

Election Survey Research

The vote is only a very rough index of political attitudes, since the choices are highly limited. A finer scale is necessary if the nature of political attitudes is to be examined more closely. Since the vote is secret, it is impossible to identify ballots and to relate directly a given kind of vote to economic and social factors. In studying such a subject as popular interest in voting, it is soon apparent that there are no available data on the number of eligible voters and on the characteristics of voters and non-voters. Fieldwork by means of questionnaires and interviews is necessary to throw light on problems of this sort.

H.F. Gosnell (1933: 396)

Introduction¹

The primary goal of all election surveys is to provide systematic empirical evidence that will help to explain election results: who won the election and why? As Harold F. Gosnell noted in the epigraph above, official election statistics provide very limited information on (a) what motivates voters to turnout to vote, and (b) why the voter supported one party rather than another. Within political science, election surveys are perhaps the most important means used to test competing theories of voting behaviour (note, Evans 2004; Bartels 2010). This chapter will not discuss the merits of different models of vote choice in the Czech Republic; as this has been discussed in detail elsewhere (see, Lebeda et al. 2007; Linek 2010; Linek et al. 2012).

However, in order to provide the reader with some sense of why election surveys in all their manifestations are important let us consider for a moment a concrete voting decision: the Chamber Elections of May 28–29 2010. Rather than present the standard theories employed by political scientists of what is likely to have determined turnout and party choice on this occasion: we will use instead a vote choice decision-making tree constructed by concerned citizens who wished to increase electoral participation. This non-academic approach has the merit of demonstrating that the explanations of electoral behaviour tend often to focus on a

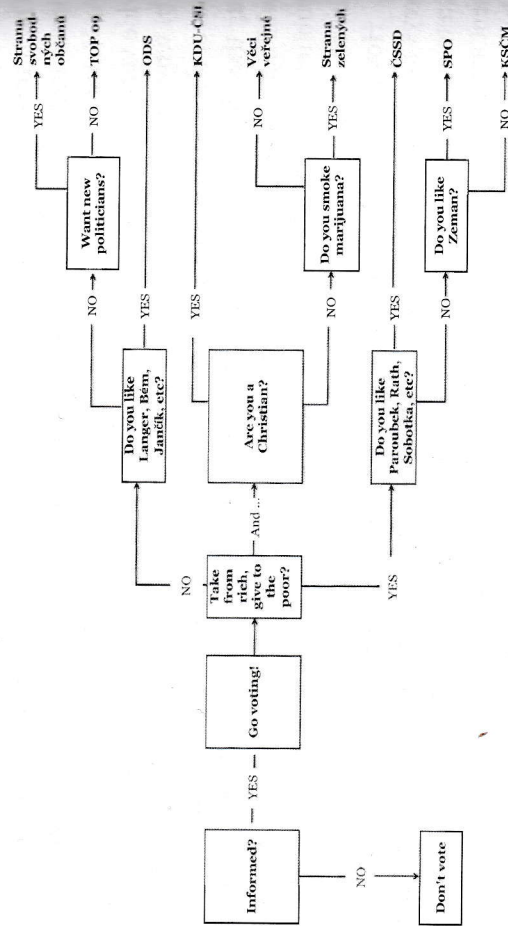
¹ A shorter version of this chapter published in Czech is available in Krejčí and Leontiyeva (2012: chapter 10).

handful of key factors. According to the voter's decision-making tree shown in Figure 3.1, the main determinants of both participation and party choice in the Chamber Elections of 2010 could be summarised in terms of four decision nodes.

First, the decision to participate was evaluated on the basis of level of information and knowledge. Second, if a person understood Czech politics then the next decision centred on the voters' left or right wing orientation; or more concretely supporting a party representing the 'rich' or the 'poor.' Third, once the voter had selected their ideological orientation the main criteria for supporting a specific left or right wing party depended on attitudes toward well-known politicians from the main left (ČSSD) or right wing (ODS) parties as appropriate. Such politicians were important because they were likely to hold high office in the next government; and facilitated making evaluations of the relative competence of the two coalition government alternatives.

Those who are Christians had the option of either supporting the centre-right Christian Democrats (KDU-ČSL); or alternatively on the basis of orientation toward smoking marijuana (a salient socially liberal issue) Czech voters could select the more liberal Greens (SZ), or the new law and order party called Public

Figure 3.1: The Czech voter's decision-tree in the chamber elections of 2010



Source: <http://www.motorkari.cz/forum-detail/?ft=88060&fid=34> (accessed 15/02/2012)

Note that this decision-tree is based on some citizens' perceptions of the party choices that were of offer during the election campaign of May 2010. This summary description of the electoral logic confronted by all Czech voters is interesting as it demonstrates which factors were considered by mobilised citizens most important in deciding if or how to cast a vote.

Affairs (VV). Fourth, if the voter was generally dissatisfied with the main left and right wing parties, those on the right could opt for the entry of new political faces on the national stage by voting for pro-European TOP 09 (an offshoot of KDU-ČSL); or the eurosceptic economically liberal, but socially conservative Free Citizens' Party (Strana svobodných občanů).²

The central lesson to be taken from the decision logic evident in Figure 3.1 is that electoral behaviour is seen by politically engaged citizens to be shaped by (1) information and knowledge, (2) left-right ideological orientation, (3) affective orientation toward party leaders or perceptions of their competence, and (4) specific issue based motivations relating to law and order, the EU, etc. The official election results of May 2010 provide little information on the relative importance of each of these four motivations in determining the dramatic election outcome observed (but see, Linek et al. 2012). Therefore, in order to understand how electoral democracy works in the Czech Republic election surveys are undertaken to measure voters' preferences and motivations.

The mapping out of Czech election surveys in this chapter is presented as follows. In the first section, a brief overview of the origins and development of mass surveying methods in Czechoslovakia (1967–1989) to examine political questions will be presented. The goal here is to show that the study of citizens' political attitudes in the Czech Republic has a long history notwithstanding the retarding effects of communism where surveying was denounced as an ideologically unground form of empirical social research. Sections 2 and 3 outline the survey data for lower and upper chamber elections over the last two decades. This is followed by a discussion of the two European Election Studies undertaken in the Czech Republic since EU accession in 2004. Section 4 maps out the survey data associated with elections to the local and regional levels of governance; and this is followed by an overview of exit poll results. Thereafter, the focus moves in the following two sections away from the immediate context of elections to the evolution of vote intentions and partisanship during inter-election periods as measured in panel and repeated cross-sectional surveys. In the penultimate section, there is an overview of the analysis of Czech electoral data from 1920 to 2010. These aggregate data are invaluable for studying spatial and cross-time trends in electoral behaviour. Thereafter, there are some concluding comments.

Before embarking on the mapping out of election data and associated analysis, some words are in order regarding immediate post-election processes such as government formation and duration. This field of research while the subject of considerable commentary in media and academic publications has not been

² Strana svobodných občanů has been linked in the Czech media with the neo-liberal policies preferred by President Václav Klaus (founder of ODS).

examined in the same detail using the standard formal and empirical models of political science. The data for such work is available in Müller, Fetschschoss and Harfst (2004) and Ryals Conrad and Golder (2010). For more details see internet resources in the appendix. Recent research on government coalition bargaining and government duration is given in Nikolejny (2003), Druckman and Roberts (2005) and Somer-Topcu and Williams (2008).³

3.1 Chamber Elections (1990–2010)

The first election survey undertaken in Czechoslovakia following the Velvet Revolution was a pre-election poll fielded between April 28 and May 11 1990.⁴ This survey used face-to-face interviewing with a stratified representative sample of the adult population. The fieldwork was undertaken by AISA and STEM and it yielded 2,710 interviews and a very high response rate of 93%.⁵ This extensive political attitudes and behaviour survey explored four key themes: perceptions of political parties and vote intentions, electoral participation, attitudes towards democratic elections, and attitudes toward proposals for economic and social reform (Gabal, Bogusak and Rak 1990).

This pre-election survey was unique in that the poll results were designed to be used by all parties competing in the Federal Elections of June 1990 to mobilise electoral participation. Consequently, the results of the AISA survey of April–May 1990 were published in the national (independent) newspaper *Lidové noviny* in a series of articles during May and June. These data have been deposited in the German Social Data Archive (GESIS).⁶ One of the most comprehensive accounts of this election, which uses this survey, is given in Klingemann (1996). A follow up post-election survey was fielded during the first half of November 1990 and it explores a wide range of domestic and international political issues (Tóka 2000: 152). These data are also available from GESIS (Study ZA 2561).

3 Research on government formation during the First Republic is primarily historical in nature. The application of standard coalition formation models from political science to Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak governments since 1920 is an area of research that holds considerable promise.

4 An inventory of all elections since 1990 is given in Appendix 3.1.

5 The National Democracy Institute (NDI) an influential American NGO provided AISA with expert consultation advice on the design of this survey in March 1990. For more details see http://www.ndi.org/files/1379_sk_elec.pdf (accessed 15/02/2012).

6 For details of this survey which is catalogued as 'Study ZA 2562: Czechoslovakian 1990 Parliamentary Election' and further details are available at: <http://info1.gesis.org/dbksearch13/sdesc2.asp?no=2562&db=e&doi=10.4232/1.2562> (accessed 15/02/2012).

With the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic in 1993, all subsequent pre- and post-election surveys dealt only with the Czech Republic. The Czech elections of 1996, 2002, 2006 and 2010 have a small common set of questions that facilitate exploring topics such as voter turnout, party choice, partisanship, left-right orientation, trust in institutions and political efficacy.⁷ Each of these four post-election studies have been undertaken by CVVM using a slight modification of the omnibus quota sampling methodology to interview voters aged 18 years or more (rather than the usual sample of respondents aged 15 years or more). While each of these surveys has been the subject of a number of publications exploring specific facets of individual elections, there have been relatively few publications examining trends across all elections (note, Linek et al. 2003; Lebeda et al. 2007).

A central argument in a recent book entitled *Zrazení snu?* [Betrayal of the Dream] uses this set of post-election surveys, in addition to other relevant survey datasets, to explain why Czech citizens' trust in politics declined and their sense of dissatisfaction with party politics increased between 1996 and 2006 (Linek 2010). This study argues that three key events: (a) the economic crisis of the late 1990s, (b) the party funding scandals of 1997–'98 and (c) the opposition agreement of 2002 underpin Czech voters' sharp and permanent decline in political satisfaction with political actors and institutions. An exploration of the observed changes in electoral participation between 1996 and 2010, again using post-election surveys, concludes that Czech voter turnout is best explained using Valence Theory where the expected benefits of voting determines level of turnout.

The key implication of this research is that it is the 'supply' of parties; and hence the nature and range of party choice available to Czech voters that determines variation in turnout. All of the post-election surveys undertaken since 1996 contain a sufficiently large common set of standard questions that it is possible to make both cross-time and cross-national comparisons. This data harmonisation work has been undertaken under the auspices of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) project; and has generated a considerable amount of research where Czech political attitudes and behaviour form part of larger cross-national analyses (Klingemann 2009, Dalton and Anderson 2011, Golder and Stramski 2010).⁸ More will be said about CSES in a later sub-section of this

7 Unfortunately, the unexpected nature of the Chamber Elections of 1998 mean that relatively few questions were asked in a post-election survey examining recalled electoral behaviour.

8 Details of this comparative research programme are available at <http://www.cses.org/>. A special edition of Electoral Studies journal (Special Symposium: Public Support for Democracy: Results from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Project, March 2008, 27(1), 581–776) edited by Ian McAllister) demonstrates the scope of research possible with this post-election survey data.

Table 3.1: International comparison of legal restrictions on election polling

Country	Restriction on publishing Pre-election polls	Restriction on publishing Exit Polls
Australia	None	None, except for Victoria
Austria	None	-
Belgium	None	-
Denmark	None	-
Estonia	None	-
Finland	None	Yes
Germany	None	None
India	None	Yes
Ireland	None	-
Latvia	None	-
Netherlands	None	-
New Zealand	None	Yes
South Africa	None	None
Sweden	None	Yes
United Kingdom	None	None
United States	None	Yes
France	1 day (24 hours)	-
Greece	1 day	-
Poland	1 day (24 hours)	-
Lithuania	1 ¼ days (30 hours)	-
Canada	2 days (48 hours)	Yes
Portugal	2 days	-
Romania	2 days	-
Albania	5 days	None
Russia	5 days	-
Spain	5 days	Yes
Bulgaria	7 days	None
Cyprus	7 days	-
Czech Republic	7 days	None
Montenegro	7 days	Yes
Slovakia	14 days	-
Italy	15 days (Paracondicio principle)	Yes
Peru	15 days	Yes
Luxembourg	28 days (1 month)	-
Singapore	None during campaign	Yes

Sources: Rohme (1997), Spangenberg (2003), Smith (2004), Oireachtas (2009), Article 19 (2003), Bale (2002), Baines, Worcester and Mortimer (2007). Note this table represents the situation in late 2011. There have been considerable changes in the law on opinion polls over time. The non-availability of information on restriction of exit polls suggests in most cases that there are no restrictions because the law makes no references to this form of polling.

Theory, Data and Analysis

chapter. Another topic that has been of particular significance to those interested in the survey based analysis of Czech electoral behaviour is the importance of class voting where data from IVVM and CVVM have been used (Matějů 1996; Vlachová and Řeháková 2007; Smith and Matějů 2011).⁹

Political parties have commissioned their own private pre-election polls and used them for evaluating their election campaigns. For example, the Social Democrats (ČSSD) are known from media reports to have received the results of weekly polling undertaken by STEM prior to the 2006 general election; and received political marketing advice from the influential American polling firm, Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates that has strong experience in managing general election campaigns in the United States (Bill Clinton) and Britain (Tony Blair).

Another point that is important to keep in mind is that the legal constraints on pre-election surveys in the Czech Republic are relatively stringent in comparative terms, as the evidence presented in Table 3.1 reveals. The law imposing an embargo on the publishing of polls in the final week of a national election campaign is similar to the legislation that existed in France between 1977 and 2002. In the French case, the law was changed because newspapers began to publish poll results during the embargo period outside of France in Belgium or on the Internet. To date, nothing similar has occurred in the Czech Republic.¹⁰

Pre-election surveys estimating likely party choices have a strong strategic importance in the Czech Republic; and have generated considerable controversy. This is because the electoral system has a 5% threshold for representation in the Chamber of Deputies, and if surveys close to an election indicate a small party may fall below this threshold; then parties believe such estimates may lead to a bandwagon or snowball effect where support falls as voters decide not to 'waste' their vote on a party with no presence in parliament (Kreidl and Lebeda 2003; Lebeda, Krejčí and Leontiyeva 2004: 51–66; Lebeda and Krejčí 2007: 34–61).¹¹

The question of what constitutes accurate and reliable estimates of voter turnout and party support in pre-election (also known as 'trial heat') surveys is an important topic of ongoing research within the election surveying literature (note,

⁹ The Czech electoral system allows non-resident citizens to vote in person at the nearest Czech embassy or consulate. Using official election data that give details of migrants' party choices, Fridrmuc and Doyle (2006) reveal that migrants' preferences are different to their domestic counterparts and reflect the values norms of their host country.

¹⁰ The embargo on pre-election polls is known to have been used in a strategic manner in French presidential elections (Baines, Worcester and Mortimer 2007). One of France's domestic intelligence services, Les Renseignements Généraux, is also known to have published misleading polls in an attempt to manipulate French public opinion (ESOMAR 1998: 2).

¹¹ There have been anecdotal reports and accusations in the print media that survey based estimates of party support have been used in a strategic manner and without regard to the principles and ethics of scientific surveying espoused by professional market research organisations.

Box 3.1: Estimating likely voters in a pre-election survey

Techniques for determining likely voters in an election have been developed by many political polling companies. The Gallup likely voter model is the most used method. The general approach adopted is:

- If voter is not registered or says they won't vote, exclude as likely voter (leaves about 80–90% of respondents)
- Seven questions are used to determine likely voter status among remaining respondents on the basis of (a) Past behaviour: How often has the respondent voted in the past? (b) Practical knowledge of voting process: Do you know where your polling place is?
- All respondents are given a score that ranges from zero to seven (0–7)

Assumptions

- Estimate the effective target voting population, i.e. proportion of eligible voters who will vote
- Select a realistic voting turnout threshold or set of thresholds that reflect perhaps electoral participation in recent similar elections
- Voters who are above the threshold are “likely voters”

Step 1:

1. How much have you thought about the upcoming elections for president, quite a lot or only a little? (Quite a lot, or some = 1 point)
2. Do you happen to know where people who live in your neighbourhood go to vote? (Yes = 1 point)
3. Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district? (Yes = 1 point)
4. How often would you say you vote, always, nearly always, part of the time or seldom (Always, or nearly always = 1 point)
5. Do you plan to vote in the Presidential Election this November? (Yes = 1 point)
6. In the last presidential election, did you vote for Al Gore or George Bush, or did things come up to keep you from voting? (Voted = 1 point)
7. If “1” represents someone who will definitely not vote and “10” represents someone who definitely will vote, where on this scale would you place yourself? (Score of 7–10 = 1 point)

Step 2: Adjust for not registered, say will not vote, and already voted

Step 3: Adjust for the young as they are systematically less likely to turnout

Step 4: Using demographic weights estimate profile of turnout on 0–7 scale

Step 5: Estimate likely voter turnout at different thresholds and associated vote intentions

Estimates of voter turnout using a Gallup poll, October 24 2004

Criteria for estimating turnout	George W. Bush (Republican) %	John Kerry (Democrat) %
Registered voters - Unweighted	49.7	45.6
Likely voters - Weighted	49.0	46.2
Likely voters - 50.0% turnout	52.5	43.3
Likely voters - 55.0% turnout	52.4	43.5
Likely voters - 60.0% turnout	51.9	44.1
Likely voters - 65.0% turnout	51.6	44.6
Actual results - 56.7% turnout*	50.7	48.3

* Voter turnout was unusually high on Nov. 2 2004, i.e. 6.4% higher than in 2000, and the highest since 1968. The unusual nature of this election made estimation of likely voters more difficult because the strength of the relationship between the determinants of participation was different to those in evident in most previous elections.

Disadvantages of likely voter models

- The likely voter model is primarily a motivation oriented explanation of turnout
- Vote motivation changes in ways that are not always directly related to voting behaviour

Buchanan 1986, Martin, Traugott and Kennedy 2005; Gelman and King 1993; Ateneaux 2006). Box 3.1 demonstrates one strategy used by a major political surveying company to obtain more reliable estimates of electoral participation, and hence party support. Such tasks are fundamentally important in successfully predicting election outcomes.

1.2 Senate Elections (1996–2010)

Unlike all other levels of governance that have elected representatives, elections to the Senate are unique in that there are never upper chamber contests across the entire country (this only happened for the inaugural election). A third of seats are up for election every two years. This staggered election schedule combined with a majority run-off (two rounds) system, general lack of popularity and trust in this institution has had a strong impact on the academic study of this type of second-order elections (Lebeda, Malcová and Lacina 2009, Reif and Schmitt 1980). In the first Senate Elections of 1996, a three wave panel study was undertaken by SC&C. Czech senate elections have two rounds, so the first wave of the panel survey was fielded immediately prior to the first round (November 13–14); the second wave was undertaken immediately prior to the second round (November 20–21); and the final wave involved interviewing respondents immediately after the second round.¹²

This panel survey is invaluable because it is the only study in the Czech Republic that facilitates exploring the *dynamics* of electoral participation; however, this panel survey has been rarely examined taking advantage of this data structure (note, Kreidl and Lebeda 2003). Czech senate elections are characterised by personal voting suggesting that candidate characteristics influence vote choice. Kreidl (2009) demonstrates using this panel dataset the importance of candidate effects on voting behaviour; and in addition reveals that the profile of the ‘ideal candidate’ varies systematically across subgroups of voters.

There was also some senate election surveying undertaken on October 22–24 and November 3–4 1998 by Factum for TV NOVA; where questions focussed on predicting the results in each senate (single member) constituency by asking items on vote choice in the first round and vote intentions for the second round, and voters’ perceptions of the senate campaign. Some post-senate election surveying was undertaken by STEM in December 1996 and January 1997 using

¹² This panel survey employed a probability stratified sample where 1,174 face-to-face interviews were undertaken with a representative sample of the electorate (18 years or more). For more details see, <http://sda.soc.cas.cz/data/0079/0079.htm> (accessed 15/02/2012).

many of this company's trend series of questions (Tóka 2000: 143). None of this data have been archived with ČSDA.

To sum up, there are few examples of survey based analyses of electoral behaviour in Czech senate elections. However, there have been some studies using electoral and candidate data to explore the effects of the majority runoff system on party representation (Lebeda 2011; Lebeda, Malcová and Lacina 2009; Lebeda, Vlachová and Řeháková 2009). Otherwise most of the survey data relating to the Czech Senate relate to (a) the public debate surrounding the establishment of an upper chamber which was explored in IVVM surveys from late 1993, and (b) public trust in the Senate and all other political institutions - questions that are asked frequently within the IVVM/CVVM monthly series of surveys (Herzmann and Rezková 1993).

3.3 European Elections (2004–2009)

Since Czech accession to the European Union in 2004, there have been two Czech waves in the European Election Study series of post-election surveys.¹³ In addition, to a standard questionnaire designed to explore the motivations underpinning electoral participation in 'second-order' elections this comparative research programme has also undertaken parallel studies of party manifestoes, the European Election campaign and surveys of candidates standing for election. This integrated approach to the study of supranational elections was especially evident in the EES (2009) study.¹⁴

To date there has been relatively little work published specifically on European electoral behaviour in the Czech Republic. Analyses undertaken for the first European elections in 2004 have focussed primarily on the actual election results and exploring the spatial pattern of turnout and party choice (Linek 2004, Linek and Lyons 2005, 2007ab). In general, much of the survey based literature on voting in European Parliament elections across the European Union since 1979 has focussed on testing the implications of the Second-Order-Election-Thesis of Schmitt and Reif (1980) who argued that the lower salience of all contests that

are not general elections is typified by lower turnout and higher support for small incumbent parties. Survey data on European Elections in the Czech Republic may be accessed from the EES website.

3.4 Regional and Local Elections (2000–2010)

A regional tier of government was created in the Czech Republic in the late 1990s and the first regional elections were held in 2000. To date, there have been three rounds of regional elections in 2000, 2004 and 2008. Most of the research on these regional contests has not used survey data to construct for example individual level models of turnout or party choice; and this remains an area of opportunity for future research work (see, Vajdová 2001, Balík, Kyslousek, Chaloud et al. 2005, Šaradín 2008, Eibl et al. 2009, Kostelecký 2007). A number of questions were included in a CVVM survey of November 2008 that focused on exploring differences in individuals' attitudes toward electoral participation between different types of elections. One of the central motivations for this research is the Second-Order-Election-Thesis (noted earlier) which argues that voters (and parties) have a hierarchical view of elections.¹⁵

Here decisions relating to turnout and party choice are characterised by (1) turnout is lower than in national elections; and (2) voters are more likely to support small protest or peripheral parties rather than express a 'normal vote' for one of the mainstream parties, as would happen in a typical general election. Consequently, regional elections are used by politically engaged citizens to express preferences about the performance of the incumbent government, often by expressing dissatisfaction (Reif and Schmitt 1980; Reif, Schmitt and Norris 1997). Although these elections are 'non-salient', they are important in the signals they provide to incumbent governments. For example, the 2004 European elections in the Czech Republic resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister Vladimír Špidla and the temporary collapse of the Social Democrat led government due to a poor showing by the ČSSD in these 'mid-term' elections.

It is important at this point to note that political attitudes within the Czech Republic at the regional level have been examined using mass survey techniques. Here samples of about a thousand respondents have been used to explore distinct regional cultures (Vajdová and Kostelecký 1997; Kostelecký 2001; Koste-

lecký 2001). First order elections are defined as general (lower chamber) elections that yield government. In contrast, second-order elections relate to the election of sub-national assemblies, national offices such as the president who do not perform a strong executive role or national referendums on topics such as the European Union.

13 The central goal of the European Election Studies (EES) is the comparative study of electoral participation and voting behaviour in European Parliament elections. In addition, themes such as the evolution of an EU political community and a European public sphere, citizens' perceptions of and preferences about the EU political regime, and evaluations of EU political performance have also been examined. For more details see, <http://www.europeanelectionstudy.net/> (accessed 15/02/2012).

14 A recent special issue of the Electoral Studies journal (Special Symposium: Electoral Democracy in the European Union, 30(1): 1–246, March 2011, edited by Sara B. Hobolt and Mark Franklin) demonstrates some of the key topics examined in the 2009 European Election Study of 2009 that was funded and managed by the PIREDEU project funded by the EU. For details see, <http://www.piredeu.eu/> (accessed 15/02/2012).

lečský and Čermák 2004). Such research stems from the apparent stability of party choice across all elections in the Czech Republic since 1920: a fact evident in electoral maps (Jehlička and Sýkora 1991; Kostecký 1993, 1994; Kostecký, Jehlička, Sýkora 1993; Voda 2011). Such examinations of the spatial basis for differences in political attitudes and electoral behaviour also includes related themes such as the Czech public's sense of local, regional and national identity (Nedomová and Kostecký 1997; Vlachová and Reháková 2004, 2009).

The use of mass political surveys for the study of local elections in the Czech Republic is very limited for three main reasons. First, local contests relate to a level of governance that has limited powers; and are thus considered relatively unimportant. Second, local elections exhibit strong candidate effects implying that the results from these contests do not provide a strong indication of public satisfaction with government performance. Third, as local elections are dominated by a multitude of local issues and personalities these characteristics are not well suited to examination through nationally representative sample surveys. However, it is important to note that CVVM have asked questions about turnout and a small number of other topics in surveys fielded in 1990, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010.

To date, there have been no published survey based analyses of voting in local elections. Local election scholarship in the Czech Republic has tended to use of local rather than sampling data. For example, Kostecký (1996) examined how local elections acted as the foundations for the establishment of local elites. Otherwise, local government has been examined from a historical or institutional perspective. The most notable exception to this evaluation is a large survey project undertaken for the local elections of November 1994 by STEM. With a relatively large sample (N=11,672) this pre-election survey, conducted in late May and early June, explored voting behaviour in terms of left-right orientation and local political issues; where the goal was to map out regional differences in political attitudes. This data has not been archived (Tóka 2000: 127).¹⁶

3.5 Exit Poll Survey Data (1990–2010)

One of the most important types of election based surveys are those undertaken directly outside polling stations on Election Day in all lower chamber elections since 1990. In addition, there have been exit polls for the EU accession referendum and the two European Parliament elections. Many of these exit polls

16 It seems this data was used by Jan Hartl, head of STEM, to write a series of newspaper articles that provided a profile of contemporary Czech political parties.

have been commissioned by Czech Television and TV NOVA for their immediate post-election coverage where the goals have been (a) to predict the outcome before all the counting of ballots has been completed, and (b) to provide some basic explanations of the election outcome.

Typically an exit poll questionnaire asks: party choice in the current and previous elections, timing of voting decision, party choice in the last general election, and perhaps some items on perceptions of parties, party leaders and priorities for the next government.¹⁷ All of these exit polls have large sample sizes where recent SC&C exit polls have about 15,000 respondents. Here is a brief overview of all exit polls undertaken in the Czech Republic.

- Federal Elections 1990: Gallup International, INFAS (Germany) and IVVM
- Federal Elections 1992: INFAS (Germany), IVVM and FACTUM-non Fabula
- Chamber Elections 1996: (i) IFES (Austria) and SC&C for Czech Television; (ii) INFAS (Germany), Sofres-Factum for TV NOVA¹⁸
- Chamber Elections 1998: (i) IFES (Austria) and SC&C for Czech Television; (ii) INFAS (Germany), Sofres-Factum for TV NOVA
- Chamber Elections 2002: SC&C for Czech Television
- European Parliament Elections 2004: SC&C for Czech Television
- Chamber Elections 2006: SC&C for Czech Television
- Chamber Elections 2010: SC&C and SPSS ČR for Czech Television¹⁹

On some occasions exit poll surveys have formed part of an election study series. This was the case in May–June 1996; when STEM undertook two large pre-election polls (N=6,205 and 5,455) and an exit poll (N=8,846). Many of the items in STEM's trend series of political questions were fielded in these surveys (Tóka 2000: 138). The Exit Polls for 1992 and 1996 are freely available from the Czech Social Science Data Archive (ČSDA). However, the results for more recent exit polls are not publicly available although it has been possible to purchase cross-tabulation tables of this data from SC&C.

17 An SC&C report on the exit poll of 2010 demonstrating the scope and use of such data is available at: img2.ct24.cz/multimedia/documents/17/1699/169810.doc (accessed 15/02/2012).

18 Tóka (2000: 138) indicates that STEM also undertook an exit poll for the Chamber Elections of 1996. However, it seems more likely that this was a standard post-election cross-sectional survey.

19 The costs associated with exit polling are relatively high and prohibitive for most media organisations. It was reported that SC&C were paid 2.4 million Kcs and SPSS ČR, 2.2 million Kcs approximately for the 2010 exit poll commissioned by Czech Television. <http://www.louc.cz/10/2210601.html> (accessed 15/02/2012).

Exit poll data are typically used by academics to build profiles of the voters for different parties. Linek and Lyons (2007a,b) have used exit poll data to make estimates of party switching behaviour across pairs of consecutive elections and compare the results with (a) other post-election surveys (e.g. the Czech wave of CSES) and (b) ecological inference statistical estimates using official election results. At this point, it makes sense to give some recent practical examples of the insights that may be gained from examining exit poll survey data.

3.5.1 Some insights from the SC&C Exit poll (2010)

There are a number of key questions that are particularly well suited for study with an exit poll with a large sample that records respondents reported vote choices within a few minutes of casting a ballot. Consequently, many of the methodological problems associated with eliciting recalled vote choices in post-election polls such as voter over-reporting (i.e. incorrectly claiming to have voted in an election) and providing inaccurate accounts of party choice because of social desirability and other survey response effects are minimised. One of the important questions that may be addressed in an exit poll with a very large sample ($N \geq 10,000$) are the structural bases of party choice.

The Chamber Elections of May 28–29 2010 were one of the most dramatic over the last two decades. There were four key trends. First, the two largest parties lost close to one and a half million votes when compared to their performance in 2006. Second, two parties lost all their representation in parliament (the Christian Democrats, KDU-ČSL and the Greens, SZ). Third, two parties lost their leaders on the basis of a poorer than expected electoral showing. Fourth, two new centre-right parties made a breakthrough with TOP 09 (Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity 2009) and VV (Public Affairs) becoming the third and fifth largest parties in parliament respectively. In contrast to previous elections, the parties of the right won a convincing victory winning 118 out of 200 seats. In sum, the official election results suggested a significant change in the nature of party competition.

These data suggest that some of the larger and more established parties lost significant levels of support between 2006 and 2010. An examination of vote switching between these chamber elections using estimates from the SC&C Exit Poll (2010) shown in Table 3.2 reveals that KSCM has the most loyal voters (82%) and both the Social and Civic Democrats lost significant amounts of support (ČSSD: 35%, ODS: 49%). Although the Christian Democrats had a higher loyalty rate (60%) than ČSSD and ODS, their loss of support mainly to TOP 09, ODS and VV resulted in their failure to exceed the 5% threshold to enter parliament.

Table 3.2: Vote switching in the chamber elections between 2006 and 2010, percent

Party/year	Recalled party choice in 2006									
	ČSSD	ODS	KSCM	KDU-ČSL	SZ	Other	Did not vote	No right to vote	Total	
ČSSD	65	3	6	4	5	5	14	8	22	
ODS	2	51	1	6	9	7	13	20	21	
KSCM	6	1	82	2	3	2	8	1	11	
KDU-ČSL	1	1	1	60	3	3	1	2	4	
SZ	1	1	1	1	19	3	3	3	2	
Other	2	3	2	2	6	18	10	12	5	
TOP 09	4	26	1	16	30	20	21	30	17	
VV	8	10	2	5	15	23	19	17	11	
SPOZ	6	2	1	2	5	7	7	5	4	
Suverenita	4	2	2	2	4	11	5	2	3	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: Exit Poll 2010, SC&C and SPSS Czech Republic for Czech Television. Surveying was undertaken on May 28–29 2010. Total sample size was 25,380 respondents interviewed in 370 districts.

Note that column totals, i.e. source of party support in 2010, sum to one hundred percent. The final column on the right indicates the total level of party support in 2010 excluding non-voters: who are by definition not interviewed in exit poll surveys. The bold numbers on the diagonal indicate levels of consistent or loyal voting in the 2006 and 2010 elections. This table should be interpreted as follows. Almost two thirds (65%) of those who voted for ČSSD in 2006 also voted for this party in 2010. The remaining 35% switched their votes away from the Social Democrats and voted for rival parties such as KSCM (6%), TOP 09 (4%), VV (8%) and SPOZ (6%).

The Green Party's limited electoral appeal and difficulties in maintaining party unity while in coalition with ODS and KDU-ČSL meant it has had representation in the Lower Chamber for just one legislative term (2006–2010) since the party was founded in 1990. The estimates in Table 3.2 indicate that most green party support drifted to TOP 09 (30%), VV (15%) and ODS (6%). The voter transition estimates presented in Table 3.2 demonstrate that the success of new parties such as TOP 09 and VV was based on two key mechanisms: (a) vote switching by those who reported voting for ODS and ČSSD (but not KSCM) in 2006, and (b) attracting first time voters and abstainers in 2006.

One of the key themes in the post-election commentary was that the declining fortunes of the established parties and emergence of new parties had a strong age component. The exit poll profile of party support for all parties is shown in part (a) of Table 3.3 reveals that support for some established parties (ČSSD, KSCM and KDU-ČSL) was more concentrated among the older cohorts (40 years plus). In contrast, the new parties (TOP 09 and VV) attracted much higher than average levels of support among three youngest cohorts. Notwithstanding these age

Table 3.3: Exit poll estimates of age and party choice for the Chamber Elections of 2010

(a) Composition of specific party choice by age cohort

Party	Age cohorts							Total
	18-19 yrs	20-21 yrs	22-29 yrs	30-44 yrs	45-59 yrs	60 yrs+		
ČSSD	2	2	7	22	29	39	101	
ODS	3	3	15	33	25	20	99	
KSČM	1	2	6	18	35	39	101	
TOP 09	5	6	20	37	21	11	100	
VV	5	5	18	36	23	14	101	
KDU-ČSL	2	2	12	27	28	29	100	
SZ	5	5	26	38	17	9	100	
SPOZ	3	5	19	36	24	13	100	
Suverenita	1	3	10	27	32	27	100	

(b) Vote choice by age cohort

Party	Age cohorts							Total
	18-19 yrs	20-21 yrs	22-29 yrs	30-44 yrs	45-59 yrs	60 yrs+		
ČSSD	13	10	11	16	25	37	100	
ODS	19	19	23	23	20	17	100	
KSČM	2	6	4	7	15	18	100	
TOP 09	28	28	24	21	13	8	100	
VV	15	14	14	13	10	6	100	
KDU-ČSL	3	3	4	4	4	5	100	
SZ	4	3	4	3	2	1	100	
SPOZ	4	5	6	5	4	2	100	
Suverenita	1	3	2	3	4	4	100	
Other	11	9	8	5	4	2	100	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: Exit Poll 2010, SC&C and SPSS CR for Czech Television

Note that total percentages in both tables sum to one hundred subject to rounding error. The data in table (a) should be interpreted as follows. Popular support for ČSSD is mainly composed of older voters, i.e. 29% of 45-59 year olds and 39% of 60 years or more. In contrast, in table (b) a plurality of 18-19 year olds (28%) voted for TOP 09, while a further 19% voted for ODS, 15% supported VV and 13% ČSSD.

differences, the 'middle-aged' (30-44 years) constituted the most important demographic for many established (ODS, SZ) and new parties (TOP 09, VV and SPOZ). This constellation of parties suggests that this middle aged group constitutes a demographic heartland for right or centre-right wing parties.²⁰

²⁰ The age profile of voters for the centre-right TOP 09 and SZ are most similar being concentrated among those aged 18 to 29 years. In the cases of the leftist ČSSD and KSČM these two

The party support by age cohort estimates presented in part (b) of Table 3.3 facilitates viewing the most popular parties within each cohort. These data show that TOP 09 was generally the most popular among young voters. In contrast, older voters' preferred party in the Chamber Elections of 2010 was the Social Democrats (ČSSD). The general implication from Table 3.2 is that there is a broad partisan division within the Czech electorate based on age where (1) older citizens socialised under the communist regime are more social democratic than (2) the younger post-communist generation who are generally centre-right, and (3) a middle aged group who came of age around the fall of communist who exhibit a right wing (ODS) orientation.

Having examined "snapshot" (cross-sectional) surveys in the previous sections, it is now time to turn our attention to survey data that facilitate exploring the dynamics of attitude change at the individual level with a panel survey design.

3.6 Panel Survey Data on Political Topics

Most surveys are cross-sectional in that the respondents are interviewed on one occasion. These 'one shot' surveys provide a picture or snapshot of society at a specific point in time. However, such surveys do not facilitate studying directly the process of social or political change. In order, to examine change at the individual level using a representative sample of the adult population; it is necessary to interview the same respondents at two or more time points. This is the basic logic behind panel surveys. Use of repeated cross-sectional panel surveys (i.e. name questions but different respondents in each poll) may be used to indirectly infer attitudinal change, but they are less suited to this task than panel survey data (Vinopal 2009b). It should be noted that there are important panel surveys undertaken in the Czech Republic such as EU-SILC and SHARE that are useful for examining some political questions; however, the central focus of these research programmes is on social inequality and ageing respectively, and not politics.²¹

parties are most similar because most of their voters are aged 60 years or more. The implication here is that with demographic metabolism rightist parties will attract more support in future elections as left wing voters exit the electorate through mortality.

²¹ More details on these panel surveys may be consulted in other chapters of this book and at the following websites: European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) - http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/microdata/eu_silc
Survey on Health and Aging in Europe (SHARE) - <http://www.share-project.org/>

There have been less than a handful of panel surveys dealing explicitly with political themes in the Czech Republic. As noted earlier, there was a two-wave panel for the first senate elections in 1996 that allows one to study electoral participation and candidate choice where the attitudes before and after the election may be compared. Another panel survey with political questions was a four wave study undertaken in the town of Klatov \acute{y} (an urban administrative centre in the Plzeňský kraj / Pilsen region, which contains about 23,000 inhabitants) between September 1999 and November 2000.

This unique study taking inspiration from Lazarsfeld et al.'s (1944: 155) work on the link between interpersonal communication and formation of political attitudes via a two-step flow of information model was led by Prof. PhDr. Hynek Jeřábek CSc. This political attitudes survey had an initially large sample of over 2,000 respondents that eventually declined to a final panel size of about 500 respondents due to well-known panel attrition effects. This study explored the stability of local citizens' political attitudes and values and contains standard items for measuring left-right orientation, etc. (note, Jeřábek 1999; Schubert 2010). To date this panel survey has not been archived with ČSDA.

A more ambitious panel study project examining political attitudes and media agenda-setting was implemented by CVVM over a twelve week period from April to July 2008. A panel of about 650 respondents undertook on a weekly basis to send a self-completed questionnaire to CVVM. Using a postal mode of interviewing in a panel survey is unusual as much panel surveying is currently undertaken via the Internet. An examination of the dynamics of Czech citizens' attachment to parties (party identification) revealed that the social-psychological or social identity basis for stable party support, seen by many scholars as a key foundation for a stable democracy, is strong. However, the number of citizens with some sense of party attachment constitutes only a minority of the total electorate (Linek and Lyons 2009). This panel survey has not been archived with ČSDA.

3.7 Inter-election Political Opinion Polling

Political opinion polling is undertaken frequently during inter-election periods where media outlets, parties and interest groups of various types commission surveys to examine specific topics. Most of this commercial polling is undertaken by a handful of companies such as STEM, SC&C and Factum invento.²²

²² According to Tóka (2000) a number of polling companies such as Factum and STEM included a standard set of political question in their omnibus monthly polls throughout the 1990s

The aggregated results from such research are often published in the print media. It is possible with this data, for example, to compare different polling companies' estimates of likely party support in the next elections.²³ However, the individual level survey datasets are most often unavailable; and they are currently not archived in a systematic manner with the Czech Social Science Data Archive (ČSDA). In this respect, researchers need to make representations to a polling agency regarding specific survey datasets.

Fortunately, the situation is different with CVVM as this is not a commercial market research organisation. Its primary purpose is to undertake surveys of Czech citizens' attitudes as a public service, and many of its monthly surveys contain two sections: (1) a standard battery of items that are asked in all surveys or at least periodically [see below], and (2) special modules commissioned by academic researchers examining specific topics such as public attitudes towards women's participation in politics. All of these monthly surveys are archived with the Czech Social Science Data Archive and are freely available for analysis by researchers.²⁴

The range of political topics that have been the subject of CVVM surveys is large and almost all topics of public debate have been examined on at least one occasion. Unfortunately, there is as yet no searchable 'question bank' as provided by the websites of the German and Norwegian Social Data Archives that would allow a researcher to identify which surveys examined specific topics. Nonetheless, exploration of the archive of CVVM press releases and its bi-annual magazine *Naše společnost* is possible through a 'search' feature on the CVVM website, thereby identifying questions and surveys of interest.²⁵

It was noted above that CVVM asks a standard battery of questions each month and an additional set of questions periodically. The standard set of questions asked in all polls (beyond the socio-demographic items) is intention to participate in elections, vote intention, closeness to a political party, left-right orientation, satisfaction with the political situation and trust in political institutions such as the President, government and houses of parliament. Ideally, there would be a combined individual level data file containing all the standard questions with a harmonised set of socio-demographic variables. Unfortunately, such an individual level repeated cross-sectional dataset does not currently exist. This is

²³ Very little of this data has been archived with ČSDA.

²⁴ For example, at the STEM website (<http://www.stem.cz>) there are monthly estimates for vote intentions that go back a number of years. There appears to be no single web page that presents all this monthly vote intention data in a spreadsheet format allowing the plotting of trends or more detailed statistical analysis.

²⁵ For an overview of the main political survey variables from 1990 to 1996, see Toká (2000: 10-116).

²⁶ <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/index.php?lang=2&disp=vyhledavani> (accessed 15/02/2012).

Prague Spring political reform programme (see, Brokl et al. 1999; Lyons 2009). Most of the questions in the May 1968 survey were replicated forty years later in May 2008 where the goal was to see if Czech citizens' democratic attitudes and values were significantly different under communism (1968) and liberal democracy (2008).

The results of this research presented in Lyons (2009) reveal that there is a remarkable stability in attitudes across time where Czechs living under communism had very similar attitudes to their descendants living in a multiparty liberal democracy. This finding is important because it suggests that democratic values can exist independent of prevailing political institutions; and the idea that Czechs had to 'learn democracy' in tabula rasa manner in the 1990s is an over-simplification of a more complex political reality.²⁷

3.8 Examples of inter-election dynamics

One of the most important features of inter-election periods is the evolution in support for political parties in regular opinion polls undertaken by CVVM, STEM and Factum Invenio that are regularly reported in the media. In addition, parties also pay great attention to their performance in local, regional, senate and European elections as these events are seen to provide important information about the popularity of a party in the next general election. Within European political science there has been considerable research on differences in voter participation and party choice across consecutive general and European elections.

3.8.1 Evolution of electoral preferences

To keep matters simple, the estimates of vote intentions presented in Figure 3.2 focus on a single year - 2004; and the first European Parliament elections held in the Czech Republic on June 11-12 2004. Competition for the 24 seats during the campaign was primarily candidate-centred. A rather lacklustre and lukewarm campaign was dominated by a curious mix of candidates: the first and only Czechoslovak cosmonaut, Vladimír Remek, who went into space on board Soyuz 28 in March 1978 (KSČM); German-based but Prague-born porn star Dolly Buster or Nora Baumbergerová nee Dvořáková (NEL, Independent Erotic In-

²⁷ An interesting comparative analysis of voters and politicians learning democratic politics in the decade after the fall of communism in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland is given by Tvorzecki (2002). For a comparative analysis of economic voting in Central and Eastern Europe, see Pacek (1994), Fidrmuc (2000), Fidrmuc and Doyle (2003), Tucker (2006), Roberts (2008), Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2008) and Fauvelle-Aymar and Stegmaier (2008).

because there are considerable problems in harmonising questions and response options that have changed over the last two decades; and this is especially true for surveys from the early 1990s.

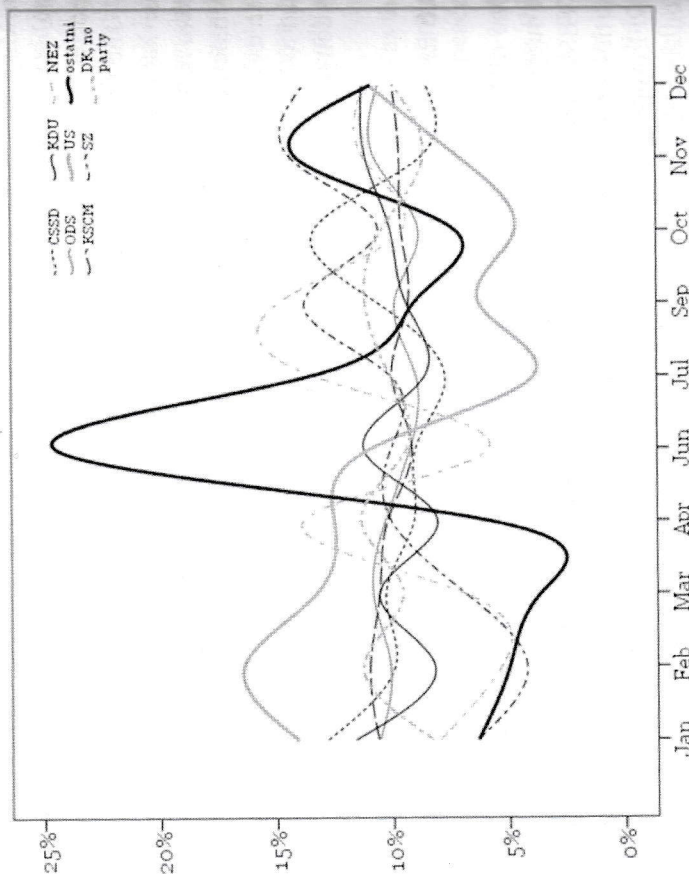
The opportunities offered by the construction of such datasets are evident in recent work by Lukáš Linek (2010), which employs cohort analysis to examine citizen support for the Czech Communist Party (KSČM); where it is argued using CVVM data that political socialisation is a key determinant of long-term support for this party. In this respect, some commentators' prediction that KSČM would disappear within a short period proved to be incorrect. According to Linek's (2008b) estimations this party will have sufficient popular support to remain in parliament until the early 2020s, and possibly beyond. In short, to paraphrase one of Oscar Wilde's more famous epigrams the imminent death of KSČM has been greatly exaggerated.

One of the most important political events since the Velvet Revolution was the dissolution of Czechoslovak Federal Republic in 1993. In comparative terms, this event is important because it represents one of the few examples of a peaceful dissolution of a federal state. Typically, federal states disintegrate with considerable violence as happened in Yugoslavia during the early 1990s. For this reason, survey data on Czech and Slovak political attitudes is very important because it provides invaluable information on the citizen or mass basis for the failure of the Czechoslovak state.²⁶ In this respect, an AISA survey of political attitudes in May-June 1991 with hour long face-to-face interviews with 1,260 respondents provides an important opportunity to explore attitudinal and value differences that might have underpinned dissolution (see, Rose 1992). Much of the literature on political attitudes in Czechoslovakia under communism stresses the importance of the 'national question' in key historical events such as the Prague Spring 1968 and the fall of communism in 1989 (note, Dean 1973; Steiner 1973; Kusý 1997; Hilde 1999; Brown 2008).

It is important to conclude this sub-section on inter-election survey data with an example of research on political attitudes where the goal has been to explore opinion change across time within the Czech Republic. One of the earliest political attitudes surveys for which there are individual level data is a study entitled *Postoj občani k politice* (Attitudes of Citizens towards Politics) which was undertaken in May 1968. The fieldwork for this survey was fielded by ÚVVM (a predecessor to CVVM) and the goal of this research was to provide data for the

²⁶ Contemporary IVVM surveys indicated that there was not majority public support for the dissolution of the Czechoslovak federal state suggesting that this was an elite led decision (Young 1994; 11-18; Kraus 2000; Deegan Kraus 2000: 254-256). A CVVM survey fielded in December 2007 revealed that a plurality of Czechs (47%) thought the breakup was unnecessary, 30% believed it was, and the remainder (23%) had no opinion.

Figure 3.2: Monthly trends in vote intentions for elections to the Chamber of Deputies during 2004, per cent



Source: CVVM omnibus surveys, 2004

Note that the monthly estimates of party choice among those fairly or very likely to vote are based on samples of approximately one thousand respondents and the confidence intervals on the vote intention estimates are $\pm 3\%$. Ostatní refers to small other parties.

initiative); former general director of TV NOVA, Vladimír Železný (Independent Democrats); and Viktor Kožený (OFD, Citizens' Federal Democracy) an entrepreneur later charged with embezzlement on a massive scale during the voucher privatisation of the 1990s. Pre-election polls undertaken by CVVM indicated that ODS would secure 26% of the vote followed by KSCM (12%), ČSSD (10%), KDU-ČSL (8%) and US-DEU ($\leq 5\%$).

In this election there was a record low turnout of 28%, although CVVM's pre-election poll in May had predicted a participation rate of 63%.²⁸ As predicted

²⁸ This is a good example of the problems over- and miss-reporting encountered in using pre-electoral surveys to predict voter turnout and party support. See Box 3.1. More will be said on this topic in chapter 7.

ed, ODS did well winning 30% of the vote (9 seats) followed by KSCM (20%), SNK (11%), KDU-ČSL (10%), ČSSD (9%), Independent Democrats (8%) and Greens (3%). As the ruling Social Democrat vote collapsed to a third of what it had been in the previous general election in 2002, ČSSD leader Vladimír Špidla was forced to resign and there was a government reshuffle.

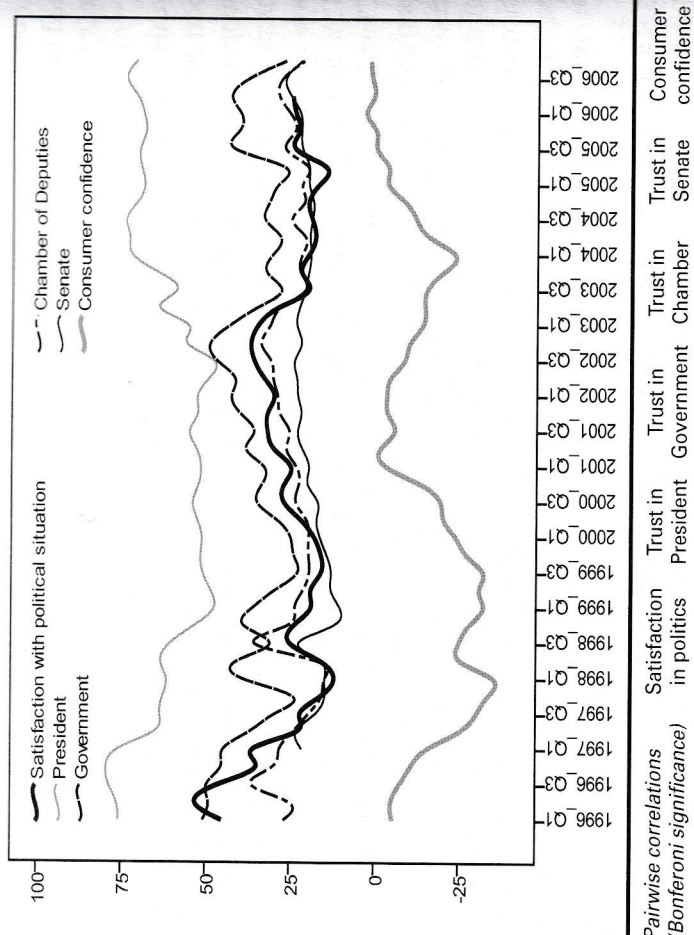
An examination of the vote intention data for 2004, shown in Figure 3.2 reveals four key patterns. First, there was a rapid growth from 5 to 25% in support for 'other' (ostatní) parties on the eve of the European elections. Popular support for these small other parties declined rapidly after the European Parliament elections, although it resurged somewhat later in the year. Second, there was a doubling in support for the Green Party (SZ) across 2004 from about 6 to 13% indicating some popular basis for its breakthrough in the subsequent 2006 Chamber Elections. Third, there was considerable volatility in support for small parties such as Union of Freedom (US) and to a lesser degree with the Independence party (NEZ). Lastly, all of the main parties retained largely constant levels of support across the entire year. Overall, the main message evident in the inter-election dynamics presented in Figure 3.2 is one of complex short-term changes that have their origins in real opinion changes and methodological features of surveying such as sampling error ($\pm 3\%$).

3.8.2 Public trust in politics and economic sentiment

Inter-election surveys also ask a variety of questions regarding citizens' attitudes toward the political regime and institutions of representation. Within political science many scholars argue that there is a qualitative difference between trust in institutions and attitudes toward office holders. There is reason to doubt that respondents participating in inter-election surveys do in fact separate the performance of institutions from office holders when making responses: as the logic of the trust item in political attitudes surveys assumes.

The CVVM time series data presented in Figure 3.3 is composed of three distinct series: (1) satisfaction with the regime; (2) satisfaction with national institutions of political representation; and (3) consumer confidence. The main pattern evident in Figure 3.3 is that all six series are correlated, where the rise and fall of the 'public mood' is evident across all survey indicators. It is not possible to definitively state without a more detailed time series analysis such as Vector Autoregression (VAR) the direction of causality. An example of such an analysis is given in the next sub-section. Another important feature of Figure 3.3 is that satisfaction with the regime (or political situation) appears to be a composite measure of trust in political institutions. These questions are reasonably strongly cor-

Figure 3.3: Trends in trust in government and parliament and consumer sentiment in the Czech Republic, 1996–2006 (quarterly)



related (ranging from .64 to .80) suggesting that there is attitudinal linkage.²⁹ The consistently higher level of public support given to the President suggests that Czech citizens have greater trust in non-partisan institutions.³⁰

The period under consideration is important because it includes a phase of economic decline between 1997 and 1999, which had its origins in a currency and banking crisis accompanied by a number of political scandals. This led to an unscheduled general election in June 1998; and a series of austerity packages that rapidly cut public spending. The polling data on the left of Figure 3.3 shows that economic and political turmoil was accompanied by a decline in consumer sentiment, trust in political institutions, and satisfaction with the regime. In general, the correlation between consumer sentiment and the political indicators ranges between .34 and .49 suggesting a moderately strong relationship.

It is necessary at this point to stress that great care is required when interpreting correlations of time series data. Strong bivariate correlations may be spurious in capturing little more than common trends due to third factors such as partisanship in the political trust variables trends, or may be due to chance. Therefore, it is not valid to infer causality from the correlations reported here without undertaking appropriate time series econometric modelling – a topic for further research.

The strongest correlation observed is between consumer confidence and trust in the Senate ($r=.78$). This is a surprising and puzzling relationship. If this correlation is not spurious, one possibility is that trust in Senate is more strongly associated with citizens' personal resources, such as higher levels of education, political knowledge and income as is evident in other research. And it is this subset of citizens who are more sensitive to changing economic sentiment because many members of this group are key figures in business. For the moment such explanations must remain speculative and represent an important avenue for future research, as little has been written on how economic factors shape political satisfaction ratings in the Czech Republic.

The CVVM time series data presented in Figure 3.3 demonstrate a number of important lessons when working with inter-election survey results. First, the responses to sets of political attitudes questions may be correlated indicating the presence of a more general public mood. Second, the manner in which respondents answer questions may not always reflect the logic of the question design. Here we see that changing levels of trust in institutions appears to be driven by

²⁹ An analogous pattern is evident in individual level analyses of ISSP data (see, Linek 2010: 58–59).

³⁰ A similar phenomenon was evident in the higher levels of government satisfaction given to the technocratic government of Jan Fisher which was in office between May 8 2009 and June 25 2010.

Pairwise correlations (Bonferroni significance)	1.000	Satisfaction in politics	Trust in President	Trust in Government	Trust in Chamber	Trust in Senate	Consumer confidence
Satisfaction with the political situation							
Trust in the President	0.213		1.000				
Trust in the Government	.798	.280	.280	1.000			
Trust in the Chamber of Deputies	.719	.091	.091	0.670	1.000		
Trust in the Senate	<.001	.642	.284	<.001	.658	1.000	
Net consumer confidence (Eurostat)	.488	.016	.294	.499	.498	.768	1.000
			.878	.012	.012	<.001	

Sources: CVVM omnibus surveys, 1996–2006; Eurostat economic confidence surveys, 1996–2006. Note that the level of trust for the main political institutions and is taken from the responses of those aged 18 years or more between 1996 and 2006. This data has been aggregated to quarters and represents between 886 and 4,683 responses. The consumer sentiment time series is based on Eurostat's consumer confidence survey undertaken monthly in all EU member states with national samples of one thousand respondents. The consumer sentiment estimates are seasonally adjusted and represent the balance between positive and negative responses, and for the most part during this time period were negative.

the performance of office holders. Third, the economic climate is also important where changing levels of consumer sentiment is matched by variation in political attitudes. Fourth, establishing a causal relationship between time series variables requires careful modelling in order to avoid making invalid inferences because of failure to take into account factors such as spurious correlation, autocorrelation, trends and seasonal variation.

3.8.3 Causal links between public mood and trust in political institutions

One of the salient features of Figure 3.3 is the similarity in the trends observed between satisfaction in the political situation and trust in the Government, Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and to a lesser degree the President. Public satisfaction with the current political situation would seem from Figure 3.3 to be an indicator of the 'public mood' reflecting Czech citizens' general evaluation of all politics.³¹ One obvious question to ask of the trends observed in Figure 3.3 is what is causing what? For example, does public trust in the various political institutions determine the overall public mood? Or perhaps, it is the public mood that is shaping the level of trust in the President, Government and the Houses of Parliament? Alternatively, the situation may be more complex where trust in one political institution determines trust in another resulting in a complex set of direct and indirect relationships.

Given the possibility of complex relations between the time series variables shown in Figure 3.4, it makes sense to construct causal models that allow all of the trends to be interrelated. One statistical method of simultaneously treating all variables as both causes and consequences of each other is to estimate a Vector Autoregression (VAR) model. In order to keep matters simple and to ensure that the model estimates are stable, the VAR model estimated will be a parsimonious one containing four political variables where trust in the Senate is not considered.³²

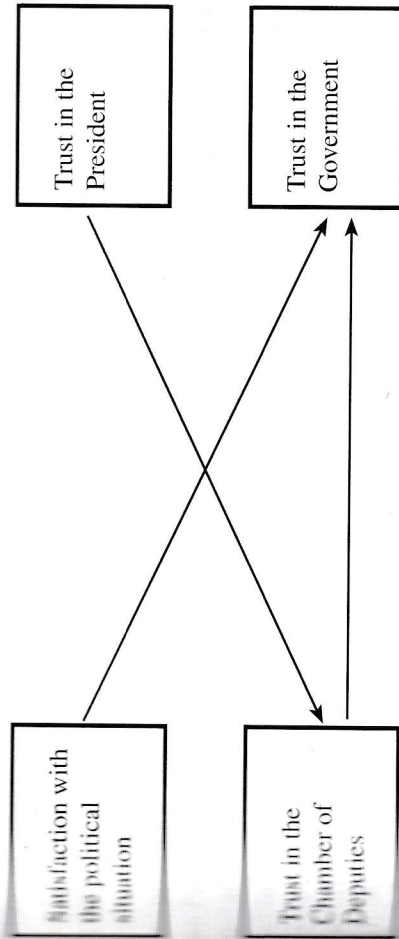
The essential logic of this model is best shown with an example. Trust in government at time 2 is said to be determined by trust in the Government at time 1 plus trust in the Lower Chamber at time 1 plus satisfaction in the political situation at time 1 plus trust in the President at time 1.³³ This same logic applies to the

31 This mood concept is similar to Stimson's (1999, 2004) 'public mood' or 'policy mood' in the sense that it refers to a general orientation toward politics that changes systematically over time. However, the public mood here is different in that it is based on a single item rather than a composite set of measures subject to a time series factor analysis.

32 This strategy is followed for two reasons. First, there is a shorter time series for the Senate as it did not come into existence until late 1997. Second, additional analysis reveals that trust in the Senate is independent of the other variables considered.

33 The model is a little more complex as it includes two lags. However, the modelling logic is the same regardless of the number of lags specified. A Wald (Footnote continued on page 134)

Figure 3.4: Granger causal model of the interrelationships between political mood and trust in key political institutions, 1996–2006 (quarterly)



Source: CVVM omnibus surveys, 1996–2006

Note: Arrows refer to causal relationships that are significant ($p \leq 0.05$). See table below for details. Vector autoregression analysis undertaken using quarterly data (q1 to q4), and refers to CVVM surveys undertaken between 1996 q1 and 2006 q4.

Wald tests for causal independence between satisfaction with the political situation, trust in the President, Government and Chamber of Deputies, 1996 q1 – 2006 q4

Independent variables	Dependent variables			
	Satisfaction with the political situation	Trust in the President	Trust in the Government	Trust in the Lower Chamber
Satisfaction with the political situation (d.f. 2)	1.98	7.21**	1.96	
Trust in the President (d.f. 2)	3.17	3.00	.47	
Trust in the Government (d.f. 2)	3.06	2.93	9.89**	
Trust in the Lower Chamber (d.f. 2)	1.99	7.02**	2.56	
All variables (d.f. 6)	6.89	17.83**	12.12*	27.91***

* $p \leq 0.10$ ** $p \leq 0.05$ *** $p \leq 0.001$ (two tailed test)

Note: In testing for Granger causality the null hypothesis is that the coefficients (plural because of lags) for a specific independent variable are jointly equal to zero. Consequently, a series of restricted and unrestricted models are tested. The Wald test assesses whether the unrestricted estimate of a coefficient is significantly different from a restricted estimate using a chi-square distribution with the degrees of freedom equal the number of model restrictions tested. Here the degrees of freedom correspond to the number of lags for which the Wald tests are calculated. For example, when explaining trust in government including past values of this variable, i.e. with a lag of two quarters or six months, this improves model fit significantly (chi-square (28,2) = 7.21, $p = 0.03$).

other three variables. The VAR model is estimated using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression where the interrelated links between the variables are modelled with no a priori expectations.³⁴

Equally important, a VAR model facilitates using the statistical concept of Granger causality to investigate the relationships between the political mood and trust measures (Freeman 1983). In simple terms, Granger causality is inferred from the fact that past values of both the dependent and independent variables determine the current value of the dependent variable. The past can shape the future, but not vice versa. This temporal constraint facilitates making statistical (Wald) tests of causality, in terms of direction, reciprocity and independence.

The results of the VAR model presented in Figure 3.3 reveal that the political mood measure, i.e. satisfaction with the political situation, is Granger causally independent of all the trust indicators. Moreover, political mood only has a significant effect on trust in the Government. Thereafter, trust in government determines trust in parliament; and this in turn shapes trust in the President. The pattern evident at the top of Figure 3.4 reveals (1) no reciprocal causation, and (2) a hierarchical relationship between the trust questions examined.

Uni-directional causation and independence suggest that the set of four political measures do capture different facets of Czech citizens' perceptions of national politics where the different CVVM questions should not be considered as manifest indicators of an underlying latent political mood measure: one plausible interpretation of the pattern evident in the centre of Figure 3.3. The directions of the causal arrows at the top of this figure suggest that the political mood question (satisfaction with the political situation) is independent of attitudes of trust in political institutions. However, changes in political mood do shape citizens' sense of trust in a very specific hierarchical way. Changes in mood influence trust in government which in turn shapes trust in parliament that in turn has an impact on trust in the President.

These results imply that the pattern evident in Figure 3.3 has a very specific structure where the general public mood is channelled through attitudes of

(Footnote continued...) test of lag restrictions indicates that some variables (trust in the President and Government) require a lag(2) specification. More details of the model estimation and diagnostics are given in Appendix 3.2.

34 Using an OLS estimator with non-stationary data is problematic because of the danger of making invalid inferences. Time series variables should be stationary (i.e. mean, variance and covariance of each variable should not depend on time indicating the presence of an underlying (non)linear trend). A standard strategy to ensure stationarity is to first difference the data, to estimate change per unit time. Unfortunately, differencing destroys information such as long run relationships (Beck 1991: 67–69). However, with VAR use of non-stationary variables where the goal is to identify relationships rather than accurately estimate coefficients is a valid exercise (Freeman, Williams and Lin 1989).

trust in the Government, Lower Chamber and President in sequence. One of the main implications to be taken from this time series (VAR) analysis here is that although there may be strong correlations between the public's political mood and trust variables; they refer to different political attitudes within the Czech electorate and should be seen as conceptually different measures. In this subsection, the focus has been on the large number of inter-electoral surveys and mapping the evolution of political attitudes. Politics of course is primarily driven by actions; and for this reason it is very important to consider in the penultimate section of this chapter data reflecting Czech's actual electoral behaviour. It is therefore appropriate at this juncture to turn our attention to election results.

3.9 Aggregate electoral data analysis research

Within political science there is a long tradition of using official or aggregated election results as these have been available since the progressive extension of the franchise in Europe and elsewhere since the late eighteenth century. These data are important because they are an accurate record of citizens' political behaviour; and it is possible to use them to make spatial (inter-constituency) and temporal (inter-election) comparisons, and thereby explore the patterning and dynamics of electoral behaviour within states. The construction of pan-European historical databases of constituency level election results have promoted this stream of research and key themes such as voter turnout, partisan support and the emergence of national political systems (Caramani 2000, 2004).

Here our focus is the organisation and use of Czech electoral statistics. It is important at the outset to provide some practical information regarding how official electoral data are archived and organised. Within the Czech Republic the organisation of elections is the responsibility of the Interior Ministry. The official results of all elections since 1990 are available from the Czech Statistical Office (ČSU). Its website (<http://www.volby.cz/>) has data for all national elections since 1990. At this website, the user may explore voter participation and party choice at the following levels in ascending order of size.

1. Okrsky or precincts (n≈15,000)
2. Obce or communities (n≈6,000)
3. Soudní okresy or judicial districts, sometimes also referred to as counties (n=76)

4. Kraje or region, typically also a constituency in lower chamber elections (n=14)
5. Národ or country (n=1)

This geographical system of administration has existed in this general form for close to a century and a half. In 1869, the regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire forming part of the Dual Monarchy (formed in 1861) were organised into a county system that was used for local administration and electoral purposes (Mills Kelly 2007). The nature and composition of this spatial hierarchy have modified over time because of demographic and political changes. Nonetheless, there is a reasonable level of continuity within this schema to explore social, political and economic change within the territory of the contemporary Czech Republic to allow some analysis of electoral stability and change over time. However, it is important to be aware that there is some debate regarding the classification of communities (*obcí*) in the study of local party systems (Hoskovec and Balík 2010).

3.9.1 Historical electoral data and analysis

Information and data on national elections (the Lower Chamber and Senate) during the First Republic (1918–1935) and immediately after the Second World War (1946) are given in a two volume study by the Czech Statistical Office (Kuklík et al. 2008).³⁵ Between 1920 and 1946 there were four lower and senate chamber elections held simultaneously in 1920, 1925, 1929 and 1935. A large number of parties (16 to 22 per election) competed for 300 seats in the Lower Chamber and 150 seats in the Senate; where throughout the fifteen year period more than 50 parties competed for seats. The large number of parties reflected the ethnic nature of the Czechoslovak state where there were in essence four party systems generally reflecting left-right policy orientations among Czechs, Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians. Minorities such as the Ruthenians in the sub-Carpathian and the Poles in the Slezsko regions were never large or organised enough to constitute pivotal segments of the electorate in coalition bargaining.

The fissiparous effects of using a party list proportional electoral system in an ethnically divided state were attenuated by informal mechanisms such as (a) consensus agreements among the five main party leaders known as 'pětka', and (b)

³⁵ Elections for the office of President were undertaken within the two chambers of parliament. The same electorate has been used since 1990 in electing the head of state. For more details on the history of Czech presidential elections between 1918 and 2008 see, Tabery (2009). Slovakia changed its rules following the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federation and it has a popularly elected president. Popular elections for the Czech presidency will take place for the first time in early 2013.

agreements brokered through President Masaryk's office in an informal system known as 'hrad' or the castle (Luebbert 1991: 291; Orzoff 2009).³⁶ However, use of these two mechanisms to justify more efficient government decision making during times of crisis is seen to have undermined popular support in party politics. There is some evidence of this feeling in the decision to limit the number of parties (6 and later 8) allowed to compete in the general election of 1946 under the framework of the National Front (see, Kaplan 1997).

In addition, there were municipal elections where the first was held in 1919 prior to the first national elections, which is a little unusual. During the First Republic and under communism electoral participation was mandatory; and consequently voter turnout rates were typically very high ($\geq 90\%$).³⁷ Bicameral systems are usually justified on the basis that each chamber has a different electorate with contrasting priorities and interests, and will thus generate different election outcomes. During the First Republic, the qualifications for voting and being a candidate in the upper and lower chambers were different; however, the election outcomes as Table 3.4 demonstrates were often close to being identical.

These similar election outcomes, as noted earlier, may have reflected the strong ethnic and left-right cleavages in Czechoslovak society, but they also ensured that the Senate never adopted a sufficiently independent position to endear itself to the Czechoslovak electorate. Notwithstanding these intrinsically important features of electoral behaviour during the First Republic such as the relative importance of ethnicity and class on vote choice, as explored by Kopstein and Wittenberg (2009); one of the main reasons for studying historical electoral data in the Czech Republic is to test the hypothesis that voting behaviour exhibits considerable stability.³⁸

An examination of the stability of voting patterns for four 'traditional parties': the People's Party (ČSL, later KDU-ČSL), the Socialist Party (ČSNS, ČSS), the Social Democrats (ČSSD) and the Communists (KSČ), in the first post-communist elections in June 1990 reveals considerable similarity with the past. The patterns of support evident in Figure 3.5 for the Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL) suggest a strong regional basis of partisan support. Often this party's support for policies that match with Catholic social democracy led scholars to conclude the spatial patterning evident in Figure 3.5 reflected the Roman Catholic orienta-

³⁶ Pětka and Hrad will be discussed later in the introduction to chapter 5.

³⁷ The minimum age for voting age was initially 21 years, but this was later reduced to 18 years. There were also restrictions on the minimum age for candidates for various types of elections. For details, see Broklová (1992).

³⁸ Some have argued that party competition in the First Republic did not take place in a single Czechoslovak party system (Kyloušek 2005). There were in fact distinct Czech, German and Slovak party spaces and voting patterns where ethnicity and left-right orientation determined party choice. An analogous pattern is evident in contemporary Belgium.

Table 3.4: Comparison of party support in the lower and upper chambers during the First Republic (1918–1938), per cent

Year / Chamber	1920		1925		1929		1935	
	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
ČSDSD	25.7	28.1	8.9	8.8	13.0	13.0	12.5	12.6
ČSL	11.3	11.9	9.7	10.1	8.4	8.7	7.5	7.7
DSDAP	11.1	11.4	5.8	6.0	6.9	6.9	3.6	3.7
RSZML	9.7	10.1	13.7	13.8	15.0	15.2	14.3	14.1
ČSNS	8.0	7.6	8.6	8.5	10.4	10.3	9.2	9.2
NSJ	6.3	6.8	4.0	4.2	4.9	5.0	5.6	5.6
MKSS	4.5	2.7	1.4	1.4	3.5	3.7	3.5	3.6
AB	3.9	3.5	7.9	7.9	5.8	5.9	6.9	6.8
ČZOSS	2.0	2.1	4.0	4.2	3.9	4.2	5.4	5.4
KSČ	NA	NA	13.1	12.7	10.2	10.0	10.3	10.2
SdP	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	15.2	15.0
Other parties	17.5	15.9	22.9	22.4	18.0	17.0	5.9	5.9

Source: Czech Statistical Office, Volby do Národního shromáždění 1920 až 1935, data available at http://www.czso.cz/csu/2006edicniplan.nsf/publ/4219-06-1920_az_1935

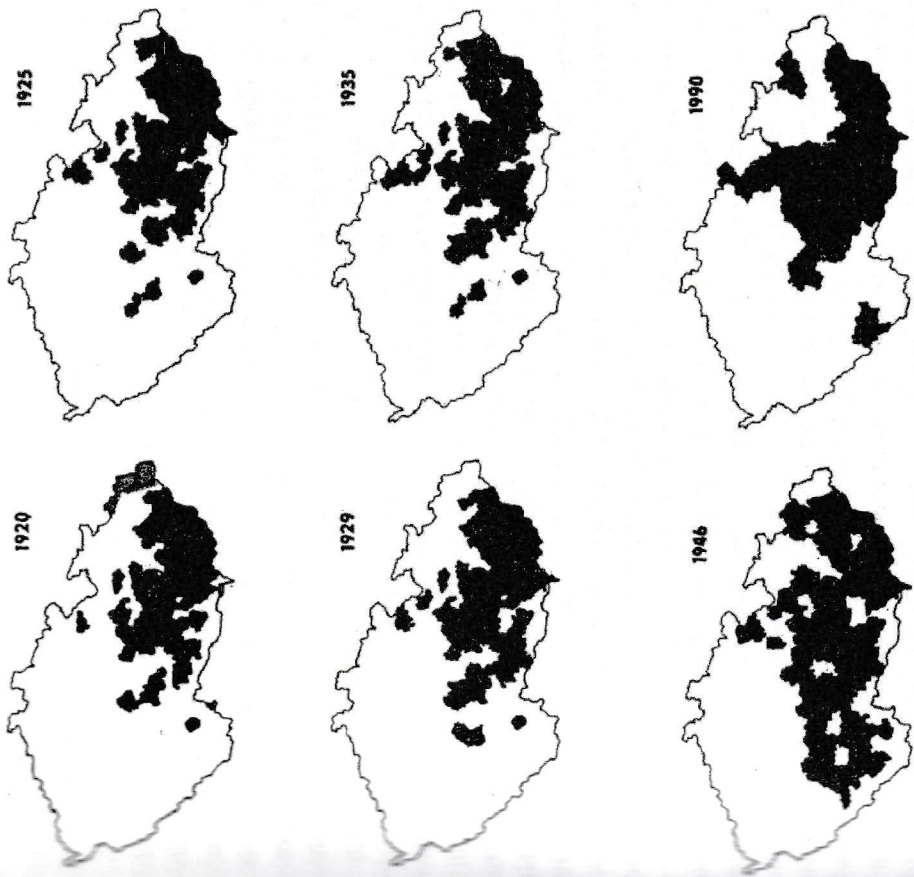
Note that the lower and upper chambers refer to the Poslanecká sněmovna and Senat respectively. The level of party support (%) refers to the parties that won most votes and seats in one or more elections. Consequently, the columns do not sum to one hundred per cent as the many smaller parties have been excluded in order to simplify the presentation.

Legend of parties: ČSDSD, Československá sociálně demokratická strana dělnická, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Worker's Party; ČSL, Československá strana lidová, Czechoslovak People's Party (Catholic); DSDAP, Německá sociálně demokratická strana dělnická, Deutsche sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei, German Social Democratic Workers' Party; RSZML, Republikánská strana zemědělského a malorolnického lidu, Republican Party of Agricultural and Smallholder People; ČSNS, Československá strana národně-socialistická, Czechoslovak National Socialist Party; NS, Národního sjednocení, National Unity MNKSS, Maďarsko-německá křesťansko-socialní strana, Magyar és Német Keresztényszocialista Párt Magyarisch-deutsche christlichsoziale Partei, Hungarian and German Christian Socialist Party; AB, Autonomistický blok; ČZOSS, Československá živnostensko-obchodnická strana středostavovská; KSČ, Komunistická strana Československá, Czechoslovak Communist Party; SdP, Sudetoněmecká strana, Sudetendeutsche Partei, Sudeten Germans Party.

tion of Moravian society. Spatial analyses for the 1920–2010 period show that the Christian Democratic vote continues to exhibit a high level of stability (Vodha 2011).³⁹ These results presented in the form of maps and correlations at the dis-

39 A similar type of cross-time spatial analysis has been undertaken for the Communist Party (KSČ, KSČM) in the Olomouc region, see Balík (2006).

Figure 3.5: Spatial pattern of electoral support for the Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL), 1920–1990



Source: Juhlička and Sýkora (1991: 85). There were some areas on the north-eastern frontier (Slezsko or Śląsko) in 1920 where there were no elections due to conflict and unresolved border disputes with Poland. Note that the black pattern refers to counties or 'judicial districts' (soudní okresy) where the ČSL secured more than half (50%) of the popular vote. These spatial comparisons suggest the presence of a local political culture or value system, most likely associated with Roman Catholicism, for much of the twentieth century. This local political culture appears not to have been affected by different regimes and systems of governance indicating a degree of autonomy between political values and institutions. It is important to note that this is an aggregate level of analysis that may not be reflected in individual level survey data due to the problems associated with making ecological inferences. An overview of the correlation of KDU-ČSL support for all elections between 1920 and 2010 at the okres level is given in Appendix 3.3.

trict level (soudní okresy) suggest the presence of a distinctive political culture that has survived through processes such as socialisation and inter-generational transmission.

Some analyses of the spatial patterning of party support during the First Republic and during the post-communist era find support for the thesis that there are localised stable party heartlands (Jehlička and Sýkora 1991: 85–86; Kostelecký, Jehlička and Sýkora 1993; Voda 2011). More recently, there have been examinations of the spatial stability of party support using municipal level data for the Vysočany and Liberec regions (Čiháková and Balík 2010; Maškarinec 2011).⁴⁰ These heartlands or regional political cultures most likely reflect common structural bases for party support. Such thinking fits neatly with Lipset and Rokkan's (1967) influential social cleavage theory of voting which emphasises the importance of history and structural stability in explaining party support. Subsequent analyses of the spatial pattern of voting from 1992 onwards reveal that this stability has weakened considerably over the last two decades (Kostelecký 2001; Kostelecký and Čermák 2004a).

A central methodological consideration in the analysis of historical electoral statistics at the constituency and sub-constituency levels is the stability of electoral units across time. Comparison of voting patterns across time requires having a set of constant units where the electoral geography remains constant or at least sufficiently consistent to construct (synthetic) electoral units.⁴¹ Fortunately, most okrsky (precincts), obci (communities) and many okresy (districts) have remained constant over time. As a result, it is possible for electoral studies scholars or psephologists to compare the same spatial units for which there are electoral and census data over many decades.

In this respect, reference volumes such as the Czech Statistical Office's historical lexicon of districts in the Czech Republic between 1869 and 2006 provide valuable information about the territorial composition of constituencies over an extended time (Růžková and Škrabal 2006a,b). More concretely, the same organisation has also produced a valuable overview of all elections during the First Republic (1918–1935); and immediately after the Second World War (1946). All

40 This party heartlands thesis has been subject of a number of unpublished regional or city studies typically undertaken within the framework of postgraduate level dissertations, e.g. Doležálek (2008). Such work suggests that the notion of stable party support is seen to be important in research on sub-national electoral research.

41 In some European countries such as the UK, and more specifically England, the boundaries of the smallest electoral units, District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) have changed substantially over time due to socio-demographic change and institutional reforms. As a result, using England's substantial body of historical electoral statistics is severely limited because constant units for comparison are not available for many places. Other West European countries such as France (commune) and Spain (comuna) are similar to the Czech Republic (obec) in having small geographical units of representation with a long history.

of this data is given for the district (okres) level which refers to about 300 units. There were more administrative counties in the early twentieth century than is the case today because of factors such as removal of ethnic Germans in 1945–1946, creation of Cold War secure de-populated zones in border areas, migration and urbanisation.⁴²

3.9.2 Contemporary electoral data and analysis

As it is almost a generation since the first democratic elections in 1990, the accumulation of electoral results from local, regional and national elections has resulted in the emergence of a distinct sub-field focussed on electoral data and related census statistics. Much of this research has a strong geographic basis where scholars examine what are sometimes called 'local party systems' where the units of analysis are electoral results at the community or obcí level (Hudák, et al. 2003; Šaradín and Outlý 2004; Balík 2008, 2009). One of the themes in this research is the impact of non-partisan political actors (independents) on local political representation and Czech democracy more generally. In all communal elections (komunální volby) between 1994 and 2010, the number of independent candidates elected has been quite high (~80%) indicating that Czech parties do not have strong local roots.

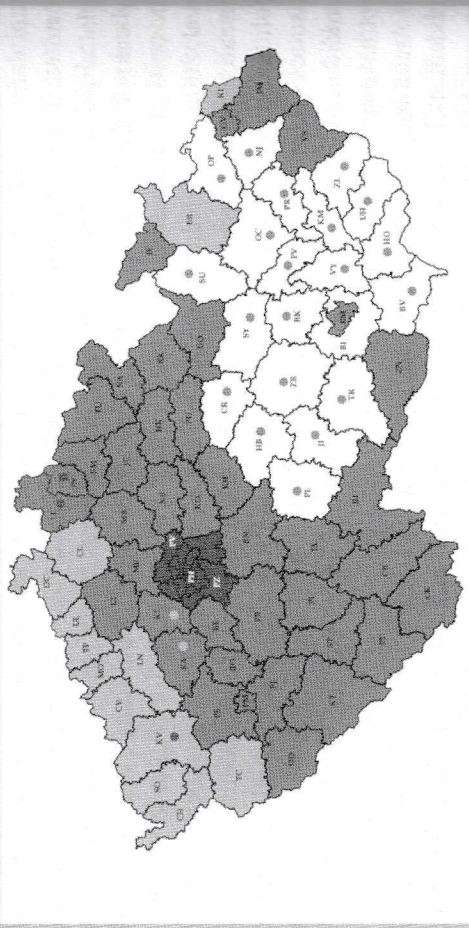
An alternative approach to analysing electoral data is to (a) estimate statistical models such as spatial regression, (b) ecological inference estimation to explore the structural determinants of party choice at the national level. From this perspective, the variation in spatial units in terms of their electoral and census characteristics provides a means of formulating and testing causal models. For example, Kouba (2007) using various spatial modelling techniques examined the 'institutionalisation' of the Czech party system between 1990 and 2006. Here the goal was to see if there is evidence for a regional component to voting indicating the presence of a localised political culture. Although, two macro-regional units (Moravia and former-Sudeten German areas) were identified the impact of context was not seen to be important.

Later research by Lyons and Linek (2010) using an ecological inference estimator with vote switching data across a pair of elections (Chamber Elections 2002 and European Elections 2004) identified four political regions as shown in Box 3.2. It should be noted that ecological inference refers to statistical methods used to estimate likely individual level behaviour from aggregate level data. These methods, as will be discussed later in Section 4.1 of Chapter 8, depend critically on being able to make assumptions about how individual level votes are

42 Some of this data and related books are available at: <http://www.czso.cz/csu/edicniplan.nsf/aktual/ep-4#42> (accessed 22/02/2012).

Box 3.2: Evidence for local political cultures within the Czech Republic

A common theme in Czech electoral history is the importance of region. During the existence of Czechoslovakia it was common to refer to the distinctiveness of areas of ethnic majorities, e.g. Czech, German, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, etc. Within the Czech Republic there is frequent reference to cultural differences between Bohemia and Moravia. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that research using official election statistics often emphasises the spatial distribution of party support as discussed in this chapter and shown in Figure 3.5. This empirical evidence suggests that there are distinct regional patterns in the Czech Republic and hence the basis for local political cultures. In contrast, comparative analyses of party system nationalisation reveal that the Czech Republic has relatively low levels of regional voting implying that local political cultures are not that important.



Source: Election Statistics, Czech Statistical Office (<http://www.volby.cz/>); Lyons and Linek (2010: 391) Note that the classification of counties and county towns is based on a hierarchical cluster analysis of the Lower Chamber election results of 2002 and European elections of 2004. The regions are labelled as follows (1) Bohemia and urban Moravia (dark grey); (2) Rural Moravia (white); (3) Prague (black); (4) Northwest Bohemian borderland (light grey). Districts with different coloured solid circles at their centre indicate areas where there were urban/rural differences.

Lyons and Linek (2010) examined this puzzle by employing an alternative approach to the statistical analysis of aggregate level election data. An ecological inference technique was used to make estimates of vote switching behaviour at the *individual level* across a pair of elections. One important step in this process is the identification of regions where voting patterns are similar. The results of this analysis presented in the map above reveal the existence of four distinct regions or political cultures in the Czech Republic. One interesting feature of this analysis is that the broad division of the country into Bohemia and Moravia simplifies a more complicated situation where urban/rural divisions are also important. In addition, the impact of history is evident in the fourth region on the map. The Northwest Bohemian borderland covers much of the territory associated with the German speaking Sudetenland. This area was resettled after the Second World War following the forced removal of the local German population. The new settlers' community structures were not only different to the German communities, but have remained distinct when compared to the rest of the country. This is especially evident in the persistently low levels of electoral turnout.

The inductive approach to the identification and study of local political cultures using aggregated election statistics represents an interesting and important stream of research. Future work employing longer time periods and data from a broader range of election types will undoubtedly add greater detail to the map shown above; and may perhaps also provide insight into the dynamics of change in Czech political culture.

aggregated to form the patterns observed (Achen and Shively 1989; Wakefield 2004; Freedman et al. 2008: 83–104).

This ecological inference work is theoretically interesting because it shows that in a high nationalised party system such as the Czech Republic, where parties obtain approximately the same level of support in all constituencies as shown in Table 3.5. The presence of non-uniform electoral swings shows that voters do not view elections in the same manner as some advocates of the party system nationalisation thesis contend (Caramani 2004: 39–40).

Table 3.5: Party system nationalisation in the Czech Republic

Election type and year	General Election (GE)					EP	GE	EP
	1990	1992	1996	1998	2002			
OF	.91	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ODS	—	.92	.91	.89	.90	.93	.91	.92
ČSĎD	.76	.88	.91	.93	.95	.95	.92	.91
KSĎM	.95	.95	.94	.92	.90	.91	.91	.91
KDU ČSL	.81	.70	.77	.80	.87	.70	.76	.70
BZ	.81	—	—	—	.92	.90	.88	.79
HSD SMS	.38	.40	—	—	—	—	—	—
SPR RSC / RMS	—	.84	.86	.87	—	—	—	—
ODĀ	—	.73	.86	—	—	—	—	—
US / US-DEU	—	—	—	.89	—	—	—	—
Voter turnout	1.00	.98	.98	.98	.97	.94	.97	.94
Mean total score	.80	.80	.89	.90	.92	.89	.89	.86

Source: Linek and Lyons (2010: 380); Election Statistics, Czech Statistical Office (<http://www.volby.cz/>) Note that the estimates are 'inverted' Gini coefficients of party support weighted according to the size of the unit of analysis for all Lower Chamber Elections (or General Elections, GE) and European Parliament elections (EP) since 1990 within the Czech Republic. The units of analysis are electoral constituencies (1990–1998, N=8; 2002–2009, N=14). These units are not constituencies for EP elections as the whole country is a single constituency. When smaller units are used instead of constituencies (76 counties + 15 Prague units, N=91; or counties divided into urban and rural areas + 15 Prague units, N=159), the results are on average lower by .02. KDU-ČSL and US-DEU ran in 2002 as electoral coalition under the name Koalice (these figures are in the KDU-ČSL row). The mean total score is the arithmetic mean for all parties and voter turnout and provides an overall measure of party system nationalisation.

Legend: OF: Civic Forum (umbrella movement); ODS: Civic Democrats (rightist); ČSĎD: Social Democrats (leftist); KSĎM: Communist Party (extreme left); KDU-ČSL: Christian Democrats (centre-right); SZ: Green Party (centre-right); HSD-SMS (a small regional party in Moravia) and SPR-RSC/RMS: Republican Parties (nationalist); ODA/US-DEU: Union of Freedom (rightist).

An alternative use of (Bayesian hierarchical) ecological inference with Czech electoral and census data for the 1929 and 1935 lower chamber elections has examined if increased inter-ethnic contact in local communities (obec) was associated with greater support for liberal parties. Kopstein and Wittenberg (2009) find that the link between the ethnic composition of communities and non-ethnic voting was weak as other intervening factors also played an important role. Later work by Gregor (2012) using the same ecological inference technique examined key implications of Gregory M. Luebbert's (1991) theory regarding the transition away from democracy during the inter-war period in Europe. This study shows that this theory helps explain voter transition estimates why the Czechoslovak First Republic remained democratic when neighbouring countries did not.

The goal of this brief overview of aggregate electoral data analysis in the Czech Republic has been to highlight two central points. First, there is a wealth of data available for the analysis of electoral participation and party choice; and this resource is expanding as Czechs participate in an increasing number of types of elections. Second, there is already a well-developed literature on aggregate electoral data using a wide variety of techniques ranging from maps to regression models and ecological inference analyses of vote switching behaviour. Third, there are important opportunities for integrating electoral data with map based databases using Geographic Information Systems (GIS); and use of multilevel modelling techniques when combining aggregate election results with individual level survey data. In short, there is still much to be learned from aggregated electoral data.

Conclusion

The central goal of this chapter has been to provide an introduction to the different types of data associated with citizen elections in the Czech Republic since 1990. Consequently, the approach has been descriptive where the aim has been to identify and map out the most important sources of survey data based for the most part on representative national samples. All of these data are archived at ČSDA, GESIS or UKDA and are freely available for academic use.

In the Czech Republic there are broadly speaking seven types of election surveys that focus on voters (plus candidate and party member surveys) attitudes and behaviour. These citizen election studies differ on the basis of type of survey and when the interviewing has taken place during the election cycle. As inter election periods constitute most of the time observed, there are most survey data

for recalled party choice and vote intentions in the next election. It should be noted that such inter-electoral estimates of electoral behaviour by CVVM, STEM, Faktum Invenio, SC&C, etc. are likely to have relatively high levels of measurement error because most voters outside of election campaigns have limited information about, or indeed interest in, elections.

In this respect, one would expect that the stability and reliability of voting preferences recorded in inter-election surveys will vary systematically through the election cycle. More specifically, the correlation between vote intentions and future (and past) party choices will be greatest immediately before and after elections; and will be least at the mid-point between successive elections (Gelman and King 1993; Arceneaux 2006; Lyons 2008a: 82–87). Moreover, there are good reasons to think that other standard questions asked frequently in inter-election polls such as trust in political institutions are likely to exhibit systematic patterns that reflect such factors as (a) the partisanship of the respondent *vis-à-vis* the incumbent government, (b) the presence of scandals, (c) state of the economy, (d) methodological effects such as changed question ordering or revisions in the question or response format, and (e) idiosyncratic effects beyond sampling and measurement error that are difficult to identify in the absence of theoretical or a priori expectations. In sum, the variation present in inter-election surveys must be examined carefully as some of the observed variance has its roots in proximate real world events; and the rest is due to systematic variations in public interest in politics.

The final section of this chapter showed that the study of Czech citizen politics is not restricted to surveys. Aggregated electoral data have the distinct advantage of being an unbiased and accurate record of what citizens did on election day. Of course, these official election results are aggregated to ensure secrecy of the ballot; and so it is not possible to test individual level voting models. Ecological inference estimators may be used to overcome this problem, however, here much depends on the validity of the models' assumptions.

In this chapter, the focus has been on the Czech Republic and electoral behaviour. Fortunately, it is possible to adopt a much broader comparative perspective through the use of an ever growing set of international surveys dealing with political attitudes and behaviour. It is to this topic that we now turn to in chapter 4.