



# **A Report on the Module 5 Pretest**

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# Purpose

Investigate performance of measures:

1. Dimensionality of populist attitudes
2. How well each component of populism scales
3. How predictive the populist items are
4. How other items performed

Context for refining and finalizing populist attitudes and other measures from Module 5.

# Outline of Presentation

Overview of datasets

Methods

Scale Results

Cross-country Comparisons

Additional Tests & Qualitative Data

Summary of Results

Overview of

# **DATASETS**

# Datasets

	Greece	Ireland	S. Korea	Sweden	Switzerland	Taiwan
Study	ELNES 2015b	INES, 2016	20 <sup>th</sup> National Assembly Election Survey	Sweden Citizens Panel, Wave 18	CSES Module 5 Pilot	TEDS 2016
Election	20 Sept., 2015	26 Feb., 2016	13 April, 2016	None	18 October, 2015	16 Jan., 2016
Design	Probability, RDD	Probability, Panel	Quota	Quota, online opt- in panel	Quota, online opt- in panel	Probability
Collection Dates	16 Nov, 2015-29 Feb, 2016	1-6 March, 2016	14 April to 23 April, 2016	1 Dec., 2015-4 Jan. 2016	29 Oct.-10 Nov., 2015	17 Jan-21 April 2016
Mode	Web, Phone	Phone	In person	Web	Web	In person
N	1068	1000	1199	1280	1000	1690

# Wording Differences

“Politicians are trustworthy”

- Sweden: “PÅLITLIG” closer to “reliable”

Adverbs used in scale anchors

- Fairly important -> Rather important
- Somewhat agree -> Agree

National Identity

- Taiwan: No explicit use of “Taiwan” in measure

# Datasets

Summary:

Some use probability and some use quotas

Small variations in question translations and wording of response categories

Varying modes (some self-administered) and contexts

# Methods

## Frequency Distributions & Summary Statistics

- Missing data

- Examination of skew and variance

## Scaling and Dimensionality of Items

- Polychoric correlations

- Chronbach's alpha

- Factor analysis

## Validity

- Logistic regression (use items to predict populist vote choice)

## Qualitative Assessments



Testing for

# **ATTITUDES TOWARDS ELITES**

# Attitudes Towards Elites -Reliability

## *Cronbach's Alpha Scale Reliability Test*

Country	Cronbach's Alpha	Alpha without items a (compromise) or e (strong leader)	Other higher scores on alpha if item deleted
Greece	.58	.63	
Ireland	.69	.77	
S. Korea	.53	.56	
Sweden	.72	.75	h
Switzerland	.70	.76	c
Taiwan	.54	.60	

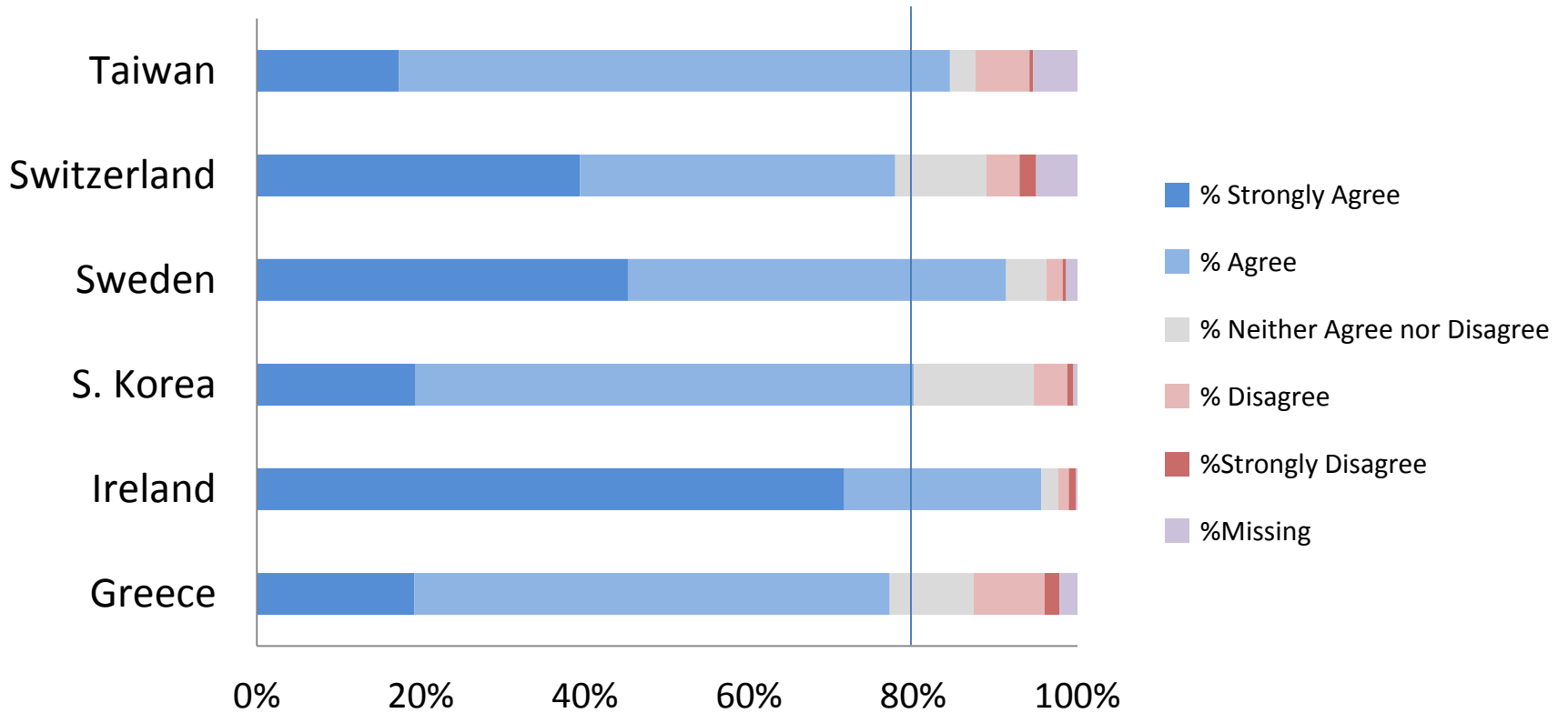
Notes. Item "c" is trustworthy. Item "h" is poor people-greater voice.

# Attitudes Toward Elites - Factors

- Exploratory factor analysis, pcf, oblimin
- Across countries, 3 factors, but the third involves items 4a (compromise) or 4e (strong leader) or both.
- No clear pattern emerged between countries.
- In several countries, items could be forced to load on a single factor with the exception of items 4a and 4e (which load  $<0.3$ ).

# Attitudes Towards Elites

*Q04a In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.*



# Attitudes Toward Elites

*Q04a In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.*

Country	Mean	Standard Deviation
Greece	2.14	.90
Ireland	1.35	.68
S. Korea	2.06	.76
Sweden	1.64	.70
Switzerland	1.86	.95
Taiwan	2.00	.73

Notes. Strongly agree is 1, Strongly disagree is 5.

# Attitudes Towards Elites - Validity

How do items predict vote for populist party?

Left populism

Greece: Syriza

Ireland: Sinn Féin

Right populism

Sweden: Sweden Democrats

Switzerland: SVP

Controls: age, education, income, gender

Coding: Strongly and Somewhat agree = 1

# Attitudes Towards Elites - Validity

		Left		Right	
		Greece	Ireland	Sweden	Switzerland
4A	Compromise	-			-
4B	Do not care			+	+
4C	Trustworthy			-	
4D	Main problem			+	+
4E	Strong Leader			+	+
4F	People Decide	+		+	+
4G	Care abt. Rich	+	+		
4H	Greater Voice		+	-	

# Summary: Attitudes Toward Elites

- Seeking compromise is highly skewed, has a low SD, and doesn't scale well.
  - SD is even low in comparison to other items in the attitudes about elites scale (not shown).
  - Could be tapping a general principle about democracy rather than a within-country attitude
- Strong leader seems to be performing fine as an item, but does not fit the dimension
  - Could be considered on its own
- Items tend to be more reliable in Europe than elsewhere.



Testing for

# **OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES**

# Out-Group Attitudes-Reliability

*Cronbach's Alpha Scale Reliability Test*

Country	Cronbach's Alpha
Greece	.65
Ireland	.54
S. Korea	.40
Sweden	.81
Switzerland	.62
Taiwan	.25

# Out-Group Attitudes - Factors

- Exploratory factor analysis, pcf, oblimin
- Items all loaded on a single factor, except in Taiwan (2 factors)
- Q5a (Minorities should adapt), loaded on its own (Taiwan) or had the lowest loading in all countries except Korea.
- Separate analysis of correlations indicates Q5a has a lower correlation with the immigration measures than they do with each other.

# Out-Group Attitudes- Validity

		Left		Right	
		Greece	Ireland	Sweden	Switzerland
5A	Minorities should adapt	-		+	+
5B	Immigrants good for economy			-	-
5C	Immigrants bad for culture	-		+	+

Notes. Strongly and somewhat agree are coded as 1.

Syriza, Sinn Féin, Sweden Democrats, and SVP are coded as 1.

# Summary: Out-Group Attitudes

- Relatively low Chronbach's alpha
  - Especially in Asian countries
- Items consistently predict right, but not left, populism
- Q5a, about minorities, does not fit as well with other two items, which are about immigrants.

Testing for

**NATIONAL IDENTITY**

# National Identity - Reliability

## *Cronbach's Alpha Scale Reliability Test*

Country	Cronbach's Alpha
Greece	.73
Ireland	.72
S. Korea*	.79
Sweden	.83
Switzerland	.77
Taiwan	.72

\*Notes. Q06d To be [COUNTRY's DOMINANT RELIGION] is excluded in S. Korea questionnaire.

# National Identity- Factors

- Exploratory factor analysis, pcf, oblimin
- Produced 1 to 3 factor solutions across countries
  - Single factor in S.Korea only, 3 in Greece only
- Item e (respect laws) tended to load apart from other items, sometimes with f (feel nationality)
- Item f (feel nationality) tended to load on more than one factor



# National Identity - Means and SD

- Across countries, Q6e and Q6f (respect laws and feel nationality) tend to have low means and SDs relative to other items.
  - Could explain why they load together

# National Identity- Validity

		Left		Right	
		Greece	Ireland	Sweden	Switzerland
6A	Born in country			+	+
6B	Lived in country			+	+
6C	Speak language			+	
6D	Be religion	-		+	+
6E	Respect laws				+
6F	Feel nationality	-			+
6G	Have ancestry			+	

Notes. Strongly and somewhat agree are coded as 1.

Syriza, Sinn Féin, Sweden Democrats, and SVP are coded as 1.

# Summary: National Identity

- Forms a reasonably strong scale across countries
- Underlying factors vary by country
  - Context of nationalism varies country-to-country
  - In some countries “respect laws” and “feel nationality” could be a separate factor/dimension.
- Items tend to be more predictive of right populism than left populism, as might be expected
  - Predictive items may not be consistent across countries

Analyses for

# **CROSS-COUNTRY COMPARISONS**

# Confirmatory Factor Analysis

1. Create confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for all data combined before running multi-group analysis (MGA).
2. MGA: Test of measurement invariance across groups.

*Can construct measure same thing across countries?*

- a. Test and compare fully constrained and fully unconstrained models (set parameters to be equal or not)
- b. Test whether factor loadings differ across countries
- c. Test whether error variances differ across countries

# Confirmatory Factor Analysis

1. CFA run on combined data (and by country)
  - Excluded items because not asked for all countries or had poor fits in exploratory factor analysis (EFA).
  - 3 Factor model – Elites, Out-Groups, National Identity
  - Model did not have a good fit, but came close

# Confirmatory Factor Analysis

2. Constrained and unconstrained MGAs were run.
  - Looked at CFA by country and MGA
  - Significant difference between constrained and unconstrained model
    - Magnitude of loadings differed across models, but vary in the same direction across countries

Conclusion: These three factors may not be equivalent across all countries

# **ADDITIONAL TESTING**



# Other Measures

- Q01. Political interest (4pts: Very-Not at all)
- Q02. Politics in the media (4 pts: Very-Not at all)
- Q03. Internal efficacy (5pts: Agree-Disagree).
- Q07. How widespread is corruption (4pts: Very-It hardly happens)
- Q08. Attitudes towards redistribution (11pts).
- D15. Either biological parent born outside of country (Yes-No)

Mean and Range of Percent Missing for items above

	Greece %	Ireland %	S. Korea %*	Sweden %	Switzerland %	Taiwan %
Mean	1.55	0.16	0.52	NA	3.10	3.77
Range	(0.94-2.25)	(0.00-0.60)	(0.00-1.33)	NA	(0.40-8.90)	(0.28-10.29)

Notes. Excludes Q08-Attitudes Towards Redistribution.

\*Korean data excludes D.15 Biological Parents.

# Missing Data - Populism

Mean and Range of Percent Missing for each dimension

	Greece %	Ireland %	S. Korea %	Sweden %	Switzerland %	Taiwan %
Q4a-h						
Mean	1.78	<b>0.17</b>	0.31	0.15	4.14	<b>6.19</b>
Range	(1.20-2.70)	<b>(0.00-0.41)</b>	(0.17-0.50)	(0.13-0.17)	(3.00-5.30)	<b>(4.84-7.52)</b>
Q5a-c						
Mean	1.63	0.26	1.00	0.11	2.40	<b>8.43</b>
Range	(1.50-1.80)	(0.19-0.31)	(0.92-1.08)	(0.11-0.12)	(1.90-3.20)	<b>(6.76-9.73)</b>
Q6a-g						
Mean	1.47	0.18	0.31	1.46	3.07	<b>4.70</b>
Range	(1.10-1.70)	(0.09-0.30)	(0.17-0.42)	(1.30-1.70)	(2.20-4.00)	<b>(3.67-5.71)</b>

# Attitudes Toward Redistribution

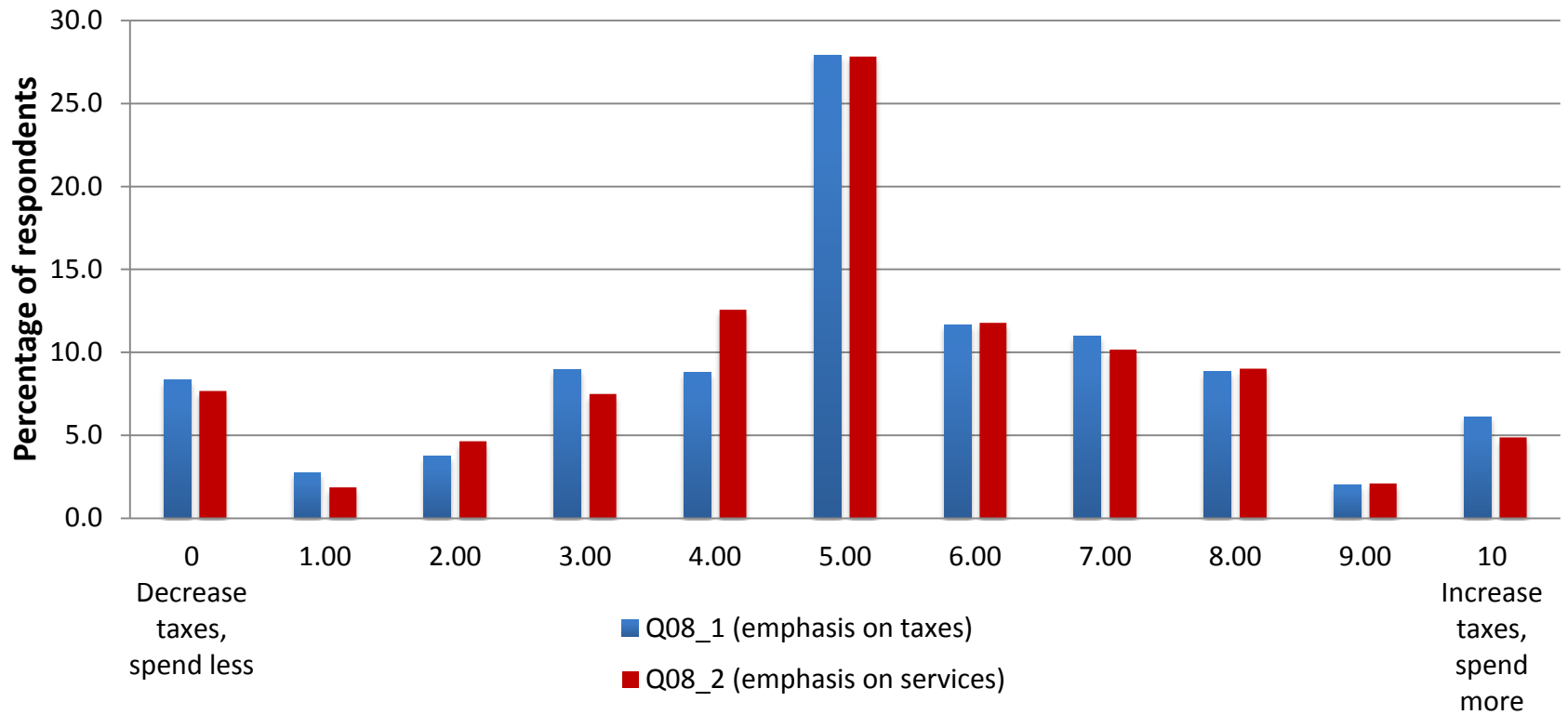
Question wording experiment, Switzerland

*Q8. Some people think that the government should cut taxes even if it means spending less on social services such as health and education. Other people feel that the government should spend more on social services such as health and education even it means raising taxes. Where would you place yourself on this scale where 0 is "Governments should decrease taxes and spend less on services" and 10 is "Governments should increase taxes and spend more on services"?*

- Version 1 (Q08\_1), taxes first: “Governments should **decrease taxes** and spend less on services”
- Version 2 (Q08\_2) services first: “Governments should **spend less on services** and decrease taxes”

# Attitudes Toward Redistribution

Question wording experiment, Switzerland



# Attitudes Toward Redistribution

There is no statistically significant difference in the means.  $t(949) = .57, p=.56$

Mean(sd)

Q08\_1 = 5.16 (.12)

Q08\_2 = 5.06 (.11)

In the missing data analysis, the Redistribution item tended to have the highest % missing data.

-Ranged from 0.50% in S.Korea to 8.61% in Greece

# Additional Testing - Summary

- Missing data low overall
  - For other items and populism measures
  - Attitudes about redistribution slightly higher, but not concerning
- Changing order of taxes and services did not matter for Redistribution question

# **QUALITATIVE ANALYSES**

# Cognitive Testing – Sample

- 16 computer assisted (CAPI) cognitive interviews conducted
- by GESIS Leibniz Institute, Mannheim
  - 28th of April to 11th of May 2016
  - in German using questionnaire from Swiss study

## Quota sample of German citizens

- 50% female
- 50% > 41 years old
- 50% college education

Results that follow are not all the results



# Cognitive Testing – Attitudes About Elites

The phrase “care about the people” is interpreted differently by different respondents

“Poor people should have a greater voice in politics” may not translate well in some countries.

- Some German respondents interpreted this as preferential treatment for the poor (i.e. a ‘poor people quota’)
  - Translation problems elsewhere (Taiwan)

# Cognitive Testing – Out-Group Attitudes

Terminology not consistent across items.

- “ethnic minorities” harder to understand than “immigrants” in German interviews
  - Pilot test analysis indicated ethnic minorities does not fit as well with items on immigrants
  - Heterogeneity between countries
    - Have neither, both, or only one

# Cognitive Testing – Attitudes Toward Redistribution

Question may be phrased too generally to reflect complex nature of the topic.

Respondents' opinions cannot be expressed via the given answer options in 2 ways:

1. Some believed taxes should be lowered but redistributed differently
  - Believe that low taxes should not accompany fewer social services
  - Resulted in inability to choose an answer on the current scale (may lead to missing data)

# Cognitive Testing – Attitudes Toward Redistribution

2. Respondents cannot express if they want taxes to only be raised (or lowered) for certain segments of the population (such as an increase in taxation of the rich).
  - Led to choosing the middle category (5) for 3 out of 16 respondents
  - Choice of middle category would be an incorrect answer

Recommendation: Shorten and simplify question text. Make relationship between increase/decrease in taxes and cuts/expansions of social services clearer

# Cognitive Testing- Attitudes Toward Redistribution

**OLD:** Some people think that. . .Other people feel that

**NEW:** Do you prefer that. . . or do you prefer that

**NEW:** Now thinking about taxes and social services: Do you prefer that the government cuts taxes even if this means spending less on social services such as health and education, or do you prefer that the government should spend more on social services ~~such as health and education~~ even if it means raising taxes? Where would you place yourself on this scale where 0 is “Government should decrease taxes and spend less on services”, 5 is “Taxes and spending on social services should be kept as they are”, and 10 is “Government should increase taxes and spend more on services”?]

# Interviewer Observations - Taiwan

- Interviewers reported “have a greater voice” (Q4h) was confusing for some respondents
  - Interviewers instructed to add “Politicians should pay greater attention to the needs of the poor” IF respondents do not understand
  - Potentially a translation issue
- National Identity items (Q6) confused some respondents
  - Possibly due to national identity being the major political cleavage in Taiwan.
  - Note that mean % of missing data lower on these items than other 2 batteries, so Respondents appear to be answering regardless. SDs are also lower on average than other 2 batteries. Could be appearing in data in other ways.

Conclusion and Discussion

# **OVERALL SUMMARY**

# Overall Summary

- Items and scales perform well overall, with some exceptions
- Next set of slides will go through the items where improvements could be made, dividing into 2 sets:
  1. Action has to be taken
  2. Minor adjustments could be made



# Overall Summary

## Action Needed

### 1. Q4a Compromise:

- Loadings in factor analysis
- Less scalable
- High skew: low means and SDs
- Potential face validity problems
- Overall, possibly most problematic measure

# Overall Summary

## Minor Adjustments

### 2. Q4e Strong Leader

- Is predictive
- Doesn't scale or load with other items
- Does not fit with elites dimension. Could belong by itself.
- Theory locates it causally after attitudes about elites

# Overall Summary

## Minor Adjustments

### 3. Q4h – Poor people-greater voice

- Qualitative observations suggest potential translation issues for “greater voice”
- Did not always scale well
- May measure attitudes about poor rather than elites

### 4. Q4c – Politicians trustworthy

- Not all languages may have exact translation

# Overall Summary

## Minor Adjustments

### 5. Q5a – Minorities

- Minorities qualitatively different from immigrants
- Minorities could be considered separately from other 2 measures

# Overall Summary

## Minor Adjustments

6. Q6e and Q6f (respect laws and feel nationality)
  - Tend to have low means and SDs.
  - Tend to load separately in FA
  - Scale well
  
7. Q08 Attitudes toward redistribution
  - Missing data higher (but below 9%)
  - Qualitative analyses suggest some difficulty answering
  - Could simplify

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