

Have You Really Not Participated?--Social Desirability Bias in an Opposite Direction*

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Abstract:

Using the Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 survey data set, we demonstrate that the social desirability bias is operating for the conventional pencil and paper personal interview. Social desirability, however, is a multi-dimensional concept which encompasses more than one “desirable” norm or principle. In Japan, for example, not only is “democratic norm bias” operating, but the “retreatedness bias” is also at work. Based on the fitness of good tests of the model against the CASI data and the PAPI data, the paper finds that the CASI data appears to be “cleaner,” in that it is less biased by the “interviewer effects” than the PAPI data.

1. Introduction

One of the most important “categorizations” of citizens in democracies has to do with the division between those who actively participate in politics and those who do not. Citizens who are politically active will be “heard” more and “receive” more than those who are inactive, which will result in even steeper inequality between the active and the rest.

Political scientists, therefore, have invested much effort to identify factors that divide citizens into these two camps, the “haves” and the “have nots” (Milbrath 1965, Dahl 1971, Verba and Nie 1972, Brody 1978, Abramson and Aldrich 1982, Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, Verba *et al.* 1995, Fiorina 2002). We have, however, paid not nearly enough attention to the empirical measurements that “categorize” active/inactive citizens. We know, for example, there is a tendency for an over-report of voter turnouts measured by opinion surveys (Silver, Anderson, and Abramson 1986, Silver, Abramson, and Anderson 1986). If we lack reliable measurements of political participation, our efforts to identify factors that influence a likelihood of political participation are doomed to be uncertain, if not misleading.

The purpose of this paper is to reconsider one major argument with regard to this over report: the “social desirability bias” hypothesis. A human desire for impression management and self-presentation leads survey respondents to under-report their socially undesirable characteristics or behavior and over-report what is considered socially “correct” or acceptable (Hyman 1954/1975, Maccoby and Maccoby 1954, Tourangeau *et al.* 2001). This hypothesis, when applied to political participation, suggests that responsible citizens in a democracy are expected to “participate.” Therefore, when people are asked about their involvement with political activities, they give, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, positive answers even if they have not, in fact, engaged in these activities. The bias operates in a direction that inflates the reported level of participation, which we call “positive desirability bias.”

We challenge this “positive desirability bias” by showing a contemporary Japanese case in which this “desirability” operates in a negative direction. In a society, where most people share the sentiment that people should keep their distance from anything political, there is a tendency to under-report their political activeness. The Japanese citizens are reluctant to reveal their political activeness to others including close friends and relatives of their own. It stands to reason, therefore, that when an interviewer, a total stranger, appears at their doorsteps, the respondents are reluctant to reveal facts about their political involvement.

The Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 data set, with its unique research design, made it possible to examine the effect of “social desirability bias” for the first time in Japan. The data set consists of two sets of independently drawn national representative samples of some 2,000 each. We administered an identical questionnaire to these two samples, but using different modes of interview. The first group was asked the questionnaire using a conventional pencil and paper personal interview (PAPI), while the second group was asked using a computer assisted self-administered interview (CASI).

The data set clearly suggests, that the PAPI respondents tend to hide their record of past political experience more than the CASI respondents. The “negative desirability bias” operates in Japan.

The rest of the paper will proceed in the following manner. In the next two sections (sections 2 and 3), we will discuss advantages of the Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 survey module (the “full- scale” CASI) as a tool to mitigate some of the “interviewer effects.” In sections 4 and 5, we will elaborate on the sense of “retreatedness,” which we find among Japanese, and we will explain how it works against the accepted “democratic norm bias.” In sections 6 and 7, we will present empirical results and show that 1) the “retreatedness bias” is operating for most forms of political participation, and 2) the CASI survey performs better

than PAPI. We will conclude with some of the implications that this paper can offer the students of democracy.

2. Interviewer Effects and the FS-CASI

There is no need for us to reiterate the importance of the role of interviewers in terms of the data quality (Hyman 1954/1975). In any opinion survey interviews, a unique context is defined by a particular set of the interviewer and the respondent. The psychological environment and atmosphere created between them (i.e. whether it is friendly or threatening, for example) obviously affects the quality of the data gathered.

Interviews are subject to many sources of biases, precisely because it is a collaborative exercise between the interviewer and the respondent. One such bias is caused by “reference group effects” (Zaller and Feldman 1992, 602). Respondents are more often known to report their attitudes and opinions as being consistent with their identity group, when their identification is made salient to them at the time of interview, than when such identification stays subconscious. The physical appearance and/or the verbal expression of the interviewer can remind the respondents of their identity.

The effects of the race of the interviewer, which can work as a stimulus of racial reference, has been studied extensively in the U.S. (Anderson *et al.* 1988). Furthermore, when the respondent is among the members of the “stigmatized group,” the so-called “stereotype threat” is reported to influence the survey responses (Davis and Silver 2003). The activation of a stereotype about negative characteristics of a particular reference group can influence the response of the respondents who belong to that group. Once again, the interviewer can be a source of activation of such negative stereotypes.

Another source of bias, “the social desirability bias” comes from the ego-defensive nature of human beings. A desire for impression management and self-presentation leads respondents to under-report their socially undesirable characteristics or behavior (such as mental illness, venereal disease, or illegal conduct) and over-report what is considered socially “correct” or acceptable. People wish to look “good,” and hope not to appear “bad” in front of the interviewer.

The introduction of the “full-scale” computer assisted self-administered interview (FS-CASI) can mitigate some of these biases. With FS-CASI, like the ordinal CASI, the interviewers visit each respondent with a specially designed lap-top computer. The respondents answer questions that appear on screen. The interviewers are instructed to stay with the respondent during the interview to ensure respondent identity, but they are also requested to stay out of sight of the computer screen to secure anonymity.

A difference between CASI and FS-CASI is that while the conventional CASI respondents “self-administer” a selective number of questions which the designers of the survey module consider “sensitive,” the FS-CASI respondents administer the entire question module by themselves. Just like the conventional CASI respondents, the FS-CASI respondents do not need to worry about their response choices being known by the interviewer. They are “freed” from any perceived pressure to conform with the desired norms and principles, not just for seemingly “sensitive” questions, but for the entire questionnaire. As a result, we believe that the social desirability bias can be eliminated to a great extent.

Even with FS-CASI, however, the “reference group effects” are not easily overcome. The interviewers still play important roles: They first find the right respondents. After finding the respondent, they next need to convince the respondent to engage in the question

module. They also need to explain and assist the respondent with operation of the computer. During this initial stage of the interview, the tone of the interview environment is established. Their performance, even merely their appearance, could provide cues for respondents to associate themselves with certain reference groups.⁽¹⁾

3. Social Desirability Bias and the Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 Project

The logic of the social desirability hypothesis is straightforward in theory, but its implication is rather problematic in practice. The practical problem with the social desirability hypothesis is that we, as researchers, do not know in advance which questions are sensible, nor can we determine which behavior is considered socially desirable/undesirable. Furthermore, such norms change over time and vary among different cultures (Smith 2004, 439). In the end, it is mostly an empirical matter.

It is also possible that a “sensible” issue is affected by more than one norm or principle and that the different norms and principles direct the respondents into conflicting directions. Political participation in Japan is precisely a good example.

In Japan, too, just like in the US, a democratic norm suggests that a “good citizen” should actively participate in politics. So, when asked about their involvement with political activities, the respondents would respond positively, even if they had not been engaged in such activity. The estimated level of political activeness as a whole, therefore, will appear higher than the actual.

As we will elaborate in the next section, however, another “norm,” which we call “political retreatedness” leads citizens in an opposite direction in Japan. The Japanese inherently feel uneasy using formal institutional means to accomplish what they want, or to solve social problems. In a sense, they place themselves “retreated” from anything political. Furthermore, people do not want to even let other people know that they are politically involved. Because of this hesitation, the Japanese tend to “adjust” and “amend” their responses to questions with political implications. It is a psychological force operating completely in opposition to the “good citizen” norm.

The unique research design of the Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 gives us an opportunity, for the first time in Japan, to test the social desirability biases.⁽²⁾ Not only did we administer a FS-CASI survey, we also simultaneously administered an identical questionnaire to another set of 2,000 respondents using a conventional paper and pencil (PAPI) format. While the PAPI survey carries the usual “interview effects,” the CASI survey does not. By comparing the PAPI sample against the CASI sample, we can measure the direction and the magnitude of the “net” interviewer effects.

4. Sense of Political “Retreatedness” in Japan

Nishizawa (2000, 2004) has noticed for sometime in Japan that there is a strong sense of uneasiness in using political means to solve personal or social problems, among Japanese citizens. They just do not want to get involved with anything political. And, this sense of “retreatedness” is working as an inhibiting force against political activeness.

Please refer to Figure 1. The figure summarizes the level of overall participation in different forms of political activities and the “retreatedness” (unwillingness) to take part in the same set of activities in the year 2000.⁽³⁾ The actual questions read:

[Participation]

“Have you ever done any of these activities in the list? For each activity, please answer by choosing either “several times”, “once or twice” or “never.”

[Unwillingness]

“Some people think that they would continue doing these activities, or would try them if given a chance. Some people think that they would rather not to have anything to do with them. What is your opinion? Please answer for each activity by replying: “would like to do it,” “would rather not to be involved with it,” or “neither of these.”

The left side of the figure shows the percentage of people who took part in the corresponding political activities, at least once, in years prior to 2000. On the right of the chart, the bars indicate the percentage people who claimed that they would not get involved in the corresponding activities. Except for voting, more than 50% of respondents expressed a negative attitude toward them. This chart clearly shows that the sense of “retreatedness” is one major obstacle for political participation in Japan.

[Figure 1]

Although Figure 1 reflects data from a survey conducted in 2000, our Glope2005-2007 panel study (as summarized in Table-1 on the lines labeled “Survey Type: PAPI”) shows a similar pattern.⁽⁴⁾ Both the “Never” column under “past experience” (the left half of the table) and “Never do” column under “future willingness” (the right half) show the highest concentration of respondents for all political activities but voting. Some 89 percent of the PAPI respondents, for example, claim that they never submitted “public comments” (the last item of the list in Table 2b) and more than 70 percent of them would never submit public comments in the future.⁽⁵⁾ The same pattern persists, for our Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 data set, which is summarized in Table 2a and 2b. It is safe to conclude the pattern that appeared in Figure 1 is not a temporal one, but a consistent one.

[Table 1, Table 2a and Table 2b]

5. “Democratic Norm Bias” vs. “Retreatedness Bias”

So the pattern persists: The low level of political participation and high level of “retreatedness” for all modes of political participation, except for voting. How, then, do the two types of biases mentioned earlier --the “democratic norm” bias and the sense of “retreatedness” bias-- relate to this persistent pattern”?

Figure 2 summarizes the relative locations of the observed level of “political participation” while taking the two biases into consideration. The vertical line represents the level of observed activeness in, and willingness for, a certain mode of political activity. The horizontal line in the middle represents a “true” level of political participation and willingness. Here, we put the word “true” in quotation marks to imply that we by no means suggest that we know the true level of participation or willingness. Nevertheless, we believe the observed levels of participation and willingness in the CASI sample are closer to the true values, to the extent that the CASI sample is not “contaminated” by interviewer effects.

[Figure 2]

The democratic norm bias tends to inflate the observed level of activeness for both “past experience” and “future willingness” indices, while the “retreatedness” bias deflates the level. Therefore, when we find a “PAPI > CASI” pattern (see “Pattern of Comparison” at the bottom of the chart), it is an indication that the “democratic norm bias” is stronger than the “retreatedness bias,” while a “CASI > PAPI” pattern is a sign that the “retreatedness bias” is stronger than the “democratic norm bias.”

6. Social Desirability Biases and PAPI/CASI Comparison

In Table 1 and Table 2, please refer to the results of t-test for the differences in mean values between the PAPI and the CASI sample. We have assigned, for the past experience index, 0, 1.5, and 3 to “never,” “once or twice,” and “several times,” and for the future willingness index, -1, 0, and 1 to “never do,” “neither,” and “would do” respectively. ⁽⁶⁾ We then compared the mean values of the PAPI and the CASI sample.

The tables also show the results of the Mann-Whitney test under the label “MW”. Mann-Whitney tests whether the PAPI and the CASI samples are drawn from the same population based on the mean rank of the categorical variable of interest.

6.1 Voting

Let us consider “voting” first. As indicated in Table 2a, some 96 percent of the PAPI respondents reported that they had “voted several times” in the past, while only 69 percent of the CASI respondents claimed that they had. Assuming that the CASI figure is free from the interviewer effects and that the CASI figure represents a “true” level of participation, a 27 percent over-report is found in the “several times” category among the PAPI respondents. The corresponding mean value for the PAPI sample is 2.91, while that of the CASI sample is 2.41. The difference is 0.5 and the t-value associated with it (-13.7) suggests that the difference is statistically significant. On average, the PAPI sample appeared one half unit more active (on a scale ranging from 0 to 3) in voting than did the CASI sample. The same pattern is observed for the future willingness index. Twelve percent more of the PAPI sample over the CASI sample chose the “would (vote in the future)” category. On a scale that ranges negative one (“never do”) through one (“would do”), the PAPI sample had a mean score of 0.91, while the CASI sample showed 0.73. The pattern of comparison is a decisive “PAPI > CASI”: the “democratic norm bias” is at work for voting. Many of the Japanese voters want to show themselves as “good citizens” as far as voting is concerned.

6.2 Other Forms of Political Participation

For the rest of the modes of political participation, on the other hand, the story is totally different. For both the past experience index and the future willingness index, the “pattern of comparison” is always “CASI > PAPI”. Most of the t-tests for the mean difference between the CASI sample and the PAPI sample indicate that the differences are statistically significant. The only exceptions are “run for office,” “vote solicitation,” “*koenkai* (candidate support organization) membership,” and “submit ‘public comments’” for the past experience index on one hand, and “*koenkai* membership” for the future willingness index on the other.

Take “attending party/politician’s meeting” as an example. The mean score of attending such meetings among the PAPI respondents is 0.84, while the same score for the CASI counterparts is 0.96. Once again, assuming that the CASI score represents the “true” level of participation, the PAPI respondents tend to “hide” such involvement by a margin of 0.12 points. For both samples, the mean values for the future willingness index are negative, which suggests that on average, people are on the negative side of “zero,” a neutral position. The CASI respondents (mean score: -0.29) are much less “reluctant” of such involvement than the PAPI respondents (-0.53). Test statistics (the t-value and the Mann-Whitney U) indicate that the differences are significant at the 5% level for the experience index and at the less than 0.0 % level for the willingness index. The Gloop2007 survey did not include a question for voting, but for eight other forms of participation, the same pattern holds, except for involvement with a neighborhood organization. Therefore, we can safely conclude that for all forms of political participation, other than voting, the “retreatedness” bias is working, instead of the democratic norm bias.

6.3 Why Voting Differs

Why the democratic norm bias operates for voting while the “retreatedness” bias is at work for the rest of the political participation is a puzzle. An analysis of the “pattern of comparison” for some other questions in the survey suggests that voting is rather an exception. Table 3 summarizes a comparison between the PAPI sample and the CASI sample for other political attitudes and behavior.

[Table 3]

As you can see in the table, under the conventional mode of survey (ie. PAPI), the Japanese respondents 1) tend to hide their party identification, 2) are reluctant to express their negative feelings towards certain political parties and 3) are hesitant even to show the fact that they have already decided which party/candidate to vote for in the 2007 upper house election. They are all indicative of strong effects of the “retreatedness” bias.

After all, voting is “highly institutionalized” (Kabashima 1988, 80). Every aspect of election administration is defined by the laws. It is a “formal” process to reflect voter preference upon seat distribution among competing political parties. Unlike other forms of participation, the Japanese government officially conducts elections. Most Japanese consider this process legitimate. Most other forms of participation we are considering here are lawful as well, but the fact that they are not conducted by the government makes many Japanese uncertain of their legitimacy. Moreover, some forms of political involvement, such as demonstrations against the government, for example, may even be considered questionable by some of the citizens in Japan. Institutionalization is an important element to increase legitimacy. Only with modes of participation having this sense of legitimacy, can the “democratic norm bias” be effective.

7. Is CASI better than PAPI?

Our analysis so far clearly suggests that under the conventional paper and pencil personal interviews the social desirability bias is operating. This finding naturally leads us to wonder if the CASI data are qualitatively “better” than the PAPI data. As long as the CASI data are less “contaminated,” at least, by the amount otherwise caused by the social desirability bias, results of statistical analyses using the CASI data must be closer to the “best unbiased” estimators, provided that other conditions stay the same. In this last section, we will consider this proposition.

Our strategy is the following. We will assume a model that explains respondents’ past political participation using the voters’ sense of “retreatedness” as an independent variable. We then test the fitness of the model to data against two samples, one from the CASI data set and the other from the PAPI data set. We expect that the “fitness of good” indices for the CASI data set display a better fit of the model to the data.

Figure 3 summarizes the structure of the model. It assumes a “structural equation model,” and three latent variables comprise the main configuration of the model. They are “political participation” (the dependent variable), “willingness to participate” (the independent variable), and “political attitude” (a control variable). Each latent variable is defined by a set of corresponding observable variables. The political participation variable is a function of respondents’ past experience with 15 modes of political participation (the same set of activities in Table 2). The willingness variable is a function of respondents’ attitudes toward the same set.⁽⁷⁾

[Figure 3]

The “political attitude” variable consists of factors that might affect likelihood of political activeness. Such factors include “political interest,” “sense of duty,” and several dimensions of “political efficacy.”

The estimated coefficients are printed on the arrows in the diagram.⁽⁸⁾ The figure at the top is the coefficient for the CASI sample, and one on the bottom is for the PAPI sample. For all estimated coefficients, the statistical significances are less than 0.0005, except for one that corresponds with the path from “political attitude” to “political participation” (0.006). So, they are all statistically significant.

Please refer to the table of the “test of model fit” at the right bottom corner of the diagram. We cite three indices of “goodness of fit”: the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and the Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual (SRMR). The CFI indicates the improvement of the overall fit of the assumed model relative to a null model (in which observed variables are assumed to be uncorrelated (Kline 1998, 129). The RMSEA is defined to be zero for a perfect fit, and it is customary to use figures like .10, .08, or .05 as a cut-off points (Loehlin 1998, 77). Finally, the SRMR, a standardized summary of the average covariance residuals. It, too, is defined to be zero for a perfect fit (Kline 1998, 129). Although there are no absolute cut off points for these indices at which we can objectively evaluate fitness of the model to the data (Kline 1998, 131), the figures for the CASI sample all indicate that the model fits our data more or less “adequately.”

What is more important for our purpose here is the comparison of the CASI sample with the PAPI sample. The statistics clearly suggest that the CASI sample performs better than the PAPI sample. According to the CFI, our model fits the CASI data 64% better than the null model, whereas for the PAPI data, the model is rere 50% better. The RMSEA for our CASI model is 0.09 and it is in the “acceptable” range, where as that of our PAPI model is well over the 0.10 cutoff point. The SRMR, too, suggests the model fits the CASI data better than the PAPI data.

8. Conclusion

In this paper, using the Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007 survey data we demonstrated:

- 1) the social desirability bias is operating for the conventional pencil and paper personal interview;
- 2) social desirability, however, is a multi-dimensional concept in which more than one “desirable” norm or principle are operating;
- 3) in Japan, not only the “democratic norm bias” is operating, but the “retreatedness bias” is also at work in opposing directions; and
- 4) the CASI data appears to be cleaner, and presumably less biased than the PAPI data.

We have successfully identified social desirability biases operating in Japan. Our goal, as social scientists, however, is not just to identify biases. Our ultimate goal is to better understand political behavior, knowing that there exist such biases. With that goal in mind, we have successfully demonstrated the potentiality of the “full-scale” CASI method of public survey opinion.

Furthermore, what we have demonstrated here leads us to one important theoretical implication. We need to reconsider the basic assumption of theories of political participation.

Most theories of political participation to date are based on a strong assumption. The assumption is, if there is a reason to participate, people naturally do participate. Take the famous Downs’ formula, for example. He claims that if a voter finds a difference in two

candidates, in terms of expected benefits each candidate will deliver, he/she will vote. If he finds no difference, because there is not reason for him to participate, the “rational” voter abstains (Downs 1957).

An illustration may be useful here (Figure 4). Political theories so far have assumed as if voters were resting on top of the hill, called “political participation.” And, with a small incentive (ie. a little force applied to the voters), they would go down the hill, and participate.

[Figure 4]

A more realistic assumption, however, is that voters are located at the bottom of a “volcano,” and the voters need a strong reason, not just a slight difference in candidate preference, but a major push forward for them to go over the wall. As political scientists, we need to pay much more attention to these inhibiting factors, factors that might raise the “volcano” walls. We perhaps need to add one more term that represents the depth of the “pit” in our equations that attempt to explain political participation.

In Japan, these walls are tall enough for respondents in an opinion survey to force them to hide their involvement in politics. They do not want to “appear” politically involved. This finding forces us to reconsider our previous understanding of the characteristics of the Japanese political participation. Figure 1, for example must be revised. Because the figure is based on the results of our conventional pencil and paper personal interviews, they are under the influence of the “retreatedness” bias. It is very likely that we had under-estimated the level of political participation and had over-estimated the negative force of the “retreatedness.”

It perhaps, however, is a welcoming finding. The state of political participation in Japan might be “healthier” than public opinion surveys have portrayed. They are more politically activate than we have observed so far. They are not as hesitant to engage in politics than we have estimated.

Is this phenomenon unique to the Japanese voters? We have no data to claim that the tendency is universal. Let us, however, conclude this paper by citing a statement by Morris Fiorina:

Those who put their faith in expanded participation assume that the desire to participate is widely distributed; thus, opening government doors will lead to a more representative democracy. Unfortunately, the reverse appears to be true. Contrary to the presumptions of political theorists, participation is not a natural act; it is an unnatural act. (Fiorina 2002, 526-7)

A research into the sense of “retreatedness” among citizens, like we present here, and the application of the full-call CASI to the study of it, deserve much attention among scholars of democracy and social science methods.

Notes:

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1. In the Japanese survey practice, however, the reference cues may not be as obvious, and as problematic as in the case in the US. Neither diversity of race nor nationality, two of the most powerful characteristics that define reference groups in the U.S. is present in Japan. If there is any,

social status of the interviewer, which might have been “expressed” by the way the interviewer dressed and spoke, may have played some role in Japan. We have no way of assessing the size of the effects.

2. Our study of the 2007 House of Councilors Election (Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007) is composed of two surveys. One is the Waseda Study of Computer Assisted Self-Administered Interview 2007 (Waseda-CASI2007), and the other is Waseda Study of Paper-and-Pencil Interview (Waseda-PAPI2007). Both studies were conducted by Aiji Tanaka (Principal Investigator), and by the members of this research project team, Kentaro Fukumoto, Yukihiko Funaki, Yusaku Horiuchi, Kosuke Imai, Ryosuke Imai, Masaru Kohno, Ikuo Kume, Koichi Kuriyama, Yoshitaka Nishizawa, Kazumi Shimizu, Yutaka Shinada, Motoki Watabe, and Masahiro Yamada, as well as our new members, Airo Hino, Yuko Morimoto, and Takeshi Iida. We also appreciated help of our graduate students, Kiichiro Arai, Norihiro Mimura, Shohei Ohishi, and Arata Yamazaki. We would also like to acknowledge that the CASI computer program itself was developed by three of our members, Koichi Kuriyama, Motoki Watabe, and Yuko Morimoto. Waseda-CASI2007 was made financially possible by the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A) (#18203008), the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Waseda-PAPI2007 was made financially possible by the Open-Research-Center Enhancement Program (2004-2008, headed by Koichi Suga of Waseda University) of the Academic Research Advancement Promotion Programs for Private Universities, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. These data sets will be available in the near future from ICPSR, the University of Michigan (<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/>) and/or the Social Science Japan Data Archive, the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo (<https://ssjda.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/>).
3. The data are drawn from “Japanese Election and Democracy Study 2000, 3rd release (December 2001) (Jeds2000)” Jeds2000 (Principal investigators: Nishizawa, Yoshitaka, Hiroshi Hirano, Ken'ichi Ikeda, Ichiro Miyake, and Aiji Tanaka) was made possible by the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) (#11420019), The Japanese Ministry of Education. The data set (Research ID #: 0247) is available from the Social Science Japan Data Archive, the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo (<https://ssjda.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/>).
4. The GLOPE2005-2007 Study, which is composed of two-wave panel surveys based on the paper-and-pencil method, was conducted by Masaru Kohno and Nishizawa Yoshitaka. The GLOPE2005-2007 Study was made financially possible by the Open-Research-Center Enhancement Program (2004-2008, headed by Koichi Suga of Waseda University) of the Academic Research Advancement Promotion Programs for Private Universities, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. The GLOPE Computer Assisted Self-Administered Interview 2007 Study (GLOPE-CASI 2007) was conducted by the same members as Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007. GLOPE-CASI 2007 was made financially possible by the 21st-Century “Center of Excellence” (21COE) Programs (2003-2007, headed by Shiro Yabushita of Waseda University), the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. These data sets will be available in the near future from ICPSR, the University of Michigan (<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/>) and/or the Social Science Japan Data Archive, the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo (<https://ssjda.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/>).
5. Please note that for the sake of ease and consistency, we have used, in this table and those which follow, the index of “future willingness” instead of “retreatedness” that was used in Figure 1. A higher value for the “retreatedness” (unwillingness) (in Figure 1) indicated a stronger resistance to anything political. In Tables 1 and 2, we reversed the code for the variables in the “future willingness” column so that a higher value suggests willingness to participate, opposite of “retreatedness”. Please refer to the appendix for the question wordings and the coding schema. The SPSS syntax file used to generate Tables 1 through 3 and the Mplus input file used for Figure 3 (Section 7) can be obtained from Nishizawa’s homepage (<http://ynishiza.doshisha.ac.jp/>) Please click on “please download” in the menu.
6. The Glope2005-07 data set did not include the “neither” category for the willingness index.
7. We excluded “voting” from the set, because for “voting,” as we demonstrated in the earlier section, a different mechanism is at work.

8. We used *Mplus* (version 5.1) to estimate the coefficients. For the input command file, please refer to Note 5 above.

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Table 1: Political Participation—Past Experience and Future Willingness

Political Activities	Survey Type	Past Experience (%)						Future Willingness						
		Never (0)	Once/twice (1.5)	Several times (3)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)	Would do (-1)	Never do (1)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)
Neighborhood Org.	PAPI	27	16	58	100 (466)	1.96	-1.1	.294 (.141)	61	39	100 (413)	.23	.5	.600 (.599)
	CASI	24	27	49	100 (424)	1.87			60	40	100 (422)	.19		
Volunteer Activities	PAPI	45	15	40	100 (468)	1.44	3.1	.002 (.002)	60	40	100 (401)	.20	-2.7	.007 (.007)
	CASI	30	25	45	100 (425)	1.72			69	31	100 (420)	.38		
Political Demonstrations or Rallies	PAPI	84	9	7	100 (461)	0.35	5.5	.000 (.000)	7	93	100 (419)	-.85	-5.5	.000 (.000)
	CASI	69	13	18	100 (423)	0.73			20	80	100 (420)	-.60		
Election Campaigning	PAPI	71	11	18	100 (465)	0.71	5.4	.000 (.000)	16	84	100 (412)	-.67	-3.8	.000 (.000)
	CASI	52	18	30	100 (423)	1.16			27	73	100 (422)	-.46		
Vote Solicitation	PAPI	77	8	15	100 (462)	0.58	7.3	.000 (.000)	12	88	100 (419)	-.76	-4.4	.000 (.000)
	CASI	54	13	33	100 (424)	1.20			23	73	100 (425)	-.53		
Koenkai (Candidate Support Organization)	PAPI	70	11	19	100 (466)	0.72	5.7	.000 (.000)	12	88	100 (419)	-.77	-3.4	.001 (.001)
	CASI	51	18	31	100 (425)	1.21			20	80	100 (423)	-.59		
Party Membership	PAPI	82	6	12	100 (462)	0.44	4.1	.000 (.000)	7	93	100 (414)	-.86	-4.1	.000 (.000)
	CASI	70	11	19	100 (424)	0.74			16	84	100 (422)	-.67		
Contact National/Local Reps	PAPI	92	4	4	100 (463)	0.18	3.3	.001 (.001)	6	94	100 (408)	-.88	-4.4	.000 (.000)
	CASI	85	7	8	100 (425)	0.35			15	85	100 (422)	-.70		

Data: Glope2005-07

Table 2a: Political Participation--Past Experience and Future Willingness

Political Activities	Survey Type	Past Experience (%)					Future Willingness								
		Never (0)	Once/twice (1.5)	Several times (3)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)	Never do (-1)	Neither (0)	Would do (1)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)
Voting	PAPI	1	3	96	100 (932)	2.91	-13.7	.000 (.000)	1	6	93	100 (929)	.91	-7.5	.000 (.000)
	CASI	8	23	69	100 (777)	2.41			8	11	81	100 (776)	.73		
Run for Office	PAPI	99	1	0	100 (927)	0.02	1.7	.095 (.092)	96	4	1	100 (923)	-.95	8.7	.000 (.001)
	CASI	98	1	1	100 (774)	0.04			82	16	2	100 (771)	-.78		
Election Campaigning	PAPI	71	14	15	100 (931)	0.65	3.0	.003 (.003)	72	19	9	100 (921)	-.64	5.7	.000 (.001)
	CASI	65	15	20	100 (776)	0.82			56	32	12	100 (774)	-.45		
Vote Solicitation	PAPI	76	9	15	100 (930)	0.58	1.3	.179 (.111)	77	14	9	100 (924)	-.68	4.9	.000 (.006)
	CASI	72	12	16	100 (774)	0.66			63	25	12	100 (776)	-.52		
Koenkai (Candidate Support Org.)	PAPI	74	10	16	100 (930)	0.62	1.2	.250 (.170)	76	16	8	100 (923)	-.68	4.1	.000 (.471)
	CASI	71	12	17	100 (775)	0.68			63	29	8	100 (774)	-.56		
Party Membership	PAPI	92	4	4	100 (927)	0.18	3.8	.000 (.001)	90	8	2	100 (924)	-.88	9.1	.001 (.000)
	CASI	87	4	9	100 (774)	0.33			71	24	5	100 (773)	-.66		
Support Party	PAPI	87	6	7	100 (931)	0.31	3.1	.002 (.002)	84	12	4	100 (922)	-.80	8.3	.000 (.000)
	CASI	81	8	11	100 (773)	0.45			65	26	9	100 (773)	-.57		
Attend Party/Politician's meeting	PAPI	63	18	19	100 (930)	0.84	2.0	.047 (.033)	65	23	12	100 (925)	-.53	6.5	.000 (.000)
	CASI	57	21	22	100 (776)	0.96			48	33	19	100 (775)	-.29		

Data: Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007

Table 2b: Political Participation--Past Experience and Future Willingness

	Survey Type	Past Experience (%)							Future Willingness						
		Never (0)	Once/twice (1.5)	Several times (3)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)	Never do (-1)	Neither (0)	Would do (1)	Total (N)	Mean	t-value	Sig. (MW)
Political Activities	PAPI	93	2	5	100 (930)	0.16	1.9	.052 (.013)	83	13	4	100 (925)	-.80	11.4	.000 (.013)
	CASI	90	4	6	100 (774)	0.23			58	31	11	100 (775)	-.47		
Contact National/ Local Reps	PAPI	81	10	9	100 (929)	0.43	6.4	.000 (.013)	62	26	12	100 (922)	-.50	18.6	.000 (.013)
	CASI	66	18	16	100 (775)	0.75			26	28	46	100 (775)	.19		
Consult City Hall	PAPI	53	21	26	100 (929)	1.10	4.4	.000 (.013)	47	31	22	100 (921)	-.26	7.4	.000 (.013)
	CASI	43	22	35	100 (772)	1.37			30	38	32	100 (772)	.02		
Sign Petitions	PAPI	84	8	8	100 (929)	0.34	3.0	.003 (.013)	82	14	4	100 (925)	-.77	6.2	.000 (.013)
	CASI	80	8	12	100 (774)	0.48			67	25	8	100 (774)	-.60		
Political Demonstr. or Rallies	PAPI	84	7	9	100 (893)	0.39	4.4	.000 (.013)	54	26	20	100 (885)	-.35	11.8	.000 (.013)
	CASI	75	9	16	100 (761)	0.61			28	31	41	100 (763)	.12		
Vote in Referendum	PAPI	52	17	31	100 (930)	1.18	3.3	.001 (.013)	38	28	34	100 (919)	-.05	8.3	.000 (.013)
	CASI	42	23	35	100 (774)	1.39			19	34	47	100 (773)	.28		
Volunteer Activities	PAPI	46	21	33	100 (931)	1.29	1.5	.132 (.013)	39	33	28	100 (925)	-.12	4.1	.000 (.013)
	CASI	41	25	34	100 (774)	1.39			29	38	33	100 (773)	.04		
Neighborhood Org.	PAPI	89	7	4	100 (815)	0.21	-0.1	.947 (.013)	72	23	5	100 (832)	-.66	8.9	.000 (.013)
	CASI	91	5	4	100 (745)	0.21			51	36	13	100 (749)	-.38		

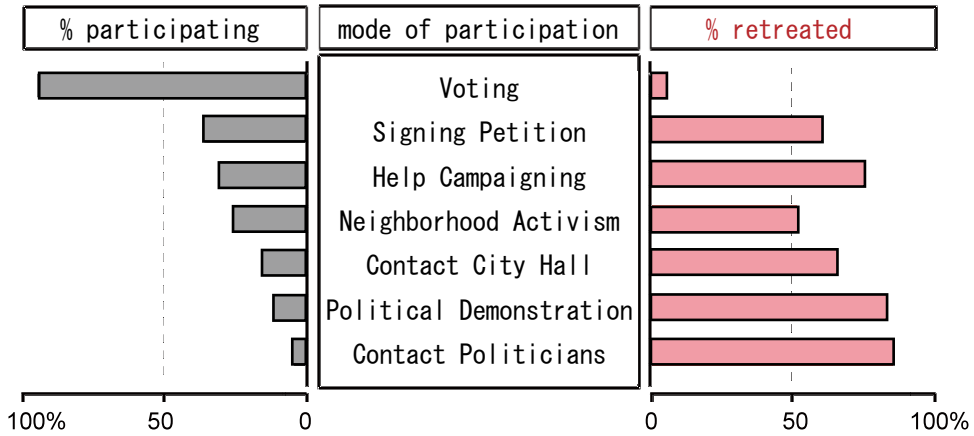
Data: Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007

Table 3: Other Signs of Social Desirability Bias

	Survey Type	Response (%)		Total (N)	Mean	T-value	Sig.
		Yes	No				
		(1)	(0)				
Do you support any party?	PAPI	66	34	100 (805)	0.66	2.2	.030
	CASI	71	29	100 (731)	0.71		
Are there any parties you would never support?	PAPI	58	42	100 (817)	0.58	1.7	.092
	CASI	62	38	100 (736)	0.62		
Have you decided who to vote for (Prefecture)?	PAPI	74	26	100 (761)	0.26	-11.7	.000
	CASI	95	5	100 (715)	0.05		
Have you decided who to vote for (PR)?	PAPI	75	25	100 (757)	0.25	-12.1	.000
	CASI	96	4	100 (710)	0.04		

Data: Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007

Figure 1: Political Activism and “Retreatedness”



Data: Jeds2000

Figure 2: Directions of Bias, Democratic Norm vs. “Retreatedness”

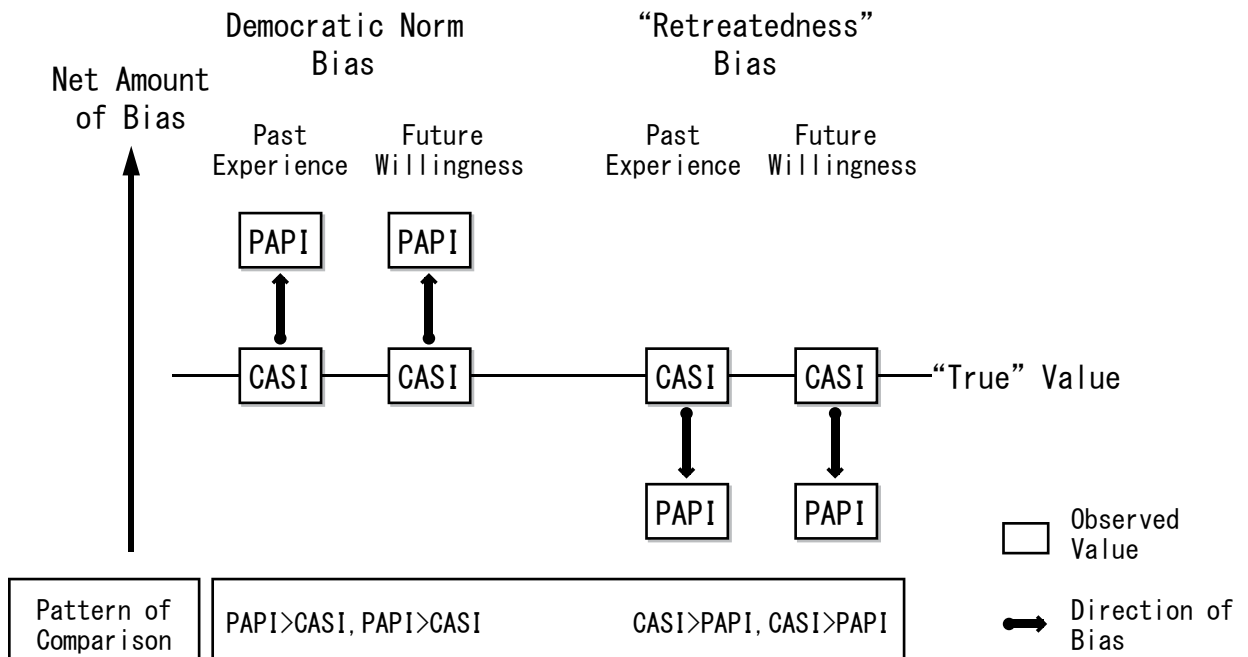
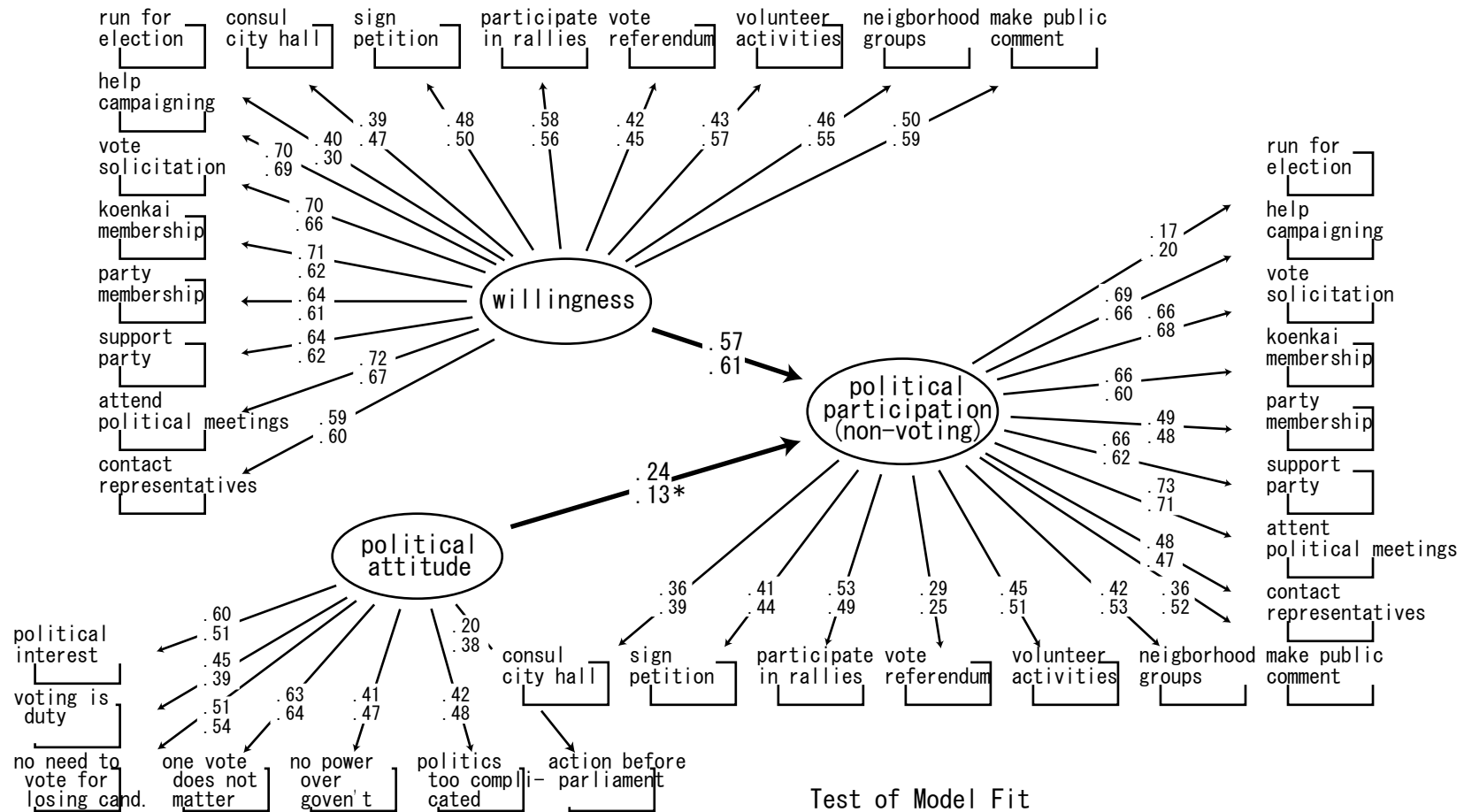


Figure 3: Causal Model of Political Participation: CASI vs. PAPI

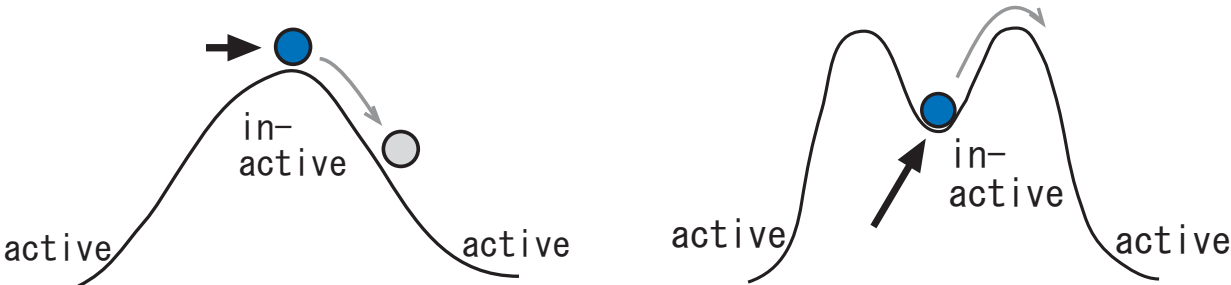


Test of Model Fit

	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	(N)
CASI	0.637	0.087	0.076	(512)
PAPI	0.492	0.117	0.087	(612)

- Figures on arrow: standardized coefficients (top: CASI, bottom: PAPI)
- For all estimates: s.g. < 0.000, except for * (0.006)
- Data: Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007

Figure 4: "Volcano" Model of Active Political Participation



Appendix: Question Wordings and Coding Schema

Jeds2000

Past Experience--Political Activities

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q26: Have you ever done any of these activities in the list? For each activity, please answer by choosing either “a number of times,” “once or twice,” or “never.” First of all, what about “to vote at an election”?

[response code] 1: a number of times, 2: once or twice, 3: never, and the rest: missing

[activity list] (1) to vote at an election, (3) to help election campaigning, (9) to write to or call a national/local representative, (10) to consult a city hall, (11) to sign a petition, (12) to take part in demonstrations/rallies, and (15) to be actively involved in *jichikai* activities

Future Willingness to Taking Part in--Political Activities

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave- Q28: Some people think that they would continue doing these activities or would try them if given a chance. Some people think that they would rather not to have anything to do with them. What is your opinion? Please answer for each activity by replying by “would like to do it,” “neither of them,” or “would rather not to be involved with it.”

[response code] 1: would like to do it, 2: neither of them, 3: would rather not to be involved with it, and the rest: missing

[activity list] (1) to vote at an election, (3) to help election campaigning, (9) to write to or call a national/local representative, (10) to consult a city hall, (11) to sign a petition, (12) to take part in demonstrations/rallies, and (15) to be actively involved in *jichikai* activities

Glope2005-07

Past and Future Involvement--Political Activities

[question # and wording] 2nd Wave-Q13: (1) For each activity in the list, let me ask about your past involvement and your possible involvement in the future. First, have you ever “actively involved in *jichikai* activities?” Please answer by choosing either “a number of times,” “once or twice,” or “never.” (2) Then, what about in the future? Would you get involved with *jichikai* activities if there is a chance to do them, or would you rather not to have anything to do with them?

[response code] (1) 0: never, 1.5: once or twice, 3: a number of times, the rest: missing; (2) -1: rather not to have anything with it [or them], 1: would like to get involved with it [or them], and the rest: missing

[activity list] (1) to be actively involved in *jichikai* activities, (2) to take part in local voluntary activities or citizens activities, (3) to take part in demonstrations/rallies, (4) to help election campaigning, (5) to ask friends to vote for a candidate/party, (6) to become a member of *koenkai*, (7) to support a political party (by way of donations/subscription to party’s periodical publications, and (8) to write to or call a national/local representative

Waseda-CASI&PAPI2007

Past and Future Involvement--Political Activities

[question # and wording] Post-election Wave-Q15: (1) Have you ever done any of these activities in the list? (2) And, do you think, or do you not think to do these activities in the future? First of all, what about “to vote at an election”?

[response code] (1) 0: never, 1.5: once or twice, 3: a number of times, the rest: missing; (2) -1: would not like to (or won’t), 0: indifferent, 1: would like to (or will), and the rest: missing

[activity list] (1) to vote at an election, (2) to run for an election, (3) to help election campaigning, (4) to ask friends to vote for a candidate/party, (5) to become a member of *koenkai*, (6) to become a member of a political party, (7) to support a party (by way of donations/subscription to party's periodical publications, (8) to attend political assemblies organized by party/politician, (9) to write to or call a national/local representative, (10) to consult a city hall, (11) to sign a petition, (12) to take part in demonstrations/rallies, (13) to vote in a referendum, (14) to take part in volunteer activity/neighborhood activism in the area, (15) to be actively involved in *jichikai* activities, and (16) to submit an opinion to a public comment system

Political Interest

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q3: Are you, or are you not interested in politics?

[response code] 0: not interested, .33: not very much interested, .67: somewhat interested, 1: interested, and the rest: missing

Sense of Duty and Political Efficacy

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q33: What do you think about each of the opinion listed here about people, election, and politics. Please answer by choosing one.

[opinions-list A] (3) it is a duty as an eligible voter to vote, (6) when a bill that is potentially very harmful to you is introduced to the Parliament, you can stop the bill through various campaigns against it, without just being passively letting the Parliament decide it for you

[response code] 0: disagree, .25: somewhat disagree, .5: in between, .75: somewhat agree, 1: agree, and the rest: missing

[opinions-list B] (1) it is no use going to vote, when a party or a candidate you support for has no chance to win an election, (2) because many people vote in elections, it does not matter if I myself would vote or not, (4) I have no power over what the government does, (5) there are some occasions where things like politics and government are too complex for me to understand what they are all about

[response code] 0: agree, .25: somewhat agree, .5: in between, .75: somewhat disagree, 1: disagree, and the rest: missing

Announcement of Party Support

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q9: Putting elections aside for a moment, what party do you normally support? Choose one from these choices of answers.

[response code] 0: no political party mentioned, among the list of LDP, DPJ, CGP, JCP, SDP, and "other party," 1: one of the parties mentioned, and the rest: missing

Announcement of Party for which One would never Support

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q10: By the way, are there any parties that you would never want to support? Please name as many parties as you feel so.

[response code] 0: none of the parties mentioned, among the list of LDP, DPJ, CGP, JCP, SDP, and "other party," 1: at least one party mentioned, and the rest: missing

Announcement of Decision about Candidate/Party to Vote for

[question # and wording] Pre-election Wave-Q14 and Q15: On July 22, there will be an election for the House of Councillors. For candidate of which party do you think you will vote in the prefectural district? Choose one from the choices of answers. What about in the national "proportional representation" contest? For which party or candidate of which party do you think you will vote? Choose one from the choices of answers.

[response code] 0: none of the political parties, among the list of LDP, DPJ, CGP, JCP, SDP, and "other party" is mentioned, 1: one party mentioned, and the rest: missing