

Deliberation Across the World

Examining the Link Between Regime Legitimacy and Deliberation

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Slides: <https://deliberation-and-legitimacy.netlify.com/>

Research Question:

| What role does the deliberative quality of a political system play for regime legitimacy?

Theoretical Link between Deliberation and Regime Legitimacy

Theory

Deliberation in its original sense contains the process of ***rational consideration of arguments***, in which participants provide ***reasoned justification*** for their positions, relate to the ***common good***, ***respect other opinions*** and are willing to ***yield to better arguments***

for an overview see Bächtiger et al. (2010)

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- General assumption: *deliberative qualities* of a political system increase support from its citizens

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- Legitimacy conceptualized sociologically: regime support
- General assumption: *deliberative qualities* of a political system increase support from its citizens
- Consequences of *Authoritarian Deliberation* (He & Warren, 2011)
 - Authoritarian regimes might use deliberation to *increase* support
 - Might *decrease* support due to increasing democratic capabilities

Data & Methodology

Data & Methodology

Individual-Level Data

- Merging of the following datasets:
 - Afrobarometer Survey, Round 5 and Round 6 (data from 2011-2015)
 - Asian Barometer Survey, Wave 3 and Wave 4 (2010-2015)
 - AmericasBarometer (2010-2014)
 - European Social Survey, Round 6 (2012)
 - Latinobarometro (2015)
 - World Values Survey (2010-2014)
- In total 316,938 individual cases in 119 Countries
 - weighted to same sample size (=1000)

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Country-Level Data

- "Varieties of Democracy"-Dataset: Deliberative Component Index
- Control variables come from V-Dem and the QoG-Dataset

Operationalization of Regime Support

Factor Analysis:

Variable	Loadings
Trust in Political Leadership	0.72
Trust in Police	0.76
Trust in Courts	0.64
Trust in Parliament	0.75
Variance explained: 52%	
Cronbach's α : 0.81	

Deliberative Component Index (DCI)

Table 1: DCI Subcomponents

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Question</i>
Reasoned Justification	<i>When important policy changes are being considered, i.e. before a decision has been made, to what extent do political elites give public and reasoned justifications for their positions?</i>
Common Good	<i>When important policy changes are being considered, to what extent do political elites justify their positions in terms of the common good?</i>
Respect Counterarguments	<i>When important policy changes are being considered, to what extent do political elites acknowledge and respect counterarguments?</i>
Range of Consultation	<i>When important policy changes are being considered, how wide is the range of consultation at elite levels?</i>
Engaged Society	<i>When important policy changes are being considered, how wide and how independent are public deliberations?</i>

See Coppedge et al. 2017: 202–7.

Data & Methodology

- Control Variables
 - Micro Level
 - Age
 - Sex (Male/Female)
 - Financial Security
 - Education
 - Employment (0/1)
 - Macro Level
 - Polity/FH
 - Democracy (0/1)¹
 - Autocracy (0/1)¹
 - logged GDP per capita
 - logged Population
 - Life Expectancy
 - Urban Pop. Ratio
 - Survey dummies
 - WVS, Afrobarometer, Latinobarometro, Americasbarometer, Asianbarometer, ESS

¹We apply the Polity2-classification of democracies, anocracies and autocracies. Polity/FH was rescaled to range from -10 to +10 and the cut-off values are set at 6 and -6 (-10 - -6 = Autocracy; -5 - 5 = Anocracy; 6 - 10 = Democracy).

Analytical Challenges

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1. Collinearity between Deliberation indicators and Democracy Measures

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2. Possibly biased self-reported regime support

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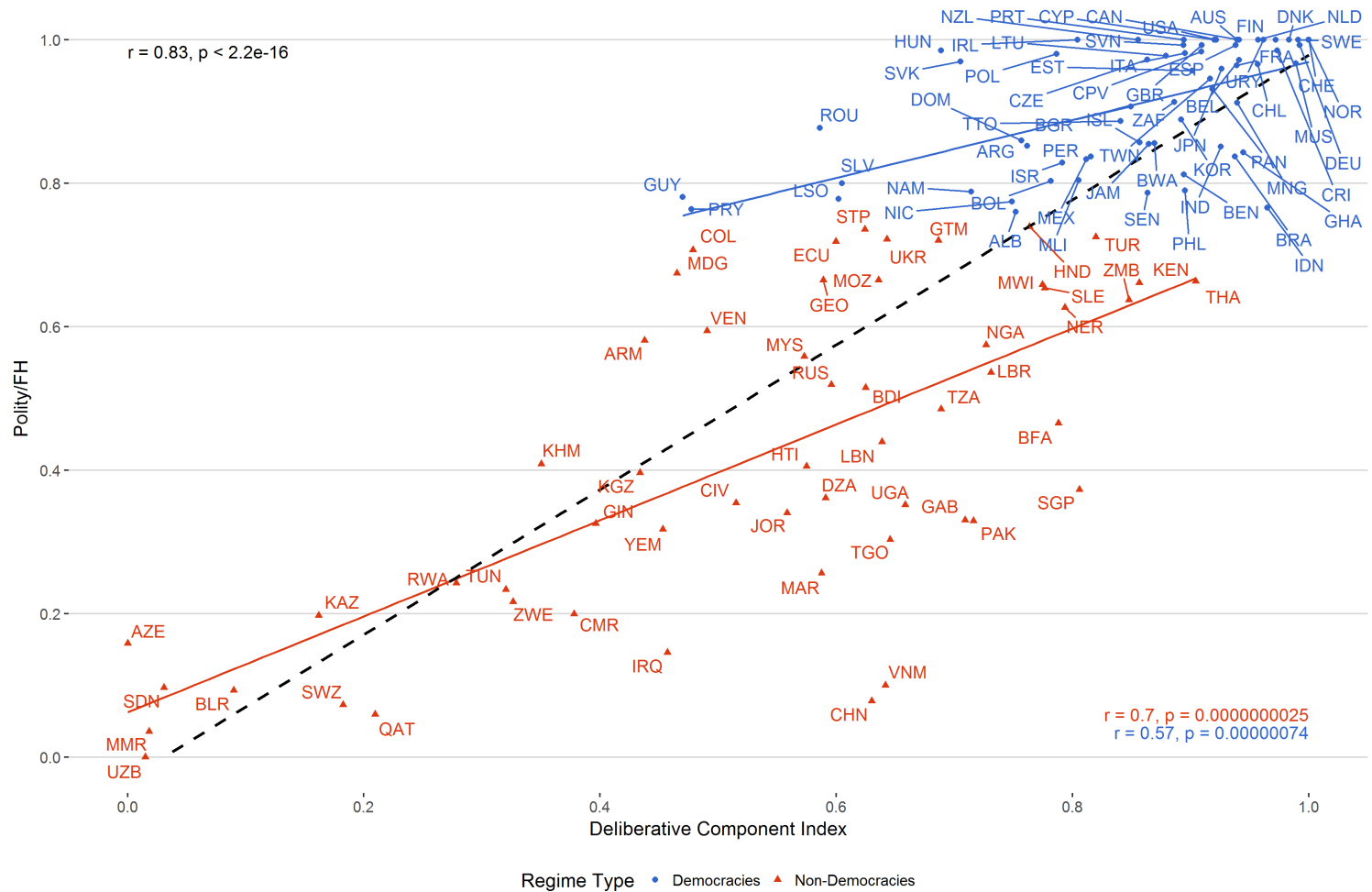
1st Challenge: Multicollinearity

Table 2: DCI and Subcomponents: Correlation with Polity/FH

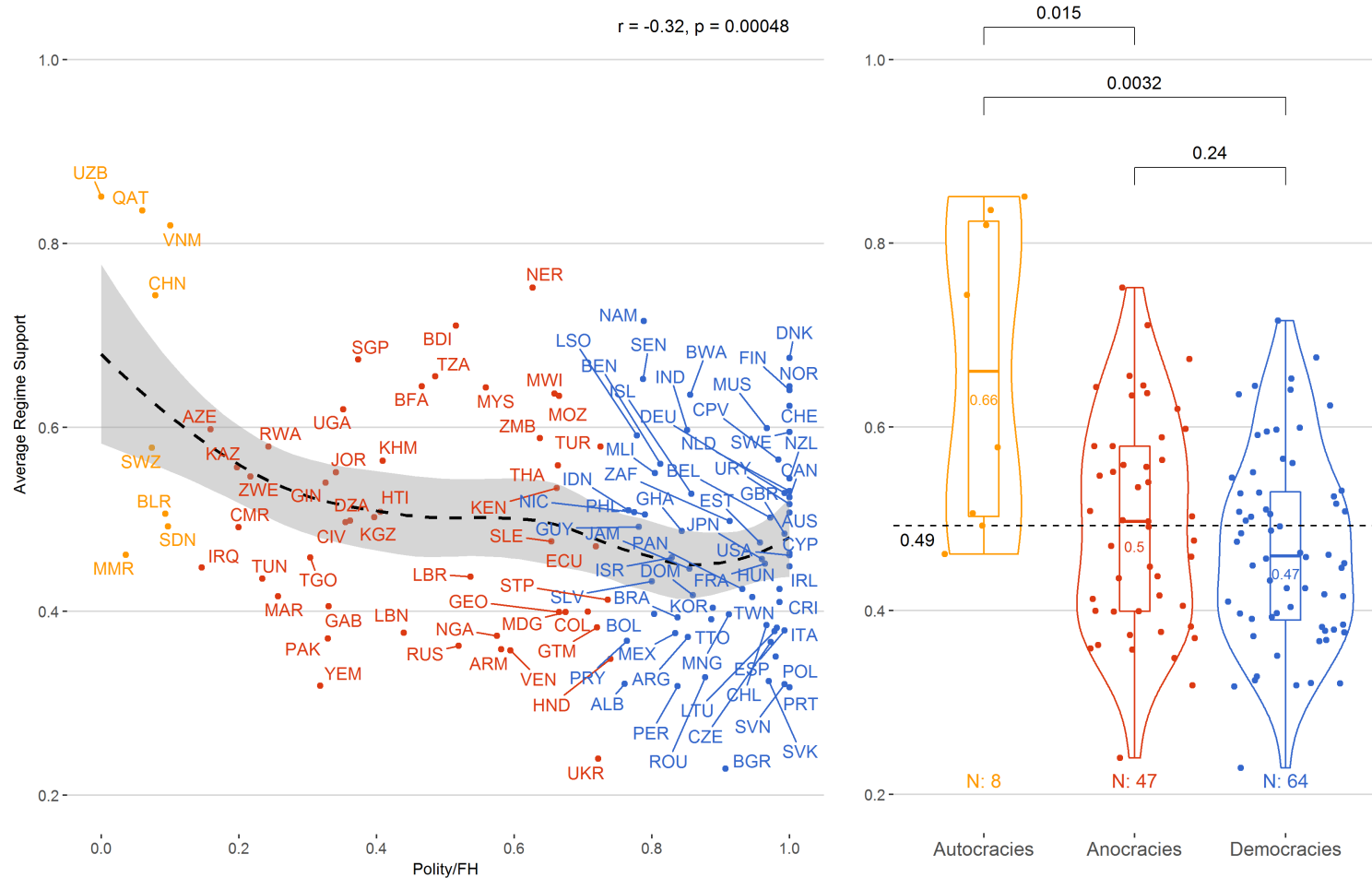
	DCI	RJ	CG	CA	RoC	ES	Polity/FH
Complete Data (n=119)	0.80	0.67	0.35	0.79	0.70	0.78	1.00
Democracies (n=64)	0.61	0.68	0.39	0.54	0.59	0.46	1.00
Non-Democracies (n=55)	0.64	0.28	0.08	0.65	0.47	0.72	1.00

DCI = Deliberative Component Index, RJ = Reasoned Justification, CG = Common Good, CA = Counter-Arguments, RoC = Range of Consultation, ES = Engaged Society. Table shows Pearson's r. Bold numbers indicate correlations below $r = 0.5$.

1st Challenge: Correlation between DCI and Polity/FH



2nd Challenge: Possibly biased self-reported Regime Support



2nd Challenge: Regime Support and Discussion Suppression



2nd Challenge: Weighting of Regime Support

Table 3: Weighting of Regime Support

Country	Regime Support <i>No Bias</i>	Regime Support <i>Low Bias (10 - 15%)</i>	Regime Support <i>High Bias (20 - 25%)</i>	Freedom of Discussion <i>(FoD)</i>
Qatar	85.68	72.83	64.26	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Uzbekistan	82.97	70.53	62.23	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Singapore	68.06	57.85	51.04	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Kuwait	66.50	56.52	49.87	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Swaziland	59.07	50.21	44.30	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Rwanda	57.38	48.77	43.03	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Zimbabwe	55.08	46.82	41.31	<i>Weakly Respected</i>
Vietnam	79.98	71.98	63.99	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
China	71.28	64.15	57.02	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Burundi	68.80	61.92	55.04	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Thailand	58.17	52.36	46.54	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Azerbaijan	56.78	51.10	45.43	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Kazakhstan	52.24	47.02	41.79	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Iraq	49.90	44.91	39.92	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Guatemala	38.52	34.66	30.81	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Madagascar	36.67	33.00	29.34	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
Venezuela	34.76	31.29	27.81	<i>Somewhat Respected</i>
<i>Correlation - FoD</i>	<i>0.38</i>	<i>0.20</i>	<i>0.04</i>	-

Pearson's r reported. Data weighted to same sample size (=1000). Own calculations.

Analysis & Results

Analysis

Given the hierarchical nature of the data we estimate *multilevel models*

- Dependent Variables
 - Regime Support (*No Bias*) -> ICC: 44.97%
 - Regime Support (*Low Bias*) -> ICC: 41.70%
 - Regime Support (*High Bias*) -> ICC: 40.97%

Analysis

Given the hierarchical nature of the data we estimate *multilevel models*

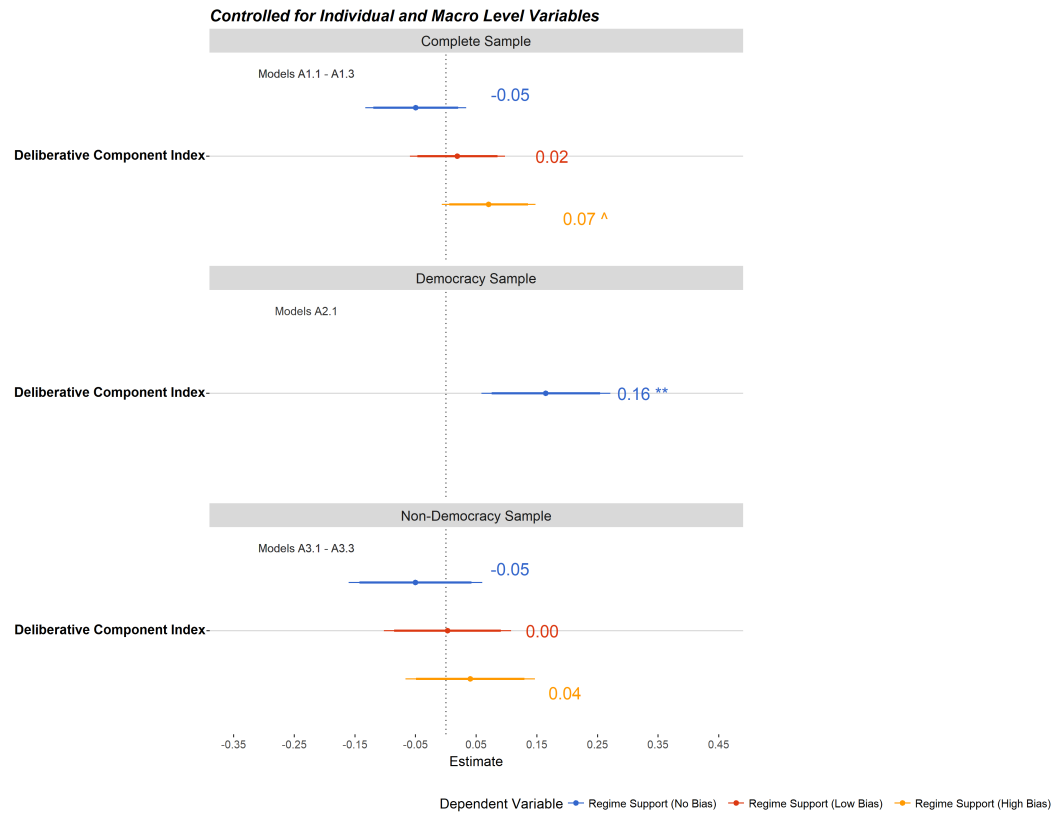
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- Main independent variables
 - Deliberative Component Index (DCI)
 - plus all five components of the DCI

Analysis

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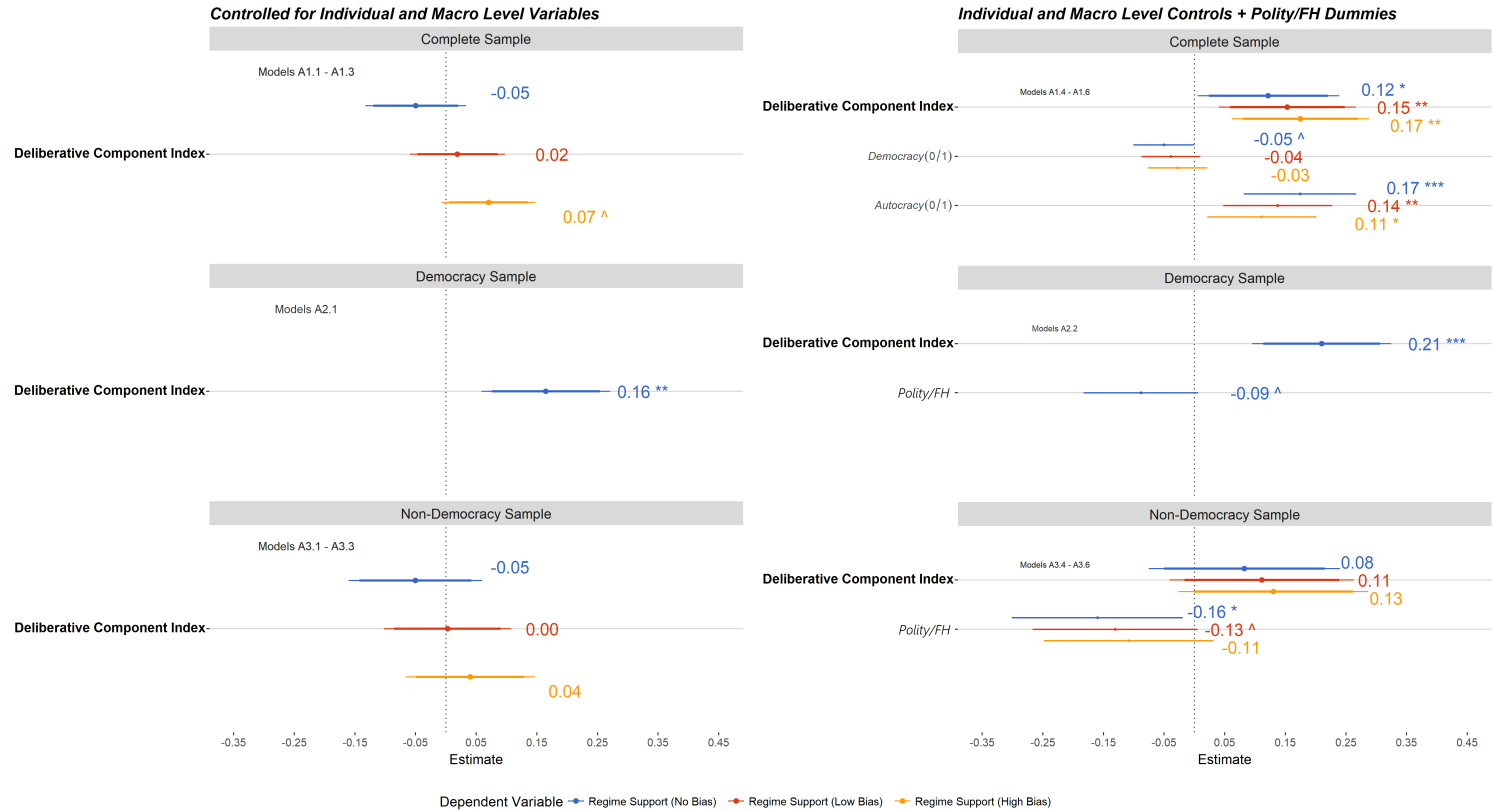
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- Main independent variables
 - Deliberative Component Index (DCI)
 - plus all five components of the DCI
- In total 91 separate models
 - split into three subsamples (Complete, Democracies, Non-Democracies)

Results



Click on picture for larger Version

Results



Click on picture for larger Version

Model Comparisons -Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models

		Complete Sample			Democracy Sample			Non-Democracy Sample		
Models	Deliberative Component Index	$\chi^2(1) = 4.39$	$\chi^2(1) = 7.35$	$\chi^2(1) = 9.46$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.03$			$\chi^2(1) = 1.19$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.3$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.96$
	Reasoned Justification	$\chi^2(1) = 8.24$	$\chi^2(1) = 11.58$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.25$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.55$			$\chi^2(1) = 1.49$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.47$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.8$
	Common Good	$\chi^2(1) = 3.15$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.64$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.96$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.14$			$\chi^2(1) = 5.1$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.44$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.82$
	Counter-Arguments	$\chi^2(1) = 1.2$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.43$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.41$	$\chi^2(1) = 8.52$			$\chi^2(1) = 0.13$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.44$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.62$
	Range of Consultation	$\chi^2(1) = 11.27$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.28$	$\chi^2(1) = 15.77$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.41$			$\chi^2(1) = 1.5$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.17$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.47$
	Engaged Society	$\chi^2(1) = 2.41$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.8$	$\chi^2(1) = 6.8$	$\chi^2(1) = 12.6$			$\chi^2(1) = 0.15$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.2$
		No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias	No Bias			No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias
		Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level								
		n.s.			p < 0.10			p < 0.05		

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Model Comparisons -Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models

		Complete Sample			Democracy Sample			Non-Democracy Sample		
Models	Deliberative Component Index	$\chi^2(1) = 4.39$	$\chi^2(1) = 7.35$	$\chi^2(1) = 9.46$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.03$			$\chi^2(1) = 1.19$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.3$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.96$
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		No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias	No Bias			No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias
		Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level								
		n.s.			p < 0.10			p < 0.05		

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Conclusions & Future Research

Conclusions

- Complete Sample:
 - Positive effects on regime support when controlling for democracy
 - Otherwise small and insignificant effects
- Democracy Sample:
 - Deliberative quality has a clear *positive effect*
 - Most robust results
- Non-Democracy Sample:
 - Ambiguous results (mostly insignificant)
 - Only *Common Good* Indicator shows some effect

Future Research

- Presumably biased regime support
 - should be taken into account
 - possible remedies? (e.g. weighting procedures, survey design)
 - individual-level vs. country-level weighting?
- Validity of the DCI
 - more sensitive approaches to measure deliberation on the country level are necessary
 - nevertheless interesting differences regarding the subsamples

Thanks for Listening!

Full Paper: Deliberation Across the World

Slides: <https://deliberation-and-legitimacy.netlify.com>

Online Appendix can be found here

Code and Data on GitHub

References

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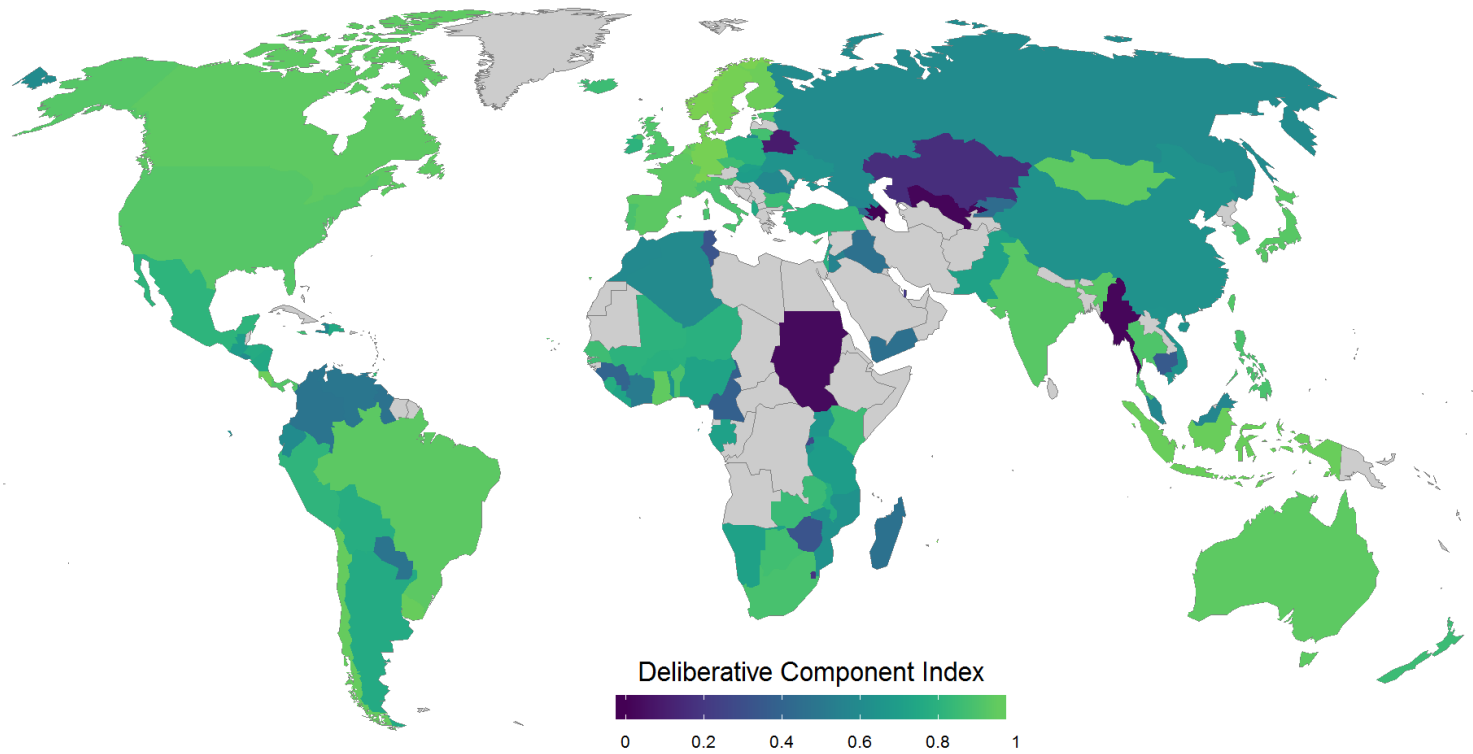
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Appendix

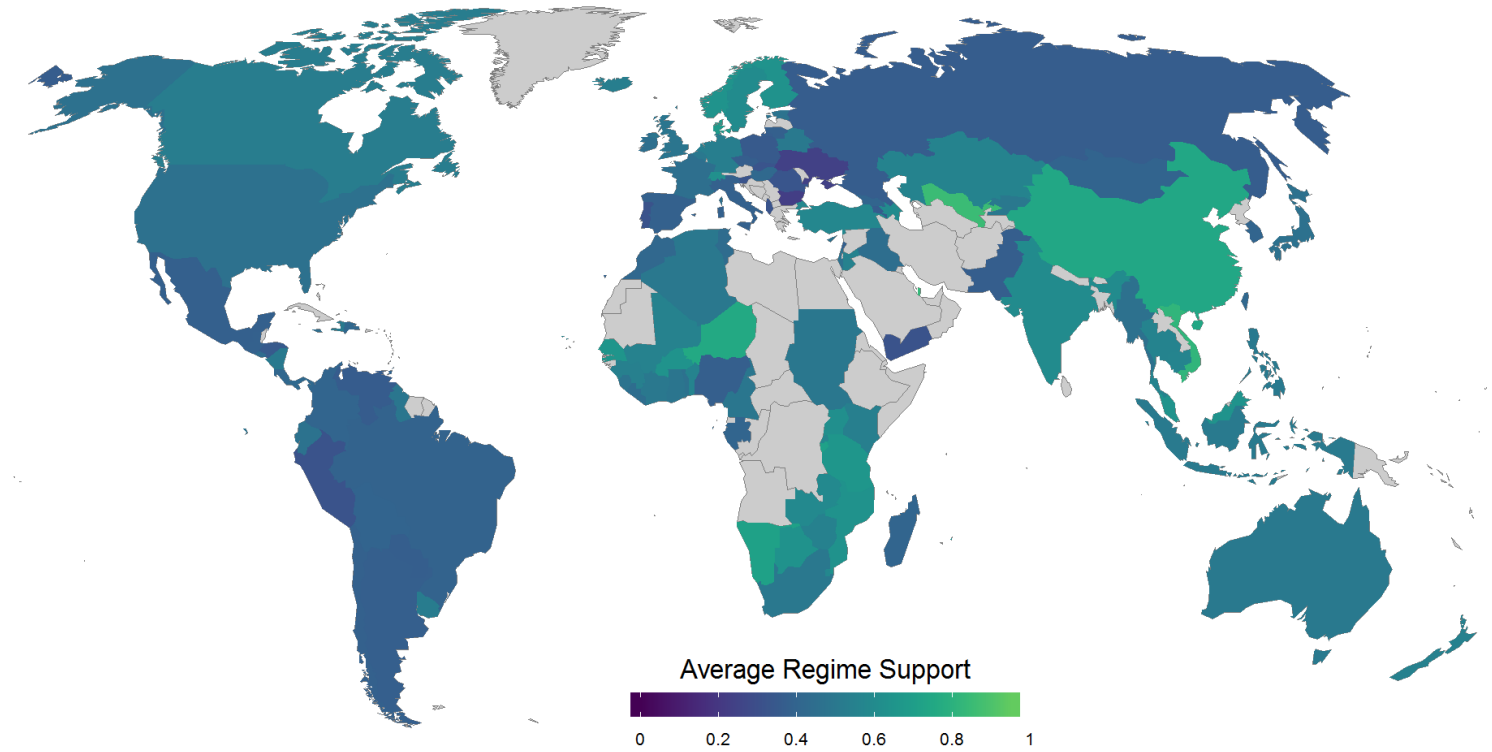
Operationalization of Regime Support

Survey and Questions	Support Object	Answers	Item Code
<i>Afrobarometer Round 5/6</i>			
How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say:	... the President/Prime Minister	not at all (0)	Q59A/Q52A
	... Parliament	just a little (1)	Q59B/Q52B
	... the Police	somewhat (2)	Q59H/Q52H
	... courts of law	a lot (3)	Q59J/Q52J
<i>AmericasBarometer</i>			
To what extent do you trust...	... the President/Prime Minister?		B21A
	... the National Congress?	not at all (1)	B13
	... the National Police?	-	B18
	... the justice system?	a lot (7)	B10A
<i>Asian Barometer Wave 3/4</i>			
I'm going to name a number of institutions. For each one, please tell me how much trust do you have in them?	... the National Government	a great deal (1)	q9
	... Parliament	quite a lot (2)	q11
	... the Police	not very much (3)	q14
	... the courts	none at all (4)	q8
<i>European Social Survey Round 6</i>			
Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you, personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust, an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. Firstly...	... politicians?		trstplt
	... [country]'s parliament?	No trust at all (0)	trstprl
	... the police?	-	trstplc
	... the legal system?	Complete trust (10)	trstlgl
<i>Latinobarómetro 2013/2015</i>			
Please look at this card and tell me how much trust you have in each of the following groups/institutions.	... the National Government	a lot (1)	P26STGBS.B/P16ST.G
	... National Congress/Parliament	some (2)	P26STGBS.C/P16ST.F
	... Police	a little(3)	Q28STGBS.B/P16TGB.B
	... Judiciary	none (4)	P26STGBS.E/P16ST.H
<i>World Values Survey Wave 6</i>			
I'm going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them:	... the Government [in capital]	a great deal (1)	V115
	... Parliament	quite a lot (2)	V117
	... the Police	not very much (3)	V113
	... the Courts	none at all (4)	V114

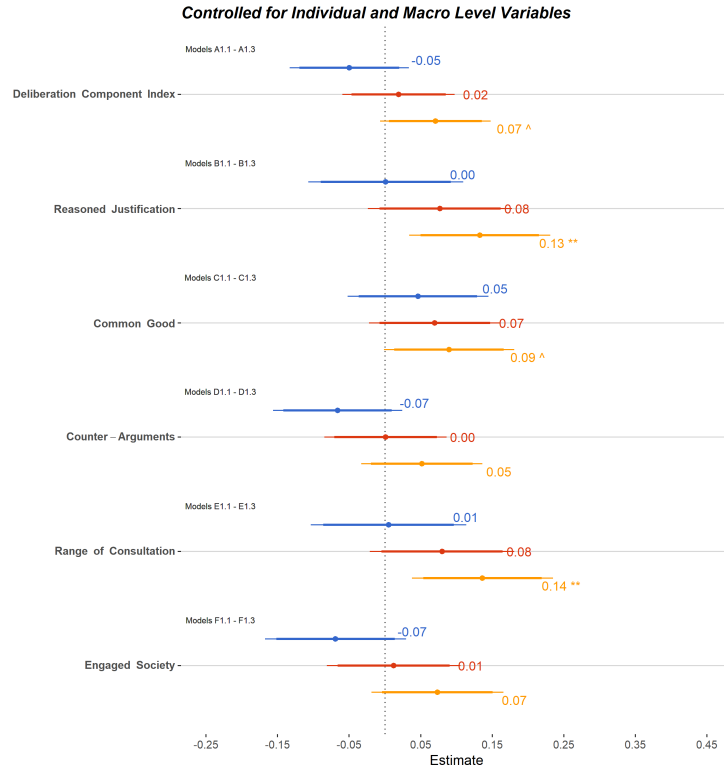
Maps - Deliberation



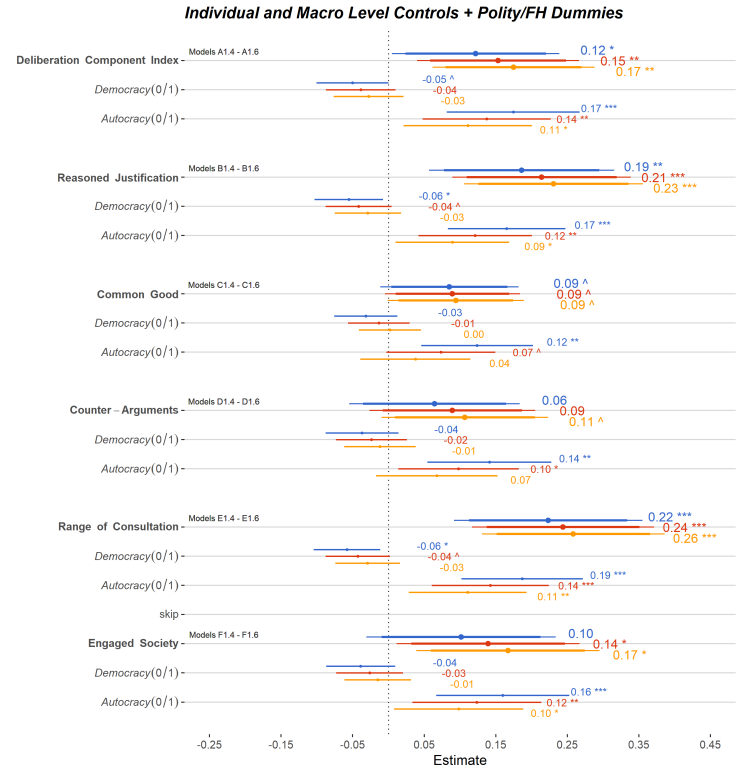
Maps - Regime Support



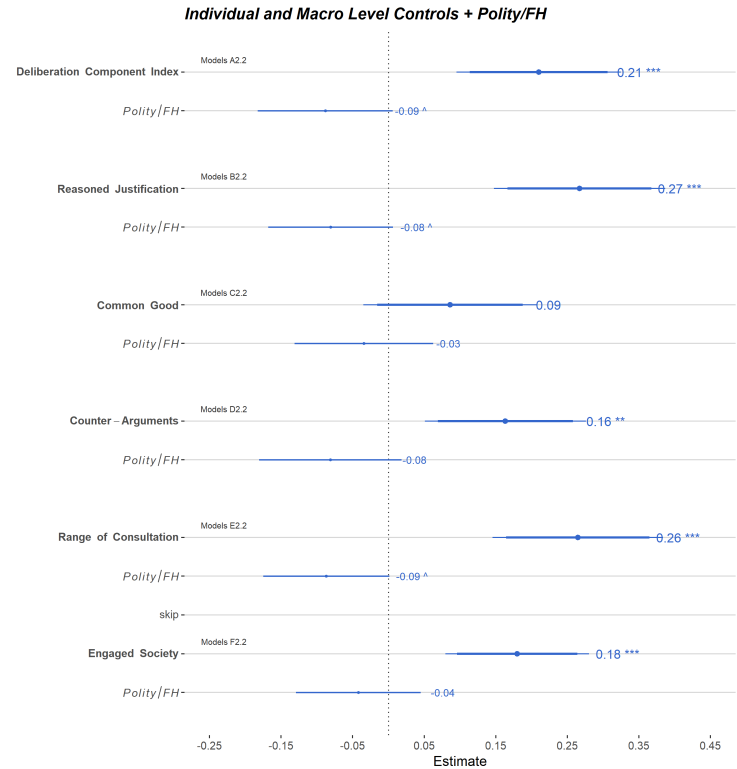
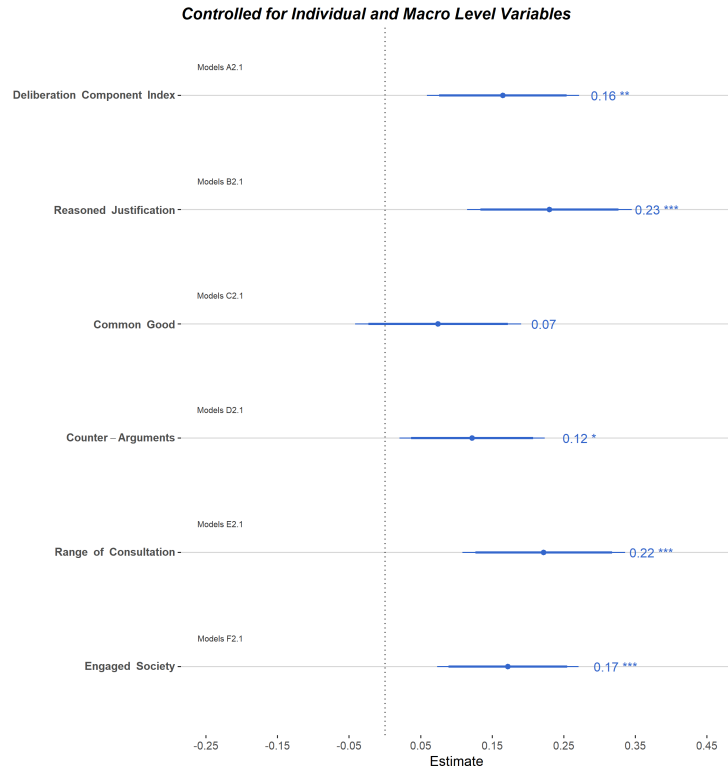
Coefficient Plots - Complete Sample



Dependent Variable — Regime Support (No Bias) — Regime Support (Low Bias) — Regime Support (High Bias)

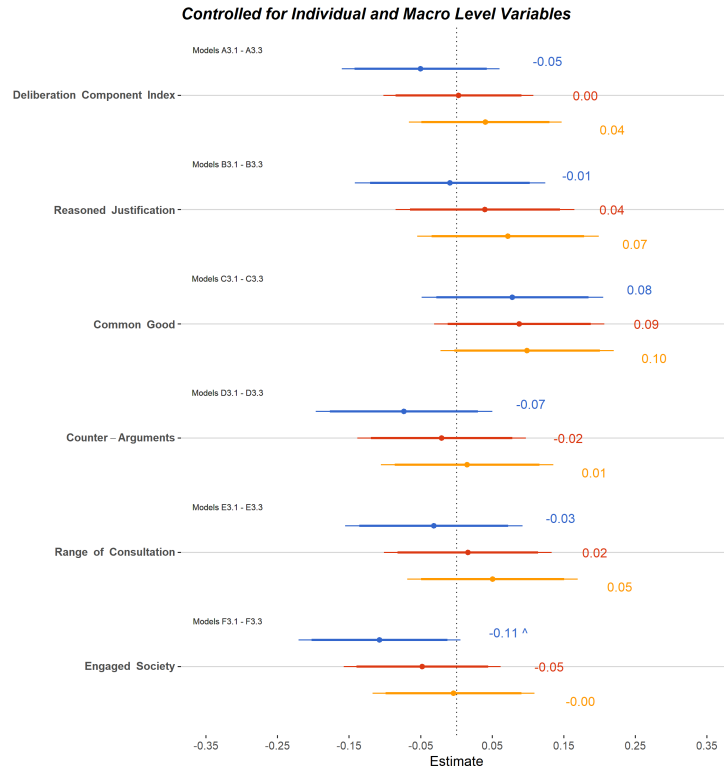


Coefficient Plots - Democracy Sample

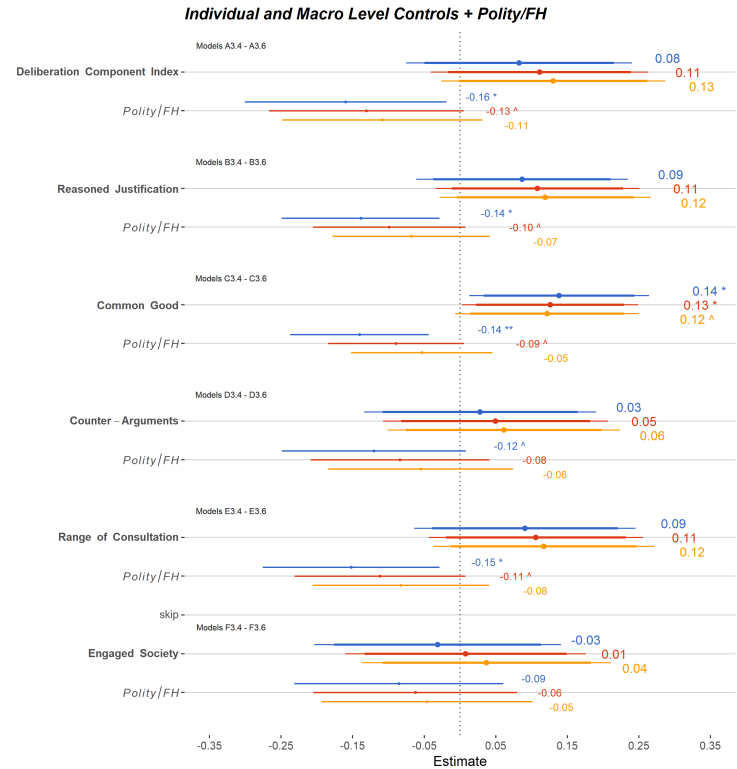


Dependent Variable —●— Regime Support (No Bias)

Coefficient Plots - Non-Democracy Sample



Dependent Variable — Regime Support (No Bias) — Regime Support (Low Bias) — Regime Support (High Bias)



Models

	Complete Sample			Democracy Sample	Non-Democracy Sample		
Deliberation Component Index	$\chi^2(1) = 1.44$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.24$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.33$	$\chi^2(1) = 9.48$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.88$	$\chi^2(1) = 0$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.61$
Reasoned Justification	$\chi^2(1) = 0$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.34$	$\chi^2(1) = 7.1$	$\chi^2(1) = 15.05$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.02$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.43$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.37$
Common Good	$\chi^2(1) = 0.89$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.3$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.85$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.72$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.61$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.3$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.79$
Counter-Arguments	$\chi^2(1) = 2.16$	$\chi^2(1) = 0$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.49$	$\chi^2(1) = 5.82$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.51$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.14$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.07$
Range of Consultation	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.52$	$\chi^2(1) = 7.51$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.45$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.28$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.08$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.77$
Engaged Society	$\chi^2(1) = 1.97$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.07$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.53$	$\chi^2(1) = 11.72$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.76$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.81$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01$
	No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias	No Bias	No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias

Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level

- n.s.
- $p < 0.10$
- $p < 0.05$
- $p < 0.01$
- $p < 0.001$

Model Comparisons - Complete Sample

		Just Deliberation Models vs. Complete Models			Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models		
Models	Deliberation Component Index	$\chi^2(2) = 16.48$	$\chi^2(2) = 11.12$	$\chi^2(2) = 7.05$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.39$	$\chi^2(1) = 7.35$	$\chi^2(1) = 9.46$
	Reasoned Justification	$\chi^2(2) = 21.77$	$\chi^2(2) = 13.24$	$\chi^2(2) = 7.07$	$\chi^2(1) = 8.24$	$\chi^2(1) = 11.58$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.25$
	Common Good	$\chi^2(2) = 15.79$	$\chi^2(2) = 5.34$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.03$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.15$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.64$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.96$
	Counter-Arguments	$\chi^2(2) = 12.57$	$\chi^2(2) = 6.43$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.84$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.2$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.43$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.41$
	Range of Consultation	$\chi^2(2) = 24.79$	$\chi^2(2) = 15.77$	$\chi^2(2) = 9.18$	$\chi^2(1) = 11.27$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.28$	$\chi^2(1) = 15.77$
	Engaged Society	$\chi^2(2) = 13.97$	$\chi^2(2) = 8.73$	$\chi^2(2) = 5.19$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.41$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.8$	$\chi^2(1) = 6.8$
		No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias	No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias
Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level		<div>n.s.</div> <div>p < 0.10</div> <div>p < 0.05</div> <div>p < 0.01</div> <div>p < 0.001</div>					

Model Comparisons - Democracy Sample

Models	Just Deliberation Models vs. Complete Models	Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models
	Deliberation Component Index - $\chi^2(1) = 3.67$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.03$
	Reasoned Justification - $\chi^2(1) = 3.61$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.55$
	Common Good - $\chi^2(1) = 0.54$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.14$
	Counter-Arguments - $\chi^2(1) = 2.82$	$\chi^2(1) = 8.52$
	Range of Consultation - $\chi^2(1) = 4.07$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.41$
	Engaged Society - $\chi^2(1) = 1$	$\chi^2(1) = 12.6$
	No Bias	No Bias
Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level		
	<div>n.s.</div> <div>p < 0.10</div> <div>p < 0.05</div> <div>p < 0.01</div> <div>p < 0.001</div>	

Model Comparisons - Non-Democracy Sample

		Just Deliberation Models vs. Complete Models			Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models		
Models	Deliberation Component Index	$\chi^2(1) = 5.4$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.94$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.59$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.19$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.3$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.96$
	Reasoned Justification	$\chi^2(1) = 6.57$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.68$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.66$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.49$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.47$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.8$
	Common Good	$\chi^2(1) = 8.58$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.78$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.27$	$\chi^2(1) = 5.1$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.44$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.82$
	Counter-Arguments	$\chi^2(1) = 3.72$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.94$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.79$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.13$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.44$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.62$
	Range of Consultation	$\chi^2(1) = 6.31$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.73$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.93$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.5$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.17$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.47$
	Engaged Society	$\chi^2(1) = 1.48$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.84$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.43$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.15$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.2$
		No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias	No Bias	Low Bias	High Bias
		Likelihood Ratio Test Significance Level					
		n.s.		p < 0.10	p < 0.05	p < 0.01	