

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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- Central claim of deliberative theory: to arrive at (more) legitimate decisions

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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)
 - Latinobarómetro (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 a: 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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Two major challenges emerged:

1. Collinearity between Deliberation indicators and Democracy Measures

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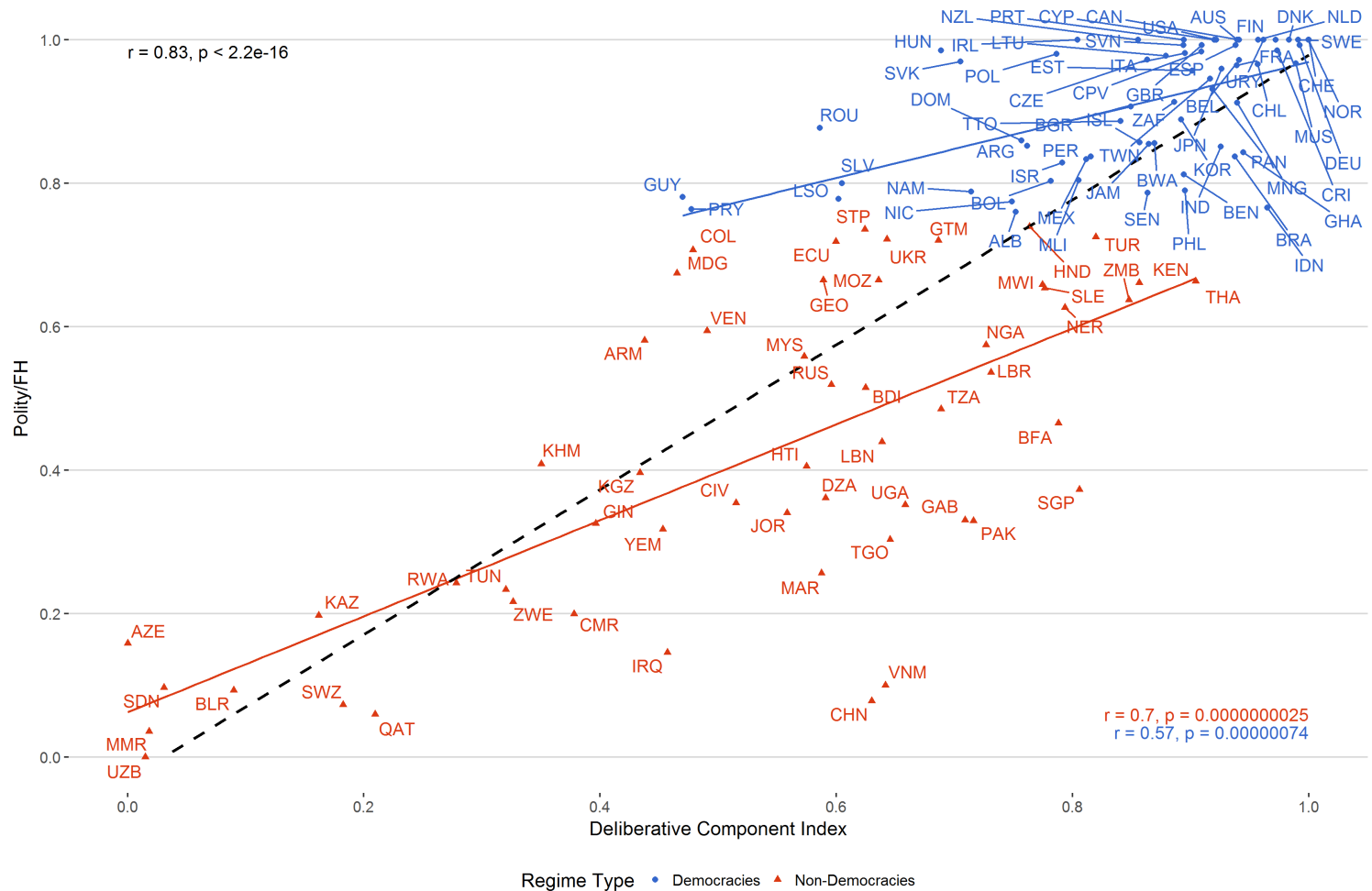
1st Challenge: Multicollinearity

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

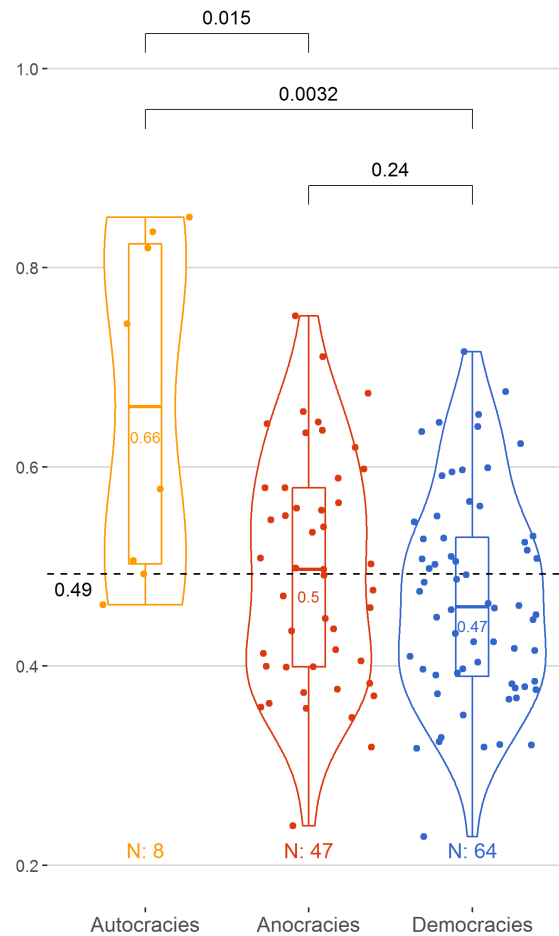
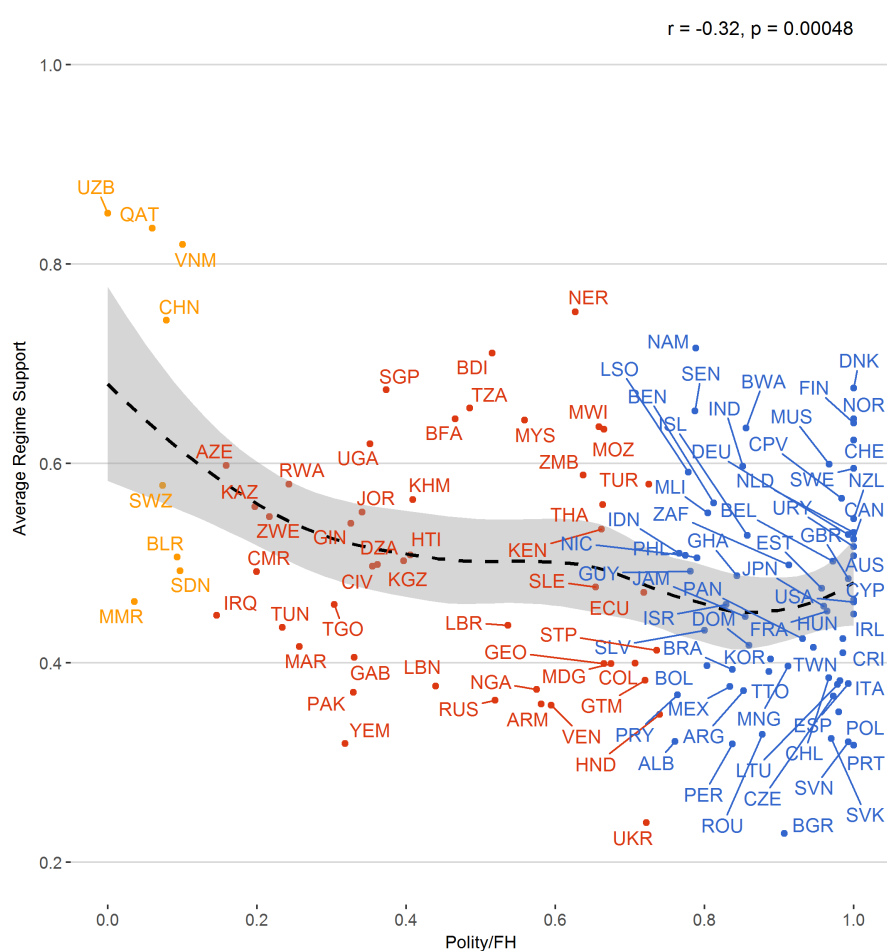
| | DCI | RJ | CG | CA | RoC | ES | Polity/FH |
|------------------------|------|-------------|-------------|------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| Complete Data (n=119) | 0.80 | 0.67 | 0.35 | 0.79 | 0.70 | 0.78 | 1.00 |
| Democracies (n=64) | 0.61 | 0.68 | 0.39 | 0.54 | 0.59 | 0.46 | 1.00 |
| 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 $r = 0.5$.

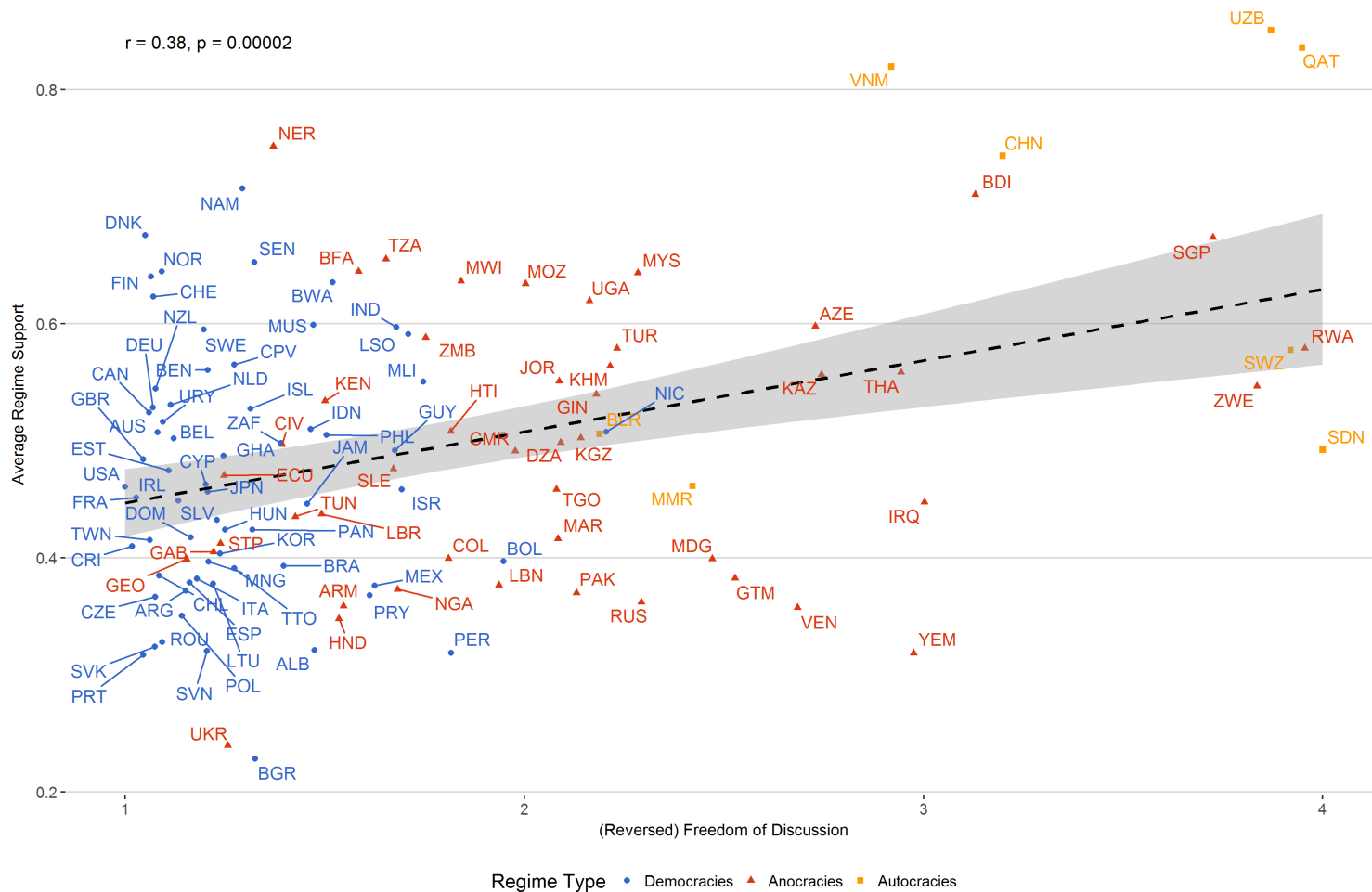
1st Challenge: Correlation between DCI and Polity/FH



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

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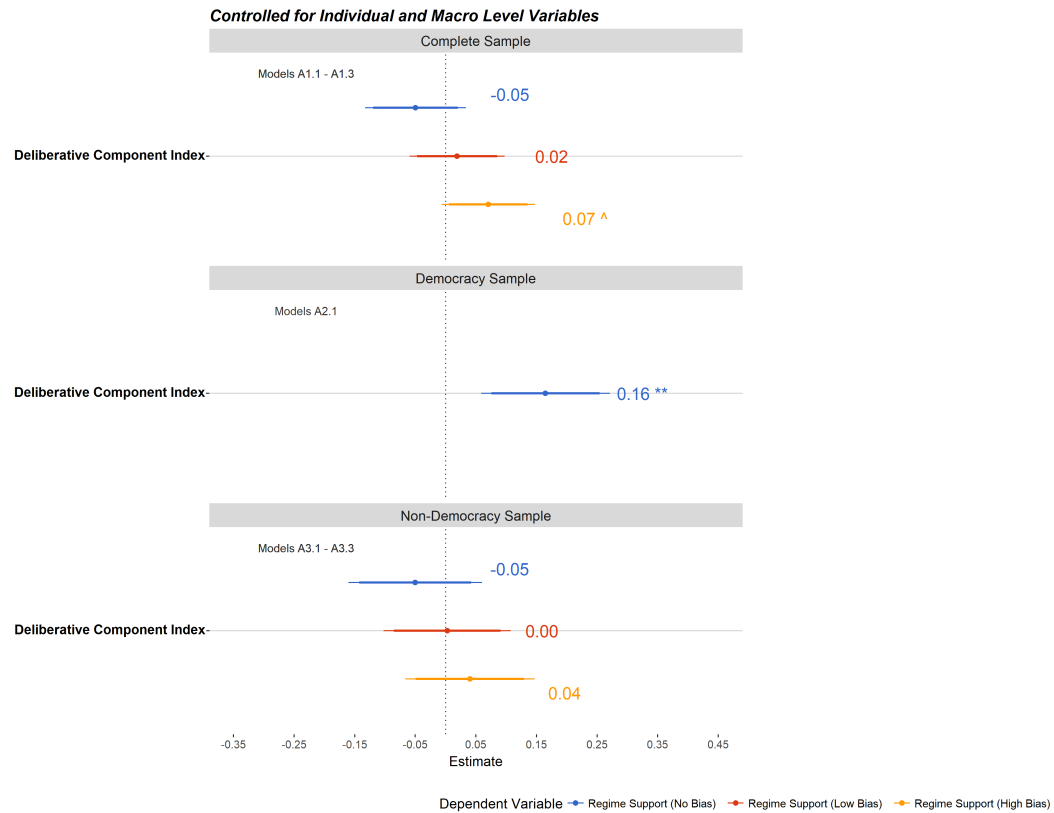
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 - Deliberative Component Index (DCI)
 - plus all five components of the DCI

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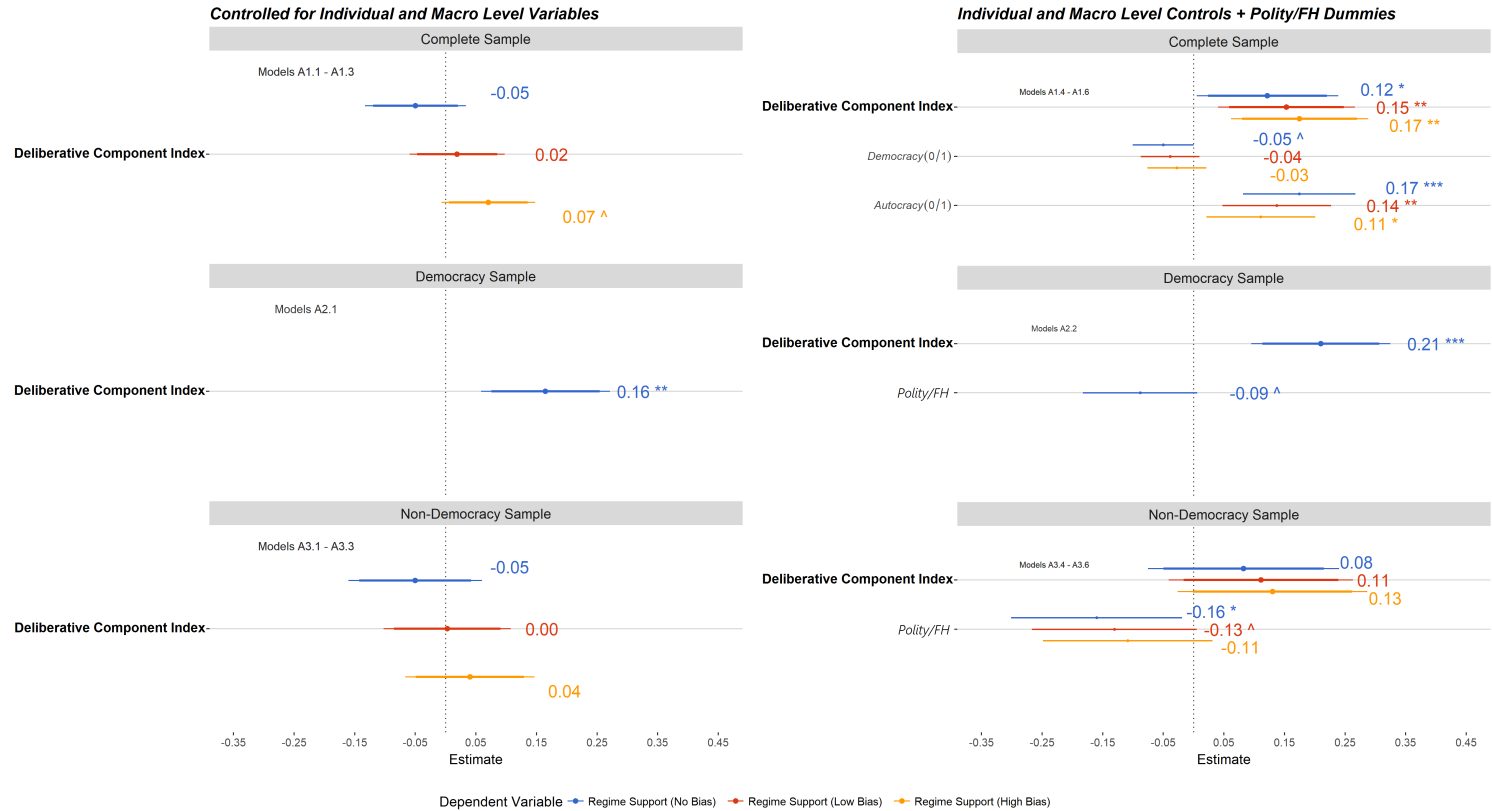
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- Main independent variables
 - Deliberative Component Index (DCI)
 - plus all five components of the DCI
- In total 91 separate models
 - split into three subsamples (Complete, Democracies, Non-Democracies)

Results



Results



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 | | | | | | | | |
| | | <div>n.s.</div> <div>p < 0.10</div> <div>p < 0.05</div> <div>p < 0.01</div> <div>p < 0.001</div> | | | | | | | | |

Click on picture for larger Version

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

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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 on GitHub

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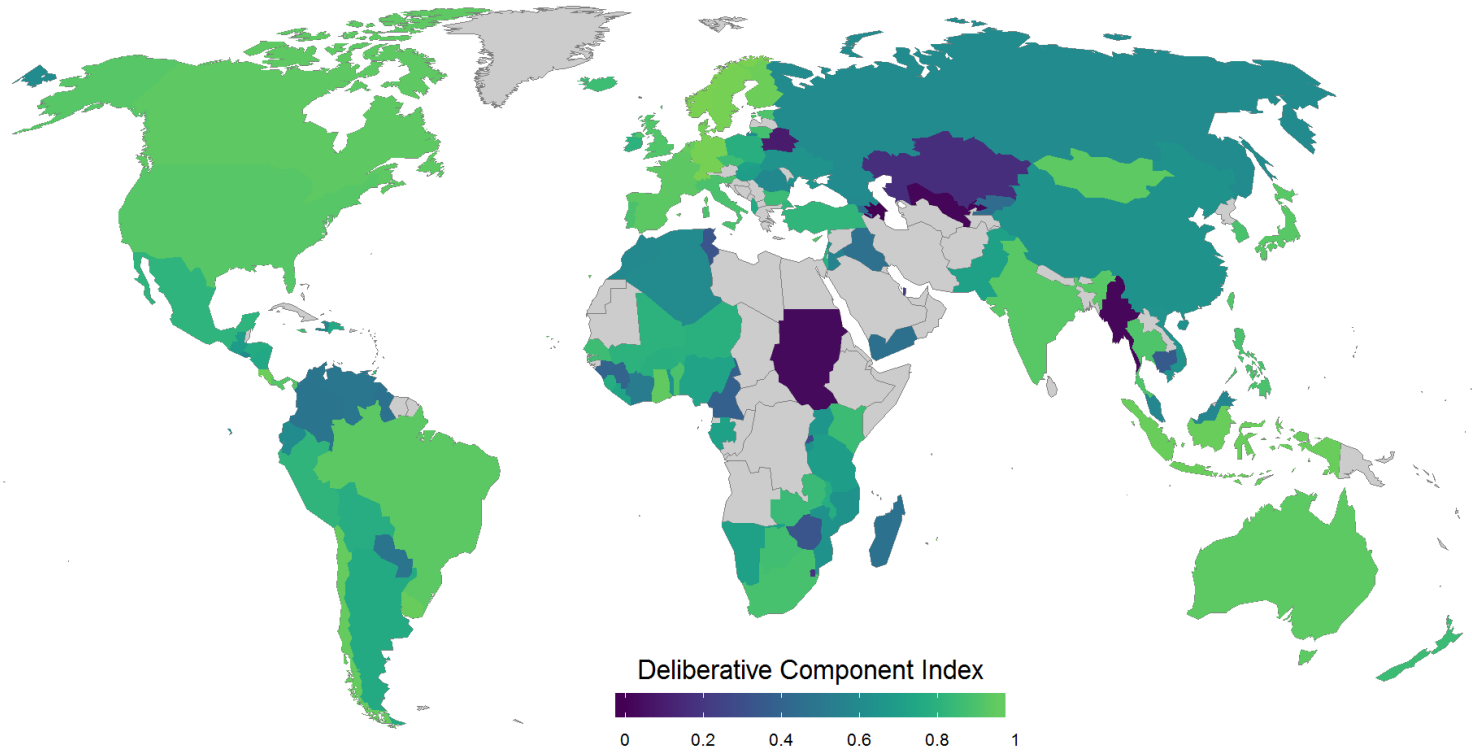
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Appendix

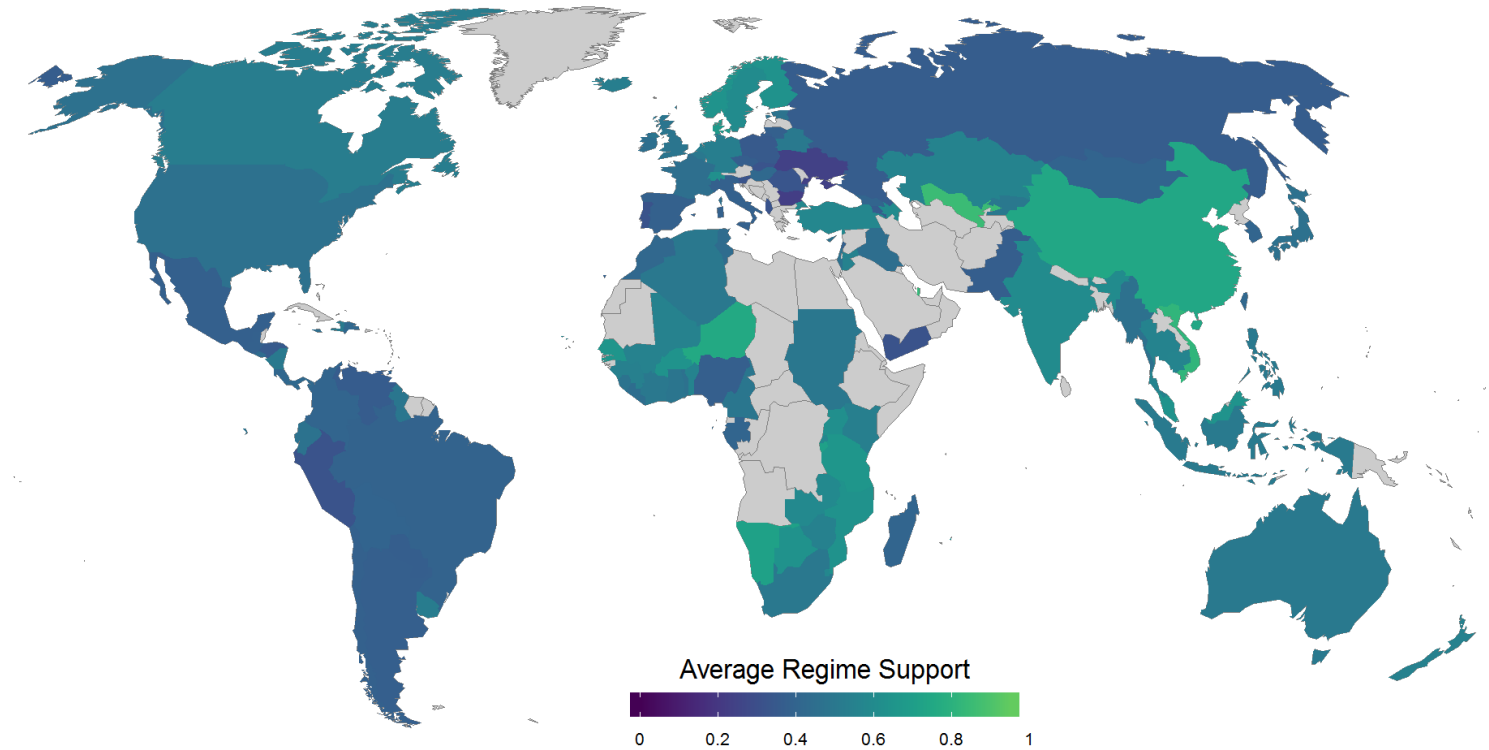
Operationalization of Regime Support

| 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 |

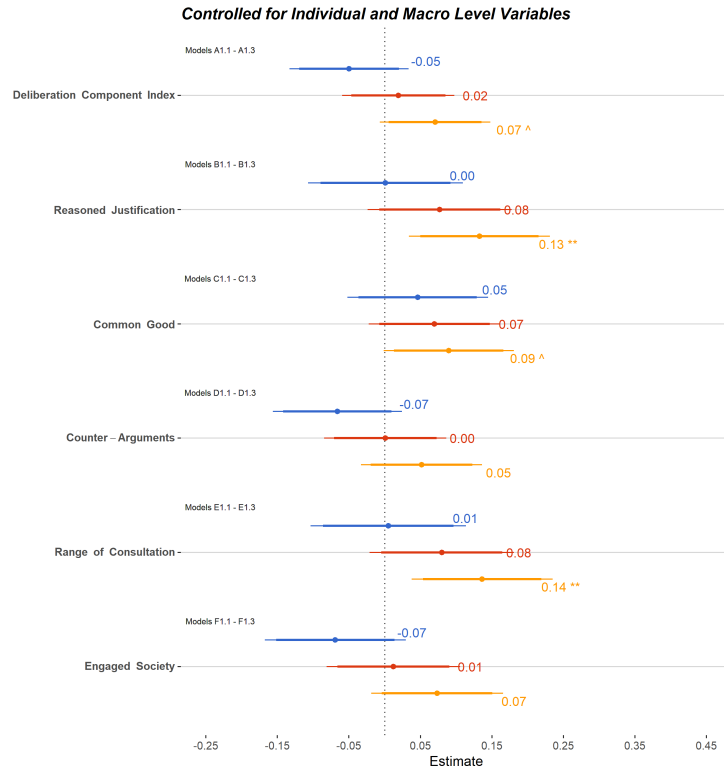
Maps - Deliberation



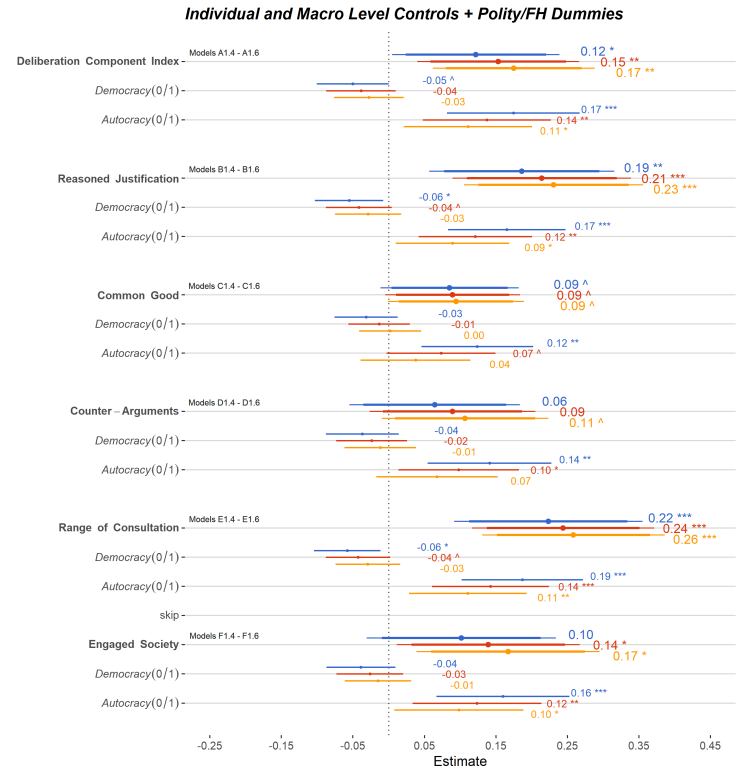
Maps - Regime Support



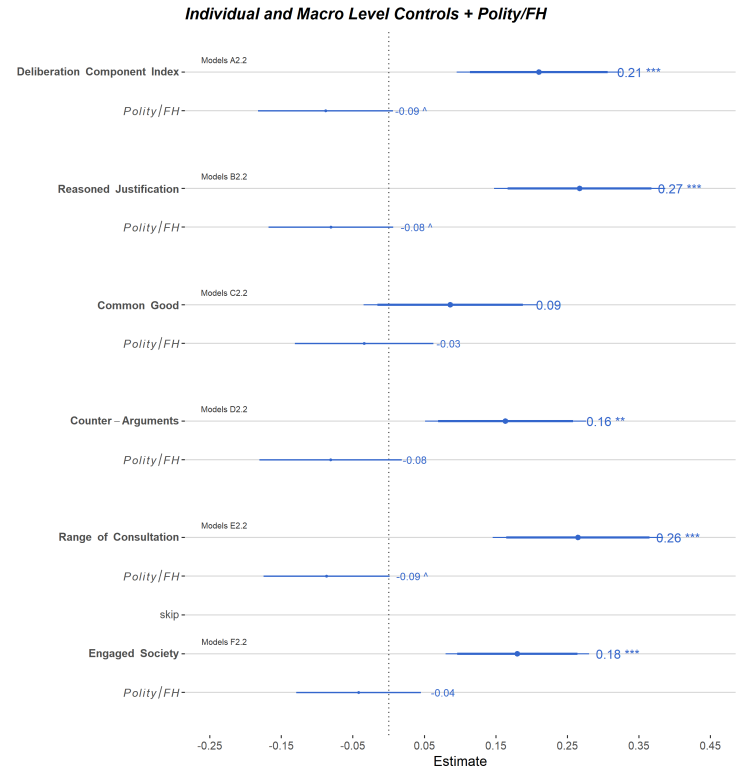
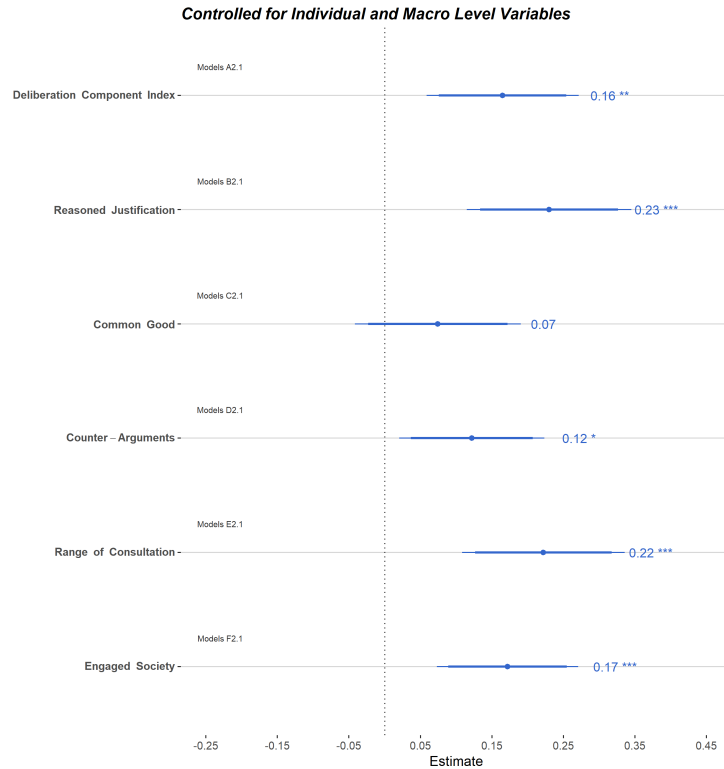
Coefficient Plots - Complete Sample



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

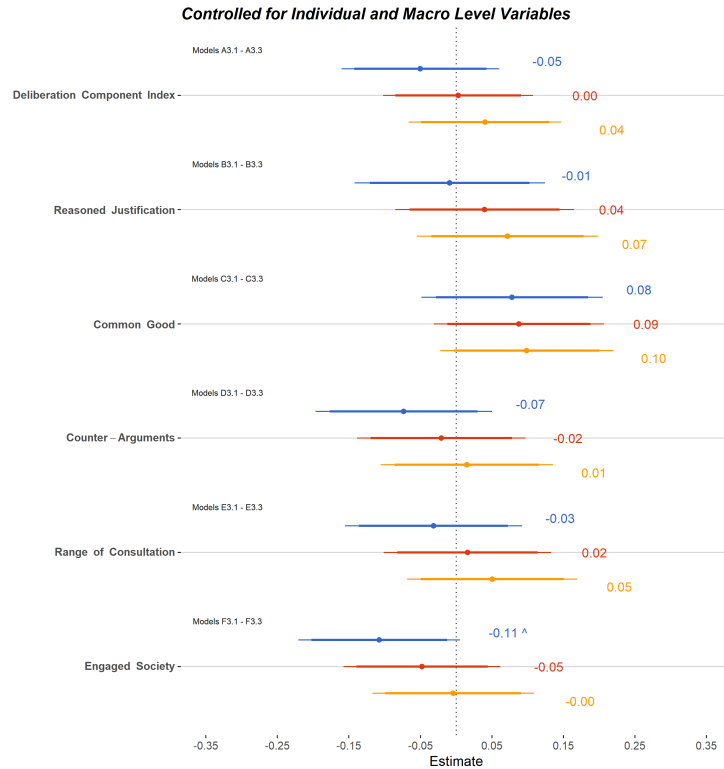


Coefficient Plots - Democracy Sample

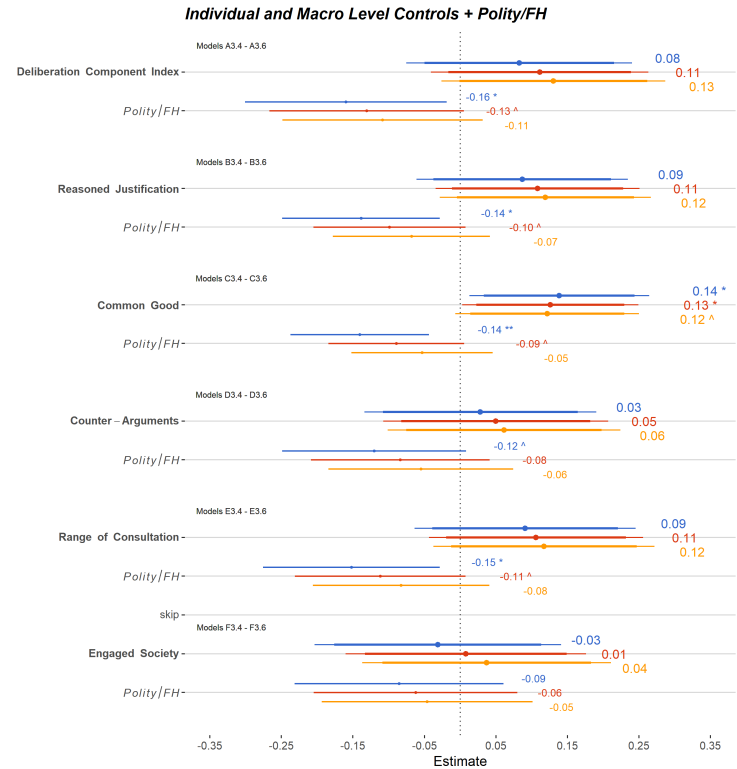


Dependent Variable —●— Regime Support (No Bias)

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 | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | No Bias | Low Bias | High Bias | No Bias | No Bias | Low Bias | High Bias |
| 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 | $\chi^2(1) = 1.97$ | $\chi^2(1) = 0.07$ | $\chi^2(1) = 2.53$ | $\chi^2(1) = 11.72$ | $\chi^2(1) = 3.76$ | $\chi^2(1) = 0.81$ | $\chi^2(1) = 0.01$ |

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

| | | Just Deliberation Models vs. Complete Models | Just Polity/FH Models vs. Complete Models |
|--------|------------------------------|---|---|
| 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 ■ n.s. ■ p < 0.10 ■ p < 0.05 ■ p < 0.01 ■ p < 0.001 | |

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 | |