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Meet the Experts

Linking surveys with electoral integrity assessments to explain political trust

Meet the Experts – GESIS online talks

Extending survey data by linking and harmonizing

Marlene Mauk, 08 December 2022

Leibniz Association

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Meet the Experts

Speaker

Marlene Mauk

- Senior Researcher at GESIS Cologne
- PhD in Comparative Politics from Mainz University
- Research interests: political trust, democracies and autocracies, political value orientations, cross-cultural comparative research
- Contact: marlene.mauk@gesis.org

Source

This presentation is based on Mauk, Marlene (2022): Electoral integrity matters: how electoral process conditions the relationship between political losing and political trust. *Quality & Quantity* 56, 1709-28. doi: 10.1007/s11135-020-01050-1 (Open Access)

Motivation and (substantive) research question

increasing polarization between political factions, winners and losers (e.g., Galston 2018; Iyengar and Westwood 2015)

dissatisfaction of losers with the democratic system (e.g., Anderson et al. 2005; Moehler 2009; Rich 2015; Singh et al. 2011)

➢ *What is the link between political losing, the quality of elections, and political trust?*

deficiencies in electoral processes even in democracies (e.g., Breunig and Goerres 2011; Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017; Wang 2012)

political trust as one of the most consequential attitudes for functioning of democracies (e.g., Dalton 2004; Marien and Hooghe 2011; Scholz and Lubell 1998; Tyler 2011)

Prior research & expectations

- election losers are less happy with resulting government both for utilitarian and psychological reasons (Anderson and Tverdova 2001; Lambert et al. 1986)

- incumbents shape how political system is perceived (Lambert et al. 1986; Maier 2011)

➢ *H1: Political losing decreases political trust indirectly through satisfaction with the incumbent government.*

Prior research & expectations

- election losers perceive the electoral process as less fair than election winners (Alvarez et al. 2008; Cantú and García-Ponce 2015; Craig et al. 2006; Maldonado and Seligson 2014; Singh et al. 2011)

- perceptions of electoral fairness affect political trust (Alemika 2007; McAllister and White 2014; Norris 2014; Rose and Mishler 2009)

➢ *H2: Political losing decreases political trust indirectly through perceptions of electoral fairness.*

Prior research & expectations

- role of the electoral process itself?

- conditions for losers to „react well“ to defeat (Esaiasson 2011)
  - (gain utility from peaceful solution of conflict)
  - feel like being involved in decision-making process
  - consider the system of government itself as legitimate
  - have the impression that they can win the next time

- Maldonado and Seligson (2014): smaller (direct) effects of losing in countries with higher electoral integrity

➢ *H3: The indirect effect of political losing on political trust through perceptions of electoral fairness is contingent on electoral integrity.*

Data & measurement

- combination of three cross-national survey projects
  - Asian Barometer Survey 2010-2012, European Social Survey 2012-2013, Latinobarómetro 2012-2013
  - institutional confidence: parliament, political parties, courts, police
  - winner: voted for a party that ended up in government

- V-Dem data (v9) on the electoral process
  - Clean Elections Index

- 45 democracies in Western Europe, East Asia, Latin America

➢ survey data need to be harmonized & linked with V-Dem data & election results

Data challenge I: Harmonization of survey data

- 3 survey projects: non-identical question wordings, varying response scales

➢ ex-post harmonization through linear transformation of response scale

$$newvalue = \frac{oldvalue - minvalue}{maxvalue - minvalue}$$

➢ MGCFA to check for measurement invariance across surveys

For more details on the harmonization process, see Mauk, Marlene (2022): Electoral integrity matters: how electoral process conditions the relationship between political losing and political trust. *Quality & Quantity* 56, 1709-28. doi: 10.1007/s11135-020-01050-1.
For GESIS Harmonization Services, see our website.

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Data challenge II: Linking of survey and expert data

(harmonized) survey data on the individual level

expert assessments at the country-year level

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Data challenge II: Linking of survey and expert data

Four challenges of survey-based linking

1. Obtaining consent for linking survey data
2. Identifying respondents' treatment status in experiments
3. Choosing the appropriate level of spatial aggregation
4. Aligning temporal units

Source: Meet-the-experts talk Sebastian Ziaja & Pascal Siegers, 10 November 2022. https://www.gesis.org/fileadmin/user_upload/MeettheExperts/4_GESIS_MTE_Linking_survey_data.pdf

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country identifiers
in survey data

COWcode
in V-Dem data

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Meet the Experts

Data challenge II: Linking of survey and expert data

country identifiers
in survey data

```
. tab country
```

Country Code	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Japan	1,880	9.67	9.67
2. Hong Kong	1,207	6.21	15.88
3. Korea	1,207	6.21	22.09
4. Mainland China	3,473	17.87	39.96
5. Mongolia	1,210	6.23	46.19
6. Philippines	1,200	6.17	52.36
7. Taiwan	1,592	8.19	60.55
8. Thailand	1,512	7.78	68.33
9. Indonesia	1,550	7.97	76.31
10. Singapore	1,000	5.15	81.45
11. Vietnam	1,191	6.13	87.58
12. Cambodia	1,200	6.17	93.75
13. Malaysia	1,214	6.25	100.00
Total	19,436	100.00	

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Total	19,436	100.00

```
. tab idenpa
```

IDENPA Country code	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
32. Argentina	1,200	5.29	5.29
68. Bolivia	1,200	5.29	10.59
76. Brazil	1,204	5.31	15.90
152. Chile	1,200	5.29	21.20
170. Colombia	1,200	5.29	26.49
188. Costa Rica	1,000	4.41	30.90
214. Dominican Rep.	1,000	4.41	35.32
218. Ecuador	1,200	5.29	40.61
222. El Salvador	1,000	4.41	45.02
320. Guatemala	1,000	4.41	49.44
340. Honduras	1,000	4.41	53.85
484. Mexico	1,200	5.29	59.14
558. Nicaragua	1,000	4.41	63.56
591. Panama	1,000	4.41	67.97
600. Paraguay	1,200	5.29	73.26
604. Peru	1,200	5.29	78.56
724. Spain	2,459	10.85	89.41
858. Uruguay	1,200	5.29	94.71
862. Venezuela	1,200	5.29	100.00
Total	22,663	100.00	

100.00

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Total	22,663	100.00	

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Country	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
AT	2,499	5.31	5.31
BE	1,767	3.75	9.06
BG	2,198	4.67	13.73
CH	1,542	3.27	17.00
CY	781	1.66	18.66
CZ	2,398	5.09	23.75
DE	2,358	5.01	28.76
EE	1,904	4.04	32.81
ES	1,668	3.54	36.35
FI	1,755	3.73	40.08
FR	2,010	4.27	44.34
GB	2,204	4.68	49.03
HR	1,810	3.84	52.87
HU	1,661	3.53	56.40
IE	2,216	4.71	61.10
IT	2,745	5.83	66.93
LT	1,835	3.90	70.83
LV	918	1.95	72.78
ME	1,200	2.55	75.33
NL	1,673	3.55	78.88
NO	1,406	2.99	81.87
PL	1,500	3.19	85.05
PT	1,055	2.24	87.29
RS	2,043	4.34	91.63
SE	1,539	3.27	94.90
SI	1,318	2.80	97.70
SK	1,083	2.30	100.00
Total	47,086	100.00	

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SK	1,083	2.30	100.00
Total	47,086	100.00	

COWc	COWn	Country name
USA	2	United States of America
CAN	20	Canada
BHM	31	Bahamas
CUB	40	Cuba
HAI	41	Haiti
DOM	42	Dominican Republic
JAM	51	Jamaica
TRI	52	Trinidad and Tobago
BAR	53	Barbados
DMA	54	Dominica
GRN	55	Grenada
SLU	56	St. Lucia
SVG	57	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
AAB	58	Antigua & Barbuda
SKN	60	St. Kitts and Nevis
MEX	70	Mexico
BLZ	80	Belize
GUA	90	Guatemala
HON	91	Honduras

Source: Karretth, Johannes: LIST OF CORRELATES OF WAR COUNTRY CODES. http://www.jkarreth.net/countrycodes.html

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in survey data

→

COWcode
in V-Dem data

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9. Indonesia	1,550	7.97
10. Singapore	1,000	5.15
11. Vietnam	1,191	6.13
12. Cambodia	1,200	6.17
13. Malaysia	1,214	6.25
Total	19,436	100.00

```
. tab idenpa
```

IDENPA Country code	Fre
32. Argentina	1,2
68. Bolivia	1,2
76. Brazil	1,2
152. Chile	1,2
170. Colombia	1,2
188. Costa Rica	1,0
214. Dominican Rep.	1,0
218. Ecuador	1,2
222. El Salvador	1,0
320. Guatemala	1,0
340. Honduras	1,0
484. Mexico	1,2
558. Nicaragua	1,0
591. Panama	1,0
600. Paraguay	1,2
604. Peru	1,2
724. Spain	2,4
858. Uruguay	1,2
862. Venezuela	1,2
Total	22,6

```
gen cowcode = .
replace cowcode=339 if country==8
replace cowcode=373 if country==31
replace cowcode=305 if country==40
replace cowcode=371 if country==51
replace cowcode=346 if country==70
replace cowcode=355 if country==100
replace cowcode=370 if country==112
replace cowcode=344 if country==191
replace cowcode=316 if country==203
replace cowcode=390 if country==208
replace cowcode=366 if country==233
replace cowcode=375 if country==246
replace cowcode=220 if country==250
replace cowcode=372 if country==268
replace cowcode=255 if country==276
replace cowcode=310 if country==348
replace cowcode=395 if country==352
replace cowcode=325 if country==380
replace cowcode=368 if country==440
replace cowcode=341 if country==499
replace cowcode=210 if country==528
replace cowcode=385 if country==578
replace cowcode=290 if country==616
replace cowcode=235 if country==620
replace cowcode=360 if country==642
replace cowcode=365 if country==643
replace cowcode=993 if country==688
replace cowcode=317 if country==703
replace cowcode=349 if country==705
replace cowcode=230 if country==724
replace cowcode=380 if country==752
replace cowcode=225 if country==756
replace cowcode=343 if country==807
```

SI	1,518	2.80
SK	1,083	2.30
Total	47,086	100.00

COWc	COWn	Country name
		States of America
		ican Republic
		d and Tobago
		cent and the Grenadines
		a & Barbuda
		s and Nevis
MEX	70	Mexico
BLZ	80	Belize
GUA	90	Guatemala
HON	91	Honduras

Source: Karretth, Johannes: LIST OF CORRELATES OF WAR COUNTRY CODES. http://www.jkarreth.net/countrycodes.html

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Data challenge II: Linking of survey and expert data

(harmonized) survey data on the individual level

expert assessments at the country-year level

country identifiers
in survey data

COWcode
in V-Dem data

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year
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interview date
in survey data

year
in V-Dem data

1

(national) elections don‘t happen annually

V-Dem repeats value for most recent election

✓ use survey year for matching

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interview date
in survey data

year
in V-Dem data

2

surveys ≠ election studies,

fieldwork periods not aligned with election cycles

1

(national) elections don‘t happen annually

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interview date
in survey data

2

surveys ≠ election studies,

fieldwork periods not aligned with election cycles

	Fieldwork Period	Election Type	Previous Election	Next Election	Matching Year
European Social Survey Round 6					
Albania	12/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2009	23/6/2013	2012
Belgium	9/2012-12/2012	parliamentary	2010	2014	2012
Bulgaria	2/2013-4/2013	parliamentary	2009	12/5/2013	2012
Cyprus	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2011	2016	2012
Czechia	1/2013-3/2013	parliamentary	2010	25-26/10/2013	2012
Denmark	1/2013-5/2013	parliamentary	2011	2015	2013
Estonia	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2011	2015	2012
Finland	9/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2011	2015	2012
France	2/2013-6/2013	parliamentary	2012	2017	2013
Germany	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2009	22/9/2013	2012
Hungary	11/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2010	2014	2012
Iceland	10/2012-3/2013	parliamentary	2009	27/4/2013	2012
Ireland	10/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2011	2016	2012
Israel	*9/2012-2/2013*	*parliamentary*	*22/1/2013*		
Italy	5/2013-12/2013	parliamentary	24-25/2/2013	2018	2013

➢ compare election dates with survey fieldwork dates

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Estonia	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2011	2015	2012
Finland	9/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2011	2015	2012
France	2/2013-6/2013	parliamentary	2012	2017	2013
Germany	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2009	22/9/2013	2012
Hungary	11/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2010	2014	2012
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Ireland	10/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2011	2016	2012
Israel	*9/2012-2/2013*	*parliamentary*	*22/1/2013*		
Italy	5/2013-12/2013	parliamentary	24-25/2/2013	2018	2013

- compare election dates with survey fieldwork dates
- exclude countries in which elections where held *during* survey fieldwork

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France	2/2013-6/2013	parliamentary	2012	2017	2013
Germany	9/2012-1/2013	parliamentary	2009	22/9/2013	2012
Hungary	11/2012-2/2013	parliamentary	2010	2014	2012
Iceland	10/2012-3/2013	parliamentary	2009	27/4/2013	2012
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Italy	5/2013-12/2013	parliamentary	24-25/2/2013	2018	2013

- compare election dates with survey fieldwork dates
- exclude countries in which elections where held *during* survey fieldwork
- adjust matching year for countries that held elections *after* survey fieldwork

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Data challenge II: Linking of survey and expert data

(harmonized) survey data on the individual level

expert assessments at the country-year level

country identifiers in survey data		**COWcode** in V-Dem data
interview date in survey data		**year** in V-Dem data

Data challenge III: Linking of survey and official data

(harmonized) survey data on the individual level

official election results on the election level

voted for winner/loser
on the individual level

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(harmonized) survey data on the individual level

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Asian Barometer Survey
Latinobarómetro

33a. [**DO NOT READ. Instruction**: Based on the answer to Q33, please construct a new variable indicating if the respondent voted for the winning camp or losing camp. 1: Voted for the winning camp; 2: voted for the losing camp; 0: not applicable]

Source: Asian Barometer Wave 3 Core Questionnaire.

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Data challenge III: Linking of survey and official data

vote choice
in survey data

government composition
e.g. WhoGov*

*Nyrup, Jacob & Bramwell, Stuart (2020). Who Governs? A New Global Dataset on Members of Cabinets. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1366-1374. doi: 10.1017/S0003055420000490

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Data challenge III: Linking of survey and official data

vote choice
in survey data

government composition
e.g. WhoGov

- identify relevant election 

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vote choice
in survey data

government composition
e.g. WhoGov

- identify relevant election
- identify winning (government) parties

```
. list party party_english minister leader if year==2010 & country_name=="Belgium"
```

	party	party_english	minister	leader
11767.	cdv	Christian Democrats and Flemish	0	1
11768.	pvvovld	Party of Liberty and Progress -- Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats	1	0
11769.	cdvnva	Christian-Democrat and Flemish / New Flemish Alliance	1	0
11770.	ps	Socialist Party [Francophone]	1	0
11771.	cdv	Christian Democrats and Flemish	1	0
11772.	mr	Reformist Movement	1	0
11773.	cdh	Humanist Democratic Centre	1	0
11774.	pvvovld	Party of Liberty and Progress -- Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats	1	0
11775.	mr	Reformist Movement	1	0
11776.	cdv	Christian Democrats and Flemish	1	0
11777.	pvvovld	Party of Liberty and Progress -- Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats	1	0
11778.	cdv	Christian Democrats and Flemish	1	0
11779.	ps	Socialist Party [Francophone]	1	0
11780.	mr	Reformist Movement	1	0
11781.	ps	Socialist Party [Francophone]	1	0

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```
. tab prtvtcbe
```

Party voted for in last national election, Belgium

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Groen!	64	3.42	3.42
CD&V	195	10.43	13.86
N-VA	194	10.38	24.24
Lijst Dedecker	6	0.32	24.56
SP.A	143	7.65	32.21
PVDA+	6	0.32	32.53
Vlaams Belang	47	2.51	35.05
Open VLD	132	7.06	42.11
CDH	72	3.85	45.96
Ecolo	70	3.75	49.71
Front National	8	0.43	50.13
MR	122	6.53	56.66
PS	203	10.86	67.52
PTB	4	0.21	67.74
Parti Populaire	1	0.05	67.79
Other	29	1.55	69.34
Blanco	44	2.35	71.70
Ongeldig	18	0.96	72.66
Not applicable	403	21.56	94.22
Refusal	3	0.16	94.38
Don't know	105	5.62	100.00
Total	1,869	100.00	

```
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- identify relevant election
- identify winning (government) parties
- exclude “Others” where necessary

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- identify relevant election
- identify winning (government) parties
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- recode vote choice for government parties as “1”, vote choice for opposition parties as “0”

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- identify relevant election
- identify winning (government) parties
- exclude “Others” where necessary
- recode vote choice for government parties as “1”, vote choice for opposition parties as “0”

voted for winner/loser
on the individual level

Results

- H1: Political losing has a negative indirect effect on political trust that is mediated through satisfaction with the incumbent government.
- H2: Political losing has a negative indirect effect on political trust that is mediated through perceptions of electoral fairness.
- H3: The (second) indirect effect of losing on political trust decreases with increasing quality of elections.

Conclusion

- data linking (and harmonization) allows us to answer more complex questions on the sources of political trust (or other attitudes)
- political losing dampens political trust
- … in part by undermining confidence in electoral process
- but: political losing only undermines confidence in electoral process in political systems where this electoral process is actually flawed

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Expert contact & GESIS consulting

Contact: you can reach the speaker/s via e-mail:
marlene.mauk@gesis.org

GESIS Consulting: GESIS offers individual consulting in a number of areas – including survey design & methodology, data archiving, digital behavioral data & computational social science – and across the research data cycle.

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Upcoming talks

- Please visit our meet-the-experts website:
  - https://www.gesis.org/en/services/sharing-knowledge/consulting-and-guidelines/meet-the-experts

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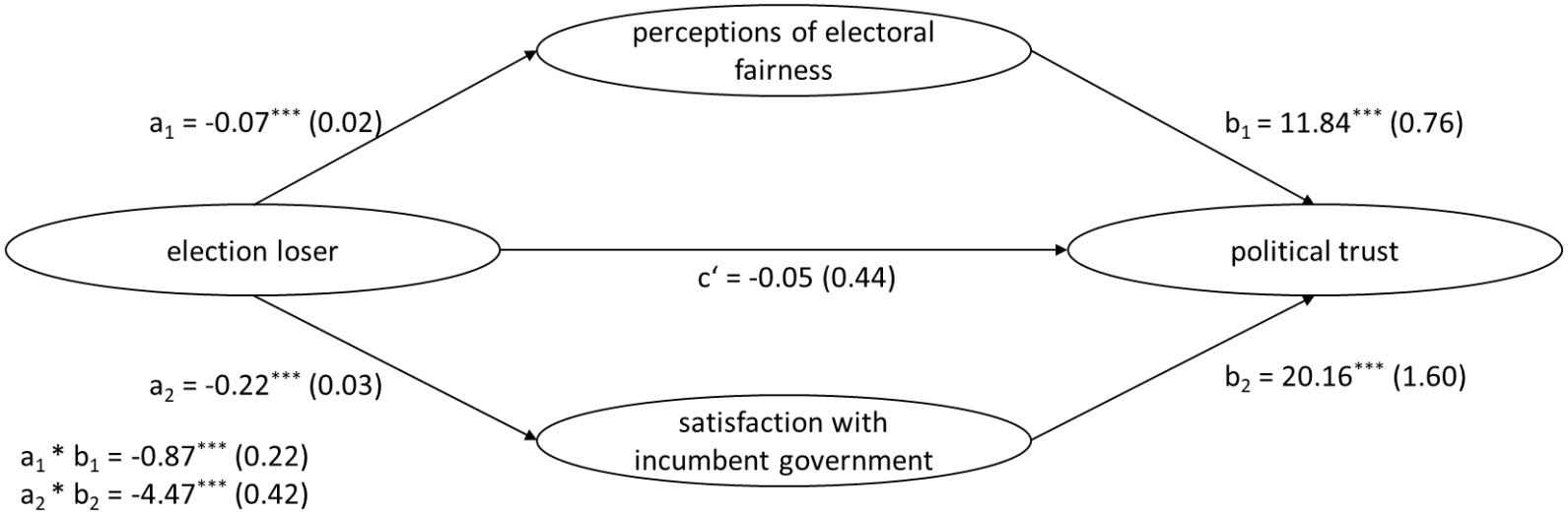
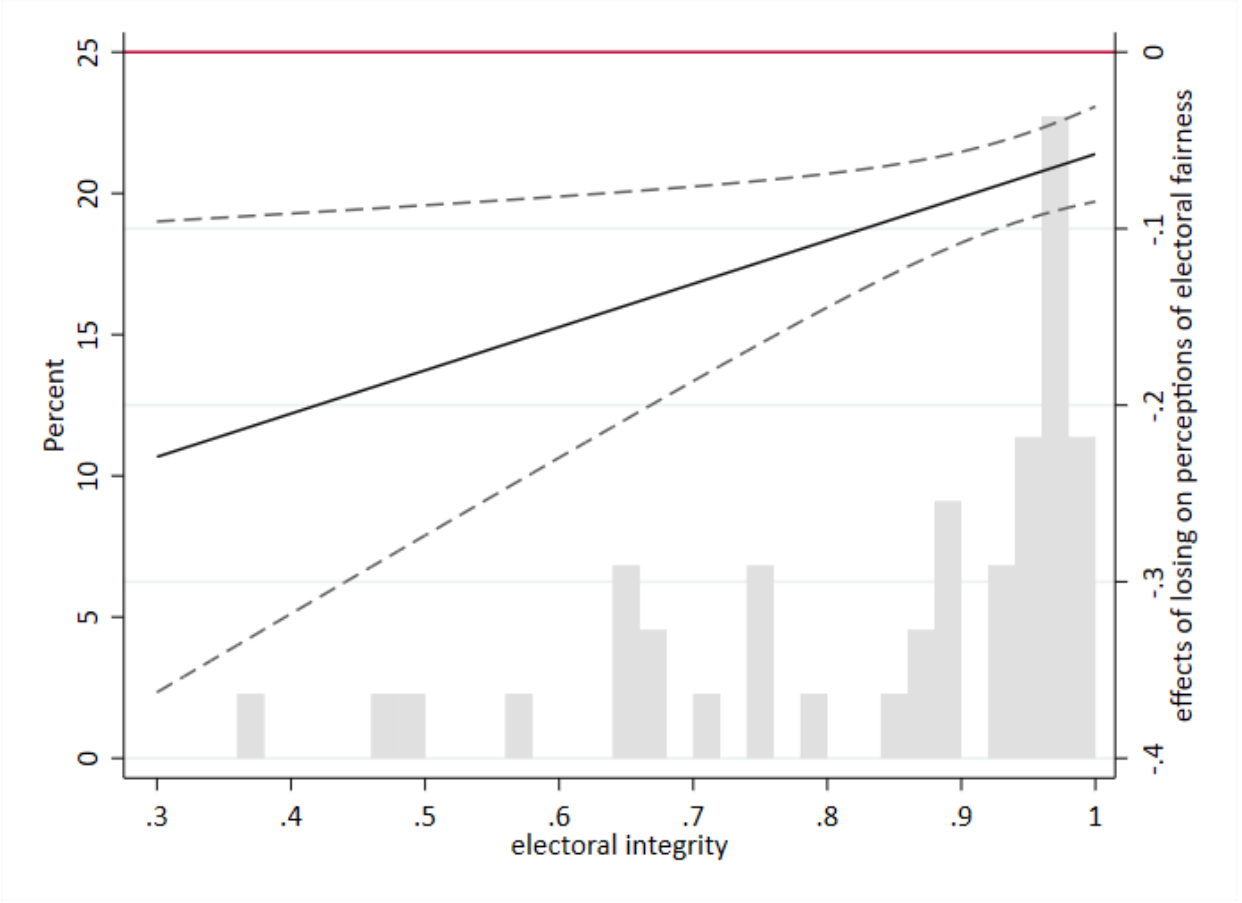
Thank you for participating!

Results I



Notes: Multi-level structural equation modeling. Maximum likelihood estimation. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. N = 40,281/45.
Sources: Asian Barometer 2010-2012; European Social Survey 2012-2013; Latinobarómetro 2012-2013; V-Dem v8.

Results II



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Sources: Asian Barometer 2010-2012; European Social Survey 2012-2013; Latinobarómetro 2012-2013; V-Dem v9.