Can Online Civic Education Induce Democratic Citizenship? Experimental Evidence from a New Democracy(AJPS)

本文作者

Steven E. Finkel, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.

Anja Neundorf, School of Political and Social Sciences, University of Glasgow.

Ericka Rascon Ramirez, Department of Economics, Middlesex University.

一句话总结

实验

在线公民教育如何提高新兴民主国家年轻人的民主支持和民主参与

文献综述

公民教育、民主支持和民主巩固

- 年轻时生活在民主的环境下对民主的政治行为有积极的促进作用
    - 世界上有9/10的人都直接或间接地接触过威权政体
    - 中欧和东欧的研究表明，在民主转型后的社会建立民主文化至少需要一代人的时间
    - 年轻人受到威权政体的灌输少，更容易受到民主文化的影响
- 如何培育民主文化？
    - 公民教育
    - 年轻人
- 既有研究的不足：线上公民教育的有效性？
    - 被动消费，与现实脱节

- 更广泛的影响，对政治参与的鼓励，溢出效应

理论框架和假设

Civic Education Frames

1. Prospect Theory 前景理论：损失带来的痛苦超过收益带来的快乐/ gain frame - loss frame
1. Self-Efficacy 自我效能感：当面临约束时，具有自我效能感的个体更有能力对社会系统进行某种程度的控制

假设

H1: 公民教育会提高民主认同感，减少对威权政体的留恋，提高政治效能和参与政治的意愿

H2: loss frame 能发挥更重要的影响

H3: Prospect theory frame 相比于 Self-Efiicacy theory frame 有更明显的影响

实验设计

突尼斯

- 新兴民主国家
- 经历了长时间的威权统治，2011年开始被 V-Dem 认为是民主国家
- 2019年阿拉伯晴雨表显示，51%的该国人将民主描述为"优柔寡断"（2011年仅有 19%），年轻人对政府的信任度较低

实验设计

- Democracy International 和当地办事处合作进行
- 18-35岁的突尼斯人
- 2019年8月7日-20日在线收集（第一轮总统选举前一个月，议会选举前两个月）
  - 通过Facebook和Ins广告，奖品是网飞的subscription fee
  - 330万点击量，18万跳转到了测试网站，5069人开始测试，2007 - 2073人基本完成了调查问卷
  - ！selection bias：更年轻（平均年龄21.5）受教育程度更高（62%-37%）学生多（83%）对政治更感兴趣（2.49 - 1.97）更支持民主（58% - 40%）

FIGURE 2 Summary Experimental Design (August 2019)
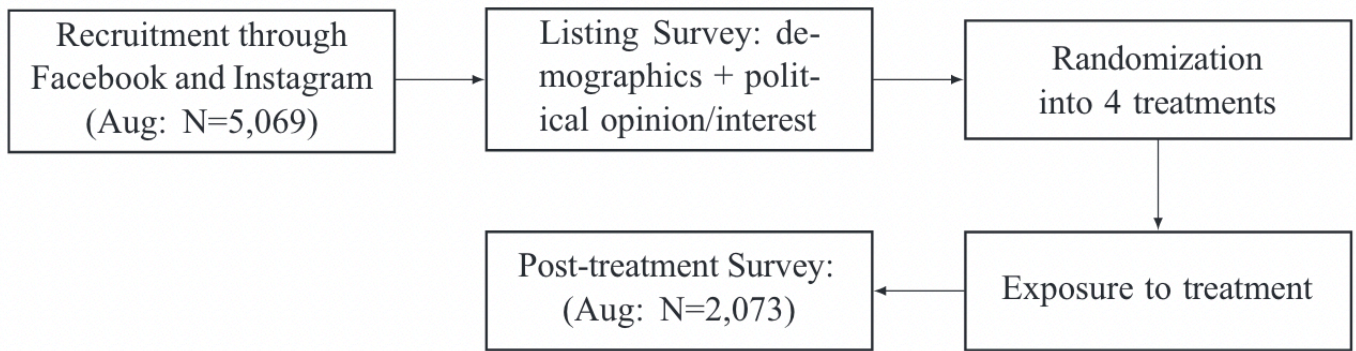
分组

所有人做完前测后被随机分到4组（T1 T2 T3 P）观看不同的影片，然后再次测量政治态度

T1: gain frame

- 强调民主政体的优点：突尼斯议会和司法法庭，依法治国的新民主国家，在司法面前一律平等，自由表达的权利……

T2: loss frame

- 强调威权政体的弊端：个人被逮捕，酷刑，受害者证词，虚假的选举（胜率98%）

T3: democratic self-efficacy frame

- 怎么投票，在哪里投票，投票资格，如何制定具体的计划并前往投票……

P：placebo

- 野生动物录像，保护野生动物

因变量/后测

TABLE 1 Outcome Variables: Interval-Level Measures

Measure	Question	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Evaluations of Political Regimes			
Democratic regime evaluation	Rating of current political system of elections and multiple parties	0 = worst possible	1 = best possible
Authoritarian nostalgia	Rating of the Ben Ali regime	0 = worst possible	1 = best possible
Support for non-democratic regime alternatives	The army comes in to govern the country.	0 = strongly disapprove	1 = strongly approve
	Elections and the national assembly are abolished so that the president can decide everything		
	Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold political office		
	A system governed by Islamic law without elections or political parties		
Regime democratic performance	Rating that Tunisia is nowadays a democracy	0 = complete dictatorship	1 = complete democracy
Political Engagement			
Vote intention	Likelihood of voting in the next election	0 = not likely at all	1 = extremely likely
Intention to register	Likelihood of registering to vote in future elections	0 = not likely at all	1 = extremely likely
Campaign participation	Likelihood of participating in the upcoming election other than voting (e.g., attend rally, help candidate, share political information on social media)	0 = not likely at all	1 = extremely likely
Political competence/efficacy	I feel well prepared to participate in political life	0 = strongly disagree	1 = strongly agree
Animal Protection			
Animal protection	Importance to you that animals are protected in their natural habitats	0 = not at all important	1 = absolutely important

政治观点 / 政治参与 / placebo三类

标准化[0, 1]

实证结果：OLS

1. T1+T2+T3 vs placebo

政治观点

TABLE 2 Treatment Effects: All Treatment Groups versus Placebo on Regime Evaluations

	Placebo Question	Evaluations of Political Regimes			
	Animal Protection M0	Democratic Regime Rating M1	Ben Ali Regime Rating M2	Non-democratic Regime Alternatives M3	Regime Democratic Performance M4
Treatment	−.000 [.014]	.014 [.015]	−.041* [.016]	−.004 [.011]	.040** [.012]
Pre-treatment controls	√	√	√	√	√
Observations	2,007	2,190	2,197	2,203	2,346
R^2	.086	.068	.062	.118	.041
Control mean	.844	.511	.427	.259	.534

政治参与

TABLE 3 Treatment Effects: All Treatment Groups versus Placebo on Political Engagement

	Political Engagement					
	Turnout M5	Turnout M5*	Registration M6	Registration M6*	Campaign M7	Political Efficacy M8
Treatment	.013 [.015]	.059* [.027]	.031[†] [.016]	.080** [.028]	.045** [.017]	.051** [.014]
Pre-treatment controls	√	√	√	√	√	√
Observations	2,083	848	2,050	830	2,069	2,342
R^2	.266	.112	.185	.105	.067	.142
Control mean	.706	.488	.704	.566	.328	.563

观看影片是有用的（H1）

2. T1 vs T2 vs T3 vs P

政治观点

TABLE 4 Comparing Treatment Groups versus Regime Evaluations

| | Placebo Question | Evaluations of Political Regimes | | | |
	Animal Protection M0	Democratic Regime Rating M1	Ben Ali Regime Rating M2	Non-democratic Regime Alternatives M3	Regime Democratic Performance M4
T1: Gain	−.015 [.018]	.028 [.019]	−.022 [.020]	−.005 [.013]	.026† [.015]
T2: Loss	−.000 [.018]	.009 [.018]	−.069** [.020]	.003 [.013]	.039** [.015]
T3: Practical	.015 [.017]	.005 [.019]	−.032 [.020]	−.010 [.013]	.055** [.015]
Pre-treatment controls	√	√	√	√	√
Observations	2,007	2,190	2,197	2,203	2,346
R^2	.088	.068	.065	.119	.043
Control mean	.844	.511	.427	.259	.534

政治参与

| | Political Engagement | | | | | |
| | Turnout | | Registration | | Campaign | Political Efficacy |
	M5	M5*	M6	M6*	M7	M8
T1: Gain	.017 [.018]	.056† [.032]	.029 [.020]	.075* [.034]	.051* [.021]	.052** [.017]
T2: Loss	.021 [.019]	.072* [.034]	.021 [.019]	.061† [.035]	.057** [.021]	.045** [.017]
T3: Practical	.001 [.019]	.051 [.034]	.043* [.019]	.103** [.034]	.027 [.021]	.056** [.017]
Pre-treatment controls	√	√	√	√	√	√
Observations	2,083	848	2,050	830	2,069	2,342
R^2	.266	.112	.185	.106	.069	.143
Control mean	.706	.488	.704	.566	.328	.563

loss frame 效果最明显（H2）

3. Wald tests（针对非线性模型/扰动项非正态的极大似然估计）

TABLE 6 Comparison of Treatment Groups versus Placebo (P-values of Joint Tests)

	Evaluation of Political Regimes (M1–M4)	Political Engagement (M5–M8)	(M5*, M6*, M7, M8)	All Political Outcomes (M1–M8)
T1 vs. T2	.0433	.9449	.9203	.2293
T1 vs. T3	.1313	.3392	.5825	.1649
T2 vs. T3	.1008	.0816	.1732	.0472
PT vs. Placebo	.0101	.0019	.0005	.0004
PT vs. T3	.1410	.0820	.2085	.0626

PT：T1 + T2

prospect frame 相比于 self- efficacy frame 更有效（H3）

结论和未尽的问题

如何通过线上公民教育培育民主文化

对Prospect theory 和 Self-efficacy theory的实证研究

- 样本量问题？ 2000 ÷ 4
- selection bias？针对年轻人

是否能有长期的影响?

简单直接