in what other people think about this party

74

26

When people praise this party, it makes me feel good

71

29

I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party

70

30

THE NETHERLANDS	Rarely/Never	Sometimes/ Often/Always
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	79	21
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	76	24
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	74	26
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	64	36
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	39	61
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	27	73
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	25	75
I am interested in what other people think about this party	24	76

STUDY 2: SWEDEN

CITIZEN PANEL

- National elections 2013
- Citizen Panel (Uni. of Gothenburg)
- Online panel survey

- Self-recruited (70%) and randomly selected (30%)
- Wave 8
(N = 2.818; 76% response)



NETHERLANDS VS SWEDEN	NETHERLANDS Sometimes--Always	SWEDEN Sometimes--Always
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	21	35
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	24	27
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	26	41
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	36	23
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	61	79
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	73	70
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	75	88
I am interested in what other people think about this party	76	81

NETHERLANDS VS SWEDEN	NETHERLANDS Sometimes--Always	SWEDEN Sometimes--Always
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	21	35
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NETHERLANDS VS SWEDEN	NETHERLANDS Sometimes--Always	SWEDEN Sometimes--Always
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	21	35
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	24	27
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When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	73	70
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	75	88
I am interested in what other people think about this party	76	81

STUDY 3: BRITAIN

BRITISH ELECTION STUDIES

- National elections 2013
- British Election Study
- Online panel survey by YouGov

- Wave 3 (N=5954)
- Wave 4 (N=3500)

- Agree/disagree format

- Also used to study 'Brexit'



BRITAIN	(Strongly) Agree	(Strongly) Disagree
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	25	75
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	30	70
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	27	73
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	14	86
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person	57	43
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	53	47
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	77	23
I am interested in what other people think about this party	73	27

BRITAIN	(Strongly) Agree	(Strongly) Disagree
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	25	75
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”	30	70
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult	27	73
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined	14	86
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When people praise this party, it makes me feel good	53	47
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I am interested in what other people think about this party	73	27

BRITAIN	(Strongly) Agree	(Strongly) Disagree
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I am interested in what other people think about this party	73	27

ANALYSIS IN TWO STEPS

- **Measurement properties**
 - Reliability of index
 - Item Response Theory analysis

- **Predictive value of index in relation to other concepts**
 - In-party voting (party loyalty)
 - Political participation



Measuring Partisanship as a Social Identity in Multi-Party Systems

Alexa Bankert¹ · Leonie Huddy² · Martin Rosema³

Table 2 Partisan identity items by country

	Netherlands				Sweden				United Kingdom (Wave 3)			
	Always	Often	Some-times	Never	Always	Often	Some-times	Never	Strongly agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”.	2	4	14	80	5	10	20	65	7	18	50	25
I am interested in what other people think about this party.	3	22	51	24	7	30	45	19	12	61	21	6
When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult.*	1	3	23	74	1	6	33	59	5	22	50	23
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party.	3	26	46	25	2	33	50	14	12	65	18	5
If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined.	1	5	29	65	1	3	20	77	2	12	55	31
When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected with this person.*	2	14	44	40	3	24	52	21	6	51	32	11
When I speak about this party, I refer to them as “my party”.*	1	6	17	76	3	7	17	73	5	15	54	26
When people praise this party, it makes me feel good.*	5	24	44	28	6	21	42	30	6	47	34	13
N	4680				2464				5954			
\bar{x} (St. Err)	1.66 (0.50)				1.79 (0.52)				2.30 (0.57)			
Alpha	0.86				0.83				0.88			
Traditional Partisan Strength												
\bar{x} (St. Err)	1.94 (0.73)				1.97 (0.61)				1.89 (0.71)			

Note: Entries are percentages. * Items included in the short four-item partisan identity scale

CRONBACH ALPHA

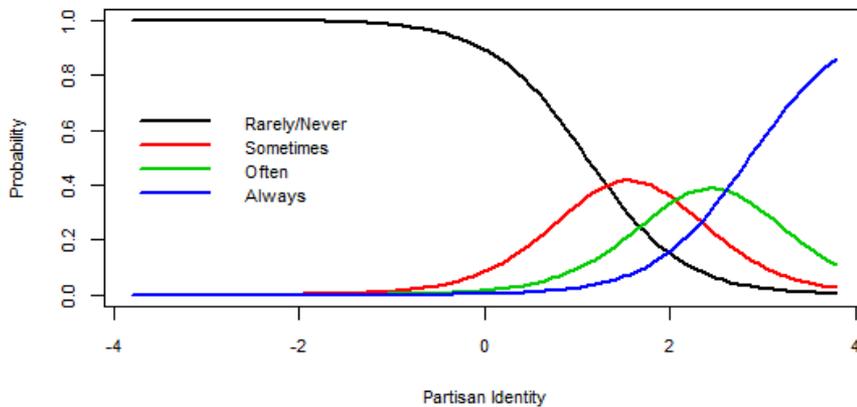
BASED ON INDEX WITH 8 ITEMS

- Germany (pilot study) 0.86
- Netherlands 0.86
- Sweden 0.83
- Britain 0.88

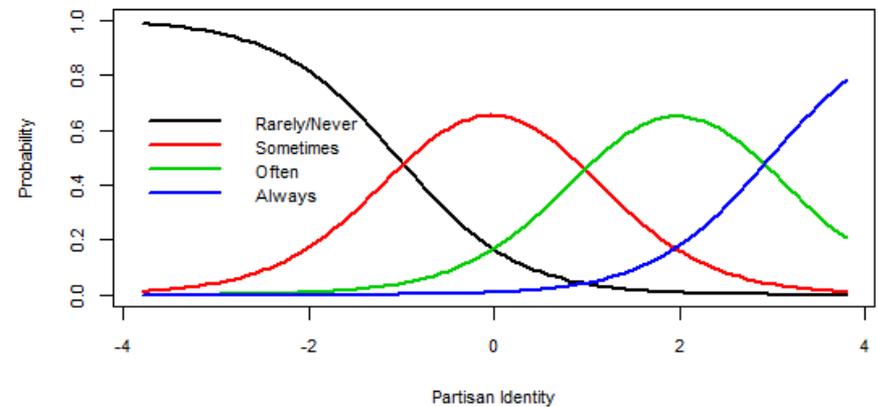
ITEM RESPONSE THEORY (IRT) ANALYSIS

NETHERLANDS

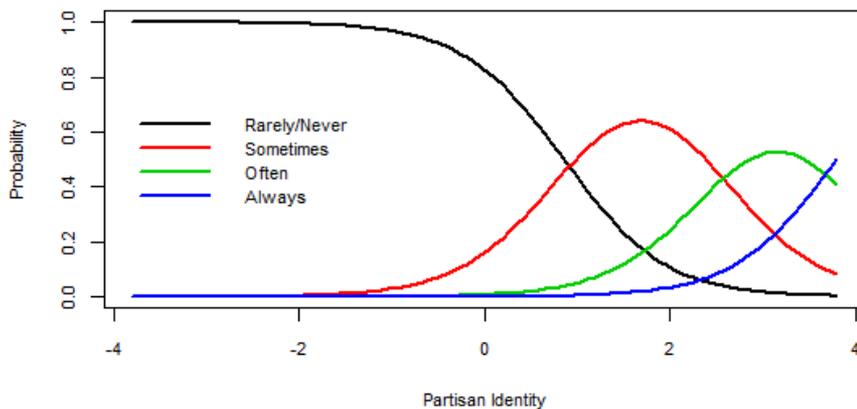
Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: When I speak about this party, I usually say "we" instead of "they"



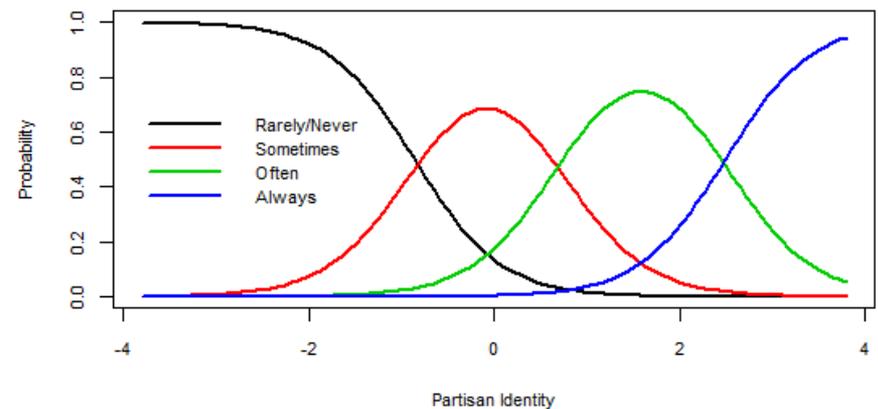
Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: I am interested in what other people think about this party



Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: When people criticize this party, it feels like a personal insult



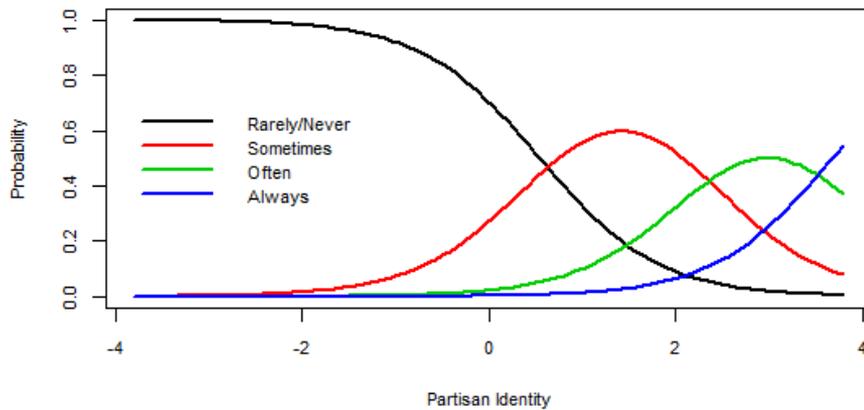
Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party



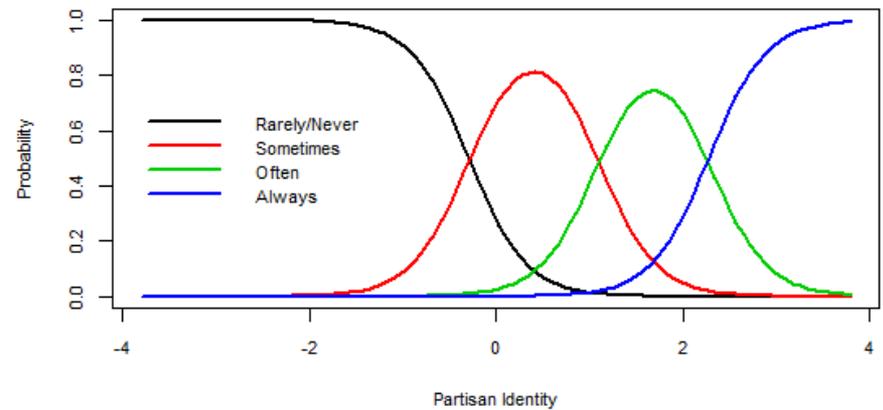
ITEM RESPONSE THEORY (IRT) ANALYSIS

NETHERLANDS

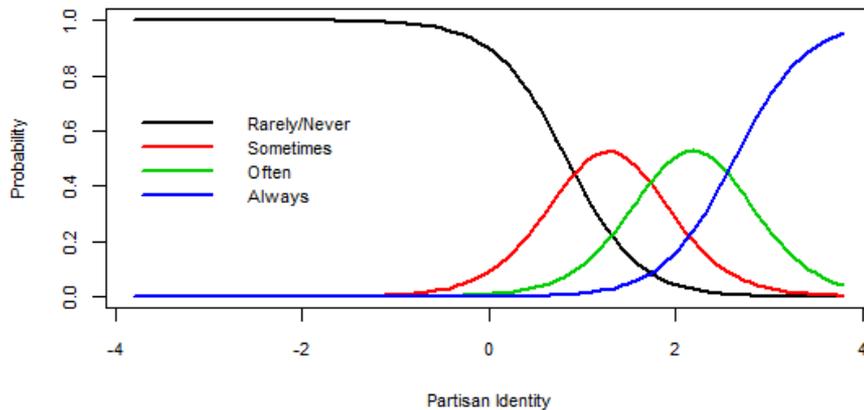
Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: If this party does badly in opinion polls, my day is ruined



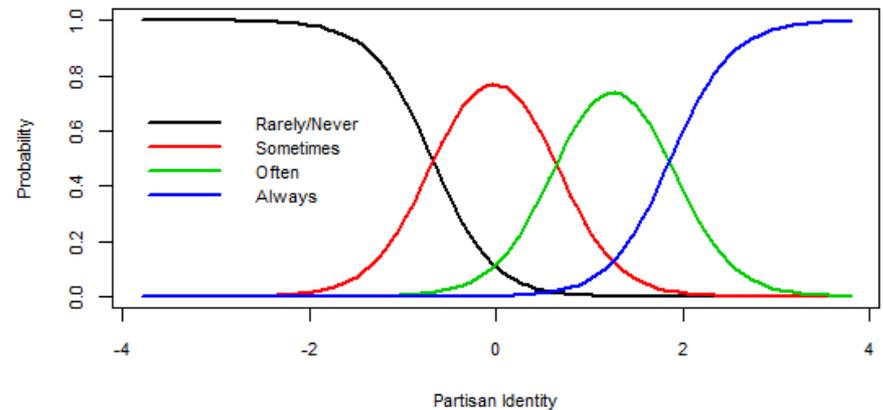
Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: When I meet someone who supports this party, I feel connected



Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: When I speak about this party, I refer to them as "my party"

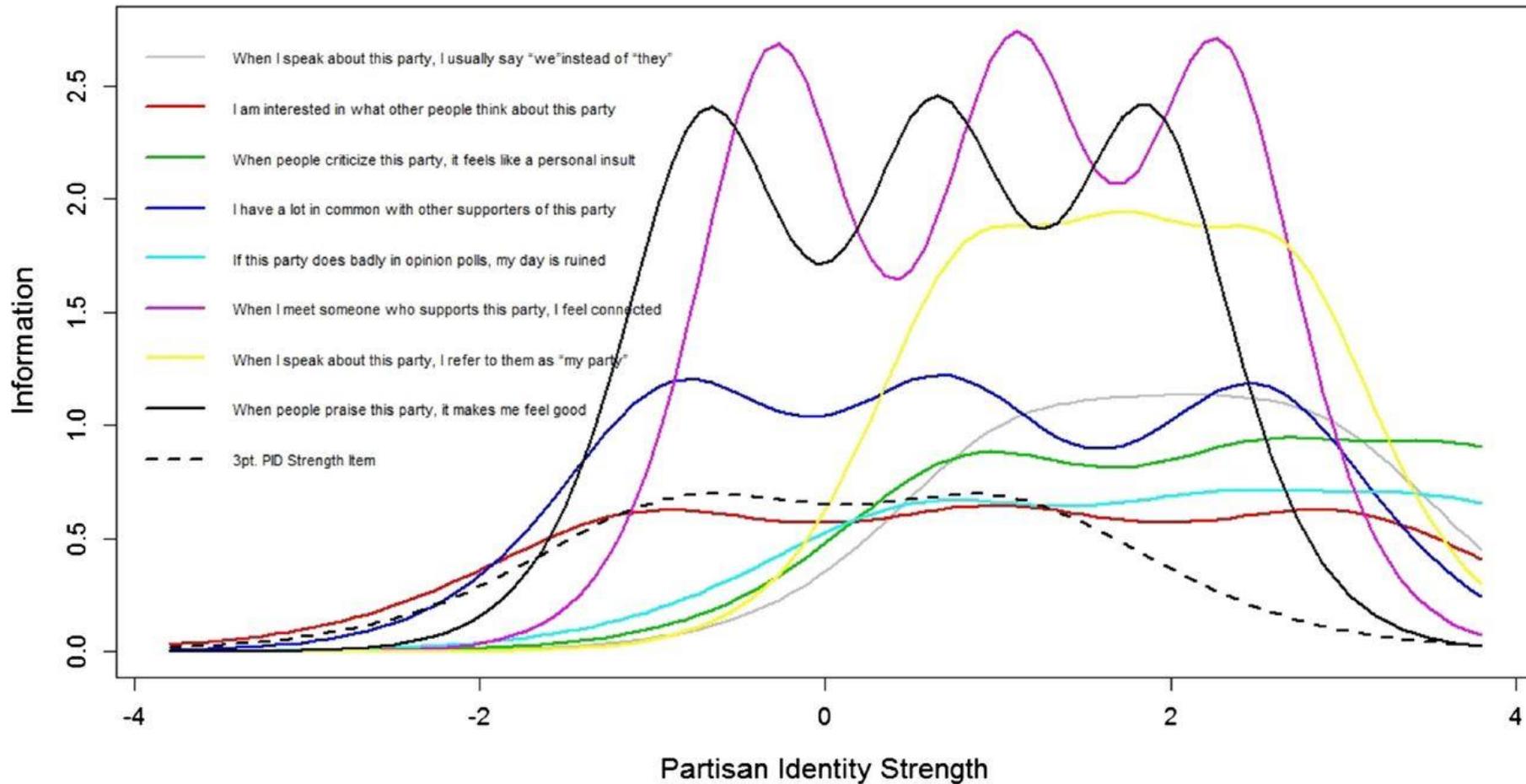


Item Response Category Characteristic Curves
Item: When people praise this party, it makes me feel good



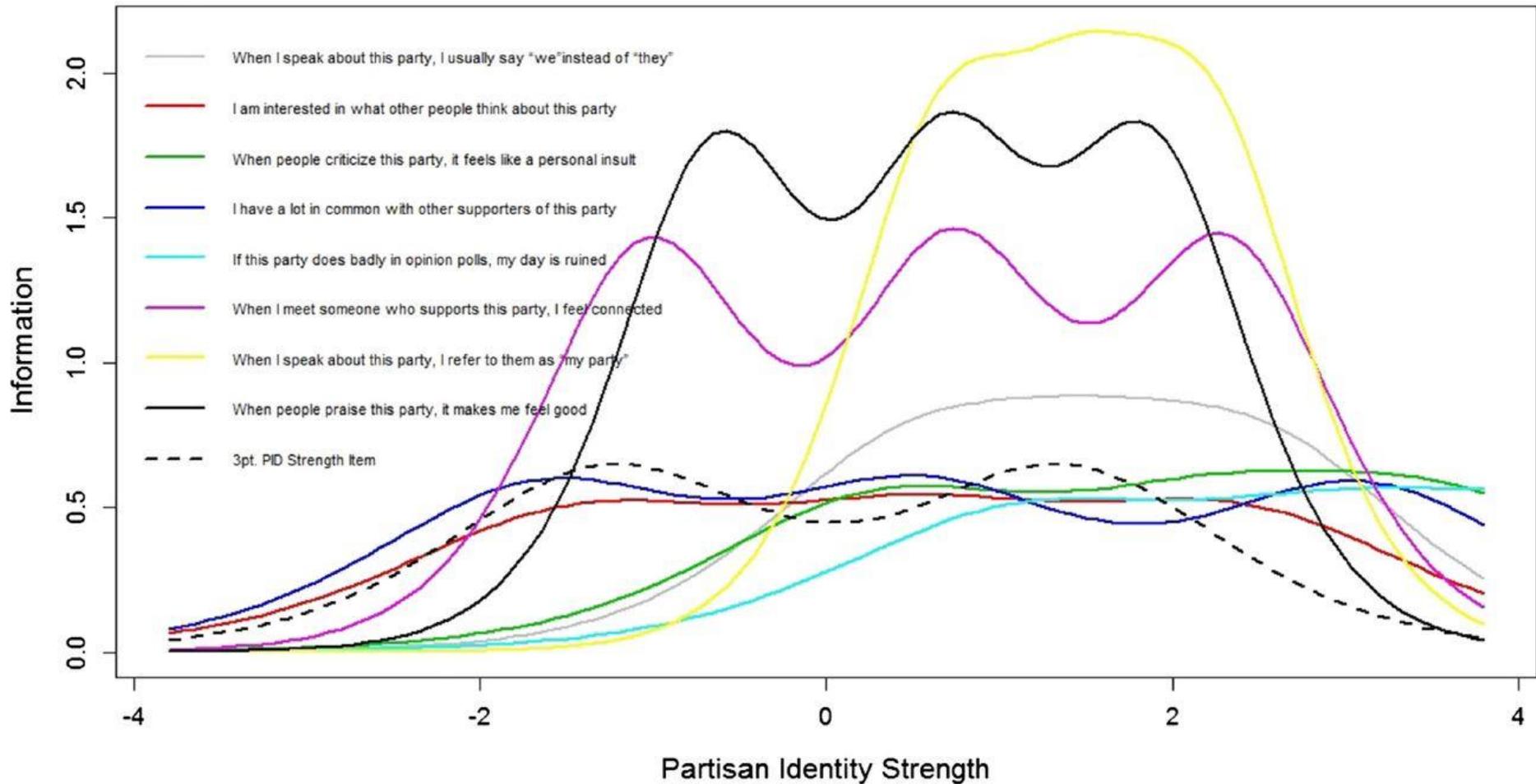
ITEM RESPONSE THEORY (IRT) ANALYSIS NETHERLANDS

A Netherlands



ITEM RESPONSE THEORY (IRT) ANALYSIS SWEDEN

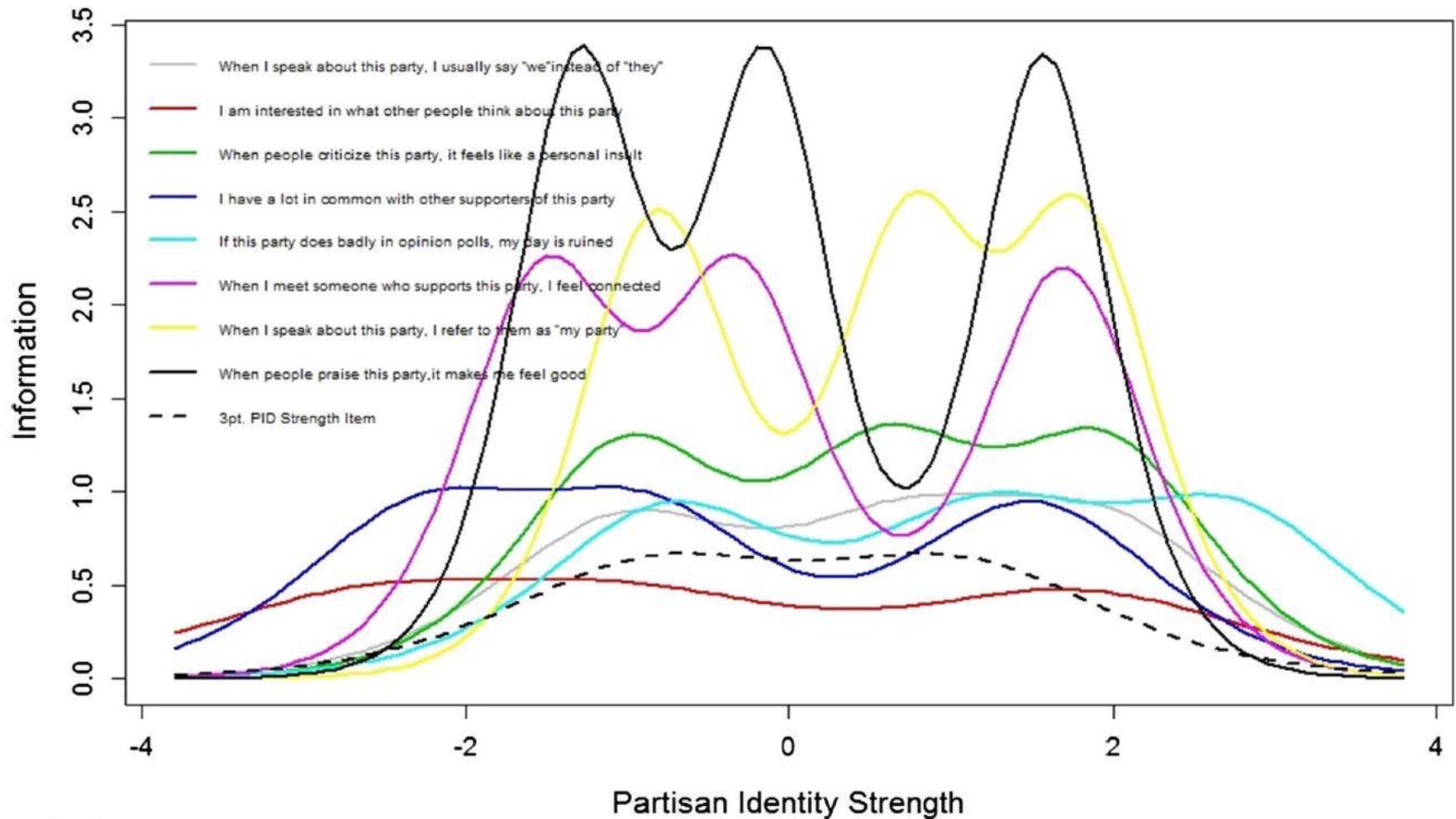
B Sweden



ITEM RESPONSE THEORY (IRT) ANALYSIS

UNITED KINGDOM

c United Kingdom



SOME CONCLUSIONS

- **Multi-item partisanship measure performs well**
 - Scale has good reliability
 - Positive results IRT analysis
- **We have better “strong” items than “weak” items**
- **Small differences between Germany, Netherlands and Sweden, some more with United Kingdom**
- **Traditional party identification scale is not as bad as we thought (results not shown)**

NEXT QUESTIONS FOR MY RESEARCH

Can multi-item scales be used to analyse multiple partisanship?

How stable are partisan identities (as compared to partisan attitudes)?



ADDITIONAL DATA COLLECTION

- **The Netherlands**
- **February 2017**
(before national parliamentary elections on 15 March 2017)
- **I&O Research** (Enschede and Amsterdam)
- **N=3208**



QUESTION WORDINGS

- **To which party do you feel attached most strongly?**
- **Is there another party to which you feel attached?**

QUESTION WORDINGS

- To which party do you feel attached most strongly?
- Is there another party to which you feel attached?

No party mentioned	16 %
One party mentioned	27 %
Two parties mentioned	56 %

	Seldom/ Never	Some- times	Often/ Always	
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party				
When people speak positively about this party, it makes me feel good				
When people criticize this party, I feel personally offended				
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”				

1st preference party	Seldom/ Never	Some- times	Often/ Always	
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	8	34	57	
When people speak positively about this party, it makes me feel good	27	42	31	
When people criticize this party, I feel personally offended	51	37	12	
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	62	20	18	

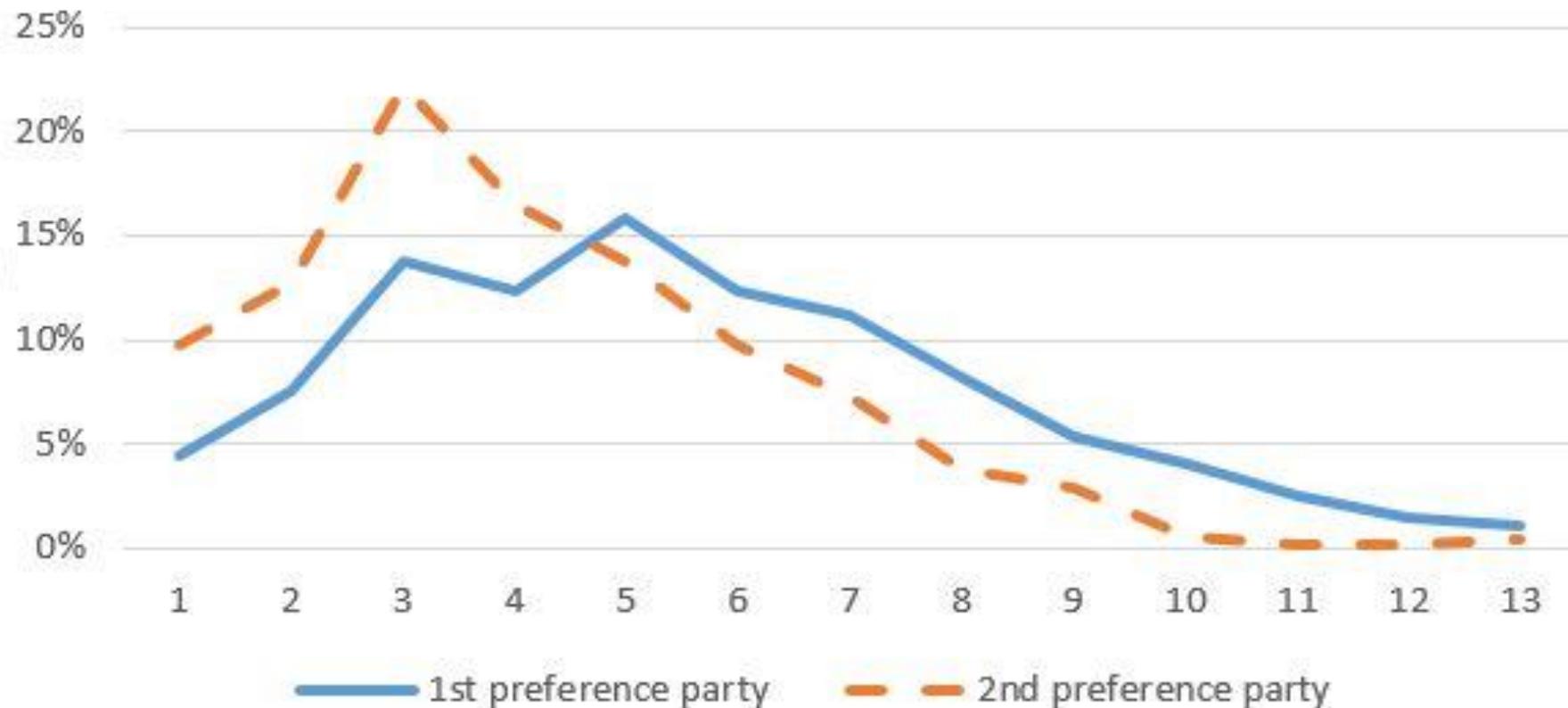
Cronbach alpha = 0.76

2nd preference party	Seldom/ Never	Some- times	Often/ Always	
I have a lot in common with other supporters of this party	14	51	35	
When people speak positively about this party, it makes me feel good	27	42	31	
When people criticize this party, I feel personally offended	63	30	7	
When I speak about this party, I usually say “we” instead of “they”	76	17	8	

Cronbach alpha = 0.75

Chart Area

Strength of identification (scale 1-13) with 1st preference party and 2nd preference party



higher index score for first party		63 %		
same index score for both parties		25 %		
higher index score for second party		12 %		

NEXT STEP

DATA COLLECTION IN LISS PANEL IN 2020

- Data collection in 3 waves: February, May, October 2020

- Sample size: 1500
 - 18-24 years: fresh sample
 - 25+ years: sample from 2012 study

- Questionnaire
 - Traditional Dutch party identification questions
 - Follow-up question about second preference party
 - Four partisan identity items for both parties
 - Order of the items is randomized (per respondent)

SOME CONCLUSIONS

- Multi-item index of partisanship is preferable
- Traditional items are not that bad
- Limitations: negative partisanship, multiple partisanship
- The next steps are to be made
 - Stability
 - Multiple partisanship

THANKS A LOT FOR YOUR ATTENTION

