



# REPORT ON THE CSES MODULE 6 PRETEST

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## Executive Summary

In January through July 2021, four countries participated in a pretest of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) draft Module 6 questionnaire. The pretest results informed the final version of the questionnaire, which was completed after the virtual CSES Plenary Meeting in October 2021.

The theme of the questionnaire for Module 6 is representative democracy under pressure. Content for the draft questionnaire was based on submissions received by the Module 6 Planning Committee to two calls for proposals - a broad call in 2019 and a COVID-19 specific call in 2020. The module, which incorporated several submitted proposals, was finalized by the CSES Planning Committee at a meeting in Lausanne in February 2020. The questionnaire was subsequently pretested in Mexico, Montenegro, Sweden, and Serbia.

This pretest report evaluates the core theme items based on the data from the four-country pretests. Results from this report were presented on October 28, 2021, at the virtual CSES Plenary Session.

Analyses described in this report were designed to evaluate how well the individual measures performed in each country to help determine which measures should be retained in the final version of the questionnaire and whether any should be modified. The goal was to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the module items and questionnaire to prepare for the broad adoption of Module 6.

To examine the performance of the individual items within each country, frequency distributions, summary statistics, and missing data were analyzed. Items were also considered in groups as part of a broad theoretical framework, and the internal consistency of these groups and other subsets of items were examined. Moreover, the report discusses the investigation of whether the measures in two such groupings were predictive. A few additional analyses and other issues that arose during testing are discussed, including a question-wording experiment conducted in Serbia on the usage of the term "social cohesion."

Generally, the items performed well, with only a few measures that stood out for further consideration. These were: Satisfaction about the vote (Q11a-b), Biological parents born outside of [COUNTRY] (D15), Men/women better suited to lead (Q25a-b), Social Cohesion (Q27a), and Traditional Media (Q07f). Results showed a low level of missing data and few unusual distributions, except for some of the media measures and the better suited to lead items. Some of the groupings from the theoretical framework were internally consistent and could be used as scales, such as the Trust and Support items and the System Output items. Also, depending on the specific model being tested, items are predictive, and the framework's setup allows for many potential models that could be of interest to researchers.

## INTRODUCTION

The CSES Module 6 was designed to investigate representative democracy under pressure. The draft questionnaire for the module included three blocks of items that were developed in the CSES Planning Committee draft proposal for Module 6 and are shown in Figure 1 below. The three blocks of items function together as a broad framework for analysis. The first block (Block 1: Trust and Support for Democracy & System Outputs) measures trust and support for democracy and democratic institutions along with perceptions of system outputs. The second block (Block 2: Representation & Representative Democratic Procedures) deals with gender and representation as well as representative democratic procedures, specifically related to the media and electoral processes. The third block measures (Block 3: Alternative Types of Government) support for different types of government.

Trust and Support for Democracy & system outputs	Representation & Representative democratic procedures	Alternative Types of Government
<p><b>Trust and Support for Democracy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Satisfaction with Democracy</li> <li>- Support for Democracy in principle</li> <li>- How democratic is country</li> <li>- Covid impact on society/ democracy</li> <li>- Trust in Institutions (inc. scientists)</li> </ul> <p><b>System Outputs</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Government performance               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- General</li> <li>- Citizens treated fairly</li> <li>- Adequate healthcare</li> <li>- Handling the consequences of covid-19</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>Electoral Process</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Satisfaction with variety of choice in election</li> <li>- Satisfaction with vote</li> <li>- Fairness of elections</li> </ul> <p><b>Gender and Representation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Satisfaction with number of women in Parliament</li> <li>- Attitudes towards women in power during public health/economic crisis.</li> <li>- Attitudes towards gender policies</li> </ul> <p><b>Media</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media use during campaign</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Support for strong executive</li> <li>- Support for courts' role in political process</li> <li>- Support for government by:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Business leaders</li> <li>- Independent experts</li> <li>- Citizens in Referendums</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

**Figure 1.** Representative Democracy Under Stress - Analytical Framework from CSES Planning Committee Module 6 Proposal

Content for the draft questionnaire was developed based on combining elements from several submissions received in response to calls for proposals by the CSES Module 6 Planning Committee. The module includes items specifically designed to tap aspects of democracy under pressure and also features questions specifically related to the Covid-19 pandemic. Additional core questions closely linked to the theme included political interest, retrospective economic perceptions, and political efficacy. Other core questions on the module were based on the Core Questions Subcommittee Report, but were not investigated as part of this current evaluation of the themed items from the pretest. This current pretest report focused mainly on the theme questions, which can be found in Appendix A.



The CSES Planning Committee Module 6 Report and the CSES Module 6 Content Subcommittee Final Report further discusses the relationships between the items and how they contribute to understanding the broad theme of representative democracy under pressure. The latter report is available online (Lobo, Schmitt-Beck, Sulmont, and Wagner, 2021).

## PRETEST DATA SETS AND COUNTRY COMPARISONS

### CHARACTERISTICS OF DATA SETS

Four countries participated in the Module 6 Pretests: Mexico, Montenegro, Sweden, and Serbia. All countries in the pretests collected data in 2021 after their lower house elections. In three of the countries, data collection was non-probability based and took place online, although sampling and recruitment methods differed. However, the post-election study in Mexico differed from the other studies. It was a face-to-face probability-based sample, and it was conducted immediately after the election occurred. Table 1 below summarizes the design characteristics of each of the data sets.

Table 1. Country Context for Pre-Test Studies

	Mexico	Montenegro	Serbia	Sweden
<b>Study</b>	CSES Pilot from CIDE national electoral study 2021	CSES Module 6 Pretest	Public Opinion of Serbia 2021 (JMS 2021)	LORE SU51-2021 CSES
<b>Election Date</b>	June 2021	March 2021	June 2020	September 2018
<b>Election Type</b>	Lower House	Lower House	Lower House	Lower House
<b>Design</b>	Probability	Non-probability, quota	Non-probability, quota	Non-probability, opt-in panel
<b>Recruitment</b>	In person	Links via Viber	Email, online ads*	Email
<b>Collection</b>	June-July 2021	May 2021	March-May 2021	January-February 2021
<b>Mode</b>	Face-to-face	online	online	online
<b>N</b>	1800	987	1808	1690

\*Notes. The Serbian data was collected using two samples with different modes of recruitment; the samples used email recruitment and online ads respectively.

## WORDING AND QUESTIONNAIRE DIFFERENCES

Challenges translating question wording for cross-national surveys such as this one can arise because words or phrases may not have direct counterparts in other languages. Similarly, cultural or political differences between countries may create additional interpretation or meaning formation differences. Such differences can also render specific questions more or less relevant depending on the context. In this case, there were indeed some differences between the pretest module and the questionnaires across countries.

First, not all of the questions were asked with wording identical to the module questionnaire in some countries. Some notable differences in question wordings across the four countries are discussed briefly in this section:

- Traditional Media (Q07f) – One country used "the media" rather than "traditional media."
- Social Cohesion (Q27a) – Two countries used alternate wordings, including one country that used "unity of [citizens in country]" and another one that used "social connectedness." Specifically, "social connectedness" was used as part of a question wording experiment in Serbia because of concern that the term "social cohesion" might not be clearly understood by respondents.

Likewise, there were some differences in questionnaire construction. For example, some countries added questions relevant to their own political situation but which were not in the module and grouped them with other pertinent questions. Other countries changed the order of some of the response options by reversing the scales. Where the response options were reversed, the analyses in this report have revised the order to match the module.

Another notable difference in the questionnaire across countries was how the Q11a, Q11b, and Q12 sequence was implemented. In Mexico, for example, satisfaction with the variety of choice (Q12) was only asked of the non-voters.

Finally, not all of the countries were able to ask the full battery of questions in the module. Specifically, "Media usage: Social Media – Times per Day (Q02g)" was not asked in some of the pretesting countries, perhaps because this question was added to the module after the module was complete. Additionally, "Coronavirus: Pandemic – Contracted Covid (Q27d)" was left off in at least one country; it may be that this question cannot be asked in some locations because it is considered personal medical information that would require special permission to collect or store.

Differences in question wording or questionnaire construction such as those described above may affect the comparability of results across countries. For more information about question wording and questionnaire construction in a cross-cultural context, the Survey Research Center's (2016) guide discusses best practices across countries or cultures and touches on some of the issues described above.

## SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

Although all but one of the countries used non-probability sampling, the demographics for each dataset can give us a general sense of how representative the samples are of the country

populations and can provide us with some useful information to keep in mind when interpreting the results or comparing results by country. The tables below show the gender, age, education levels, and political interest of the datasets for each country. Although the demographics often make use of different categories across countries, each table presents all of the pretest country means or proportions together for succinctness.

Table 2 shows the proportions for gender in each country. In two countries, respondents were asked about "Other," and in two countries respondents were asked only about "Male" and "Female" and omitting the "Other" category. The table shows that Montenegro and Mexico tended to have a higher proportion of female respondents.

Table 2. Gender for Each Data Set

Country	Female (%)	Male (%)	Other (%)
Mexico	56.6	43.4	NA
Montenegro	57.6	42.0	0.4
Serbia	50.8	49.2	NA
Sweden	52.0	47.5	0.5

Table 3 shows the mean age of respondents in each dataset. Respondents in Montenegro tended to be slightly younger, while Serbian respondents tended to be slightly older.

Table 3. Mean Age for Each Data Set

Country	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Mexico	42.1	16.1	18	91
Montenegro	37.3	12.4	17	88
Serbia	49.2	12.1	18	90
Sweden	3.6	1.7	1	6

*Notes.* The Swedish data set used age ranges rather than birth dates or actual age, as in the other data sets. In Sweden, the scale is 1 "<29", 2 "30-39", 3 "40-49", 4 "50-59", 5 "60-69", 6 ">70".

Table 4 shows the mean and median level of education for each dataset. Despite being collected on different scales, the table shows that the Serbian respondents tended to be somewhat more educated, and the Mexican respondents tended to have slightly less education overall.

Table 4. Mean Level of Education for Each Data Set

Country	Mean	SD	P50	Min	Max
Mexico	4.58	1.92	4 (HS or Technical Deg)	1	9
Montenegro	4.98	1.51	6 (Bachelor's)	0	8
Serbia	6.96	1.07	7 (University)	1	8
Sweden	5.92	1.92	7 (Bachelor's)	1	9

Table 5 shows the mean level of political interest in each country. Respondents in the Swedish and Montenegrin data set tended to report higher levels of political interest than in the other countries.

Table 5. Mean Level of Political Interest for Each Data Set

Country	Mean	SD
Mexico	2.72	0.97
Montenegro	1.97	0.85
Serbia	2.13	0.82
Sweden	1.69	0.63

*Notes.* 4-pt scale, 1=" Very Interested" and 4=" Not at all interested"

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the proportion of respondents who turned out for the election (not shown) varied quite a bit across country, as one would expect given different actual turnout rates. In Sweden, for example, turnout for the 2018 election was over 87%, and this was reflected in the data (i.e., only 11 respondents reported not voting). In Serbia, non-voting was due to both protesting the election along with more typical reasons for not voting.

## METHODS

### ANALYTIC STRATEGY

As discussed briefly in the introduction, Module 6 was developed with questions from multiple submissions in response to a call for proposals, and then it was organized into a framework in order to be broadly applicable to as many users as possible. As in any large-scale multi-user study, competing goals must be balanced in order to maximize usefulness to the greatest number of users by including a breadth of items and concepts while also adequately measuring complex concepts. In the latter case, researchers may find that multiple items may be needed to measure a concept, which can take up space on an instrument that could be otherwise used to include items on additional topics. As a result, the investigation in this report attempts to address both of these concerns, with both the individual items and the framework in mind.

Several different investigations were conducted. First, the individual items were examined, focusing on the frequency distributions and summary statistics of each. Missing data were also analyzed, and a few items with unusual or potentially problematic distributions were inspected more closely. This set of investigations was focused on determining whether items were confusing for respondents or were not adequately discriminating among users with different opinions or behaviors.

Second, the theme items were examined to see whether questions grouped together in the framework or on the instrument were interrelated. That is, some groups of items might have high internal consistency and could be thought of as dimensions or scales. Correlations were run to examine the bivariate relationships of each item within groups in the framework and on the

instrument. Then, tests were run using Cronbach's alpha to look at the internal consistency across similar items, items that were grouped together thematically in the framework, and items that were grouped together on the instrument.

Lastly, theme items were investigated to see whether they were predictive. For these tests, a few basic outcome variables of potential interest were selected. Outcome variables were considered and then selected for tests based on the following factors: (1) their importance to election scholars, (2) their perceived importance to the theme of representative democracy under pressure, (3) their likely relationship to potential predictor variables of interest.

The outcome variables were then tested against other theme items in two groupings from the framework: trust and support items and then representation and representative democratic procedures. Rather than treating these items as scales and combining them, they were each entered into the model together. They were tested both with and without basic demographics. However, for brevity, this report will only show results for models that include basic demographics that were asked in each of the countries (i.e., age, income, gender (dichotomized), education, and political interest). This approach was used because no particular models were proposed for the Module 6 theme, nor were specific dimensions or constructs created other than the informal groupings in the framework.

## DATA CLEANING AND RECODING

Each team cleaned the data before submitting it for analysis, which involved all labeling and recodes. If needed, any cleaning required to remove incompletes from the data was conducted according to the policies of the respective research team. The only exception to this was the Serbian dataset, which was cleaned later, following this general procedure: first, empty (skipped) items were recoded as missing. Then, cases were dropped based on a combination of how far respondents made it in the instrument, along with skipping more than half of the questions in the instrument.<sup>1</sup> Additional recodes were made to scales in some countries for the theme items where they did not match the module coding; demographics were primarily left in their submitted form, although gender was dichotomized for ease of analysis and interpretation.

A few of the theme items were recoded for analysis. Better Suited to Lead (Q25a and Q25b) items were recoded for some analyses so that the option "both" was in the middle, or it was dichotomized so that "Male" is "1," and "Female" and "Both" are coded as "0". The latter coding was used in all multivariate investigations, including the regression models discussed in the section on whether the items are predictive. Likewise, Percentage of Women in Parliament was recoded so that the "About right" option was in the middle and the coding ran from "Too low" to "Too high," or it was dichotomized so that "1" was "Too High" and the other options were coded as "0."

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the tables and figures for analyses of the Serbian data were provided by Bojan Todosijević and his team. Their approach to data cleaning differed slightly from my own; however, my own cleaning only resulted in a few additional respondents being dropped—not enough to make any substantive difference, but may result in slight discrepancies between analyses.

All of the investigations in this report were run without weights.

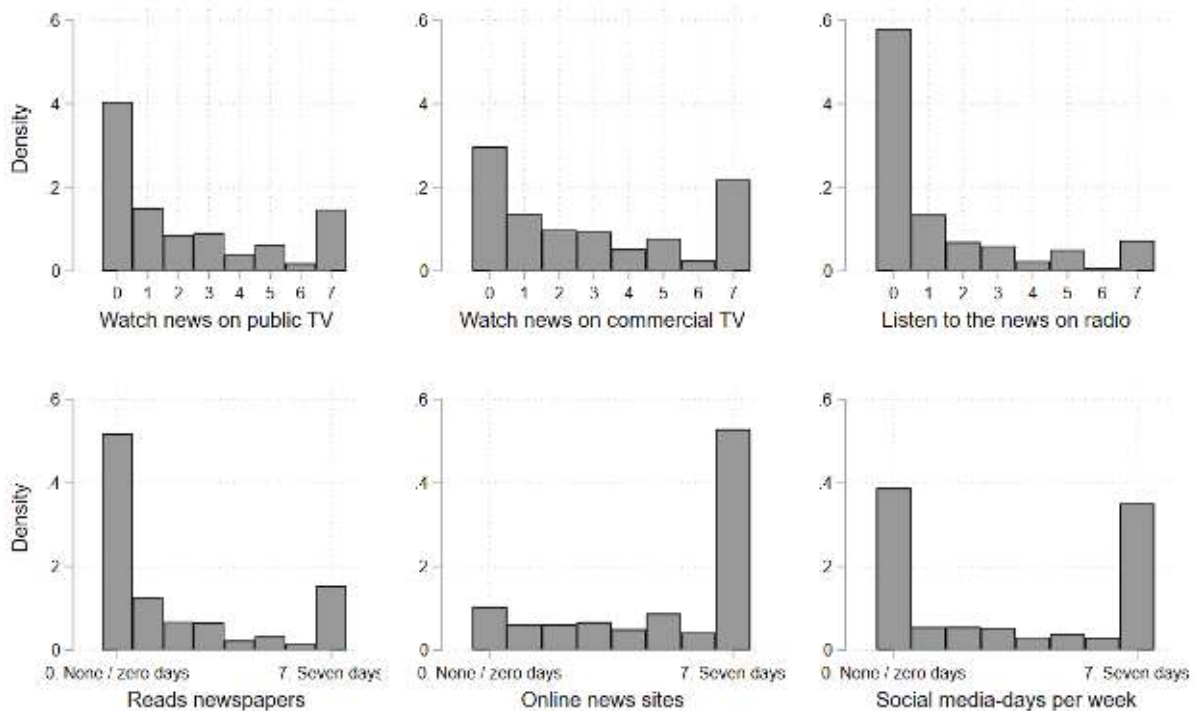
## MEANS AND DISTRIBUTIONS

To determine whether questions were working as expected, means, standard deviations, and frequency distributions were examined for the theme items. Appendix B shows the means and standard deviations for the theme items. From this investigation, a few items exhibited unexpected distributions and are discussed further in the sections below.

### MEDIA MEASURES

Across all four countries, the media measures tended to exhibit bimodal distributions; most respondents reported getting their news from each of the six sources either every day or never. Figure 2 shows histograms for each source from the Serbian data, although these distributions were typical for the other countries as well. Although these distributions are not ideal for any given media item, recoding the data into three categories (e.g., high, medium, and low) or combining the items into a scale will likely mitigate this problem.

Another potential concern with the media measures is that very few respondents reported listening to the news on the radio in any of the four pretests. However, since the module is designed for broad applicability in multiple countries, radio news is likely an important source elsewhere and should be retained.



**Figure 2.** Histograms showing media use measures using data from Serbia

## GENDER REPRESENTATION MEASURES

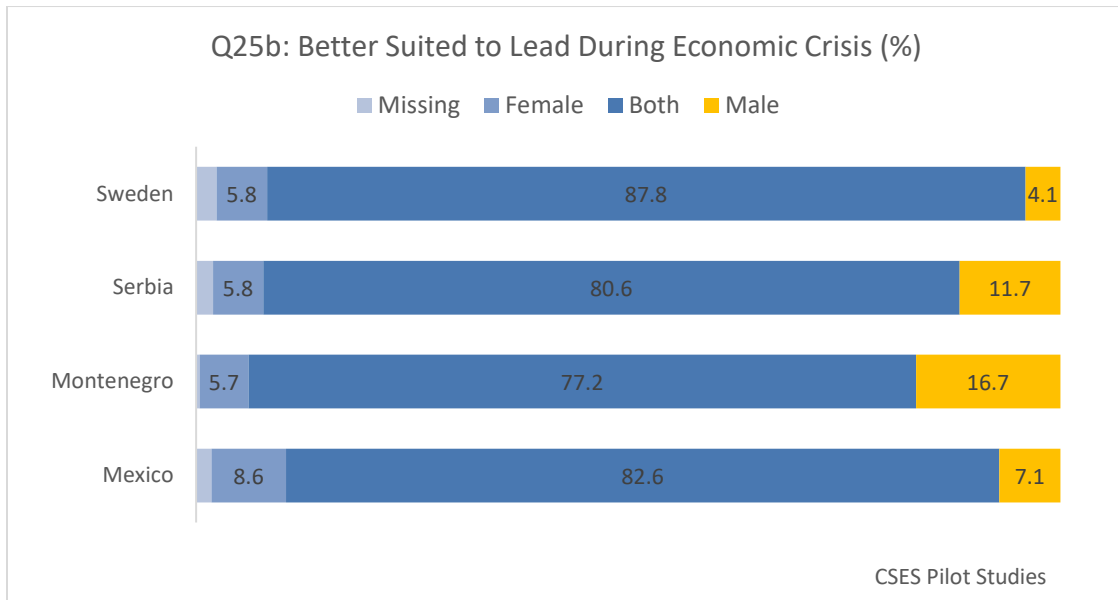
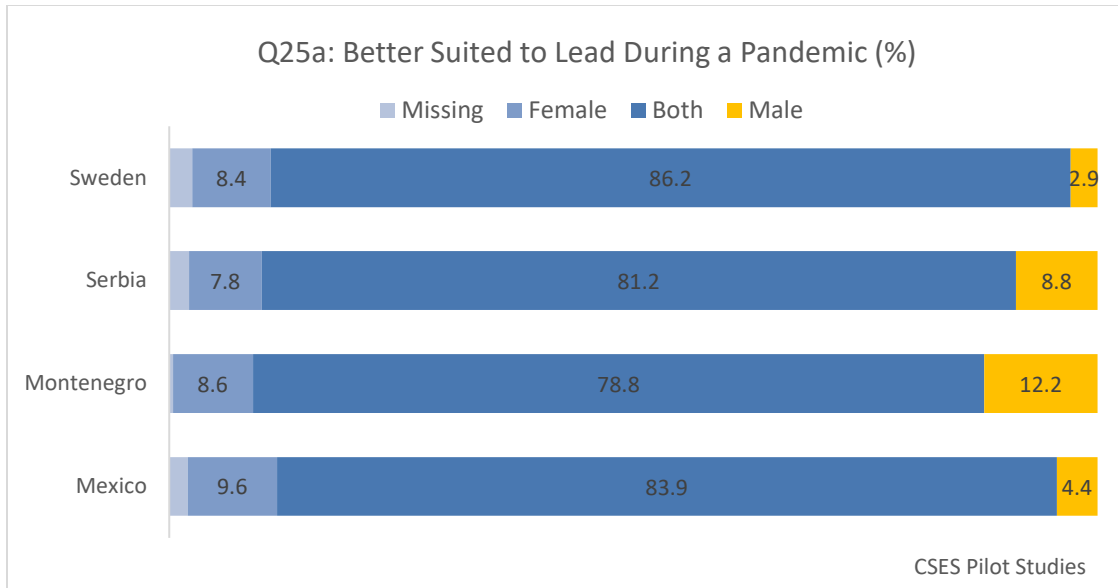
In each of the four countries, the gender representation measures (Q25a and Q25b) have a relatively low variance, with most respondents selecting "both" for each question. In other words, most respondents indicated that both males and females would be well-suited to lead during a pandemic (Q25a) and an economic crisis (Q25b). Table 6 shows the means and standard deviations by country for each question. From the table, it is clear that respondents answered the questions similarly regardless of country or crisis (i.e., pandemic or economic).

Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations for Q25a and Q25b by Country

Country	Q25a: Lead During Pandemic		Q25b: Lead During Economic Crisis	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Mexico	2.05	.38	2.02	.40
Montenegro	1.96	.46	1.89	.46
Serbia	1.99	.41	1.94	.42
Sweden	2.06	.34	2.02	.32

Notes. The original versions of 25a and 25b were recoded so that "Male" is 1, "Female" is 3, and "Both" is the middle category.

Figure 3 shows the frequency distributions for these questions (Q25a and Q25b) in graphical form. The figure illustrates how large the proportion of respondents selecting "both" are relative to those who selected "male" and "female." In this figure, "male" is represented in orange since it is likely that researchers could be inclined to dichotomize this item because these could indicate underlying sexist or misogynistic attitudes that might be linked to other theme items, such as Q04c (Strong Leader) (for links between sexism, misogyny, and authoritarian leaders see for example Kaul, 2021; Valentino, Wayne & Oceno, 2018). The figures also show that there is a small difference in the percentage of respondents who chose "male" for both questions in each country, with higher percentages in the Serbian and Montenegrin data. Additionally, in all countries, a slightly higher percentage of respondents thought that males would be better at handling an economic crisis than a pandemic.



**Figure 3.** Distributions for Q25a and Q25b by Country.

## MISSING DATA

Missing data were examined for all of the theme items. Missing data were considered to be the percentage of respondents skipping a question for each theme item on the online surveys and, for comparison, the percentage of no answers and "don't knows" for each question on the face-to-face survey. High percentages of missing data or "don't knows" could indicate that a question was difficult to answer or not working as expected.

To determine whether the percentage of data was high for any given item, the item was compared to surrounding items on the instrument, especially items on the same scale, within the survey for



a given country, and also compared to the same items relative to the scale across countries. The items were also compared to the mean of the items within a scale or set of items.

Appendix C shows the missing data for each of the theme items by country, along with the mean amount of missing data for subsets or scales of items based on their ordering on the instrument. Rows highlighted in orange show items that had missing amounts of data that tended to look different from the mean and surrounding items across more than one country.

This analysis showed that there was generally not a lot of missing data. Items that had slightly higher levels of missing data across countries relative to nearby items on the survey were "Q02 Radio news" and Q11a/b combined "Satisfaction with vote/voters/non-voters." However, the amount of missing data for these items does not seem high enough to indicate serious problems with the items.

## INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

### APPROACH

As mentioned earlier, large-scale, multi-user surveys such as this one have to make trade-offs between maximizing utility by adding a broad range of concepts and satisfying researchers' ability to adequately measure complicated concepts by adding related items that can be tested for reliability and validity. Thus, as a next step, items were examined for their internal consistency, using the broad groupings within the Module 6 framework as a guide.

### SCALING FOR ITEM SUBGROUPS

Table 7 shows the reliability measures of the groups and subgroups of items in the framework by country. Cronbach's alpha was used to measure reliability for multi-item groupings. Groupings with only two items, however, used either inter-item correlations or phi correlations depending on whether they were ordinally or dichotomously coded. Specifically, polychoric correlations were used as the inter-item correlation coefficients because the items analyzed were ordinal, where the traits in the population were thought to be continuous.

As can be seen in Table 7, some groups of items had reliability coefficients high enough to be considered reliable (i.e., over .75). Those coefficients are bolded in the table. In general, two of the groupings from the framework (along with the subgroups within them) tended to be more reliable than the other groups: Trust & Support and System Outputs. This was probably driven by the trust and government performance measures which scaled well together across multiple countries. The other groups—Electoral Processes, Media, and Alternate Government—tended to be less reliable.

The Cronbach's alpha scores suggest that the Trust and Support items and the System Output items are more internally consistent than the other groups in the framework, which gives researchers the opportunity to consider at least some of these groups of items in the framework as measuring underlying constructs. Measures in the other groups might be used in models as single-item measures. Alternatively, they might belong together in different orientations than they were tested here or than they were proposed in the framework.

Table 7. Reliability of Item Subgroups

Subgroup	Items	Countries			
		Mexico	Montenegro	Serbia	Sweden
Trust & Support	Q04a, Q07a-g, Q06, Q22, Q27a-b	0.73	0.62	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.83</b>
Trust	Q07a-g	<b>0.76</b>	0.62	0.73	<b>0.81</b>
Support	Q06, Q22, Q27a-b	0.52	0.40	0.72	0.64
Covid Impact	Q27a-b	0.62	0.56	0.67	0.38
System Outputs	Q08a-b, Q26a-b	0.73	0.60	<b>0.89</b>	0.69
Government Perf.	Q08a-b	0.69	<b>0.84</b>	<b>0.86</b>	<b>0.83</b>
Political System	Q26a-b	0.61	0.54	0.74	0.59
Electoral Process	Q12, Q13, Q11a-b	0.32	0.33	0.55	0.45
Media	Q02a-f	0.49	0.68	0.61	0.50
Gender/Representation	Q24, Q25a-b, Q04d	0.11	0.55	0.58	0.48
Men Better Suited*	Q25a-b (dichotomous)	0.46	0.69	0.69	0.67
Alternate Government	Q04b-c, Q05a-c	0.39	0.42	0.51	0.58

*Notes.* To measure reliability, multi-item scales use Cronbach's Alpha and scales with two items use inter-item correlation (specifically polychoric coefficients). \*The correlation for Men Better Suited used a Phi Correlation due to the dichotomous coding after recoding took place.

## ARE THE ITEMS PREDICTIVE?

The next set of tests was designed to see whether any of the items from the framework were predictive. Because the module is designed to explain and understand representative democracy under pressure, the first two groups—(1) Trust & Support for Democracy and System Outputs and (2) Representation & Representative Democratic Procedures—were considered likely to be predictor variables. Although findings from the previous section on internal consistency suggest that some items could be combined, this investigation considers each item separately as a potential explanation for democracy under pressure. This decision has the advantage of focusing on the performance of individual items, such that they can be flagged for possible improvements if necessary. However, the overall purpose of this exercise is to look at the strength of the module performance overall, to see whether the items are likely to be predictive in models that may interest analysts who use data from Module 6.

Several items were considered as potential outcome variables. As discussed in the methods section, the selection of outcome variables was guided by the theme of Module 6 and the role that elections play in CSES, rather than a specific model, since there is no single model or theory guiding the framework. It was not possible to use turnout as an outcome variable since there was not enough variance in Sweden, where turnout was extremely high. Instead, one item was selected from the third group in the framework (i.e., Alternate Types of Government), Q04c. Strong Leader and another item selected was Q22. Satisfaction with Democratic Process. The questions read as follows:

Q04c. (Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:)  
Having a strong leader in government is good for COUNTRY even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

Q22. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in [COUNTRY]?

These questions are different from each other in specific ways that might be useful for this kind of testing. The first question is abstract or hypothetical, while the second question about how democracy works is more concrete and potentially closer in the causal sequence to the explanatory variables than the strong leader question.

### STRONG LEADER

To evaluate whether module items predict whether respondents support having a strong leader in government even if that leader bends the rules, OLS regressions were run for each of the four countries, focusing first on the Trust and Support items and then on the Representation and Representative Democratic Procedure items. Although models were run both with and without demographic variables, results are shown only for the models that included demographic variables. All countries asked respondents about age, income, gender, education, and political interest. These demographics were used as asked (or as reported in the data), except for gender, which was dichotomized.

Table 8 shows both the  $R^2$  for each of the models as well as the number of themed items that were statistically significant in each model. These items were also checked for direction to make sure that there was nothing unusual or concerning about the results. Table 8 shows that, except for Serbia, the models have a relatively small  $R^2$ , suggesting that the support and trust group variables do not tend to explain much of the variance for the strong leader outcome variable. Likewise, very few of the items (with the exception of Serbia) were significant in those models. The results are similar for the Representation and Representative Democratic Procedure items, also shown in Table 8. That is, many of the Representation and Representative Democratic Procedure items did not tend to be significant or explain much of the variance in Strong Leader, except perhaps in Serbia.

Model	Mexico	Montenegro	Serbia	Sweden
Support & Trust Group				
R2	0.08	0.12	0.41	0.14
Number Significant Themed Items	3	4	8	5
Representation Group				
R2	0.08	0.13	0.41	0.17
Number Significant Themed Items	1	3	6	4

Across both models (i.e., support and trust and representation and representative democratic procedure), there were some items that were significant in two or more countries. More specifically, a total of 9 predictor variables were significant across two or more countries. These items were: Q08b Government Performance: Pandemic, Q07d Trust in Scientists, Q07g Trust in Social Media, Q07c Trust in Judiciary, Q27b Coronavirus-Functioning of Democracy, Q04d Representation of Women, Q02a Public TV Use, Q25b Men Better Suited to Lead on Economy (dichotomized to 1=Men better suited and 0=Other), and Q13 Fairness of Election.

#### SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

The second outcome variable that was investigated to see whether the module items are predictive is Satisfaction with Democracy. This investigation followed the same process as above. OLS models were run for each country with Satisfaction with Democracy as the outcome. The first set of models used the Support and Trust items as the predictor variables and the second set of models used the Representation and Representative Democracy as the predictor items. All models shown in this set of analyses also include the basic demographic variables.

Table 9 shows that the module items seem to be more predictive for Satisfaction with Democracy than for Strong Leader (see Table 8). The models show that more of the predictor items are significant across countries. The R2 coefficient also shows that the models explain more variance in the outcome variable than they do for Strong Leader in Table 8. The Support and Trust items perform especially well with Satisfaction with Democracy. This is probably not surprising since they are conceptually related in the framework, tend to scale together, and are likely more causally proximal to Satisfaction with Democracy.

Model	Mexico	Montenegro	Serbia	Sweden
Support & Trust Group				
R2	0.28	0.34	0.74	0.61
Number Significant Themed Items	7	7	8	8
Representation Group				
R2	0.11	0.17	0.65	0.38
Number Significant Themed Items	2	5	7	6

Again, there were some predictors that were significant in two or more countries for a total of 15 items. These included: Q06 How Democratic is Country, Q08a Government Performance General, Q13 Fairness of Election, Q12 Satisfaction about Variety of Choice, Q26a Treatment of Groups, Q27b Coronavirus-Functioning of Democracy, Q04a Support Democracy in Principle, Q07a Trust in Parliament, Q07b Trust in Government, Q07e Trust in Parties, Q07f Trust in Traditional Media, Q11a/b Satisfaction about Vote, Q24 Percentage of Women in Parliament, Q02a Public TV Use, and Q25b Better Suited to Lead in an Economic Crisis (dichotomized so that 1=Men better suited and 0=Other).

Of course, there are many potential models that can be constructed from the Module 6 framework, which was one of the intended goals in developing the module. This analysis shows that there is potential to develop models that are predictive. The extent to which other models are successful will depend on how closely items from the framework conform to previously validated batteries and specific theoretical models and will likely also depend on country contexts.

## SOCIAL COHESION QUESTION WORDING EXPERIMENT

A question wording experiment was conducted in Serbia for the social cohesion question (Q27a). The Serbian team was not sure whether respondents in Serbia would easily understand the term "social cohesion." The original question wording for this question read:

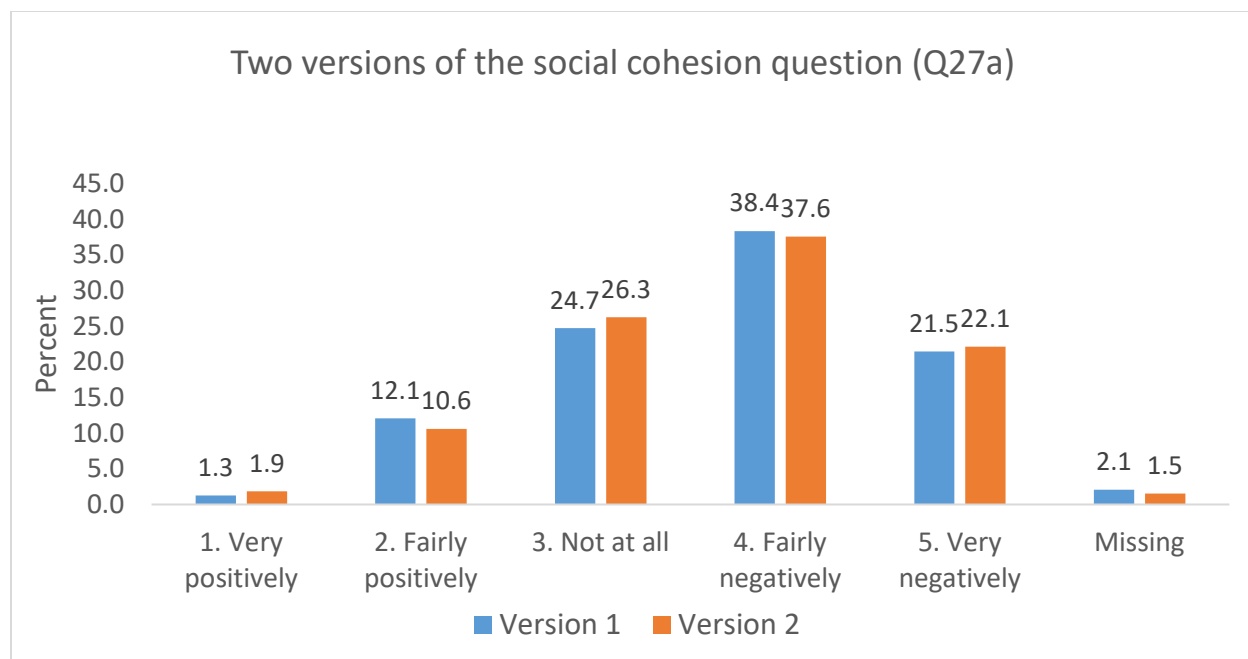
*Q27a. How did the coronavirus pandemic affect social cohesion in [COUNTRY]: very positively, fairly positively, not at all, fairly negatively or very negatively?*

Two versions of this question were created for the Serbian study, which was then randomly assigned to respondents. Version 1 kept the original wording, while Version 2 updated the term "social cohesion" and used "social connectedness" in its place.

Version 1 (Q27a1), social cohesion: "How did the coronavirus pandemic affect social cohesion in Serbia: . . .?"

Version 2 (Q27a2) social connectedness: "How did the coronavirus pandemic affect social connectedness in Serbia: . . .?"

The Serbian team found no difference between these two terms and all analyses in this report use the combined data. Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents falling into each category by experimental condition. As can be seen from the figure, the differences between the questions are negligible for each category. T-test results also show no statistically significant difference in the means for version 1 ( $M_{Q27a1}=3.67$ ,  $SD_{Q27a1}=.99$ ) and version 2 ( $M_{Q27a2}=3.70$ ,  $SD_{Q27a2}=.99$ ), with  $t(1,846) = -.69$ ,  $p=.49$ .



**Figure 4.** Question wording experiment for the Social Cohesion Question: Percentage of respondents selecting each category

The Serbian team also analyzed the validity of different versions of the social cohesion question by looking at its relationship with other items about coronavirus. Table 10 shows that the social cohesion version of the question (Version 1) had a slightly stronger relationship with the question about how the pandemic affected democratic functioning (Q27b) than the social connectedness version of the question (Version 2) which may not be unexpected since social cohesion implies that citizens are acting in a unified way while social connectedness is more suggestive of citizens feeling a sense of belonging. The former may have more political implications as well. However, the difference in coefficients for Q27b is small, and there is little difference for the other two items (i.e., Q27c and Q27d), suggesting that respondents tended to understand these terms largely in the same way.

Table 10. Correlation coefficients: Serbia Question Wording Experiment

	COVID19: Social cohesion	
	Version 1	Version 2
Q27b CORONAVIRUS: FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY	0.63	0.59
Q27c CORONAVIRUS: PANDEMIC - PERSONAL FINANCES	0.29	0.29
Q27d CORONAVIRUS: PANDEMIC - CONTRACTED COVID	0.01	0.03

Both social cohesion and social connectedness largely performed the same way in the Serbian data, suggesting respondents interpreted them similarly. This could mean that respondents did have a general understanding of the meaning of "social cohesion" (or at least understood it as well as they understood the term "social connectedness"). However, there are subtle differences in the meanings of these terms, and it is possible that a more easily understood or easily translatable term would be preferable to "social cohesion."

## OTHER ISSUES

Among the other additional tests that were conducted, some were notable enough to warrant inclusion in this report but do not necessarily fit within the broader testing plan. Additionally, in conducting the pilot tests, for example, the teams in some of the countries noticed additional details and brought those to our attention. This section documents these other issues and tests.

### SATISFACTION ABOUT THE VOTE AND BIOLOGICAL PARENTS

As the team from Iceland was finalizing their questionnaire, they sent in questions to the CSES secretariat about Q11a/b (Satisfaction about Vote) and D15 (Biological Parents Born Outside of [COUNTRY])? For the former, they wanted to know how voters who cast a blank or invalid ballot could be routed through the instrument. This is a two-question sequence that asks about satisfaction separately for those who voted and for those who did not. The first question asks voters if they are satisfied with their vote choice, and the second asks non-voters if they are satisfied with their decision not to vote. Because these questions are substantively different, it might make sense to add a third question to the Q11 series to account for their decision to cast an invalid ballot.

For the latter question about Biological Parents (D15), the team wanted to know whether it mattered substantively if it was the respondents' parents or their biological parents that were born outside of the country. Some respondents may not know enough about their biological parents to answer that question, or, for some, the question may even be emotionally challenging. Because of these concerns, it may make sense to change the qualification for this question.

### WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT ANALYSIS IN SERBIA

The Serbian team invited respondents to leave comments and suggestions for the survey in an open-ended format once respondents had reached the end. The team created a coding scheme and performed a content analysis on this question. They found that 8% of the comments they received were related to Q24: "The current percentage of women in parliament after the most recent election is [PERCENTAGE] percent. Thinking about this percentage, would you say that it is too high, too low, or about right? The offered questions were: 1. Too high; 2. Too low; 3. About right; 7. Volunteered: refused; 8. Volunteered: don't know." Some of the commenters did not think that the gender of members of parliament was important or relevant, and others thought that the question was trying to trick them. It seems likely that there is some social desirability that may affect how respondents answer this question.

## VALIDITY TESTING

Finally, as an adjunct to testing the internal consistency and predictive ability of the individual items, validity tests were performed on some of the individual items. These tests were conducted using correlations between standard measures and items that were new, as well as testing expectations among relationships that might be reasonably expected if the measures were valid. Table 11 shows the results of these tests. In general, results tended to conform to expectations, suggesting a reasonable degree of validity among the items tested across the countries.

Table 11. Criterion Validity Test on Selected Individual Items

Var 1	Var 2	Expected Relationship	Mexico	Montenegro	Serbia	Sweden	Supported?
Q04a	Q04c	Weak, negative correlation	0.02	-0.06	-0.32	-0.21	Mostly
Q04a	Q04b	Positive in Sweden, but not other countries	0.25	0.23	0.38	0.02	No
Q06	Q22	Stronger in Sweden than Mexico	-0.42	-0.38	-0.81	-0.72	Yes
Q27a	Q27b	Moderately correlated	0.62	0.56	0.67	0.38	Yes
Q07a	Q07e	Moderately correlated	0.53	0.37	0.58	0.74	Yes
Q12	Q11a/b	Low, positive correlation	0.44	0.44	0.15	0.44	Yes
Q11a/b	Q13	Low, positive correlation	-0.09	0.02	0.01	0.02	No
Q12	Q13	Low, positive correlation	-0.21	0.14	0.77	0.38	No
Q24	Q04d	Moderately correlated	0.05	0.58	0.68	0.49	Mostly
Q25a	Q25b	Highly correlated	0.54	0.67	0.65	0.75	Yes
Q08a	Q08b	Highly correlated	0.69	0.84	0.86	0.83	Yes
Q26a	Q26b	Moderately correlated	0.61	0.54	0.74	0.59	Yes

## SUMMARY

The CSES Module 6 questionnaire introduced new items that had not been previously used on a CSES Module or questionnaire. Module 6 was designed to unite a number of items and batteries suggested by the user community under the broad theme of representative democracy under pressure. This pretest report examined the individual items for problematic distributions, internal consistency, and predictive ability with the goal of identifying any potentially problematic items for revision or exclusion from the final version of the module.



Overall, the module appeared to be working well. However, the analyses and findings described above did identify a few minor points of concern. These are briefly outlined below, along with suggested modifications to improve the items:

*1. Q11a-b – Satisfaction about vote:*

Missing data for these two items was found to be slightly higher than for other items. Moreover, these two questions are substantively different, and it is not clear which version of the question would be best asked to those who decide to cast an invalid ballot. A potential modification would be to add a third question to the Q11 series to account for casting an invalid ballot.

*2. D15 – Biological parents born outside of [COUNTRY]?*

In the course of piloting, researchers noted that this question could be sensitive for respondents who had little to do with their biological parents. If not substantively important, the qualification for this question could be updated to make it easier to answer for such respondents.

*3. Q25a-b – Men/women better suited to lead:*

Most respondents selected the "both" answer category across all of the countries. A modification that could improve the distribution could involve changing the scale by using agree/disagree strength, which might increase the variation.

*4. Q27a – Social Cohesion:*

Two countries used alternate wordings, including "Unity of [citizens in country]" and "social connectedness". The latter was used as part of a question wording experiment in Serbia because of concerns that "social cohesion" might not be clearly understood by respondents. Using an alternate term that is easier to understand and translate might be warranted.

*5. Q07f – Traditional media:*

One country used "the media" rather than "traditional media". It is possible that the term is not used in all countries or could be confusing for respondents. A qualification could be added to make this question easier to answer.

Although there were some other minor issues noted in the report, it is likely that analysts will be able to make adjustments to the data as needed.

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## Appendix A – Question List for Theme Items

Q02a. MEDIA USAGE: WATCH NEWS ON A PUBLIC TELEVISION BROADCASTER

Q02b. MEDIA USAGE: WATCH NEWS ON A COMMERCIAL TELEVISION  
BROADCASTER

Q02c. MEDIA USAGE: LISTEN TO THE NEWS ON RADIO

Q02d. MEDIA USAGE: READ NEWSPAPERS

Q02e. MEDIA USAGE: ONLINE NEWS SITES Q02f. MEDIA USAGE: SOCIAL MEDIA

Q02g. MEDIA USAGE: SOCIAL MEDIA - PER DAY

Q04a. TRUST AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY: PREFERABLE

Q04b. TRUST AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY: COURTS

Q04c. TRUST AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY: STRONG LEADER

Q04d. TRUST AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Q5a. COUNTRY BETTER RUN: BUSINESS LEADERS

Q5b. COUNTRY BETTER RUN: INDEPENDENT EXPERTS

Q5c. COUNTRY BETTER RUN: CITIZENS IN REFERENDUMS

Q06. HOW DEMOCRATIC IS YOUR COUNTRY

Q07a. TRUST IN: PARLIAMENT

Q07b. TRUST IN: GOVERNMENT

Q07c. TRUST IN: JUDICIARY Q07d. TRUST IN: SCIENTISTS

Q07e. TRUST IN: POLITICAL PARTIES

Q07f. TRUST IN: TRADITIONAL MEDIA

Q07g. TRUST IN: SOCIAL MEDIA

Q08a. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: GENERAL

Q08b. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: PANDEMIC

Q11a. SATISFACTION ABOUT VOTE: VOTERS

Q11b. SATISFACTION ABOUT VOTE: NON-VOTERS

Q12. SATISFACTION ABOUT VARIETY OF CHOICE

Q13. FAIRNESS OF ELECTION

Q22. SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Q24. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

Q25a. BETTER SUITED TO LEAD IN PANDEMIC: MEN/WOMEN

Q25b. BETTER SUITED TO LEAD IN ECONOMIC CRISIS: MEN/WOMEN

Q26a. POLITICAL SYSTEM: TREATMENT OF GROUPS

Q26b. POLITICAL SYSTEM: HEALTHCARE(FREQUENCIES ONLY)

Q27a. CORONAVIRUS: SOCIAL COHESION

Q27b. CORONAVIRUS: FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY

Q27c. CORONAVIRUS: PANDEMIC - PERSONAL FINANCES

Q27d. CORONAVIRUS: PANDEMIC - CONTRACTED COVID

## Appendix B – Means for Theme Items by Country

### Mexico – Means

Variable	N	Mean	p50	SD	Min	Max
Q01	1787	2.72	3	0.97	1	4
Age	1791	42.08	40	16.05	18	91
Income	1486	2.25	2	1.50	1	8
Education	1733	4.58	4	1.92	1	9
Female	1800	0.57	1	0.50	0	1
Q02a	1778	3.54	3	2.65	1	8
Q02b	1773	3.70	3	2.58	1	8
Q02c	1767	2.57	1	2.48	1	8
Q02d	1775	1.69	1	1.69	1	8
Q02e	1771	2.90	1	2.68	1	8
Q04a	1669	2.36	2	1.28	1	5
Q04b	1734	2.04	2	1.22	1	5
Q04c	1739	2.96	2	1.53	1	5
Q04d	1726	2.55	2	1.42	1	5
Q05a	1733	3.44	4	1.45	1	5
Q05b	1714	2.95	2	1.45	1	5
Q05c	1729	2.64	2	1.46	1	5
Q06	1751	6.32	7	2.45	0	10
Q07a	1739	2.69	2	0.94	1	4
Q07b	1773	2.55	2	1.01	1	4
Q07c	1768	2.65	2	0.99	1	4
Q07d	1746	2.03	2	0.93	1	4
Q07e	1763	3.05	3	0.94	1	4
Q07f	1776	2.65	2	0.95	1	4
Q07g	1708	2.71	2.5	0.93	1	4
Q08a	1744	2.13	2	0.80	1	4
Q08b	1743	2.25	2	0.84	1	4
Q11a	1196	1.56	1	0.74	1	4
Q11b	541	2.40	2	1.06	1	4
Q11sat	1737	1.82	2	0.94	1	4
Q12	1191	2.10	2	0.99	1	4
Q13	1755	3.15	3	1.42	1	5
Q22	1759	2.79	3	0.78	1	4
Q24r	1739	2.19	2	0.54	1	3
Q25ar	1764	2.05	2	0.38	1	3
Q25ar2	1764	0.05	0	0.21	0	1
Q25br	1768	2.02	2	0.40	1	3

Q25br2	1768	0.07	0	0.26	0	1
Q26a	1729	1.83	1	1.00	1	4
Q26b	1748	2.08	2	1.07	1	4
Q27a	1767	3.40	4	1.51	1	5
Q27b	1720	3.36	4	1.40	1	5
Q27c	1785	3.70	4	1.31	1	5
Q27d	1796	3.41	4	0.96	1	4

### Montenegro - Means

Variable	N	Mean	p50	SD	Min	Max
Q01	986	1.97	2	0.85	1	4
age	950	37.33	36	12.41	17	88
D03	978	4.98	6	1.51	0	8
D09	963	12.78	13	5.41	1	20
Q02a	981	2.63	2	2.56	0	7
Q02b	982	3.41	3	2.49	0	7
Q02c	979	1.16	0	1.93	0	7
Q02d	981	2.06	1	2.60	0	7
Q02e	982	5.30	7	2.28	0	7
Q02f	983	4.39	5	2.82	0	7
Q04a	986	1.75	1	1.04	1	5
Q04b	986	1.66	1	1.11	1	5
Q04c	986	3.35	3	1.52	1	5
Q04d	985	3.54	3	1.37	1	5
Q05a	984	3.30	3	1.42	1	5
Q05b	983	2.76	2	1.39	1	5
Q05c	986	2.49	2	1.36	1	5
Q07a	982	2.65	3	0.83	1	4
Q07b	981	2.70	3	0.90	1	4
Q07c	983	2.93	3	0.86	1	4
Q07d	984	1.91	2	0.68	1	4
Q07e	983	3.13	3	0.74	1	4
Q07f	983	2.59	3	0.70	1	4
Q07g	985	2.87	3	0.77	1	4
Q08a	979	2.78	3	1.04	1	4
Q08b	980	2.35	2	1.03	1	4
Q11a	870	1.82	2	0.92	1	4
Q11b	80	1.93	2	1.08	1	4
Q11sat	950	1.83	2	0.93	1	4
Q12	981	2.47	2	0.98	1	4
Q13	979	2.81	3	1.38	1	5

Q22	978	3.02	3	0.70	1	4
Q24r	979	2.53	3	0.58	1	3
Q25ar	983	1.96	2	0.46	1	3
Q25br	983	1.89	2	0.46	1	3
Q26a	980	2.77	3	0.87	1	4
Q26b	980	2.60	2	0.91	1	4
Q27a	974	3.87	4	1.06	1	5
Q27b	978	3.61	4	0.96	1	5
Q27c	980	3.92	4	0.98	1	5
Q27d	982	1.45	1	0.50	1	2

### Serbia - Means

Variable	N	Mean	p50	SD	Min	Max
Age	1825	49.19	49	12.09	18	90
female	1852	0.51	1	0.50	0	1
ed	1835	6.96	7	1.07	1	8
inc	1565	7.24	8	2.54	1	10
Q01	1864	2.13	2	0.82	1	4
Q02a	1740	2.18	1	2.55	0	7
Q02b	1726	2.95	2	2.73	0	7
Q02c	1678	1.40	0	2.19	0	7
Q02d	1701	1.86	0	2.59	0	7
Q02e	1767	5.04	7	2.53	0	7
Q02f	1740	3.33	3	3.13	0	7
Q02g	618	2.00	2	0.64	1	3
Q04ar	1860	1.94	2	1.13	1	5
Q04br	1862	1.43	1	0.93	1	5
Q04cr	1862	4.00	5	1.33	1	5
Q04dr	1860	3.45	3	1.30	1	5
Q05ar	1824	3.25	3	1.28	1	5
Q05br	1852	2.37	2	1.27	1	5
Q05cr	1829	2.94	3	1.28	1	5
Q06	1862	3.57	3	2.87	0	10
Q07a	1863	3.35	4	0.88	1	4
Q07b	1858	3.15	3	0.96	1	4
Q07c	1863	2.87	3	0.78	1	4
Q07d	1861	1.81	2	0.68	1	4
Q07e	1846	3.35	3	0.73	1	4
Q07f	1863	2.94	3	0.75	1	4
Q07g	1856	2.96	3	0.76	1	4
Q08a	1856	2.89	3	0.97	1	4
Q08b	1857	2.58	3	0.98	1	4

Q11ar	840	1.99	2	0.88	1	4
Q11br	899	1.84	2	0.89	1	4
Q11sat	1739	1.91	2	0.89	1	4
Q12r	1840	3.22	4	0.92	1	4
Q13	1862	3.66	4	1.50	1	5
Q22	1849	3.22	3	0.84	1	4
Q24r	1805	2.14	2	0.61	1	3
Q25ar	1830	1.99	2	0.41	1	3
Q25br2	1833	1.94	2	0.42	1	3
Q25ar2	1830	0.09	0	0.29	0	1
Q25br2	1833	0.12	0	0.32	0	1
Q26a	1843	3.05	3	0.88	1	4
Q26b	1852	2.78	3	0.93	1	4
Q27a	1848	3.69	4	0.99	1	5
Q27b	1840	3.78	4	1.02	1	5
Q27c	1850	3.41	3	0.79	1	5
Q27d	1857	3.10	5	2.00	1	5

#### Sweden - Means

Variable	N	Mean	p50	SD	Min	Max
Q01	1713	1.69	2	0.63	1	4
age	1685	3.60	4	1.69	1	6
D02	1690	1.54	2	0.55	1	5
D03	1678	5.92	7	1.92	1	9
D09	1665	6.21	6	3.15	1	12
Q02a	1704	4.36	5	2.76	0	7
Q02b	1680	2.56	2	2.70	0	7
Q02c	1676	3.58	4	2.84	0	7
Q02d	1684	3.48	3	3.05	0	7
Q02e	1697	5.69	7	2.16	0	7
Q02f	1696	5.12	7	2.73	0	7
Q02g1	1460	1.73	1	2.81	0	60
Q02g2	1108	16.26	10	20.27	0	360
Q02gmin	881	92.51	60	125.43	0	2400
Q04a	1697	1.39	1	0.81	1	5
Q04b	1692	1.84	1	1.07	1	5
Q04c	1693	3.78	4	1.31	1	5
Q04d	1691	3.62	4	1.29	1	5
Q05a	1687	4.41	5	1.03	1	5
Q05b	1686	3.57	4	1.29	1	5
Q05c	1691	3.27	3	1.31	1	5
Q06	1695	7.70	8	1.97	0	10



Q07a	1692	2.16	2	0.77	1	4
Q07b	1691	2.42	2	0.90	1	4
Q07c	1689	1.91	2	0.73	1	4
Q07d	1692	1.63	2	0.60	1	4
Q07e	1691	2.57	3	0.66	1	4
Q07f	1689	2.13	2	0.79	1	4
Q07g	1689	3.30	3	0.57	1	4
Q08a	1691	2.66	2	0.92	1	4
Q08b	1693	2.60	2	0.89	1	4
Q11a	1622	1.82	2	0.82	1	4
Q11b	10	2.30	2.5	1.06	1	4
Q11sat	1632	1.82	2	0.82	1	4
Q12	1691	2.13	2	0.84	1	4
Q13	1694	1.35	1	0.84	1	5
Q22	1692	2.04	2	0.78	1	4
Q24r	1686	2.28	2	0.51	1	3
Q25ar	1687	2.06	2	0.34	1	3
Q25br	1689	2.02	2	0.32	1	3
Q26a	1690	2.51	2	0.75	1	4
Q26b	1689	2.24	2	0.84	1	4
Q27a	1688	3.24	3	0.93	1	5
Q27b	1689	3.02	3	0.83	1	5
Q27c	1691	2.96	3	0.72	1	5

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## Appendix C – Missing Data for Theme Items by Country

Variable	Mexico %	Montenegro %	Serbia %	Sweden %
Q02a: Public TV	1.22	0.61	6.95	1.50
Q02b: Commercial TV	1.50	0.51	7.70	2.89
Q02c: Radio	1.83	0.81	10.27	3.12
Q02d: Newspapers	1.39	0.61	9.04	2.66
Q02e: Online	1.61	0.51	5.51	1.91
Q02f: Social Media	NA	0.41	6.95	1.97
MEAN Q02	1.51	0.57	7.74	2.34
Q04a: Preferable	7.28	0.10	0.53	1.91
Q04b: Courts	3.67	0.10	0.43	2.20
Q04c: Strong Leader	3.39	0.10	0.43	2.14
Q04d: Rep of Women	4.11	0.20	0.53	2.25
MEAN Q04	4.61	0.13	0.48	2.12
Q05a: Business Leaders	3.72	0.30	2.46	2.49
Q05b: Independent Experts	4.78	0.41	0.96	2.54
Q05c: Citizens	3.94	0.10	2.19	2.25
Q06: How Democratic	2.70	0.30	0.40	2.00
MEAN Q05-Q06	3.79	0.28	1.50	2.32
Q07a: Parliament	3.39	0.51	0.37	2.20
Q07b: Government	1.50	0.61	0.64	2.25
Q07c: Judiciary	1.78	0.41	0.37	2.37
Q07d: Scientists	3.00	0.30	0.48	2.20
Q07e: Political Parties	2.06	0.41	1.28	2.25
Q07f: Traditional Media	1.33	0.41	0.37	2.37
Q07g: Social Media	5.11	0.20	0.75	2.37
MEAN Q07	2.60	0.41	0.61	2.29
Q08a: General Performance	3.11	0.81	0.75	2.25
Q08b: Pandemic Performance	3.17	0.71	0.70	2.14
Q11a: Satisfaction-Voters	69.94	11.85	55.08	6.24
Q11b: Satisfaction-Non-voters	33.56	91.89	51.93	99.42
Q12: Variety of Choice	33.83	0.61	1.60	2.25
Q13: Election Fairness	2.50	0.80	0.40	2.10
Q11sat: Q11a & b combined	3.50	3.70	12.60	5.70

Q22: Democratic Process	2.30	0.90	1.10	2.20
Q24r: Women in Parliament	3.40	0.80	3.50	2.50
Q25a: Better Suited Pandemic	2.00	0.41	2.14	2.49
Q25b: Better Suited Economic	1.78	0.41	1.98	2.37
Q26a: Pol Sys-Treatmt of Groups	3.94	0.71	1.44	2.31
Q26b: Pol Sys-Healthcare	2.89	0.71	0.96	2.37
Q27a: Corona-Social Cohesion	1.83	1.32	1.18	2.43
Q27b: Corona-Fn of Democracy	4.44	0.91	1.60	2.37
Q27c: Corona-Personal Finances	0.83	0.71	1.07	2.25
Q27d: Contracted Covid	0.20	0.50	0.70	NA
<hr/> MEAN Q27	<hr/> 1.83	<hr/> 0.86	<hr/> 1.14	<hr/> 2.35