ONLINE APPENDICES

## POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE
IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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Contents

Appendix for Chapter 2

Figure A2.1: Histograms of the distribution of political knowledge scores in Czech post-election surveys, 1996–2013

Sources: Czech National Election Studies, 1996–2013, n=1229, 944, 2002, 1857 and 1653 respectively. Note that the estimates in the boxplots are Item Response Theory (IRT) model estimates from the knowledge scales for each year. The estimates are from Rasch models for 1996, 2010 and 2013 and from two-part logistic (2PL) models for 2002 and 2006. All IRT scales have a range of -2 to +2. The solid black line indicates a normal (Gaussian) distribution. The distributions for 1996 and 2002 are negatively skewed with most respondents scoring highly on the knowledge quiz. With more political knowledge questions in 2006, 2010 and 2013 the difficulty of items increased resulting a broader range of correct answers thereby yielding more valid and reliable measures of political knowledge.

Figure A2.2: A boxplot comparison of the distribution of political knowledge scales in Czech post-election surveys, 1996–2013
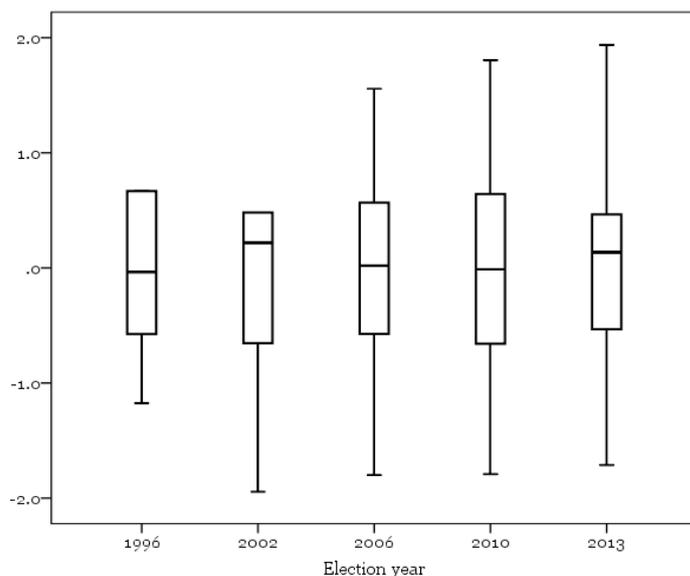
Sources: Czech National Election Studies, 1996–2013
Note that the estimates in the boxplots are Item Response Theory (IRT) model estimates from the knowledge scales for each year. The estimates are from Rasch models for 1996, 2010 and 2013 and from two-part logistic (2PL) models for 2002 and 2006. The central horizontal line in the boxplots represents the median estimate. The boxplots show, similarly to Figure A2.1 and Table A2.2 that the distributions for 1996 and 2002 are negatively skewed suggesting the knowledge questions were too easy as most respondents answered close to all items correctly. Due to the skewed distribution of the knowledge scale estimates for 2002 the mean score suggests a fall in knowledge for this year. The trend in median estimates (which are less influenced by extreme values in the data) shows a more or less constant level of knowledge. Here it is best to conclude that Czechs level of political knowledge has remained largely constant over time.

Table A2.2: Summary statistics for all political knowledge IRT scales, 1996–2013

Summary statistics	1996	2002	2006	2010	2013
Lower 95% CI	-.09	-.19	-.04	-.04	-.03
Mean	-.05	-.15	-.01	<.01	.01
Upper 95% CI	-.01	-.11	.03	.04	.05
Median	-.04	.22	.02	-.01	.14
Variance	.45	.45	.66	.65	.65
Skewness	-.34	-.97	-.12	-.06	-.05
Kurtosis	-1.22	-.24	-.57	-.38	-.41

Source: Czech National Election Surveys, 1996 – 2013, n=1229, 944, 2002, 1857 and 1653 respectively. CI denotes lower and upper 95% confidence interval estimates around the arithmetic mean. The estimates are from Rasch models for 1996, 2010 and 2013 and from two-part logistic (2PL) models for 2002 and 2006. Although the trend in mean estimates suggests a dip in knowledge in 2002; however, the overall trend using the median and taking variation in the estimates into account (see Figure A2.1) is one of a constant level of knowledge between 1996 and 2013.

Table A2.3: IRT models of 'new' and 'old' political knowledge scales implemented in the Czech National Election Study of 2013

Two part Logistic (2PL) IRT models and variables	2PL all B	2PL all SE	2PL old B	2PL old SE	2PL new B	2PL new SE
Difficulty parameters:						
Members of regional councils are selected through regional elections (true)	-1.22	.11	-1.39	.15	NA	NA
Czech Republic formally came into existence in 1989 (false)	-.91	.08	-.82	.08	NA	NA
Citizens elect the President of the European Commission (no)	.10	.05	.11	.05	NA	NA
System of electing members of the Chamber of Deputies (proportional)	.34	.05	.34	.05	NA	NA
EU has 25 member states (true in 2006, false in 2010, 2013)	.57	.07	.54	.06	NA	NA
Canada is a permanent member of the UN's Security Council (false)	2.05	.20	1.87	.18	NA	NA
Party won the second largest number of seats in elections (ANO)	-1.27	.09	NA	NA	-1.30	.11
Minister of finance in the previous govt. (Jan Fischer)	-.29	.05	NA	NA	-.21	.04
Secretary General of the United Nations (Ban Ki-moon)	1.31	.09	NA	NA	1.54	.15
Level of unemployment in Oct. 2013 (7.5%)	1.43	.13	NA	NA	1.85	.24
Discrimination parameters:						
System of electing members of the Chamber of Deputies (proportional)	1.64	.13	1.59	.17	NA	NA
Citizens elect the President of the European Commission (no)	1.27	.10	1.17	.11	NA	NA
Czech Republic formally came into existence in 1989 (false)	1.07	.09	1.24	.13	NA	NA
EU has 25 member states (true in 2006, false in 2010, 2013)	1.12	.10	1.22	.13	NA	NA
Members of regional councils are selected through regional elections (true)	.94	.09	.80	.09	NA	NA
Canada is a permanent member of the UN's Security Council (false)	.86	.10	.97	.12	NA	NA
Minister of finance in the previous government (Jan Fischer)	1.39	.11	NA	NA	3.03	.83
Level of unemployment in Oct 2013 (7.5%)	.94	.09	NA	NA	.68	.10
Party won second largest number of seats in elections (ANO)	1.30	.12	NA	NA	1.26	.15
Secretary General of the United Nations (Ban Ki-moon)	1.47	.14	NA	NA	1.13	.14
Log likelihood	-9124		-5806		-3560	
AIC	18289		11636		7137	
BIC	18397		11701		7180	

Source: Czech National Election Surveys, Oct. 28 – Nov. 11, 2013, n=1653
Note that the model parameter estimates are based on two part logistic item response theory (2PL IRT) regression model. The results refer to the relative difficulty of specific questions (i.e. difficulty) and the extent to which particular items help to distinguish between two respondents of equal knowledge ability (i.e. discrimination). These models compare the use of 'old' and 'new' CSES knowledge questions implemented in the same survey. NA indicates variables that are 'not applicable' in a model, e.g. old knowledge variables in a new variables model.

Appendix for Chapter 3

The set of factual political knowledge questions examined in this book come from a set of slightly less than a dozen national surveys fielded in the Czech Republic over two decades between 1996 and 2013. Most of these surveys are post-election studies that form part of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) international research project.

A complete listing of CSES 'political information' questions is given later in this appendix, and these items facilitate comparative research. The selection criteria for the political knowledge questions examined in this chapter was (1) surveys that asked about party choices in elections, or key political events such as the Velvet Revolution (1989); and (2) the knowledge questions examined respondents' level of political facts with open-ended items, or employed a simple quiz format.

Political knowledge questions fielded by Eurobarometer are not examined in this book. This is because these detailed analyses of these data would require a separate book dealing with how knowledge shapes attitudes to European integration. In general, comparative survey research programmes such as the European Social Survey (ESS) and the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) do not ask political knowledge items because of the difficulty of making international comparisons. Nonetheless, Almond and Verba (1963: 57–58) in their seminal comparative study did include a battery of knowledge of party leaders and government ministers that was used for making comparative inferences.

Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, June 1967

This survey was part of a comparative study in eleven countries that explored the attitudes of the 'younger generation' toward the future, i.e. the world in the second millennium. Most questions focussed on measuring respondents' perceptions of likely future developments in (a) science and society and (b) international relations and war. Consequently, a battery of sixteen true or false quiz questions was asked about specific countries membership of the two main military alliances during the Cold War: the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Countries.

Q30: I am going to read out a list of countries. Can you tell me for each one whether it belongs to NATO, to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation or to neither of these? Response options: (0) Don't know, no answer, (1) NATO, (2) Warsaw Treaty, (3) Neither. Note that the correct answer to each knowledge item is indicated in square parentheses.

Q30a: Czechoslovakia [Warsaw Treaty]
Q30b: Denmark [NATO]
Q30c: Finland [Neither]
Q30d: France [NATO]
Q30e: Federal Republic of Germany [NATO]
Q30f: Italy [NATO]
Q30g: Netherlands [NATO]
Q30h: Norway [NATO]
Q30i: Poland [Warsaw Treaty]
Q30j: Soviet Union [Warsaw Treaty]
Q30k: Spain [Neither]
Q30l: Sweden [Neither]
Q30m: Switzerland [Neither]
Q30n: United Kingdom [NATO]
Q30o: USA [NATO]
Q30p: Yugoslavia [Neither]

Czech National Election Study, STEM, June 9–19, 1996

Three political knowledge items were asked in this post-election survey as part of the CSES module. All questions were open-ended where the interviewer recorded verbatim answers. Note that these written responses were coded as 'correct', 'incorrect' and 'missing' where the latter category probably includes those who replied 'don't know', refused to answer or made no answer.

Q.56: Can you tell me how many percent of votes has a political party to gain in our country in elections in order to get into parliament? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: 5%]

Q.57: Who was the last minister of transportation before the elections? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: Vladimír Budinský, ODS, Oct. 11 1995 – July 4 1996]
Q.58: How many members has our parliament? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: 200]

Czech National Election Study, CVVM, July 24 – August 1, 2002
Six political knowledge items were asked in this post-election survey where the first three items were open-ended and the final three were closed.

PI.26a-c: In June [2002] who was:
   (a) Chairman of the Senate? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: Petr Pithart]
   (b) Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: Václav Klaus]
   (c) Prime Minister? WRITE OUT. [Correct answer: Miloš Zeman]
PI.27a: Who elects the President of the Czech Republic? Is it elected by the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, or the whole Parliament that is the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate together? Response options: (1) Chamber of Deputies, (2) Senate, (3) Parliament, Chamber of Deputies and the Senate [Correct], (9) Don't know.
PI.27b: Who holds the highest constitutional office in the Czech Republic? Response options: (1) President [Correct], (2) Prime Minister, (3) President of the Chamber of Deputies, (9) Don't know.
PI.27c: After the elections in 1998, the two political parties ČSSD and ODS deal. What was this agreement called? Response options: (1) the Saint Václav's Agreement, (2) the Opposition Agreement [Correct], (3) the Toleration Decree, (9) Don't know.

CVVM, pre–election, survey, May 8–25, 2006
Nine political knowledge items were asked. Three items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (Z.25–27), national (Z.22–24), and international (Z.25–27) was asked.

Instructions read to respondents:
For the following questions (Z.22 to Z.30) if you do not know the correct answer, or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.

Z.22: In what year did Czechoslovakia formally split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia? The response options were: (1) 1968, (2) 1989, (3) 1993 [Correct], (4) 1998, (9) Don't know
Z.23: Are members to the Chamber of Deputies elected using a proportional or majoritarian electoral system? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (9) Don't know.
Z.24: Václav Klaus is currently the President of the Czech Republic. How was he elected? The response options were: (1) Through a national election where all citizens could vote, (2) Following a vote in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate [Correct], (3) Political parties made an agreement among themselves and appointed him, (4) It is the Constitutional Court who chooses the President, (9) Don't know.
Z.25: How are members of regional (kraje) assemblies selected? The response options were: (1) Political parties decide who can be members, (2) The government appoints all regional assembly members, (3) There are regional assembly elections [Correct], (4) Local councils select representatives to serve on regional assemblies, (9) Don't know.
Z.26: Could you please tell me the name of the Hejtman in this region or Mayor (if the respondent lived in Prague)? Open response option as verbatim answers were recorded and coded later as either true or false.
Z.27: Responsibility for public politics and policy is divided between the local level, the regional level and the central government. Which is primarily responsible for waste disposal? The response options were: (1) The municipality [Correct], (2) The region, (3) The national government, (4) It is a shared responsibility of all three institutions, (9) Don't know.
Z.28: How many member states are there currently in the European Union? The response options were: (1) 12, (2) 15, (3) 25 [Correct], (4) 30, (9) Don't know.
Z.29: Do the citizens of the European Union directly elect the President of the European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (9) Don't know.
Z.30: Which of the following countries is a permanent member of the UN Security Council? The response options were: (1) Canada, (2) Japan, (3) Russia [Correct], (4) Italy, (9) Don't know.

Czech National Election Study, CVVM, June 9−21, 2006
Ten political knowledge items were asked. Three/four items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (x3: Q.33, Q.35d, Q.35e), national (x4: Q.31a, Q.32, Q.35a, Q.35b), and international (x3: Q.34, Q.35c, Q.35f). The first question was not formally part of the battery of political knowledge, but may be considered a factual knowledge item.

Q.31a: Not every party has a chance to succeed in the polls and get to the Chamber of Deputies. How many percent must a party get to obtain a seat? The response options were: (1) Percentage (verbatim response − correct answer 5%), (7) Refused, (9) Don't know.

Instructions read to respondents:
For the following questions (Q.32 to Q.35) if you do not know the correct answer, or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.

Q.32: Are the deputies to the Chamber elected on a proportional representation or majority principle? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.33: Could you please tell me the name of Hejtman of your region (or Mayor in the case of Prague)? The response options were: (1) Name (verbatim response coded as correct/incorrect by CVVM), (97) Refused, (99) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.34: Do EU citizens elect the President of European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.35: Are the following statements true or false? The response options were: (1) True, (2) False, (7) Refused, (9) DK. All responses were subsequently coded as correct or incorrect.

    (a)   Czech Republic was formally established in 1989 [Incorrect]
    (b)   The current president Václav Klaus was elected based on a vote of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies [Correct]
    (c)   At present, the EU has 25 member states [Correct in 2006]
    (d)   Members of regional councils are chosen based on the results of the elections to the regional councils [Correct]
    (e)   Regional councils are responsible for domestic waste [Incorrect]
    (f)   Canada is a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council [Incorrect]

ISSP, Role of Government Survey Module IV, SC&C, October−November, 2006
Nine political knowledge items were asked. Three items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (C.6b, C.6g, C.6h), national (C.6a, C.6d, C.6e) and international (C.6c, C.6f, C.6i).

Instructions read to respondents:
C.6: For the following questions (C.6a to C.6d) if you do not know the correct answer, or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.
C.6a: Are the deputies to the Chamber elected on a proportional representation or majority principle? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (8) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
C.6b: Could you please tell me the name of Hejtman of your region (or Mayor in the case of Prague)? The response options were: (1) Name (verbatim response coded as correct/incorrect), (97) Don't know, am not sure, (98) Refused, no answer.
C.6c: Do EU citizens elect the President of European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
C.6d: Are the following statements true or false? The response options were: (1) Correct, (2) Incorrect, (8) Don't know, I am not sure, (9) No answer. All responses were subsequently coded as correct or incorrect.
    (a)   The Czech Republic was formally established in 1989 [Incorrect]
    (b)   The current president Václav Klaus was elected based on a vote of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies [Correct]
    (c)   At present, the EU has 25 member states [Correct]
    (d)   Members of regional councils are chosen based on the results of the elections to the regional councils [Correct]

    (e)   Regional councils are responsible for domestic waste [Incorrect]
    (f)   Canada is a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council [Incorrect]

European Election Survey, Czech wave, FOCUS, June 7–27, 2009
Q92–Q98. Now, I have some questions about the European Union and the Czech Republic. I will read you a few statements. For each one, please tell me whether you think the statement is true or false. If you do not know please tell me to skip to the next question. The response options were: (1) True, (2) False, (7) Refused to answer, (8) Do not know. Note that the statements were presented in a random order to each respondent.

Q92: Switzerland is a member of the EU [False]
Q93: EU consists of 25 member countries [False, n=27]
Q94: Each EU country chooses the same number of representatives to the European Parliament [False]
Q95: Every six months, a different Member State becomes president of the Council of the European Union [True]
Q96: The name of the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic is Miroslava Kopicová [True]
Q97: Individuals must be 25 or older to stand as candidates for the Chamber of Deputies [False]
Q98: In the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic there are 300 deputies [False]

Czech National Election Study, CVVM, July 1–31, 2010
Ten political knowledge questions were asked. Three or four items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (x3: Q.33, Q.35d, Q.35e), national (x4: Q.31a, Q.32, Q.35a, Q.35b), and international (x3: Q.34, Q.35c, Q.35f). Within the comparative study of political knowledge, using CSES data, there are relatively high proportions of respondents who answer 'don't know.' This may be due to the Czech Question wording explicitly, as shown below, encouraging respondents not to guess the answers if they were unsure.

Q.31a: Not every party has a chance to succeed in the polls and get to the Chamber of Deputies. How many percent must a party get to obtain a seat? The response options were: (1) Percentage (verbatim response – correct answer 5%), (7) Refused, (9) Don't know.

Instructions read to respondents:
For the following questions (Q.32 to Q.35) if you do not know the correct answer, or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.
Q.32: Are the deputies to the Chamber elected on a proportional representation or majority principle? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.33: Could you please tell me the name of Hejtman of your region (or Mayor in the case of Prague)? The response options were: (1) Name (verbatim response coded as correct/incorrect by CVVM), (97) Refused, (99) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.34: Do EU citizens elect the President of European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.35: Are the following statements true or false? The response options were: (1) True, (2) False, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure. All responses were subsequently coded as correct or incorrect.
    (a) The Czech Republic was formally established in 1989 [Incorrect]
    (b) The current president Václav Klaus was elected based on a vote of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies [Correct]
    (c) At present, the EU has 25 member states [Incorrect, n=27]
    (d) Members of regional councils are chosen based on the results of the elections to the regional councils [Correct]
    (e) Regional councils are responsible for domestic waste [Incorrect]
    (f) Canada is a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council [Incorrect]

CVVM, November 5–12, 2012 (A special survey of political knowledge)
Eight political knowledge questions were asked. Two or three items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (Q.35d, Q.35e), national (Q.32, Q.35a, Q.35b), and international (Q.34, Q.35c, Q.35f).

Instructions read to respondents:
For the following questions (Q.32 to Q.35) if you please do not know the correct answer, or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.

Q.32: Are the deputies to the Chamber elected on a proportional representation or majority principle? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.34: Do EU citizens elect the President of European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.35: Are the following statements true or false? The response options were: (1) True, (2) False, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure. All responses were subsequently coded as correct or incorrect.
  (a) The Czech Republic was formally established in 1989 [Incorrect]
  (b) The current president Václav Klaus was elected based on a vote of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies [Correct]
  (c) At present, the EU has 25 member states [Incorrect, n=27]
  (d) Members of regional councils are chosen based on the results of the elections to the regional councils [Correct]
  (e) Regional councils are responsible for domestic waste [Incorrect]
  (f) Canada is a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council [Incorrect]

Czech National Election Study, CVVM, October 28 – November 11, 2013
Ten political knowledge questions were asked. Three/four items for each level of governance, i.e. sub-national (x2: Q.35d, Q.35e), national (x4: Q.32, Q.35a, Q.35b, Q.20a–c), and international (x4: Q.34, Q.35c, Q.35f, Q.20d). The final four questions (Q.20a–d) are the CSES Module 4 questions. Within the comparative study of political knowledge using CSES data there are relatively high proportions of respondents who answer 'don't know.' This may be due to the Czech Question wording explicitly, as shown below, encouraging respondents not to guess the answers if they were unsure.

Instructions read to respondents:
For the following questions (Q.32 to Q.35) if you please do not know the correct answer or you are not sure, please feel free to select the response: 'Don't know, I am not sure'. This answer is worth more to us than if you guess the correct answer.

OLD CSES ITEMS (CZECH WAVES, 2006, 2010, 2013):
Q.32: Are the deputies to the Chamber elected on a proportional representation or majority principle? The response options were: (1) Proportional [Correct], (2) Majoritarian, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.34: Do EU citizens elect the President of European Commission? The response options were: (1) Yes, (2) No [Correct], (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure.
Q.35: Are the following statements true or false? The response options were: (1) True, (2) False, (7) Refused, (9) Don't know, I am not sure. All responses were subsequently coded as correct or incorrect.
  (a) The Czech Republic was formally established in 1989 [Incorrect]
  (c) At present, the EU has 25 member states [Correct in 2006 and incorrect thereafter]
  (d) Members of regional councils are chosen based on the results of the elections to the regional councils [Correct]
  (f) Canada is a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council [Incorrect]

NEW CSES ITEMS (CZECH WAVES, 2013):
Q20a: Which of these persons was the Finance Minister before the recent election? Response options: (1) Jiří Rusnok, (2) Martin Pecina, (3) Jan Fischer [Correct], (4) Jan Kohout, (7) Refused to answer, (8) Don't know.
Q20b: What was the current unemployment rate in the Czech Republic as of October 2013? Response options: (1) 5.5%, (2) 7.5% [Correct], (3) 9.5%, (4) 11.5%, (7), Refused to answer, (8) Don't know.

Q20c: Which party came in second in seats in the lower chamber elections? Response options: (1) ČSSD, (2) KSČM, (3) ANO [Correct], (4) TOP 09, (7) Refused to answer, (8) Don't know.

Q20d: Who is the current Secretary General of the United Nations? Response options: (1) Kofi Annan, (2) Kurt Waldheim, (3) Ban Ki-moon [Correct], (4) Boutros Boutros-Ghali, (7) Refused to answer, (8) Don't know.

AISA Post-Election Survey for First Democratic Election, November 1990
These data and questionnaire are available from the German Social Data Archive (GESIS). This survey is archived as ZA 2561. Some of the translated questions have been revised for style to make them more understandable in English.

Introduction to the interview:
Dear sir or madam, the survey into which you have been included on the basis of random selection is devoted to some crucial problems of our political, economic, and social development. The solution of these problems must respect also the opinions and standpoints of the entire public. This is precisely the reason why the Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA) is undertaking this survey, while guaranteeing the absolute anonymity of your answers. We believe that the results of the survey will contribute to the positive development in our country. We are aware of the demanding character of the interview, and would therefore like to ask you to devote to it your attention and some of your free time. Do not ponder your answers; we are interested in your own personal views.

Section A: Political attitudes
Allow me first to ask you several questions concerning the political situation and political development in this country.

Satisfaction with politics:
Q.5: When you consider the overall political development in our country in the past year, would you say that you are? Response options: (1) highly dissatisfied, (2) rather unsatisfied, (3) rather satisfied, (4) highly satisfied, (9) No answer.

Political expectations:
Q.6: Which of the following statements best expresses your expectations as regards our future political developments? Please choose only one. Response options: (1) Different people will take turns in holding power, but little will change in other respects; (2) We will have to pass through a complicated stage of unrest and political reversals before a lasting democratic system is formed in this country; (3) Although we will take a long time to learn democracy, we will make systematic and visible progress toward having a permanent democracy; (4) A democratic political system will be formed and stabilized in our country relatively quickly without serious problems, (9) No answer.

Political efficacy (external):
Q.29: To what extent do you feel you personally can have a say in matters which are the subject of major decisions by the government, parliament, etc.? Response options: (1) not at all, (2) to a small extent, (3) to some extent only, (4) to a considerable extent, (9) no answer.

Section B: Views of the functioning of the state and political system (questions 45–54)
Now, I would like to ask you for some answers regarding your idea of the functioning of your state and political system. Though the following questions are somewhat detached from daily life, it is nevertheless important to know how they are viewed by [ordinary] people.

How should the constitution be changed?
Q.35: Some people say that a document of such importance as the Constitution should be decided upon by all citizens in a referendum. Others believe that this is a matter for experts and its competent judgement should be entrusted to the federal and national parliaments. Which of these views is closest to your own? Response options: (1) Have a referendum, (2) Entrust to parliaments, (9) No answer.

Constitutional priority?
Q.36: Two opposite standpoints appear in connection with the drafting of the [federal] Constitution. Which of them do you agree with most? Response options: (1) Constitutions for the two republics [Czech and Slovak], which would best express the interests of the two nations, should be drafted prior to creating a [federal] constitution for the whole state where the latter would only include things that

acceptable to both republics; (2) The [federal] constitution for the state should be created first, and the national constitutions would only deal with the specificities of the [Czech and Slovak] republics, (9) No answer.

Right for independence in the constitution?
Q.52: Do you think that the right for independence for each of the republics should be explicitly laid down in the constitution? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (9) No answer.

Who decides dissolution of the federation?
Q.53: Who, in your opinion, can decide upon the withdrawal of one of the republics from the federation? Response options: (1) Members of parliament elected in free elections, (2) Citizens in a referendum, (9) No answer.

Dissolution decision?
Q.54: Do you agree with the view that a decision taken by any one of the republics alone should be sufficient for its becoming independent, or should such a decision be approved by both republics? Response options: (1) A decision by one republic alone is sufficient, (2) Both republics must approve, (9) No answer.

Section C: Nationality problems; relations between the Czech and Slovak republics (Questions 54–93)

Dissolution of Czechoslovakia?
Q.77: If you consider all the circumstances, are you in favour of two separate states being formed instead of the present single one? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) rather so, (3) Rather not, (4) No, (9) No answer.

Recall party choice in the first democratic elections of June 1990
Q.23: Can you please tell us to whom you gave your vote in the June 1990 elections to the Federal Parliament? The response options were the following.

   1 Civic Forum (OF)
   2 Public Against Violence (VPN)
   3 Communist Party (KSČ)
   4 Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)
   5 Christian Democratic Party (KDU)
   6 Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL)
   7 Slovak National Party (SNS)
   8 Movement for Autonomous Democracy – Association for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS)
   9 Democratic Party (DS)
   10 Green Party (SZ)
   11 Social Democratic Party (SD)
   12 Coexistence (a coalition of national minorities, ESWMK)
   13 Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH)
   14 Alliance of Peasants and Countryside (SZV)
   18 Electoral list of interest associations (VSZS)
   19 Friends of Beer Party (SPP)
   20 Freedom Party (SS)
   21 Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS)
   22 Movement for Civic Freedom (HOS)
   23 Freedom Block (SB)
   24 Club of Engaged Non-Party Members (KAN)
   25 Romani (Rómovia)
   26 Movement of Czechoslovakian Understanding (HČSP)
   27 Association for the Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC)
   28 Other party
   29 Personalities
   97 I will not vote
   98 Don't know
   99 No answer

For more details about the parties that contested the Czechoslovak elections of 1990, and their success among the Czech and Slovak electorates, see Rose and Munro (2009: 87-97).

Party Systems and Electoral Alignments in East Central Europe Survey, Autumn 1992 module, Czech wave (n=815)

Q.1: To what extent would you say you are interested in politics? Response options: (1) A great deal, (2) To some extent, (3) Not much, (4) Not at all, (9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.2: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Czechoslovakia? Response options: (1) Very satisfied, (2) Fairly satisfied, (3) Not very satisfied, (4) Not satisfied at all, (9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.3: When you have a firm/clear opinion on a political question, how often does it happen that you try to convince your friends, relatives or fellow workers about your opinion? Response options: (1) Frequently, (2) Occasionally (sometimes, from time to time, but not rarely), (3) Never, (9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.4: When you get together with your friends, do you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never? Response options: (1) frequently, (2) occasionally or sometimes, etc., but not rarely, (3) Never, 9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.5: Did you participate in the Czechoslovak elections of June 1992? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (3) Respondent was not eligible at that time, (9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.12: To the best of your knowledge, which parties are the government parties today? Country specific codes were used. Note, in the Czechoslovakia Q12a records the first mention, Q12b the second, and so on.

Q.13: And which are the Czechoslovak parliamentary opposition parties? Country specific codes were used.

Q.15: How much attention do you feel the Czechoslovak national government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do? Response options: (1) A good deal, (2) Some attention, (3) Not much, or almost nothing, (9) Don't know / no answer.

Q.16: Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Response options: (1) Definitely agree, (2) Rather agree, (3) Rather disagree, and (4) Definitely disagree, (9) Don't know / no answer.
a. In elections in Czechoslovakia voters have a real choice.
b. Generally speaking, those we elect to parliament lose touch with the people pretty quickly.
j. People like me have no say in what government does.
l. Parties are interested only in people's votes not in their opinions.

Q.17 L: I am going to read some political goals. Please, tell me after each, which party or parties in Czechoslovakia you think really wish to reach these goals. You can name a maximum of three parties in each case. Then, I am going to ask you which party you think is the least likely to pursue that goal. Please, consider every party operating in our country, not only those which we talked about earlier.
T. Achieve a rapid separation of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Q.18: Now, I would like to ask you how important each of the above political goals are for you personally. Please answer when one of them is very important for you, answer with a '5', and if it is not important for you at all, answer with '1', and so on. Note the statements were the same as those used in the previous question.

Q.20: In political matters, people sometimes talk of left, centre left, centre right, and right. On this scale (SHOW CARD) '1' means left, and '7' means right. Can you place yourself on this scale? If yes, where?

Left						Right	DK/NA
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

Q.21: Sometimes people also talk of conservative and liberal. If '1' on the above card means liberal and '7' means conservative, where would you place yourself on this scale? SHOW CARD.

Liberal						Conservative	DK/NA
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

Table A3.1: Inventory of surveys with political knowledge questions fielded in the Czech Republic, 1967–2015

No.	Survey name	Date	N	Number of items	Notes
1	Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey	June 1–30, 1967	1167	16	Study of young adults, 15–40 yrs.
2	Independent Survey of Public of Public Opinion (Zdeněk Strmiska and Jiřina Šiklová)	1985–1986	382	15	Non-representative sample
3	Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA)	Nov. 1990	2548	5	Post-election survey
4	Party Systems and Electoral Alignments in East Central Europe Surveys	Autumn 1992, Spring & Autumn 1993–1995	815, ≈1000	4–8	International survey
5	Czech National Election Study (CNES) fielded by STEM	June 9–19, 1996	1229	3	Post-election survey
6	Civic Education Study (CIVED)	1999	3607	40	Study of high school students
7	Czech National Election Study (CNES) fielded by CVVM	July 21–August 1, 2002	944	6	Post-election survey
8	Eurobarometer	Bi-annually since 2004	≈1000	3	International survey
9	Naše společnost (Our Society) Centre for Public Opinion Research (CVVM)	May 8–25, 2006	2005	9	Pre-election survey
10	Czech National Election Study (CNES) fielded by CVVM	June 9–21, 2006	2002	10	Post-election survey
11	ISSP Role of Government module	Oct. 19 – Nov. 27, 2006	1201	9	International survey
12	Naše společnost (Our Society) Centre for Public Opinion Research (CVVM)	May 12–19, 2008	1066	7	Political attitudes survey for events of 1968 and 1989
13	Naše společnost (Our Society) Centre for Public Opinion Research (CVVM)	July 1–31, 2008	551	6	Panel survey of media use and political attitudes
14	European Election Study (EES)	June 7–27, 2009	1020	7	International post-election survey
15	International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS)	2009	4630	40	Study of high school students
16	Czech National Election Study (CNES) fielded by CVVM	July 1–31, 2010	1857	10	Post-election survey
17	Naše společnost (Our Society) Centre for Public Opinion Research (CVVM)	November 5–12, 2012	1267	8	Study of political knowledge
18	Czech Presidential Election Study (CPES) fielded by CVVM	February 2–13, 2013	1060	6	Post-election survey
19	Czech National Election Study (CNES) fielded by CVVM	Oct. 28 – Nov. 11, 2013	1653	10	Post-election survey
20	European Election Study (EES)	May 30 – June 23, 2014	1177	6	International post-election survey
21	CHPS pre-test survey fielded by CVVM*	November 2014	1085	19	Omnibus survey, 5 fact items and 14 visual
22	Czech Household Panel Survey (CHPS), wave 1 fielded by Median and Stem-Mark*	July 7 – November 30 2015	7172	10	Household survey

Source: author

Note that this is a non-exhaustive list of surveys that have included factual political knowledge (quiz) questions in Czechoslovakia / Czech Republics over the last five decades. This listing is an underestimate of the census of knowledge questions asked over the decades. Additional types of knowledge questions relating to science, environment and consumer affairs have been asked by Eurobarometer and other domestic and international organisations. * These data are not examined in this book as they are the subject of additional research. CHPS wave 1 contains political knowledge items (factual and visual) for adults (18 years or more), youths (15–17 years), and children (10–14 years).

Table A3.2: Overview of the nature of political knowledge questions fielded in national surveys in the Czech Republic, 1996−2013

Classification	Percentage
(a) Topic of knowledge items	
Institutional	50
Foreign	33
Public officials	11
Other	6
(b) Form of knowledge questions	
Closed items	85
Open questions	15
(c) Type of knowledge indicator	
General knowledge	79
Names	13
Numerical	8

Source: author

Note these estimates are based on a classification of the content of all political knowledge questions asked in post-elections surveys, and selected inter-election polls, fielded between 1996 and 2013.

Table A3.3: Socio-demographic profile of political knowledge during the first democratic elections in June 1990

Socio-demographics	Czechs				Slovaks			
	n	Low	Med	High	n	Low	Med	High
Age cohort:								
15–24 years	226	23	**48**	**29**	121	23	36	40
25–34 years	299	**14**	40	**46**	158	**15**	38	47
35–44 years	465	19	41	40	229	19	35	46
45–54 years	222	19	38	43	105	22	35	43
55–64 years	331	24	40	37	157	24	34	42
65 years+	157	25	40	35	55	**36**	36	**27**
Sex:								
Male	820	**15**	**38**	46	405	**18**	35	**46**
Female	884	**25**	**44**	**32**	431	**25**	36	**39**
Education:								
Primary	519	**34**	**45**	**20**	283	**39**	38	**23**
Lower secondary	657	18	**45**	38	260	19	41	40
Upper secondary	390	**11**	37	**52**	213	**8**	36	**57**
Tertiary	137	**5**	**20**	**75**	78	**5**	**14**	**81**
Married:								
Yes	1225	20	41	39	597	20	36	44
No	478	22	41	37	239	26	35	39
Employment status:								
Employed	1321	**19**	42	39	648	**20**	**38**	42
Retired	271	24	39	37	112	**33**	32	35
Other (not working)	112	24	40	36	76	22	**24**	54
Occupation:								
Unskilled worker	351	**30**	46	**25**	168	**29**	43	**28**
Skilled worker	292	**14**	47	39	124	**28**	39	**33**
Routine non manual	270	21	43	36	135	**10**	41	49
Professional	222	**8**	**34**	59	107	**10**	**24**	65
TOTAL	*1704*	*20*	*41*	*39*	*836*	*22*	*36*	*42*

Source: AISA, post-election survey, November 1990, n=2540
Note that the top horizontal row refers to level of knowledge (i.e. low, med [medium] or high). The political knowledge scale was constructed using an IRT (2PL) model where the resulting scores were divided into three groups: low, medium, and high. Married refers to those who are married or cohabiting versus all others such as single, divorced or widowed. Estimates in bold indicate that the number is statistically significantly greater (p≤.05) than the total estimate given at the bottom of the table. For example, those with the highest levels of political knowledge tended to have tertiary or university level education (75%): a rate higher than that observed in the general population (39%). Conversely, estimates in bold and underlined indicate below average are significantly lower (p≤.05) than the total estimate for the entire sample.

Table A3.4: Association between political attitudes and party preferences and level of political knowledge in first democratic elections, 1990

Political attitudes & preferences	Czechs				Slovaks			
	n	Low	Med	High	n	Low	Med	High
Satisfaction with politics:								
Very dissatisfied	168	26	40	34	161	23	35	42
Rather dissatisfied	738	21	41	38	403	20	36	44
Rather satisfied	705	18	42	40	240	24	35	41
Very satisfied	91	20	34	46	30	17	43	40
Political expectations:								
Only change in office holders	258	**32**	41	**28**	226	**32**	35	**32**
Long phase before democracy	862	**18**	**44**	37	387	**16**	36	**48**
Steady progress to democracy	548	**17**	**36**	**47**	204	21	35	44
Political efficacy:								
None	1030	**23**	42	**35**	559	**24**	35	41
Little	399	**17**	42	42	173	18	38	45
Some	271	17	**35**	**48**	102	17	36	47
Party choice in June 1990:								
Civic Forum (OF)	936	**18**	41	41	NA	NA	NA	NA
Public against Violence (VPN)	NA	NA	NA	NA	259	**15**	**42**	42
Communist Party (KSČ)	138	22	43	35	123	19	28	**53**
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	NA	NA	NA	NA	116	28	40	**32**
Slovak National Party (SNS)	NA	NA	NA	NA	102	19	33	48
HSD-SMS	154	24	47	**29**	NA	NA	NA	NA
Green Party (SZ)	70	13	43	44	25	16	36	48
Social Democracy (SD)	73	18	36	47	16	19	**6**	**75**
Other parties	267	**25**	37	38	144	**31**	34	35
Did not vote	60	27	45	28	51	29	33	37
TOTAL	*1704*	*20*	*41*	*39*	*836*	*22*	*36*	*42*

Source: AISA, post-election survey, November 1990, n=2540
Note that HSD-SMS is an acronym for the 'Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia. Estimates in bold indicate that the number is statistically significantly greater (p≤.05) than the total estimate given at the bottom of the table. Conversely, estimates in bold and underlined indicate below average are significantly lower (p≤.05) than the total estimate for the entire sample. See note of table A3.7 for more details.

Appendix for Chapter 4

Table A4.1: Level of political knowledge across different regime types, 1967 –1970

Knowledge questions	Response	Czechs	FRG	Spain	Britain	Norway	Netherlands	Finland	Slovenes	Slovaks	Total
Czechoslovakia in WT	Incorrect	1	3	3	26	15	10	13	6	3	8
	DK/NA	2	11	73	24	8	26	37	34	2	29
	Correct	97	86	23	50	77	65	50	60	95	63
Denmark in NATO	Incorrect	33	23	7	21	3	19	20	19	40	19
	DK/NA	35	22	79	21	3	24	33	49	28	37
	Correct	33	55	14	58	94	58	48	33	33	44
Finland neutral	Incorrect	1	5	4	13	4	13	2	3	3	5
	DK/NA	47	43	88	64	29	51	37	72	46	57
	Correct	52	53	8	23	67	36	61	25	51	37
France in NATO	Incorrect	28	25	9	20	27	35	20	28	23	22
	DK/NA	13	10	69	15	7	13	31	35	10	27
	Correct	59	65	21	65	66	52	49	37	68	51
West Germany in NATO	Incorrect	5	2	4	15	6	5	16	4	6	6
	DK/NA	5	4	72	16	6	13	31	30	5	25
	Correct	90	94	25	69	88	82	53	66	89	69
Italy in NATO	Incorrect	19	6	5	26	32	14	28	3	24	14
	DK/NA	27	12	74	24	10	22	42	32	22	33
	Correct	54	82	21	50	58	64	30	65	54	54
Netherlands in NATO	Incorrect	32	7	4	23	15	2	23	12	40	14
	DK/NA	32	14	77	24	9	10	38	47	31	35
	Correct	36	79	19	53	76	88	39	41	29	52
Norway in NATO	Incorrect	39	26	6	26	0	20	12	19	45	20
	DK/NA	34	26	79	24	2	22	33	50	28	39
	Correct	28	49	14	51	97	58	56	32	27	42
Poland in WT	Incorrect	1	1	2	14	10	5	6	3	2	4
	DK/NA	2	6	72	18	7	18	28	27	2	25
	Correct	97	92	26	68	84	78	66	71	97	71
USSR in WT	Incorrect	1	2	4	35	13	9	9	5	1	8
	DK/NA	2	6	70	18	8	16	26	27	2	24
	Correct	97	92	27	47	79	75	66	69	97	68
Spain neutral	Incorrect	40	31	8	34	30	24	23	36	37	27
	DK/NA	30	30	71	25	13	27	40	44	25	38
	Correct	30	40	21	41	57	49	37	20	38	35
Sweden neutral	Incorrect	17	23	13	53	15	49	16	21	17	25
	DK/NA	26	25	80	22	5	25	29	44	24	37
	Correct	57	53	7	25	80	27	55	35	59	39
Switzerland neutral	Incorrect	6	8	6	34	17	23	13	7	9	13
	DK/NA	20	16	78	21	11	21	33	34	17	33
	Correct	74	76	15	46	72	56	54	59	74	54
UK in NATO	Incorrect	6	4	3	7	2	5	8	2	5	4
	DK/NA	9	8	72	12	5	12	31	29	6	26
	Correct	84	88	25	82	93	83	61	70	90	70
USA in NATO	Incorrect	6	3	4	11	4	5	10	2	4	5
	DK/NA	5	7	70	12	4	11	30	26	3	24
	Correct	89	90	27	77	92	84	60	73	94	71
Yugoslavia neutral	Incorrect	18	48	23	58	63	58	43	11	21	38
	DK/NA	19	19	74	25	9	24	36	25	15	33
	Correct	63	33	3	17	28	18	22	64	64	29

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 surveys, 1967 –1970
Note that national estimates are column percentages that sum to 100% subject to rounding error. WT refers to Warsaw Treaty military alliance members and DK/NA indicates 'don't know / no answer' responses. FRG refers to the Federal Republic of (West) Germany.

Appendix for Chapter 5

Dependent variable: national knowledge of military alliance membership
Q30: I am going to read out a list of countries. Can you tell me for each one whether it belongs to NATO, to the Warsaw Treaty, or to neither of these? Response options: (1) NATO, (2) Warsaw Treaty, (3) Neither, (9) Don't know (DK), no answer (NA), Note that the correct answer to each knowledge item plus year of entrance to NATO or the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is indicated below in square parentheses.

Q30a Czechoslovakia [Warsaw Treaty]; Q30b Denmark [NATO, 1949]; Q30c Finland [Neither]; Q30d France [NATO, 1949]; Q30e Federal Republic of Germany [NATO, 1955]; Q30f Italy [NATO, 1949]; Q30g Netherlands [NATO, 1949]; Q30h Norway [NATO, 1949]; Q30i Poland [Warsaw Treaty]; Q30j Soviet Union [Warsaw Treaty]; Q30k Spain [Neither]; Q30l Sweden [Neither]; Q30m Switzerland [Neither]; Q30n United Kingdom [NATO, 1949]; Q30o USA [NATO, 1949]; Q30p Yugoslavia [Neither].

These 16 items were recoded to correct (1). All other non-correct responses were coded as zero. These dichotomous items were then used to estimate a two-part logistic item response theory model (2PL IRT) for each of the 8 countries examined. The latent knowledge scores (or thetas) from this model were subsequently used as the dependent variable in the regression models reported in this and other chapters.

Interest in politics (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following three variables / questions:

- V3 / Q1: How much would you say that you think about the future of your country in the year 2000? Response options: (1) very much, (2) Some, (3) A little, (4) Not at all, (9) DK/NA
- V4 / Q2: How much would you say that you think about the future of the whole world in the year 2000? Response options: (1) very much, (2) Some, (3) A little, (4) Not at all, (9) DK/NA
- V6 / Q4: How often would you say that you talk with somebody about the future of your country or the world? Response options: (1) Never, (2) Less than once a month, (3) Once a month, (4) Once a week, (5) More often, (9) DK/NA

The first two variables were reversed and rescaled to 0–1 range so that 0 represents not at all (missing values were also included into this category) and 1 represents very much. The third variable (V6) was also rescaled to 0–1 range when 0 means never (missing values were also included into this category) and 1 means more often than once a week. A summated rating scale was created from these three items (Cronbach's alpha=.76, computed using data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to the standard 0–1 range, where zero (0) implies the lowest interest in politics and '1' the highest interest in politics.

Policy dissatisfaction (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following five variables questions that were recoded as follows.
- V154 / Q33: Do the older generation promote domestic progress and development or do they hold back progress and development? Response options: (1) Promote progress, (2) Do not promote progress, (9) DK/NA
- V156 / Q35: Will the younger generation promote domestic progress and development more than the older generation? Response options: (1) More, (2) About the same, (3) They will be worse than the older generation of today, (9) DK/NA
- V157 / Q36: Who do you think has the most realistic view of the world today? Response options: (1) Older generation, (2) Younger generation, (9) DK/NA
- V159 / Q38a: Do you think that you personally have too little, adequate, or too much influence on public affairs in your country? Response options: (1) Too little, (2) Adequate, (3) too much influence, (9) DK/NA [reverse coded]
- V160 / Q38b: Do you think that the younger generation in general has too little, enough, or too much influence on public affairs in your country? Response options: (1) Too little, (2) Enough, (3) Too much influence, (9) DK/NA [reverse coded]

All of these variables / questions were rescaled to have a 0–1 range. The coding of the last two variables (V159 and V160) was also reversed so that code '1' represents the opinion that the respondent has too little influence on public affairs (V159); the younger generation has too little influence on public affairs (V160) whereas code zero (0) represents the opinion that respondent has too much influence on public affairs (V159); and the younger generation has too much influence on public affairs (V160). Missing values were coded as zero (0), i.e. implying policy satisfaction. A summated rating scale was created from these five items (Cronbach's alpha=.54, computed using data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to the standard 0–1 range where 0 implies policy satisfaction and 1 implies policy dissatisfaction.

Dogmatism scale (Rokeach)
The Rokeach dogmatism scale attempted to measure 'pure' authoritarianism, regardless of whether respondents had a left or right-wing orientation. Specifically, this dogmatism scale aimed to measure 'closed mindedness' independently of ideology (Rokeach 1948, 1956, 1960 and 1973). Nonetheless, dogmatism does appear to be linked with political conservatism (Smithers and Lobley 1978). Later, research by Tetlock (1984) found that right-wing beliefs are associated with less sophisticated political views (i.e. cognitive complexity) than their left-wing counterparts. It seems that individuals with moderate liberal attitudes had the most sophisticated cognitions. In the Images of the World in the Year 2000 survey the Rokeach dogmatism scale was constructed using the following fourteen items.

Question wording: Below are a number of statements about different things. We want to know for each statement if you agree or disagree with the statement or if you feel uncertain about it. Response options: (1) Agree, (2) Disagree, (9) DK/NA.

- V130 / Q31a: In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.
- V131 / Q31b: It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or a cause that life becomes meaningful.
- V132 / Q31c: Of all the different philosophies which exist in the world there is probably only one which is correct.
- V133 / Q31d: A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty 'wishy-washy' sort of person.
- V134 / Q31e: To compromise with our opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.
- V135 / Q31f: The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.
- V136 / Q31g: A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.
- V137 / Q31h: In this complicated world the only way we can know what is going on is to rely on trusted leaders or experts.
- V138 / Q31i: It is often desirable to reserve judgement about what is going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.
- V139 / Q31j: In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
- V142 / q31m: The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
- V143 / q31n: It is by returning to our glorious and forgotten past that real social progress can be achieved.
- V144 / q31o: To achieve the happiness of mankind in the future it is sometimes necessary to put up with injustices in the present.
- V145 / q31p: If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble 'all or nothing at all'.

All of these items were rescaled to 0–1 range where agreement with each of these statements was coded as '1' and disagreement was coded as zero (0). The uncertain (2) response option and missing values were coded as 0.5. A summated rating scale was created from these fourteen items (Cronbach's alpha=.72, computed with data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to the standard 0–1 range, where zero (0) implies not being dogmatic (i.e. disagreeing with all fourteen statements) and '1' implies being dogmatic (i.e. agreeing with all fourteen statements).

Interpersonal trust – attitudinal (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following three items. Question wording: What do you think will be the situation in your country by the year 2000? Response options: (1) More, (2) about as now, (3) less, (9) DK/NA.

- V30 / Q13g: Do you think that people will be more kind or less kind to each other than they are today?
- V33 / Q13j: Do you think that people will be more attached or less attached to their families than they are today?
- V34 / Q13k: Do you think that there will be more divorce or less divorce than there is today?

Response options: (1) more, (2) about as now, (3) less and codes for missing values. These three variables were rescaled to 0–1 range so that response options more kind/more attached were coded as 1 and less kind/less attached were coded as zero (0). Moreover, the scale of the third variable (V34) was also reversed: there will be more divorce by the year 2000 was coded as zero (0), and there will be less divorce was coded as '1'. Missing values were coded as 0. A summated rating scale was created from these three standardized items (Cronbach's alpha=.49; computed from data for 7 countries – the items for this scale were not asked in Britain). This scale was then adjusted to 0–1 range where zero (0) implies attitudes associated with low level of trust whereas 1 implies attitudes associated with high level of trust.

Interpersonal trust – structural (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following three items.

- V170 / Q47: How many people were there in the household of the family where you grew up?
- V173 / Q50: Were you the only child or did you have older or younger brothers and sisters?
- V179 / Q56: How many people are there in your present household?

All these variables were rescaled to 0–1 range. Variables V170 and V179 are numeric and their original values ranged up to nine (the numeric code 9 represents nine or more people in the household). With variable V173, being the only child was coded as zero (0) and all other responses were coded as '1'. A summated rating scale was created from these three standardized items (Cronbach's alpha=.54; computed using data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to 0–1 range where zero (0) implies a low level of structural interpersonal trust, whereas '1' implies a high level.

Trust in the country (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following four items. Response options: '1' (i.e. the worst possible present/past/future) to '9' (i.e. the best possible present /past /future).

- V16 / Q11a: Where do you feel that your country is standing at the present time?
- V17 / Q11b: Where would you say it was standing five years ago?
- V18 / Q11c: Where do you think it will be standing five years from now?
- V19 / Q11d: Where do you think it will be standing in the year 2000?

These four items were rescaled to 0–1 range so that 0 represents the worst possible state and 1 represents the best possible state. Missing values were coded as 0. A summated rating scale was created from these four standardized items (Cronbach's alpha=.77; computed using data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to the standard 0–1 range where 0 implies low level of trust in the country and 1 implies high level of trust in the country.

Trust in current national leadership (scale)
This scale was constructed based on answers to the following five items:
- V153 / Q32: 'When you think of the older generation (people older than 50 years) in your country, do you find that they cooperate well with people in other countries?' (1) cooperate well together, (2) do not cooperate well
- V154 / Q33: 'Do the older generation promote domestic progress and development or do they hold back progress and development?' (1) promote progress, (2) do not promote progress [reverse coded]

- V155 / Q34: 'When the younger generation grow older, do you think, they will cooperate better, about the same, or worse with people in other countries than the older generation?' (1) better, (2) about the same, (3) worse
- V156 / Q35: 'The younger generation will promote domestic progress more, about as much or less than the older generation?' (1) more, (2) about as much, (3) less [reverse coded]
- V157 / Q36: 'Who do you think has the most realistic view of the world today, the younger generation or the older generation?' (1) younger generation, (2) older generation [reverse coded]

These items were recoded to standard 0–1 range. The recoding was performed so that the new code '1' would represent the expressed trust in the older generation of national leaders and code zero (0) would represent the opposite condition. Therefore, coding of the following three variables had to be reversed:

- V154 / Q33: (older generation promotes progress coded as '1' and do not promote progress coded as zero (0))
- V156 / Q35: (the younger generation promotes progress about as much or less than older generation coded as '1'; the younger generation promoting progress more than older generation coded as zero (0))
- V157 / Q36: (older generation having more realistic view coded as '1' and younger generation having more realistic view coded as zero (0))

Missing values of all items were recoded as zero (0). A summated rating scale was created from these five standardized items (Cronbach's alpha=.54; computed using data from 8 countries). This scale was then adjusted to the standard 0–1 range where 0 implies low level of trust in current national leadership and 1 implies high level of trust in the current national leadership.

Member of a political group
Question wording: 'Are you a member of a political organization?' Response options: (1) no, (2) yes, passive member, (3) yes, active member and codes for missing values. The variable was recoded to 0–1 range so that respondents answering negatively (and missing values) have code zero (0), passive members have code 0.5 and active members are coded as '1'.

Education
Question wording: 'Which is the highest school you have completed?' Response options: (1) primary, (2) secondary, (3) vocational, (4) grammar (others), (5) university degree and codes for missing values. Due to the differences in the national education systems, this variable was recoded to distinguish only between three education levels: primary or less (including missing values), secondary (secondary, vocational and grammar) and tertiary. As usual, the variable was rescaled to 0–1 range (i.e. 0 - primary or less, 0.5 - secondary, (1) tertiary). The education variable is not available for Britain.

Age
Question wording: 'What is your age?' Response options: (1) 15–17 years, (2) 18–20 years, (3) 21–23 years, (4) 24–26 years, (5) 27–29 years, (6) 30–32 years, (7) 33–35 years, (8) 36–38 years, (9) 39–40 years. The variable was rescaled to 0–1 range so that 0 represents being between 15 and 17 years old and 1 represents being 39 or 40 years old. For convenience' sake, the missing values were coded as 0 (this was only the case of 9 respondents in the whole merged dataset). The age variable is not available for data from the Netherlands.

Sex
The sex of respondent was filled in by the interviewers. Originally, males were coded as '1' and females were coded as '2'. After the standardization to 0–1 coding, females are represented by code '1' and men are represented by code zero (0). There were no missing values. The sex variable is not available in the dataset for the Netherlands.

Level of religious belief
Question wording: 'As to religion, would you call yourself a believer? Do you practice religion?' Response options: (1) believe and practice, (2) believe, not practice, (3) practice, not believe, (4) neither believe, nor practice and codes for missing values. The variable was rescaled to standard 0–1 range based on the following coding scheme: 0 – neither believe, nor practice (and missing values); 0.33 practice, not believe; 0.66 believe, not practice; and 1.00 believe and practice. The level of religious belief is not available in the Netherlands and West Germany (FRG).

Socio-Economic status
Question wording: 'What is your present occupation (position)?' Response options: (1) student, apprentice; (2) worker, unskilled; (3) worker, skilled; (4) lower white collar; (5) higher white collar; (6) executive, manager, engineer, professional; (7) independent, self-employed; (8) housewife, domestic work; (9) unemployed, retired. For the purpose of regression modelling, two dichotomized variables (worker and student) were created from this socio-economic status variable as follows.

Worker
Unskilled and skilled workers (coded as '1') vs. everybody else (coded as zero)

Student
Students or apprentices (coded as '1') vs. everybody else (coded as zero)

The following two diagnostic tests reveal that the two knowledge models have different problems. These deviations from the assumptions of OLS regression modelling are not so severe as to invalidate the models reported in later chapters.

Objective political knowledge model in Table 5.5:
Breusch-Pagan / Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity
Ho: Constant variance
Variables: fitted values of objective knowledge
$chi^2(1) = 30.69$; Prob > chi^2 = <.001

Missing variable bias or model misspecification
Ramsey Regression Equation Specification Error Test (RESET) test using powers of the fitted values for the objective knowledge variable
Ho: model has no omitted variables
$F(3,1163) = 2.13$; Prob > F = .094

Subjective political knowledge model in Table 5.5:
Breusch-Pagan / Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity
Ho: Constant variance
Variables: fitted values of subjective knowledge
$chi^2(1) = 1.91$; Prob > chi^2 = .167

Missing variable bias or model misspecification
Ramsey Regression Equation Specification Error Test (RESET) test using powers of the fitted values for the subjective knowledge variable
Ho: model has no omitted variables
$F(3,1163) = 5.45$; Prob > F = .001

Figure A5.1: Distribution of the knowledge variables

(a) Distribution of the objective political knowledge among Czechs in June 1967
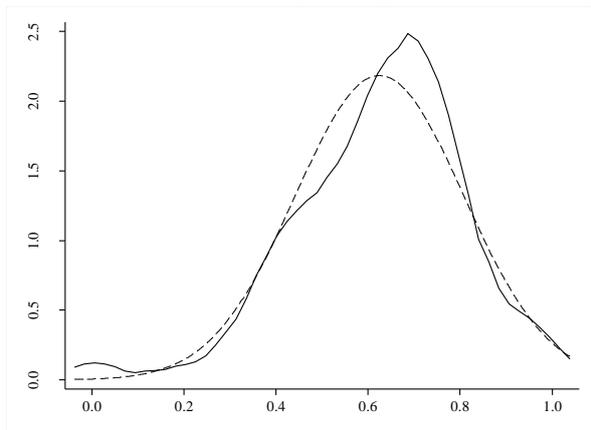
(b) Distribution of subjective political knowledge among Czechs in June 1967
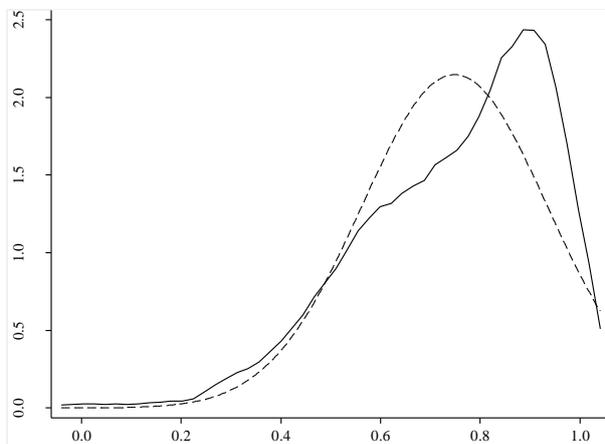
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Surveys, Czechoslovak wave, June 1967 (n=1187)
Note these kernel density estimates show how normal (or Gaussian) are the distributions of the two dependent variables used in this chapter. The dotted lines indicate a normal distribution. The objective knowledge (IRT) scale on the left above is reasonably close to being normally distributed. The subjective knowledge based on Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) loadings is much more left-skewed with a longer tail of cases with low knowledge estimates.

Table A5.1: Summary statistics for models of objective and subjective knowledge

Czechs (n=853)	Mean	SE mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Objective knowledge	.62	.01	.65	.18	-.64	3.98
Subjective knowledge	.75	.01	.77	.18	-.75	3.24
Interest in politics	.44	.01	.43	.25	.16	2.29
Policy dissatisfaction	.70	.01	.67	.19	-.46	2.92
Dogmatism	.59	.01	.61	.18	-.12	2.61
Interpersonal trust (attitude)	.46	.01	.50	.33	.16	1.86
Trust in national leaders	.38	.01	.40	.26	.36	2.52
Educations	.50	<.01	.50	.12	.07	17.43
Age (rescaled 0–1)	.47	.01	.50	.30	.13	1.84
Sex (female)	.49	.02	<.01	.50	.04	1.00
Student	.13	.01	<.01	.34	2.19	5.78
Worker	.54	.02	1.00	.50	-.18	1.03
Member of political group	.25	.01	<.01	.39	1.14	2.60

Slovaks (n=324)	Mean	SE mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Objective knowledge	.63	.01	.65	.18	-.57	3.71
Subjective knowledge	.76	.01	.81	.19	-1.00	3.73
Interest in politics	.51	.01	.50	.23	.05	2.41
Policy dissatisfaction	.64	.01	.67	.19	-.32	2.86
Dogmatism	.58	.01	.57	.19	-.24	2.70
Interpersonal trust (attitude)	.38	.02	.33	.32	.43	2.10
Trust in national leaders	.42	.02	.40	.29	.23	2.30
Educations	.50	<.01	.50	.09	<.01	32.40
Age (rescaled 0–1)	.46	.02	.38	.30	.10	1.89
Sex (female)	.49	.03	<.01	.50	.05	1.00
Student	.15	.02	<.01	.35	2.02	5.06
Worker	.50	.03	.50	.50	<.01	1.00
Member of political group	.22	.02	<.01	.38	1.32	3.01

Czechoslovakia (n=1187)	Mean	SE mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Objective knowledge	.62	.01	.65	.18	-.62	3.90
Subjective knowledge	.75	.01	.78	.19	-.82	3.37
Interest in politics	.46	.01	.44	.25	.11	2.31
Policy dissatisfaction	.68	.01	.67	.19	-.42	2.88
Dogmatism	.58	.01	.57	.18	-.16	2.65
Interpersonal trust (attitude)	.44	.01	.33	.33	.24	1.90
Trust in national leaders	.39	.01	.40	.27	.33	2.46
Educations	.50	<.01	.50	.11	.06	19.97
Age (rescaled 0–1)	.47	.01	.50	.30	.13	1.85
Sex (female)	.49	.01	<.01	.50	.04	1.00
Student	.13	.01	<.01	.34	2.14	5.56
Worker	.53	.01	1.00	.50	-.13	1.02
Member of political group	.24	.01	<.01	.39	1.19	2.70

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Surveys, Czechoslovak wave, June 1967

Table A5.2: Comparison of models of the key determinants of objectives and subjective political knowledge in Czechoslovakia

Explanations	Objective B	Objective Sig	Subjective B	Subjective Sig
Motivation:				
Interest in politics	**.09**	<.001	**-.05**	.015
Policy dissatisfaction	**.19**	<.001	.05	.240
Dogmatism	**-.07**	.007	.01	.709
Interpersonal trust – attitudinal	**-.04**	.019	.01	.494
Trust in national leadership	**.09**	.001	**.05**	.085
Ability:				
Education	.08	.103	**-.10**	.033
Opportunity:				
Age	**.04**	.063	-.03	.194
Sex: female=1	**-.10**	<.001	**.02**	.053
Student	<.01	.934	-.01	.723
Worker	**-.05**	<.001	-.01	.648
Member of a political group	**.03**	.034	<.01	.918
Intercept	.49	<.001	.77	<.001
Model fit:				
R²	.17		.02	
Adj. R²	.16		.01	
Log likelihood	442		324	
Akaike Information Criterion	-860		-624	
Bayesian Information Criterion	-799		-563	

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 surveys, Czechoslovak wave, June 1967, n=1187

Note that the two dependent variables, objective and subjective political knowledge, are defined as follows. Objective political knowledge otherwise known as factual or objective knowledge refers to scales derived from the correct answers to questions coded for their factual correctness. Subjective political knowledge also known as cultural consensus knowledge is a scale estimated from the degree to which a respondent's answer to a knowledge question agrees with the answers of all other respondents. The dependent variable is level of objective political knowledge operationalised using a 2 part logistic (Item Response Theory, IRT) model of correct versus all other responses (i.e. incorrect and don't know) for 16 knowledge questions relating to membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, NATO or being non-aligned. Parameters are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS) with robust standard errors, i.e. Huber-White sandwich estimators. All variables have been rescaled to 0-1 in order to facilitate comparison across variables. To assist comparison across country models all coefficients are unstandardized. This model is the same as that reported in Table 5.5.

Appendix for Chapter 6

Evaluation of Candidates' Appearance
The key research question here is the ability of voters to compensate for lack of information when selecting candidates in an election. Comparison is made between voters who could in theory have known lots about the candidates such as their party, policy platform, political experience, etc. and respondents in a survey who only have the candidates' ballot photo on which to make a choice (note, Bull and Hawkes 1982; Ballew II and Todorov 2007; Banducci et al. 2008; Hall et al. 2009; Spezio et al. 2008). If respondents using a facial evaluation are able to predict the winning candidates this implies that many of the voters in the election may have used a similar strategy. In other words, both voters and survey respondents use a visual evaluation to make a political choice in the absence of information or knowledge (Lawson et al. 2011; Lenz and Lawson 2011. The key assumption here is that most voters are uniformed and have low levels of knowledge – a position that matches with the results of previous research (Converse 1964; Carpini and Keeter 1996; Althaus 2003). In fact, a similarly high level or predictive accuracy can be obtained with children suggesting adult voters are making choices indistinguishable from children and political experience is not very important for most voters (Antonakis and Dalgas 2009).

This battery of questions is composed of ten pairs of candidate ballot photographs used in the Irish General Election of February 25 2011. Each of these photos (along with the party logo if appropriate) was available on the ballot paper when citizens cast their vote in the polling booth. Consequently, Czech respondents will examine the same photos as Irish voters. However, Czechs will have no information about the candidates except the visual cues in the photo. The goal is to see how many winning candidates the Czech respondents are able to correctly select. Each pair of candidate photos from the same constituency and contains the photo of the candidate elected first with the most votes and in most cases the last elected candidate typically from a different party. In other words, respondents are presented with photos of candidates and asked to rate them on the basis of perceived competence using a 'facial evaluation' (for a general overview of this research field see, Albohn and Adams Jnr. 2016).

Previous research reveals that perceived competence is the strongest component of candidate evaluation (Todorov et al. 2005: 1625, fn.10; note also valence theory and Clarke et al. 2009; Sanders et al. 2011). Moreover, one experimental study shows voters are able to correctly identify the left-right ideology of an unknown political candidate using only a facial photo (Samochowiec, Wänke and Fiedler 2010; Rule and Ambady 2010). Within psychology the use of simple rules to make choices in the absence of information is called heuristics and the facial evaluation relates to research on 'representativeness' and 'availability' heuristic mechanisms. Use of heuristics has the advantage of being swift, but is also susceptible to making mistakes (Hart et al. 2011; Olivola and Todorov 2010a,b).

Implicit Knowledge Scale
Note that the question wording below is based on a dichotomised version of Armstrong et al. (2010), see also http://www.sethjhill.com/faces/facesExample.htm

Question wording: Now, I would like you to examine on CARD X some photographs that are grouped into 10 pairs labelled A and B. Please imagine for a moment that these are pairs of candidates competing against each other in an election. Although, you have never seen these candidates before and know nothing about them please look at the first pair of photographs for a moment. Then please indicate which candidate you consider to be the most <u>COMPETENT</u>. This is not a test of skill or knowledge but an examination of your evaluation of candidate photos. Please answer as honestly and as quickly you can.

Is candidate in photo 1A or 1B the most COMPETENT?

Now, please turn your attention to the next pair of photographs and indicate once again which candidate you consider to be most COMPETENT?

Candidate ballot photo question – Czech version implemented
Nyní bych Vás poprosil, abyste se pozorně podíval na fotografie na předložených kartách. Fotografie jsou seskupeny do deseti dvojic a každá fotografie je označena buď jako A nebo jako B. Prosím Vás, abyste si představil, že tyto páry představují kandidáty, kteří proti sobě stojí ve volbách. Ačkoli jste

nikdy předtím neviděl tyto kandidáty a nic o nich nevíte, podívejte se nyní na první dvojici. Kterého kandidáta považujete za kompetentnějšího, schopnějšího? Nejedná se o test Vašich schopností či znalostí, pouze o Vaše hodnocení fotografií kandidátů. Prosím, odpovídejte na otázky bez velkého rozmýšlení. Je kompetentnější, schopnější kandidát 1A nebo 1B? POKYN: Nyní se s respondentem věnujte další dvojici fotografií 2A a 2B. Poté pokračujte dalšími dvojicemi až po 10A a 10B.

(1) Kandidát na fotografii A je kompetentnější, schopnější
(2) Kandidát na fotografii B je kompetentnější, schopnější
(7) Odmítl odpovědět
(9) Neví

Interviewer: Show card 1.
Please ensure that the respondent rates the photos in the correct order, i.e. 1, 2, 3, etc.

Item	Candidate Pairs	Face in **_Photo A_** is most competent	Face in **_Photo B_** is most competent	DK/NA
1	Candidate Pair: 1AB	1	2	9
2	Candidate Pair: 2AB	1	2	9
3	Candidate Pair: 3AB	1	2	9
4	Candidate Pair: 4AB	1	2	9
5	Candidate Pair: 5AB	1	2	9
6	Candidate Pair: 6AB	1	2	9
7	Candidate Pair: 7 AB	1	2	9
8	Candidate Pair: 8AB	1	2	9
9	Candidate Pair: 9AB	1	2	9
10	Candidate Pair: 10AB	1	2	9

CVVM Survey, November 5–12, 2012, n= 1276/1203

Note that the implicit knowledge scale was constructed by counting the number of times the respondent correctly selected the candidate who won most votes in their constituency in the Irish General Election of February 25, 2011. Some respondents (n=64) were excluded from analysis because they refused to answer any of these candidate pair comparison items.

Top polling candidates in the Irish general election (2011):
http://www.fairocracy.com/general_election_2011/full_list_of_tds_elected_to_the_31st_dail.html
Accessed (October 25 2012)

TD photographs & constituency results:
http://www.irishtimes.com/indepth/election2011/constituencies/
Accessed (October 25 2012)

Table A6.1 Information about the candidate used in the ballot photos

A1	B1*		A2*	B2
No. 3 Brendan Ryan, (Lab) Dublin North Elected 3rd count	No. 1 Dr. James Reilly, (FG) Dublin North Elected 1st count		No. 1 Michael Lowry, (Ind) Tipperary North Elected 1st count	No. 3 Alan Kelly, (Lab) Tipperary North Elected 3rd count
A3*	**B3**		**A4**	**B4***
No.1 Michael Martin, (FF) Cork South East Elected 1st count	No. 3 Simon Coveney, (FG) Cork South East Elected 3rd count		No. 3 Arthur Spring, (Lab) Kerry North – Limerick West Elected 7th count	No.1 Jimmy Deenihan, (FG) Kerry North – Limerick West Elected 1st count
A5	**B5***		**A6***	**B6**
No.3 Seán Kenny, (Lab) Dublin North East Elected 9th count	No.1 Terence Flanagan, (FG) Dublin North East Elected 1st count		No.1 Eamon Gilmore, (Lab) Dún Laoghaire Elected 1st count	No.4 Richard Boyd-Barrett, (Ind) Dún Laoghaire Elected 4th count
A7*	**B7**		**A8***	**B8**
No.1 Martin Heydon, (FG) Kildare South Elected 1st count	No.3 Seán Ó'Fearghaíl, (FF) Kildare South Elected 7th count		No.1 Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin, (SF) Cavan-Monaghan Elected 1st count	No.2 Brendan Smith, (FF) Cavan-Monaghan Elected 8th count
A9	**B9***		**A10***	**B10**
No.4 Gerald Nash, (Lab) Louth Elected 12th count	No.1 Fergus O'Dowd, (FG) Louth Elected 1st count		No.1 Mick Wallace, (Ind) Wexford Elected 1st count	No.2 Dr Liam Twomey, (FG) Wexford Elected 7th count

Source: author,

Details of these election results are available online at
https://electionsireland.org/results/general/31dail.cfm and in Donnelly (2012).

Note all candidates in the ballot photos were elected to the lower chamber (Dáil) of the Irish parliament in the election of February 25 2011. This table provides information about the candidates shown in Figure 6.1. In the figure above the first row indicates the ten ballot photo pairs, e.g. A5, B5 which refers to the fifth ballot pair; the second rows shows the ranking of the candidate in being elected, i.e. 'No. 1' indicates that the candidate was elected first while 'No. 3' indicates they were elected third; (3) the third row gives the name of the candidate with the party in parentheses; the fourth row shows the name of constituencies for which the candidates were elected; (5) the fifth row indicates when the candidate was elected during the vote counting process, i.e. during the first count, second count, etc. Ballot options (A or B) with a star (*) refer to the most successful or first candidate elected with most votes. The party acronyms are FF: Fianna Fáil; FG: Fine Gael; Lab: Labour Party; SF: Sinn Féin; Ind: Independent or non-party candidate.

Figure A6.1: Distribution of correct answers on the implicit political knowledge scale
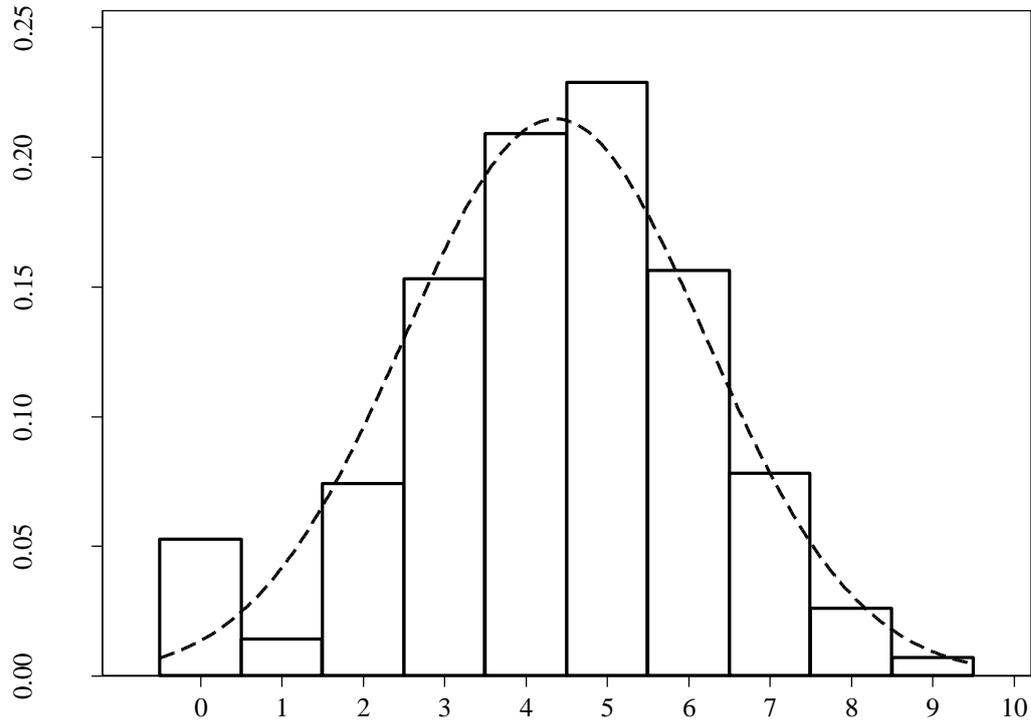
Source: CVVM Survey, November 5–12, 2012, n=1203

Note the implicit political knowledge scale is constructed from a count of correctly selecting the most popular candidate in the ballot photo task described above. A comparison of the distributions of objective, implicit and interpersonal knowledge scales (for the same data set) is presented later in the appendix for Chapter 10.

Table A6.2: Electoral success of candidates featured in the ballot photos

Pairs	Option	Candidates	First count vote	Vote difference	Total valid poll	Diff % valid poll	Predictions (%)	Diff between prediction%	Correct Predictions
1	A	Brendan Ryan (Lab)	9,809				41		
	B	**Dr. James Reilly, (FG)**	10,178	369	49,347	1	52	9	Yes
2	A	**Michael Lowry, (Ind)**	14,104				53		
	B	Alan Kelly, (Lab)	9,559	4,545	48,273	9	35	18	Yes
3	A	**Michael Martin, (FF)**	10,715				32		
	B	Simon Coveney, (FG)	9,447	1,268	64,040	2	59	27	No
4	A	Arthur Spring, (Lab)	9,159				46		
	B	**Jimmy Deenihan, (FG)**	12,304	3,145	45,614	7	44	2	No
5	A	Seán Kenny, (Lab)	4,365				44		
	B	**Terence Flanagan, (FG)**	12,332	7,967	41,839	19	47	3	Yes
6	A	**Eamon Gilmore, (Lab)**	11,468				53		
	B	Richard Boyd-Barrett, (Ind)	6,206	5,262	56,676	9	30	23	Yes
7	A	**Martin Heydon, (FG)**	12,755				53		
	B	Ó'Fearghaíl, Seán (FF)	4,514	8,241	38,270	22	34	19	Yes
8	A	**Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin, (SF)**	11,913				61		
	B	Brendan Smith, (FF)	9,702	2,211	71,275	3	27	34	No
9	A	Gerald Nash, (Lab)	8,718				39		
	B	**Fergus O'Dowd, (FG)**	13,980	5,262	69,319	8	51	12	Yes
10	A	**Mick Wallace, (Ind)**	13,329				25		
	B	Dr. Liam Twomey, (FG)	9,230	4,099	75,539	5	63	38	No

Source: Official elections results for Irish general election, 2011
Note the party acronyms in parentheses after the candidates' names are FF: Fianna Fáil; FG: Fine Gael; Lab: Labour Party; SF: Sinn Féin; Ind: Independent, non-party candidate. The most popular winning candidates are indicated in a bold font.

Appendix for Chapter 7

Czech National Election Studies, 1996–2013
The following variables were used as independent variables in regression modelling of factual political knowledge based on five Czech National Election Studies (i.e. 1996, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2013):

Satisfied with democracy
Question wording: 'How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the country?' Response options: (1) Very satisfied, (2) Rather satisfied, (3) Rather dissatisfied, (4) Very dissatisfied, and other codes representing don't knows and refusals. The original variable was dichotomized in the merged dataset. The response options 'very satisfied' (1) and 'rather satisfied' (2) were recoded to '1' (i.e. expressed some level of trust) and all other values (including missing values) were recoded as zero (0).

Left-wing orientation
Question wording: 'Where would you place yourself on this (i.e. 'left-right') scale?'; Response options: 11-point scale with answers ranging from '0' (left) to '10' (right) and numerous codes for missing values (e.g. never heard about the left-right scale, don't know, refused to answer, etc.). The original variable was dichotomized in the merged dataset. The response options ranging from 0–3 were recoded to '1' (i.e. left-wing orientation) and all other values (including missing values) were recoded as zero (0).

Right-wing orientation
Question wording: 'Where would you place yourself on this (i.e. left-right) scale?' Response options: 11-point scale with answers ranging from '0' (left) to '10' (right) and numerous codes for missing values (e.g. never heard about the left-right scale, don't know, refused to answer etc.). The original variable was dichotomized in the merged dataset. The response options ranging from 7–10 were recoded to '1' (i.e. right wing orientation), and all other values (including missing values) were recoded as zero (0).

Party attachment
Question wording: 'Do you feel close to any political party?' Response options: (1) yes, (2) no, and various other codes representing don't knows, refusals, etc. The variable was recoded so that '1' represents those who answered positively (i.e. having party attachment) and '0' represents all other values (i.e. no and missing values).

Party attachment (level)
Level of party attachment was based on answers to three following questions:

1. Do you feel close to any political party? Response options: yes (1), no (2)
2. Do you feel a little closer to one of the political parties than the others? Response options: yes (1), no (2)
3. Do you feel (1) very close to (the mentioned) party, (2) somewhat close, or (3) not very close?

Respondents who answered negatively to the first two questions (or provided missing values) were assigned the lowest level of party attachment (i.e. code '0'). Missing values (i.e. refusals and don't knows) on the third question were coded as feeling not very close on the level of party attachment variable. After recoding and rescaling, values of the final party attachment variable range from 0–1. Code zero (0) represents the lowest level of party attachment (does not at all feel close to any of the political parties) whereas code '1' represents respondents who feel very close to a political party.

Government in power matters
Question wording: Some people say it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Others say that it makes a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where *one* means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power and *five* means that it makes a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?
All codes representing missing values were recoded to the central category (i.e. 3) of the original 5-point scale. The variable was subsequently rescaled to 0–1 range where zero (0) means that it does not matter at all who is in power and '1' means that it matters a lot.

Voting matters
Question wording: Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where *one* means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and *five* means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself? All codes representing missing values were recoded to the central category (i.e. 3) of the original 5-point scale. The variable was subsequently rescaled to 0–1 range where zero means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and '1' means that voting can make a difference.

Attend religious services
Question wording: How often do you attend religious services? Response options varied across surveys: in some surveys (2006, 2010, 2013), there were 8 response options and in other surveys there were only 6 response options (1996, 2002). Therefore, variables were standardized across all surveys to have just 6 categories ranging from never (6) to at least once a week (1). The standardized variable was subsequently inverted and rescaled to 0–1 range where zero represents never attending religious services (including numerous missing values codes) and '1' represents attending religious services at least once a week.

Education level
Question wording: 'What is your highest level of education?' Response options varied across surveys: in some surveys (2006, 2010, 2013), there were 12 response options and in other surveys there were only 8 response options (1996, 2002). Therefore, variables were standardized across all surveys to have just 4 categories: (1) Primary or lower (including all DK/NA responses), (2) Lower secondary, (3) Upper secondary, and (4) Tertiary education. The standardized variable was subsequently rescaled to 0–1 range where zero represents primary or lower and '1' represents tertiary education.

Trade union membership
Question wording: Are you currently or were you in the past a member of trade unions? (asked in 2006, 2010 and 2013 valid response options) or alternatively 'Are you a member of trade unions?' (asked in 1996 and 2002 valid response options). This variable was dichotomized so that every respondent answering that they were member of trade unions at the time of interview are coded as 1 and everybody else (including missing values and those who had been members of trade unions in the past) is coded as 0.

Age of respondent
Question wording: Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (asked in 2006, 2010, 2013) or 'How old are you?' (asked in 1996 and 2002). For the 2006, 2010 and 2013 datasets, the variable age in years was constructed from year of birth at first. All respondents with missing values were assigned median age (which was computed from valid answers within the each survey). This variable was then rescaled to 0–1 range where zero (0) represents the minimum age within the particular survey (18 years) and '1' represents the maximum age within the particular survey.

Non-linear age
The non-linear version of age is just the squared version of the rescaled age variable (i.e. rescaled age [with imputed missing values] raised to the power of two).

Sex
The sex of respondent was filled in by the interviewers (except for 1996 when respondents were asked directly). Females are represented by code '1' and men are represented by zero (0) together with the very rare situation of missing values.

Marital status
Question wording: 'What is your marital status?' Response options: (1) single, (2) married, (3) divorced, (4) widowed, and other codes representing don't knows and refusals (the actual coding of answers differs among original datasets). Two dichotomized variables were created from this marital status variable:

- *Single:* single people coded as '1' vs. everybody else (codes as zero)
- *Married:* married people coded as '1' vs. everybody else (codes as zero)

Socio-Economic status

Question wording: What is your current economic status? or alternatively (in 1996 survey): What is your social status? Response options varied across surveys: in some surveys (2006, 2010, 2013), there were 16 response options and in other surveys there were only 10 response options (1996, 2002). Therefore, variables were standardized across all five surveys to have just 8 categories: (1) Employed, (2) Unemployed, (3) Pensioner, (4) Student, apprentice, (5) Housewife/house husband, (6) Entrepreneur, (7) Disabled, (8) Other, DK/NA. For the purpose of regression modelling, three dichotomized variables were created from this socio-economic status variable:

- *Employed:* employed people (i.e. full-time employees, part-time employees and employed pensioners) coded as '1' vs. everybody else (codes as zero)
- *Self-employed:* self-employed people coded as '1' vs. everybody else (codes as zero)
- *Student:* students coded as '1' vs. everybody else (codes as zero)

The subsequent variables were used as predictor variables (along with some of the above defined) in regression modelling of factual and interpersonal political knowledge based on Czech National Election Study (2006).

Occupation

Question wording: What is (was) your occupation? What kind of job do you have (did you have)? (in 2006, 2010, 2013) or alternatively (in 1996): If you are employed, what is the detailed name of your occupation? These questions were open-ended. The open-responses were coded according to International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). To ensure compatibility across surveys, only people employed at the time of interview have valid values on the occupation variable (i.e. last occupations of the retired and the unemployed were not considered because they were not asked in the 1996 post-election survey – these respondents have missing values for the occupation variable). The standardized form of occupation variable is a one-digit ISCO-88 code. For the purpose of regression modelling, four dichotomized variables were created from this standardized variable:

- *Higher professionals:* managers; and professionals (i.e. major groups 1 and 2 from the ISCO-88 classification) coded as '1' vs. everybody else (coded as zero)
- *Lower professionals:* technicians and associate professionals (i.e. major group 3 from the ISCO-88 classification) coded as '1' vs. everybody else (coded as zero)
- *Skilled manual workers:* skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; and craft and related trades workers (i.e. major groups 6 and 7 from the ISCO-88 classification) coded as '1' vs. everybody else (coded as zero)
- *Semi/unskilled workers:* plant and machine operators; and assemblers and elementary occupations (i.e. major groups 8 and 9 from the ISCO-88 classification) coded as '1' vs. everybody else (coded as zero)

Community size

Question wording: What is the size of the community in which you live? Response options varied across surveys: in most surveys (2006, 2010, 2013), there were 8 response options and in the other available survey (2002) there were only 6 response options. Therefore, variables were standardized across all surveys to have just 4 categories: (1) Fewer than 1,999 inhabitants, (2) 2,000 to 4,999 inhabitants, (3) 5,000 to 99,999 inhabitants and (4) More than 100,000 inhabitants. The variable was rescaled to 0–1 range where zero means fewer than 1,999 inhabitants and '1' more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Interested in campaign

Question wording: How closely did you follow the election campaign? (asked in 2006, 2010, 2013) Response options: (1) Very closely, (2) Fairly closely, (3) Not very closely, (4) Not closely at all, (9) DK/NA. The original variable was dichotomized in the merged dataset. The response options (1) 'Very closely' and (2) 'Fairly closely' were recoded to '1' (i.e. followed the election campaign closely) and all other values (including missing values) were recoded as zero (0).

Contacted a politician

Question wording: Over the past 12 months, have you done any of the following things? (Have you) contacted a politician, government official or public servant? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (9) DK/NA. For the purpose of regression modelling, the variable was recoded so that code '1' meant that

respondent contacted a politician, and code zero (0) represented everything else (i.e. has not contacted and missing values).

Being contacted during campaign
Question wording: During the election campaign, did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you on the street? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (9) DK/NA. For the purpose of regression modelling, the variable was recoded so that code '1' indicates a respondent was contacted by a candidate and code zero represents everything else (i.e. not being contacted and missing values).

Works in private sector
Question wording: Are you employed (or were you last employed) in ... ? The variable had 7 valid response options in 2006, 2010 and 2013, and 4 response options in the 1996 post-election survey. Therefore, the variable was standardized to have the following values: (1) Public sector, (2) Private sector, (3) Mixed sector, i.e. public and private, and (4) Non-profit sector or elsewhere. For the purpose of regression modelling, the following dichotomized variable was created: works in private sector (coded as '1') versus works in any other sector was coded as zero.

Civic activism scale
Question wording: There are different ways of trying to improve things in the Czech Republic or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (9) DK/NA.

> Q.27 a: Contacted a politician / public official
> Q.27 b: Worked for a political party
> Q.27 c: Worked in another organisation or association
> Q.27 d: Wore a campaign badge/sticker
> Q.27 e: Signed a petition
> Q.27 f: Participated in a legal public demonstration
> Q.27 g: Boycotted certain products
> Q.27 h: Bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons
> Q.27 i: Donated money to a party or organisation

All of these variables were dichotomized to the following format: 'yes' (code '1') vs. all other answers (coded zero). A summated rating scale was created from these 9 items (Cronbach's alpha=.69 in the 2006 survey). This new variable was subsequently rescaled to 0 –1 range where zero (0) means that a respondent has not done any of the 9 activist actions (i.e. was completely inactive) and '1' means that the respondent had done all 9 things during the last 12 months.

Media use scale
Respondents who answered that they use the respective media sources (i.e. television, newspapers, radio and the internet) were subsequently asked the following questions (2006 survey variable names):

> Q.6b: On an average week day, how much time do you spend watching TV programmes about politics and current affairs?
> Q.6e: On an average week day, how much time do you spend reading about politics and current affairs in newspapers?
> Q.6h: On an average week day, how much time do you spend listening to programmes about politics and current affairs on the radio?
> Q.6j: On an average week day, how much time do you spend reading about politics and current affairs on the internet?

Response options in 2006: (1) Never, (2) Less than 1 hour, (3) 1 to 2 hours, (4) 2 to 3 hours, (5) 3 to 4 hours, (6) 4 to 5 hours, (7) 5 to 6 hours, (8) More than 6 hours, (99) DK/NA. The response options for 2010 and 2013 were less detailed. For the 2006 'less than 1 hour' per day, and at least half an hour per day for the 2010 and 2013 samples was used as a threshold to dichotomize these items. In other words, all respondents who spent at least some time each day doing these activities were assigned code '1' and all others were coded zero (0). A summated rating scale was created from these 4 dichotomized items (Cronbach's alpha=.44 in the 2006 survey). This new variable was subsequently rescaled to 0 –1 range where zero (0) indicates respondents who deliberately chose not to expose

themselves to politics through media, and '1' indicates that they uses the media to get information about politics.

Interest in politics
Question wording: How much are you interested in politics? Response options: (1) Very interested, (2) Quite interested, (3) Only a little interested, (4) Not at all interested, (9) DK/NA. All respondents who refused to answer or did not know the answer were recoded as not being interested in politics. This variable was subsequently reverse coded, and rescaled to 0–1 range where zero (0) represents being not at all interested in politics and '1' stands for being very interested in politics.

Trust in institutions scale
Question wording: Please tell me if you trust … ? Response options: (1) Strongly trust, (2) Trust somewhat, (3) Distrust somewhat, (4) Strongly distrust, (9) DK/NA.

> Q.30a: President of the Czech Republic
> Q.30b: Government of the Czech Republic
> Q.30c: Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic
> Q.30d: Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic
> Q.30e: Regional Assembly
> Q.30f: Municipal Assembly

All of these variables were dichotomized to the following format: expressed some level of trust (i.e. answers 'Strongly trust' and 'trust somewhat' were coded as '1') and all other answers (including DK/NA) were coded as zero. A summated rating scale was created from these 6 dichotomized items (Cronbach's alpha=.67 in the 2006 post-election survey). This new variable was subsequently rescaled to 0–1 range so that zero means not trusting any of the 6 political institutions whereas 1 means expressing trust to all political institutions.

Political efficacy scale
The scale is based on answers to the following four questions:

> Q.14: Some people say it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Others say that it makes a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where *one* means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power and *five* means that it makes a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?
> Q.15: Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where *one* means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and *five* means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself?
> Q.19a: Would you say that any of the political parties represents your views reasonably well?
> Q.20a: Regardless of how you feel about the political parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders at this election represents your views reasonably well?

All of these four variables were standardized at first. Question 14 was dichotomized so that everyone who answered '4' or '5' were assigned the code '1' (i.e. they think who is in power makes a difference) and all other responses were coded as 0 (including missing values). Question 15 was dichotomized so that everyone who answered '4' or '5' was assigned code '1' (i.e. they think voting can make a difference) and all other responses including DK/NA were coded as zero. Questions 19a and 20a were recoded so that everyone who answered 'yes' was assigned code '1' and all other response options were coded as zero. A summated rating scale was created from these 4 items (Cronbach's alpha=.79 in the 2006 post-election survey). This new variable was subsequently rescaled 0–1 range where zero represents low political efficacy and '1' high political efficacy.

Electoral participation
Question wording (2006): On June 2 and 3 there were Chamber elections. For one reason or another, many people did not vote in these elections. Did you yourself vote in the recent elections? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (3) DK/NA. Respondents claiming that they voted were coded as '1'. All other responses, including DK/NA, were coded as zero.

Retrospective economic evaluation
Question wording: What do you think about the [Czech] economy? Compared twelve months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is … ? Response options: (1) Much better, (2) A little better, (3) Same, (4) A little worse, (5) A lot worse, (9) DK/NA. All DK/NA answers were recoded to the central category (i.e. 3) of the original 5-point scale. This variable was then rescaled to 0–1 range where 0 means that the state of the Czech economy has gotten much better and 1 means that it has gotten much worse.

Prospective economic evaluation
Question wording: Do you think that next year the economic situation in our country will be … ? (1) Much better, (2) A little better, (3) Same, (4) A little worse, (5) A lot worse, (9) DK/NA. All answers representing missing values were recoded to the central category (i.e. 3) of the original 5-point scale. This variable was then rescaled to 0–1 range where 0 means that the state of the Czech economy will get much better and 1 means that it will get much worse.

Participatory, consumer and protesting activism scales
These three scales were generated using factor analysis. In the first step, the following 10 items, which measure whether respondents did any of the following things during the 12 months before election, have been dichotomized (yes = code '1' vs. all other answers = code zero (0). Question wording: There are different ways of trying to improve things in the Czech Republic or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (9) DK/NA.

Q.27 a: Contacted a politician / public official
Q.27 b: Worked for a political party
Q.27 c: Worked in another organisation or association
Q.27 d: Wore a campaign badge/sticker
Q.27 e: Signed a petition
Q.27 f: Participated in a legal public demonstration
Q.27 g: Boycotted certain products
Q.27 h: Bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons
Q.27 i: Donated money to a party or organisation
Q.27 j: Participated in illegal protest activities

Principal components analysis was performed on these dichotomized items. Based on the rotated solution (direct oblimin), three factors were extracted (regression method was used for calculating factor scores). The following interpretation was assigned to these three factors:

1. *Partisan activism* (accounting for 27% of variance in the original variables) is highly correlated with 4 original variables: *contacted a politician/public official, worked for a political party, worked in another organisation or association* and *donated money to a party or organisation*. After rescaling values of this factor to standard 0–1 range, 0 indicates low level of partisan activism (i.e. respondents did none of the above mentioned four activities) whereas 1 indicates high level of partisan activism (i.e. respondents did all four activities).
2. *Consumer activism* (accounting for 12% of variance in the original variables) is highly correlated with 2 original variables: *boycotted certain products* and *bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons*. After rescaling values of this factor to standard 0–1 range, 0 indicates high level of consumer activism (i.e. respondents did both of the above mentioned activities) whereas 1 indicates low level of consumer activism (i.e. respondents did neither of these two activities).
3. *Protesting activism* (accounting for 12% of variance in the original variables) is highly correlated with 2 original variables: *participated in a legal public demonstration* and *participated in illegal protest activities*. After rescaling values of this factor to standard 0–1 range, 0 indicates low level of protesting activism (i.e. respondents did neither of the above mentioned activities) whereas 1 indicates high level of protesting activism (i.e. respondents both activities).

Satisfaction with government
Question wording: Now thinking about the performance of the government, how good or bad a job has the government done over the past four years? Response options: (1) A very good job, (2) A good job, (3) A bad job, (4) A very bad job, (9) DK/NA. The variable was dichotomized so that respondents thinking that were satisfied with government performance (i.e. choosing either (1) 'a very good job' or

(2) 'a good job') were assigned a code of '1' and all others (including don't knows and refusals) was assigned code of zero.

Subjective living standard of household
Question wording: Do you consider the living standard of your household to be ... ? Response options: (1) Very good, (2) somewhat good, (3) neither good nor bad, (4) Somewhat bad, (5) Very bad, (9) DK/NA. The small numbers of DK/NA responses were recoded to the middle category (i.e. 3) on the original 5-point scale. This variable was subsequently reverse recoded and rescaled to 0–1 range where zero (0) represents a bad subjective evaluation of household living standard while '1' represents a good one.

Table A7.1: Summary statistics for variables in models estimated for the 1996 to 2013 period

CVVM June 2006, n=2002

Models	Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.
	Explicit political knowledge	.53	.24
	Interpersonal political knowledge	.50	.24
MOTIVATION	Satisfied with democracy	.46	.50
	Left wing orientation	.21	.41
	Right wing orientation	.31	.46
	Party attachment	.42	.49
	Who is in power matters	.30	.29
	Voting matters	.67	.29
	Attend religious services	.16	.28
ABILITY	Level of education	.45	.31
OPPORTUNITY	Trade union member	.08	.27
	Age, linear	.37	.23
	Age, non-linear	.19	.18
	Sex (female)	.51	.50
	Marital status: single	.24	.43
	Marital status: married	.51	.50
	Employed	.50	.50

Source: CVVM survey, 1996–2013
Note that all variables have a range of 0–1 where the unstandardized coefficients reported may be used to compare across the models reported. Explicit political knowledge is operationalised as a two part IRT model of the responses to a set of political quiz items. Interpersonal political knowledge is an interviewer evaluation of the respondent's awareness of public affairs during the interviewer using a 5-point Likert-type scale.

Table A7.2: Summary statistics for variables in OMAR models estimated for 2006

Models	Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.
	Explicit political knowledge	.53	.24
	Interpersonal political knowledge	.50	.24
OPPORTUNITY	Sex (female)	.51	.50
	Marital status: married	.51	.50
	Marital status: single	.20	.40
	Age, linear	.37	.23
	Age, non-linear	.19	.18
	Community size	.48	.32
	Interested in election campaign	.35	.48
	Contacted a politician	.21	.41
	Employed	.50	.50
	Works in private sector	.50	.50
	Civic activism scale	.08	.23
	Media use scale	.42	.39
	Trade union member	.53	.50
MOTIVATION	Interest in politics	.38	.26
	Party attachment	.42	.49
	Trust in institutions scale	.43	.30
	Political efficacy	.54	.38
	Left wing orientation	.21	.41
	Right wing orientation	.31	.46
	Electoral participation	.74	.44
	Satisfied with democracy	.46	.50
	Retrospective economic evaluation	.44	.22
	Prospective economic evaluation	.48	.20
	Participatory activism	.23	.14
	Consumer activism	.72	.19
	Protesting activism	.13	.11
	Satisfaction with government	.42	.49
	Who is in power matters	.65	.48
	Voting matters	.61	.49
	Attend religious services	.16	.28
ABILITY	Level of education	.45	.31
RESOURCES	HH standard of living (subjective)	.46	.22
	Higher professional	.07	.25
	Lower professional	.09	.29
	Self-employed	.09	.29
	Semi- and un-skilled worker	.10	.30
	Skilled manual worker	.08	.27

Source: CVVM survey, June 2006, n=2002

Note that all variables have a range of 0–1 where the unstandardized coefficients reported may be used to compare across the models reported. Explicit political knowledge is operationalised as a two-part logistic IRT model of the responses to a set of political quiz items. Interpersonal political knowledge is based on an interviewer evaluation of the respondent's awareness of public affairs during the interviewer using a 5-point Likert-type scale.

Table A7.3: Descriptive statistics for MAO models of the determinants of political knowledge in the combined CNES datasets of 2006, 2010 and 2013

Explanatory variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Interest in politics	.34	.25	5512
Party identification (absolute)	**.40**	.49	6456
Interpersonal trust scale (Cronbach's alpha=.62)	.42	.30	4803
Who is in power makes a difference	**.32**	.30	6456
Party voted for in an election makes a difference	**.63**	.30	6456
Left-wing on self-placement on the left-right scale (codes 0–3 on the original 11-point scale)	**.23**	.42	6456
Right-wing: self-placement on the left-right scale (codes 7–10 on the original 11-point scale)	**.28**	.45	6456
Electoral participation – DK and refused coded as non-participation	**.71**	.45	6456
Satisfaction with democracy	**.41**	.49	6456
Sex (female)	**.51**	.50	6456
Married	**.50**	.50	6456
Lives with a partner	.12	.32	5512
Age (years)	**.38**	.23	6456
Class: higher professionals	.07	.26	5512
Class: lower professionals	.08	.28	5512
Class: self-employed	.09	.28	5512
Class: semi-skilled or unskilled	.10	.30	5512
Class: skilled manual	.07	.26	5512
Followed election campaign – recode	.32	.47	5512
Attended a political rally or meeting	**.15**	.28	6456
Employed	**.51**	.50	6456
Organisational membership scale (Cronbach's alpha=.81)	.05	.18	6456
Education level	**.47**	.31	6456

Source: Czech National Election Surveys, 2006, 2010 and 2013
Note estimates in bold refer to explanatory variables that are statistically significant (p≤.05) in the models reported in this chapter.

Appendix for Chapter 8

Figure A8.1: Distributions of the informed, misinformed and uninformed dependent variables

(a) Distribution of correct (informed) answers (IRT 2PL model estimates)
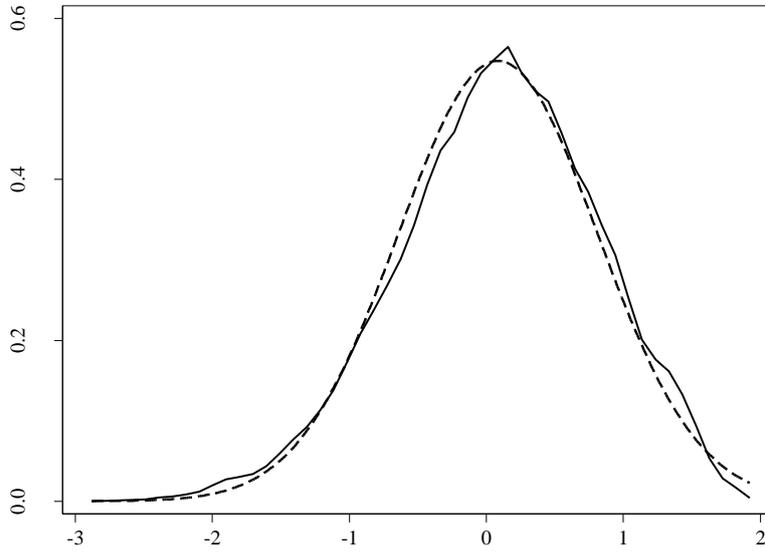
(b) Distribution of incorrect (misinformed) answers (count of responses)
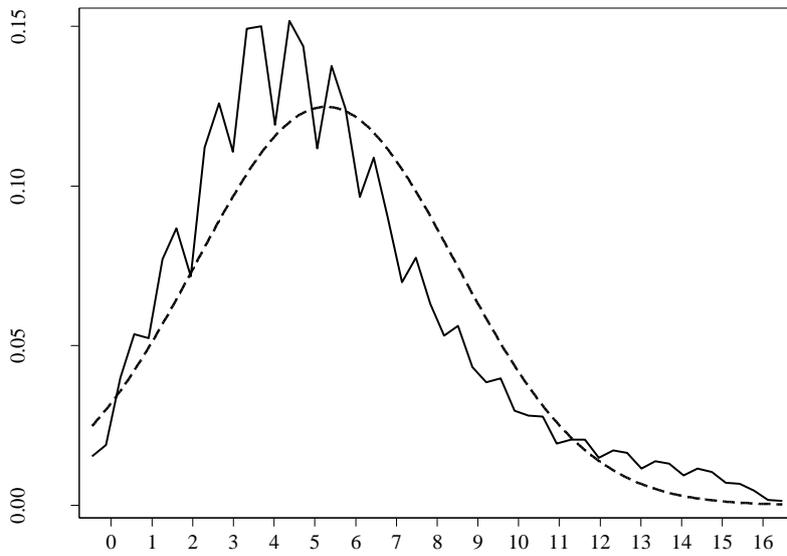
(c) Frequency of DK (uninformed) answers (count of responses)
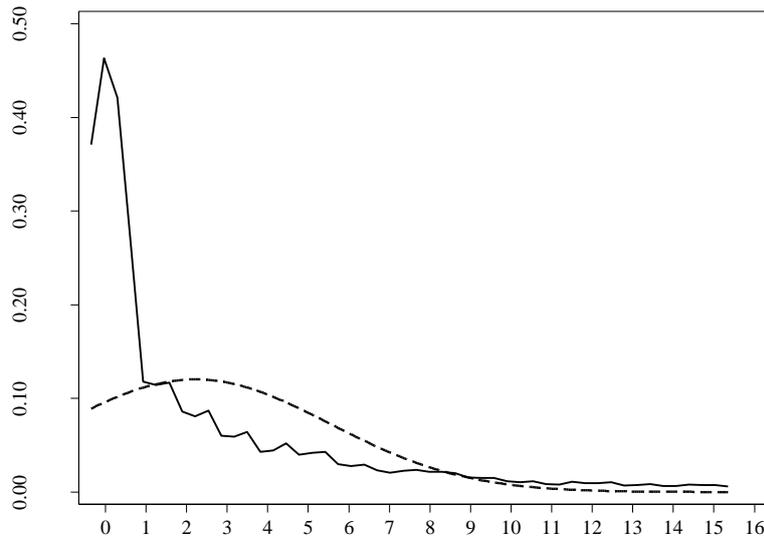
(d) Frequency of estimated guessing (uninformed) responses (AAGR statistic, see text for details)
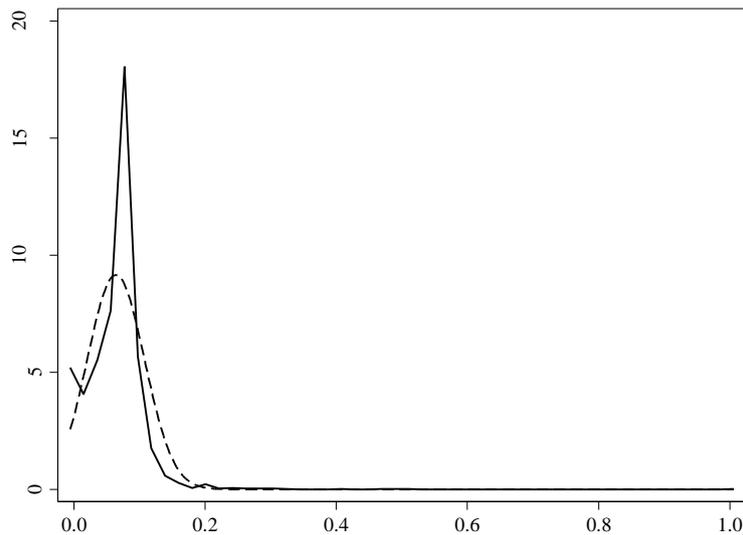
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967–1970
Note these figures show that some of the dependent variables have normal (Gaussian) distributions indicating a random ability or process centred on an average value. A little more than one in twenty respondents (i.e. n=422/436 out of 6526 cases or about 7%) refused to answer all 16 of the political knowledge items: 422 gave a DK/NA answers to all items, and 14 respondents got all items incorrect yielding a total of 436 completely incorrect cases. In the analyses reported in this chapter, these groups have been excluded from analysis because it is not clear how to interpret complete non-participation in the political knowledge quiz: it could stem from complete lack of knowledge, disinterest in politics, or lack of cooperation during the survey interview. In the guessing models AAGR estimates are not used but the difference between observed numbers of correct answers minus the adjusted knowledge score for guessing (AAGR) where the difference is assumed to be an approximate estimate of guessing.

Table A8.1: Summary statistics for the informed, misinformed and uninformed response variables

Classification	Median	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Skew	Kurtosis
Informed	1.0	0.1	0.7	-2.8	1.8	-0.3	2.9
Misinformed	5.0	5.3	3.2	0	16	-0.9	3.6
Uninformed (DK)	1.0	2.2	3.3	0	15	1.8	6.0
Uninformed (Guessing)	0.2	0.2	0.1	0	0.5	-0.9	3.6

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967–1970, n=6102
Note the guessing variable is the AAGR statistic (see text for details).

Table A8.2: Pairwise correlations between the informed, misinformed and uninformed responses

Classification	Informed	Misinformed	Uninformed (DK)	Uninformed (Guessing)
Informed	1.0			
Misinformed	-0.8	1.0		
Uninformed (DK)	-0.7	0.8	1.0	
Uninformed (Guessing)	-0.1	0.1	-0.4	1.0

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967–1970, n=6102
Note the guessing variable is the AAGR statistic (see text for details).

Table A8.3: DK response rates for political knowledge questions in the Images of the World in the Year 2000 survey, 1967–1970, percent

Question	SP	SL	FIN	GB	NL	CR	SK	FRG	NOR	Total
Finland neutral	88	72	37	64	51	47	46	43	29	*57*
Norway in NATO	79	50	33	24	22	34	28	26	2	*39*
Spain neutral	71	44	40	25	27	30	25	30	13	*38*
Denmark in NATO	79	49	33	21	24	35	28	22	3	*37*
Sweden neutral	80	44	29	22	25	26	24	25	5	*37*
Netherlands in NATO	77	47	38	24	10	32	31	14	9	*35*
Italy in NATO	74	32	42	24	22	27	22	12	10	*33*
Switzerland neutral	78	34	33	21	21	20	17	16	11	*33*
Yugoslavia neutral	74	25	36	25	24	19	15	19	9	*33*
CSSR in WT	73	34	37	24	26	2	2	11	8	*29*
France in NATO	69	35	31	15	13	13	10	10	7	*27*
UK in NATO	72	29	31	12	12	9	6	8	5	*26*
FRG in NATO	72	30	31	16	13	5	5	4	6	*25*
Poland in WT	72	27	28	18	18	2	2	6	7	*25*
USSR in WT	70	27	26	18	16	2	2	6	8	*24*
USA in NATO	70	26	30	12	11	5	3	7	4	*24*
National mean	*75*	*38*	*33*	*23*	*21*	*19*	*17*	*16*	*9*	*33*

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967–1970
Note these are the percentage reporting 'don't know' (DK) or 'no answer' to each the 16 political knowledge items. These data provide evidence of the relative difficulty of the knowledge questions and the extent to which use of DK response option. The country acronyms are Spain (SP), Slovenia (SL), Finland (FIN), Britain (GB), Netherlands (NL), Czech respondents (CR), Slovak respondents (SK), Federal Republic of (West) Germany (FRG) and Norway (NOR). Please also acronyms for national membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty (WT) Organisation: Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR), United Kingdom (UK), United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and United States of America (USA).

Appendix for Chapters 9

Political Knowledge Scales

Objective political scale (8 items)
Please see the appendix for Chapter 3 for details.

Interpersonal knowledge scale (interviewer evaluation)
T.6: How do you assess respondent's awareness about public policy and matters? The response options were: (1) Very high, (2) High, (3) Average, (4) Low, (5) Very low.

Implicit political knowledge scale
Please see the appendix for Chapter 6 for details.

Theory of the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI)
Differences in individual's personalities have systematic effects on political attitudes and behaviour. The Big Five theory of personality emphasises the importance of (1) openness to experience, (2) conscientiousness, (3) extroversion, (4) agreeableness and (5) emotional stability [which is the opposite of neuroticism]. These facets of personality may be measured in a short ten item scale known as TIPI. Mondak (2010) in analysis of surveys including TIPI found that extroverts and introverts do not differ in level of political knowledge, but exhibit differences in level of opinionation (indicated by levels of media use and interpersonal communication). The three other personality traits when they have effects tend to be negatively associated with political knowledge. In other words, conscientious individuals participate less in political discussions and have lower than average levels of political knowledge. Scoring high on the emotional stability and agreableness scales is associated with low levels of political knowledge and opinionation. In sum, a person exhibiting an open and extrovert personality traits are more interested and knowledgeable about politics while individuals characterised by the traits of conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability are less engaged and knowledgeable. The relationship between personality traits and other facets of political sophistication such as levels of conceptualisation is unknown.

The study of 'personality and politics' is important because it tests the assumption in research on political cognition and information effects that 'information acts as the great equalizer.' Mondak (2010: 21) summarizes this implicit/explicit assumption as follows.

> If two individuals live in similar contexts and have similar backgrounds, but they differ in how much political information they hold, we assume that raising the information level of the lesser informed person to equal that of the better-informed person would pull their political attitudes and behaviors into alignment with one another.

This perspective ignores one source of interpersonal differences where some individuals are more willing or motivated to seek out and accept new information more than others: a difference typically denoted by such as personality traits as open- or closed-minded. Long term psychological differences between people, often denoted as personality, may be an important determinant (interaction variable) that links political sophistication with political attitudes and behaviour. One of the most influential and efficient means of measuring personality traits using survey questions is derived from the Big Five (or five factor) personality trait theory. Within this research framework the battery of questions to map out a persons' personality in terms of (1) Openness to experience, (2) Conscientiousness, (3) extroversion, (4) Agreeableness and (5) emotional stability or neuroticism is often examined with a battery of forty or more questions. The smallest Big Five personality scale that has proven to be both valid and reliable is the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) devised by Gosling et al. (2003). One critical issue in implementing TIPI in the Czech Republic will be the translation of the ten scale terms such as 'sympathetic' etc.

Style of reasoning questions
There is an important difference between political knowledge (or sophistication) and good judgement. The style of thinking battery of questions explores how individuals go about making choices and the strategies they use to deal with limits in information and knowledge. Tetlock (2005) argues that within political life there are two broad types of cognitive reasoning or thinking: focus on being an expert with specialist knowledge or become a generalist with a wide range of knowledge about many

topics. These two types of thinking are labelled by Tetlock (2005) as 'hedgehogs' or 'foxes' respectively. The emphasis here is not on how much an individual knows, but how they use information to make decisions. More generally, we may say there is a tension between the consistent and coherent (ideological) systems of thought typical of experts (hedgehogs) and the employment of a wide range of general information by generalists (foxes). Within this survey research it is expected that hedgehogs will have higher levels of education, political knowledge and levels of conceptualisation or political sophistication more generally. In contrast, foxes will be more adept at using heuristics and will have more open and extrovert personalities.

Eight of the items in this scale are taken from Kruglanski and Webster's (1996) 'need for closure scale' and remaining five items come from Tetlock (2005: 72–75, 241). It is likely that there will be an association between responses on the style of reasoning scale with the TIPI personality scale and more especially the openness trait. By using this item it should be possible to compare the style of reasoning of both elites (Legislators in the Chamber of Deputies in 2007–2008, see Lyons 2008) and citizens (CVVM, survey November 2012). One might expect that parliamentarians are more likely to be 'experts' and hence hedgehogs than the general population. If this is true, this implies that candidate selection for elections has an important cognitive selection bias emphasising ideological thinking and hence partisan polarisation. In contrast, politicians may be broadly similar to citizens illustrating a general (or fox) approach to issues and problems. As a result, political representation is strongly pragmatic in nature.

Note all of the following questions come from the CVVM survey of November 2012.

Kruglanski and Webster's (1996) 'need for closure scale', Cronbach's alpha=.55
Q.35: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The response options were an 11-point scale ranging from (0) Strongly agree to (10) Strongly disagree, (97) No answer, (99) Don't know.
  (a) For success in work are essential clear rules and order
  (b) Even if I have already decided on something, I always willing to consider another opinion
  (c) I do not like the questions that can be answered in many different ways
  (d) Important decisions usually do quickly and confidently
  (e) In most conflict situations, I can usually see the truth of both sides
  (f) I do not like it when someone cannot decide

Believe the world is complex
Y.4: With regard to decision-making in general, some people are governed by a single concept of the world, while others improvise and decide on a case by case basis. Where would you place yourself on this scale? Show scale. The response options were an 11-point scale: (0) Decide using a single world view, (10) Improvise and decide case by case, (97) Refused to answer, (99) Don't know.

Believe politics is predictable
Q.35: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The response options were an 11-point scale ranging from (0) Strongly agree to (10) Strongly disagree, (97) No answer, (99) Don't know.
  (k) I believe that politics is inherently unpredictable.

Pragmatic decision making style
Q.35: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The response options were an 11-point scale ranging from (0) Strongly agree to (10) Strongly disagree, (97) No answer, (99) Don't know.
  (i) When addressing a problem I see many solutions.

Interest in politics
Q.1: How much are interested in politics? Response options: (1) Very interested, (2) Enough interested, (3) A little interested, (4) Not at all interested, (5) Refused to answer, (6) Don't know.

Party attachment
Q.2a: Do you feel close to a political party? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (3) Refused to answer, (4) Don't know.
FILTER: Only for those who have not answered 'yes' in question q.2a.
Q.2b Do you feel that you are a little closer at one party than the other parties? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) No, (3) Refused to answer, (4) Don't know.

FILTER: Only for those who answered 'yes' in question q.2a or q.2b.
Q.2c To which party do you feel closest to? Response options: election specific party codes. Refused to answer = 97, Don't know = 99.
FILTER: Only for those who have in question q.2c indicated a political party.
Q.2d Do you feel very close, fairly close, or not too close to this party? Response options: (1) Very close, (2) Quite close, (3) Not close, (4) Refused to answer, (5) Don't know.

Who is in power makes a difference?
Q.14: Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that it makes a difference who is in power and FIVE means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself? The response options were:
   1. It makes a difference who is in power
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5. It doesn't make a difference who is in power
   8. Don't know
   9. Refused

Voting makes a difference
Q.15: Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and FIVE means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself? The response options were:
   1. Who people vote for won't make a difference
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5. Who people vote for can make a difference
   8. Don't know
   9. Refused

Internal and external political efficacy scales
Q.39: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
   (a) Generally speaking, those we elect to public office lose touch with the people pretty quickly [External]
   (b) Politicians are interested in people's votes not in their opinions [External]
   (c) I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people [Internal]
   (d) I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country [Internal]
   (e) I don't think the government cares much what people like me think [External]
   (f) I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics [Internal]

Internal political efficacy scale, Cronbach's alpha=.78
External political efficacy scale, Cronbach's alpha=.71

Left-right self-placement scale
Q.22: Where are you ranked yourself on this scale? Response options on the 11-point scale: 0 (left), 10 (Right), 95 Heard of a left-right scale, 97 Refused to answer.

Vote in the next general election
PV.1: Imagine that next week there were elections to the Chamber of Deputies. Would you vote?
Response options: (1) Definitely yes, (2) Rather yes, (3) Rather not, (4) Absolutely not, (8) Not entitled to vote, (9) Do not know.

Education
S.2: What is your highest level of education?
(1) Elementary or less/DK/Other, (2) Secondary without graduation, (3) Secondary with graduation, (4) University or higher.

Household income
IDE.10: What is the usual net monthly income of your entire household, that is, when you add up the income of all household members? If you are unsure, please estimate at least approximate amount.

Unemployed
IDE.5a: What is your occupation? Respondents were shown a card with occupations and asked to indicate which one applied to them. The response options were: (1) Student, (2) Non-working pensioner, (3) Unemployed, (4) Housewife or on maternity leave, (5) Self-employed with 3 or more employees, (6) Self-employed with 1 or 2 employees, (7) Self-employed with no employees, (8) Higher professional, (9) Lower professional, (10) White collar, clerical, (11) Service employee, (12) Skilled worker, (13) Unskilled worker, (14) Labourer or agricultural worker, (15) Leader or manager.

Media use, Cronbach's alpha=.63
Y.3: How often do you (a) Watching television news, (b) Read the news in daily newspapers, (c) Listen to news on the radio? Response options: (1) Every day, (2) Several times a week, (3) Once or twice a week, (4) Rarely, (5) Never, (6) Don't know.

Community size (subjective)
IDE.19: When you look at this card, how would you describe the place where you live? Response options: (1) A large city or town, (2) Suburb of a large city or located in the immediate vicinity of a large town, (3) A medium sized town, (4) A small town, (5) Large village, (6) Small village, hamlet or isolated residence, (7) Other type of residence, (8) Don't know, (9) No answer.

See the appendix for the next chapter for summary statistics for all the dependent and independent variables used in Chapters 9 and 10.

Appendix for Chapter 10

Please note that many of the same survey questions and variables described in the appendix for Chapter 9 have also been used in this chapter.

Figure A10.1: Profiles of the distribution of the three political knowledge variables examined in this chapter

(a) Distribution of objective political knowledge among Czechs in 2012 (IRT 2PL scale)
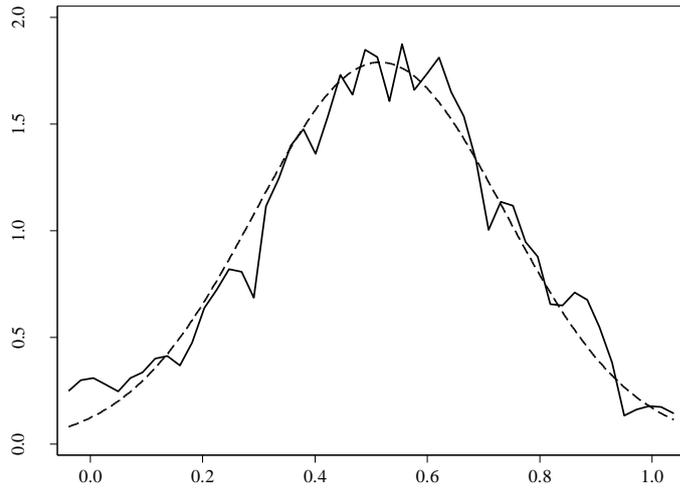
(b) Distribution of implicit political knowledge among Czechs in 2012 (count scale)
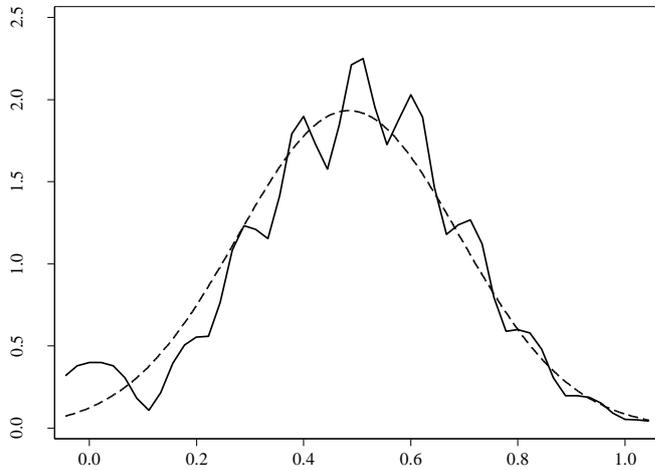
(c) Distribution of interpersonal political knowledge among Czechs in 2012 (5-point interviewer post-interview evaluation scale)
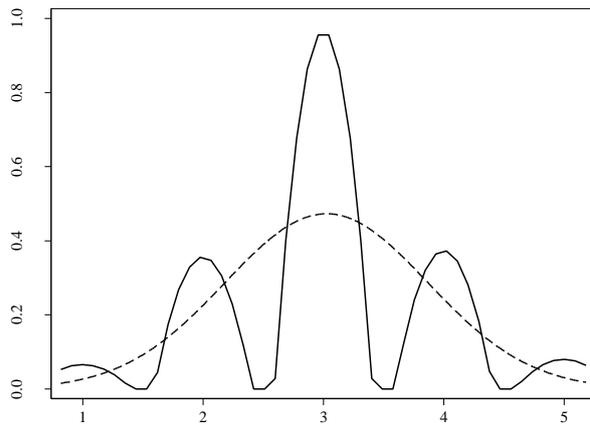
Source: CVVM survey, November 5–12, 2012, n=1203
Note these kernel density estimates show the distributions of the three dependent variables examined in this chapter. The dotted lines indicate a normal distribution.

**Table A10.2: Correlation between the three different types of political knowledge**

Type of political knowledge	Explicit	Implicit	Interpersonal
Explicit	1.000		
Sig. (2-tailed)	(≤.001)		
Implicit	.037	1.000	
Sig. (2-tailed)	(.194)	(≤.001)	
Interpersonal	.373	-.029	1.000
Sig. (2-tailed)	(≤.001)	(.315)	(≤.001)

Source: CVVM Survey, November 5–12, 2012, n=1203
Note the estimates are Pearson Product Moment Correlations.

Table A10.3: Summary statistics for variables in models estimated

Models and variables	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables		
Explicit knowledge (IRT, 20-point) scale	.52	.22
Implicit knowledge scale (10-point scale)	.51	.18
Interpersonal knowledge rating by interviewer (5-point scale)	.51	.21
Personality traits		
Extroversion (14-point scale)	.51	.22
Agreeableness (14-point scale)	.62	.18
Conscientiousness (14-point scale)	.68	.21
Emotional stability (14-point scale)	.58	.20
Openness to experience (14-point scale)	.64	.19
Style of thinking		
Closed minded scale (Cronbach's alpha=.52)	.31	.24
Believe world is not so complex (5-point scale)	.26	.44
Believe politics is predictable (5-point scale)	.37	.32
Pragmatic decision making style (10-point scale)	.25	.19
Motivation		
Interest in politics (4-point scale)	.61	.23
Party attachment (dichotomous)	.47	.22
Who in power makes a difference (5-point scale)	.54	.50
External political efficacy (Cronbach's alpha=.71)	.55	.25
Internal political efficacy scale (Cronbach's alpha=.80)	.39	.49
Left-right scale (11-point scale)	.18	.39
Electoral participation (dichotomous)	.62	.23
Ability		
Education level	.42	.32
Opportunity		
Sex: female (dichotomous)	.51	.50
Age (linear, 15–91 years)	.39	.23
Age squared (nonlinear)	.20	.19
Income of household (5-point scale)	.40	.25
Unemployed (dichotomous)	.07	.25
Media use scale (Cronbach's alpha=.63)	.56	.23
Community size (5-point scale)	.52	.32

Source: CVVM survey, November 5–12, 2012, n=1267/1203

Note that all variables have a range of 0–1 where the unstandardized coefficients reported may be used to compare across the three models reported. The sample size is reduced because 64 respondents refused to answer the implicit political knowledge (ballot photo) items. Standard deviation estimates are given in the Std. Dev. column.

Appendix for Chapter 11

Figure A11.1: Issue position questions for Czech electorate, 2006

Now, we would like to know your opinion on particular issues. Where would you place your opinion on the following [0–10 or 11-point] scale? Show the card.

Agree strongly with the first statement [0]	*-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-*	*Agree strongly with the second statement [10]*
People themselves should be responsible for most of the costs of healthcare, education etc. [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The state is responsible for the significant part of those costs [10]
All the state – owned enterprises should be privatized [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	A significant part of companies and enterprises should be state-owned [10]
The major priority of governmental economic policy should be the fight against unemployment [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The major priority of governmental economic policy should be the effort to lower the inflation and the state budget deficit [10]
People with higher income should pay higher tax rate [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	Everybody should pay the same tax rate [10]
Immigration laws should be more strict [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	Immigration laws should be less strict [10]
The state should outlaw abortion [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	It's up to a woman to decide about abortion [10]
European integration should be deepened [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	European integration has already gone too far [10]
The church should intervene in politics [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The church shouldn't intervene in politics [10]
Farmers shouldn't get subventions [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	Farmers should get subventions [10]
The economy performance boosting is a priority to the environmental protection [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The environmental protection is a priority to the economy performance boosting [10]
People who were in functions during the communism, shouldn't hold an public office [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	All should have the same opportunity to hold public offices [10]
The fight against crime is necessary even if it could limit citizen rights and liberties [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	Fighting against crime is necessary, but citizen rights and liberties must not be limited [10]
The state should financially support families, so they have money enough for having more children [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The state shouldn't try to influence how many children is a family going to have by any means [10]
The healthcare should be guaranteed by the means of a network of non-commercial hospitals [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The healthcare should be provided by a competition among private hospitals [10]
The state should regulate rent [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The state should regulate rent [10]
The state should intervene the economy to ensure it functions well [0]	-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-	The state should not intervene the economy to ensure it performs well [10]

Source: Czech National Election Study, CVVM, June 8–21, 2006, n=2002, question 29

Statistical Simulation of Political Knowledge Effects
The methodology used to simulate the effects of political knowledge on policy positions is based on a modelling approach originally developed by Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996: 334–336), Bartels (1996: 202–210), and later extended by Althaus (2003: 323–328). All of the dependent variables examined are 11-point (0–10) issue scales. Therefore, it is possible to use ordinary least squares to estimate the parameters of interest. However, logit regression is used instead because this model allows the relationship between level of political knowledge and the explanatory variables to be non-linear in nature.

Moreover, many of the issue scales have very skewed distributions, and therefore are likely to cause problems for estimations that assume normally distributed, linearly related and homoscedastic data. For this reason, all issue scales were recoded to denote a left-right or liberal-conservative orientation the 'extreme' four points on the scale, i.e. 0–3 and 7–10 were coded as being rightist/conservative and given a value of 1 and all other responses were coded as zero. Respondents who refused to give a definite response on the issue scales were excluded from analysis in order to ensure valid inferences.

Collinearity and biased estimates in the simulations
This situation arises because there is likely to be considerable correlation between the interaction variables and (a) the political knowledge and (b) socio-demographic measures such as age, education, income, etc. Moreover, there are likely to be strong inter-correlations between the independent variables, e.g. high income and living in an urban area. As a result, many of the coefficients have relatively large standard errors thus reducing the number of variables that are able to attain conventional levels of statistical significance. In short, many of the models undoubtedly suffered from collinearity problems.

For example, modelling preferences toward government intervention into the economy minus the political knowledge and associated interaction variables reveals that about one quarter of the independent variables are significant predictors (p≤.10). Moreover, re-estimating the model presented using only the variables that are statistically significant results in no dramatic change in the sign and direction of these key variables. This evidence demonstrates that while many of the coefficients estimated have large standard errors the parameters themselves do not suffer from bias. This result provides reasonable confidence that the simulation results presented are accurate estimates of the relationships being examined.

Omitted variable bias in the simulations
An equally important concern is the presence of model specification error due to the exclusion of attitudinal variables such as left-right orientation from the model of preferences of government intervention into the economy. However, this is not a problem as the goal of the modelling exercise is not to produce efficient and unbiased estimates of what explains attitudes toward government intervention into the economy among individual citizens. In order to ensure that omitted variable bias is not influencing the political knowledge effects presented a second model was also estimated: here the non-significant variables from the combined model were also included. This had little effect on the highly informed level of support for government intervention into the economy.

Despite these problems the modelling results reported are nonetheless valid as the goal of the approach used in this chapter is to capture differences in policy orientation between (a) different subgroups in Czech society and (b) differences within subgroups. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the results presented are not individual-level explanatory models of policy preferences.

Table A11.1: Examination of the association among correct voting indicators using the Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability (KR-20)

(a) 2006, 2010 and 2013
Number of items in the scale = 7
Number of complete observations = 2097

Correct voting indicators	Item difficulty	Item variance	Item-rest correlation
Party identification	.76	.18	.39
Most positive view of party	.67	.22	.55
Most positive view of party leader	.50	.25	.45
Likes the party the most	.97	.03	.21
Likes party leader the most	.91	.08	.27
Highest probability to vote for a party	.99	.01	.21
Closest to party on left-right scale	.77	.18	.24
Mean score	.79	–	.33
KR20 coefficient	.61	–	–

(b) 2006
Number of items in the scale = 7
Number of complete observations = 1070

Correct voting indicators	Item difficulty	Item variance	Item-rest correlation
Party identification	.77	.18	.37
Most positive view of party	.67	.22	.56
Most positive view of party leader	.55	.25	.46
Likes the party the most	.97	.02	.19
Likes party leader the most	.94	.06	.24
Highest probability to vote for a party	.98	.02	.24
Closest to party on left-right scale	.79	.17	.25
Mean score	.81	–	.33
KR20 coefficient	.61	–	–

(c) 2010
Number of items in the scale = 7
Number of complete observations = 560

Correct voting indicators	Item difficulty	Item variance	Item-rest correlation
Party identification	.76	.18	.38
Most positive view of party	.68	.22	.54
Most positive view of party leader	.46	.25	.40
Likes the party the most	.97	.03	.22
Likes party leader the most	.87	.11	.30
Highest probability to vote for a party	.98	.02	.22
Closest to party on left-right scale	.78	.17	.25
Mean score	.79	–	.33
KR20 coefficient	.61	–	–

(d) 2013
Number of items in the scale = 7
Number of complete observations = 467

Correct voting indicators	Item difficulty	Item variance	Item-rest correlation
Party identification	.73	.20	.42
Most positive view of party	.63	.23	.56
Most positive view of party leader	.44	.25	.47
Likes the party the most	.96	.04	.26
Likes party leader the most	.90	.09	.26
Highest probability to vote for a party	.99	.01	.15
Closest to party on left-right scale	.74	.19	.21
Mean score	.77	−	.33
KR20 coefficient	.62	−	−

Table A11.2: A comparison of probit models of correct voting and turnout for the 2010 lower chamber elections

All models	Probit model with selection		Correct voting model only		Turnout model only	
	Coef.	P>z	Coef.	P>z	Coef.	P>z
Correct voting model:						
Interest in politics	.07	.729	.87	<.001		
Knowledge (factual)	-.10	.614	.29	.200		
Education level	.01	.965	.15	.292		
Choice in voting makes a difference	.27	.119	1.09	<.001		
Contacted during campaign	.12	.275	.08	.530		
Intercept	-.33	.096	-1.96	<.001		
Voter turnout model:						
Interest in politics	.93	<.001			1.44	<.001
Knowledge	.82	<.001			.73	<.001
Education level	.26	.045			.32	.010
Choice in voting makes a difference	.70	<.001			.69	<.001
Party attachment (level)	1.73	<.001			1.18	<.001
Left-wing orientation	.38	<.001			.32	.002
Right-wing orientation	.65	<.001			.50	<.001
Age (linear effects)	.40	.468			.83	.140
Age squared (nonlinear effects)	-.19	.767			-.71	.298
Female	.21	.002			.23	.002
Married	.12	.125			.17	.031
Intercept	-1.47	<.001			-1.49	<.001
Fisher's z transformation of rho	-1.54	<.001	NA		NA	
Rho	-.91		NA		NA	
Wald test*	95		NA		NA	
Total sample size (n)	1604		1053		1857	
Censored obs. (n)	551		NA		NA	
Uncensored obs. (n)	1053		NA		NA	
Wald chi²(5); chi²(11)	5		81		396	
Log-pseudo-likelihood	-1215		-584		-814	
Pseudo R²	NA		.07		.27	

Source: Czech National Election Survey, 2010, n=1857

Note that all models were estimated with a probit estimator as the dependent variables are (1) voted correctly or not [0/1] and (2) voted in the election or not [0/1]. Data have been weighted to reflect the actual turnout in 2010. NA refers to parameter estimates that are not available due to model specification. Difference in sample sizes between (a) the Heckman probit model with selection and (2) the probit model of turnout reflects pairwise missing cases. This is due to respondents indicating they voted but not which party they supported, level of party attachment, etc. * Wald test of independent equations (Rho=0): chi²(1), p≤.001

Table A11.3: A comparison of probit models of correct voting and turnout for the 2013 lower chamber elections

All models	Probit model with selection		Correct voting model only		Turnout model only	
	Coef.	P>z	Coef.	P>z	Coef.	P>z
Correct voting model:						
Interest in politics	-.07	.730	.58	.005		
Knowledge (factual)	.39	.110	.94	<.001		
Education level	-.38	.006	-.35	.022		
Choice in voting makes a difference	.77	.001	1.68	<.001		
Contacted during campaign	.15	.100	.22	.036		
Intercept	-.79	.004	-2.47	<.001		
Voter turnout model:						
Interest in politics	1.28	<.001			1.47	<.001
Knowledge	.81	<.001			1.06	<.001
Education level	.29	.034			.36	.007
Choice in voting makes a difference	.86	<.001			.99	<.001
Party attachment (level)	1.83	<.001			1.25	<.001
Left-wing orientation	.23	.020			.18	.088
Right-wing orientation	.40	<.001			.30	.004
Age (linear effects)	.43	.526			-.20	.770
Age squared (nonlinear effects)	-.13	.872			.61	.466
Female	.05	.488			.08	.304
Married	.27	.001			.28	.001
Intercept	-1.78	<.001			-1.72	<.001
Fisher's z transformation of rho	-1.24	<.001	NA		NA	
Rho	-.85		NA		NA	
Wald test*	57		NA		NA	
Total sample size (n)	1488		949		1653	
Censored obs. (n)	539		NA		NA	
Uncensored obs. (n)	949		NA		NA	
Wald chi²(5); chi²(11)	21		102		353	
Log-pseudo-likelihood	-1084		-473		-739	
Pseudo R²	NA		.11		.30	

Source: Czech National Election Survey, 2013, n=1653

Note that all models were estimated with a probit estimator as the dependent variables are (1) voted correctly or not [0/1] and (2) voted in the election or not [0/1]. Data have been weighted to reflect the actual turnout in 2013. NA refers to parameter estimates that are not available due to model specification. Difference in sample sizes between (a) the Heckman probit model with selection and (2) the probit model of turnout reflects pairwise missing cases. This is due to respondents indicating they voted but not which party they supported, level of party attachment, etc. * Wald test of independent equations (Rho=0): chi²(1), p≤.001

Appendix for Chapter 12

Details of the questions from the Images of the World in the Year 2000 survey for (a) political knowledge scale and (b) the Motivation-Ability-Opportunity (MAO) indicators have been presented in the appendices of earlier chapters.

Science forecast scale (7 items)
Q16: We would like to know what you feel about the likely advances in science by the year 2000. Do you feel that … ? Response options: (1) Yes, (2) Uncertain, (9) DK/NA.

Q16a1 In the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to decide in advance the sex of one's child?
Q16b1 In the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to decide in advance the major features of the personality of one's child?
Q16c1 in the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to cure dangerous diseases like cancer?
Q16d1 In the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to decide in advance the economic development of a country?
Q16e1 In the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to organize the world so that there will be no wars?
Q16f1 In the year 2000 scientific knowledge will make it possible to decide in advance what the weather will be like?
Q16g1 In the year 2000 science will make it possible to go to other planets (not including the moon)

Social anomie forecast scale (18 items)
Question 13: What do you think will be the situation in your country by the year 2000? Do you think that … ? Response options: (1) More, (2) About as now, (3) Less, (9) DK/NA.

Q13a: People will be more or less happy than they are today?
Q13b: People will be more interested or less interested in inner experiences and inner life than they are today?
Q13c: People will enjoy their work more or less than they do today?
Q13d: People will believe more or believe less in their religion than they do today?
Q13e: People will be more interested or less interested in material things like cars etc. than they are today?
Q13f: People will be more interested or less interested in social success than they are today?
Q13g: People will be more kind or less kind to each other than they are today?
Q13h: People will be more interested or less interested in having really good friends than they are today?
Q13i: There will be more sexual freedom or less sexual freedom for young people than there is today?
Q13j: People will be more attached or less attached to their families than they are today?
Q13k: There will be more divorce or less divorce or marriages than there is today?
Q13l: People will have more leisure or less leisure time than they have today?
Q13m: There will be more unemployment or less unemployment than there is today?
Q13n: People will be more similar or less similar to each other than they are today?
Q13o: There will be more difference or less difference between people high up and people low down in society than there is today?
Q13p: There will be more mental illness or less mental illness than there is today?
Q13q: There will be more use or less use of narcotics and drugs than there is today?
Q13r: There will be more criminality or less criminality than there is today?

Figure A12.1: Profile of correct predictions of scientific advances by 2000
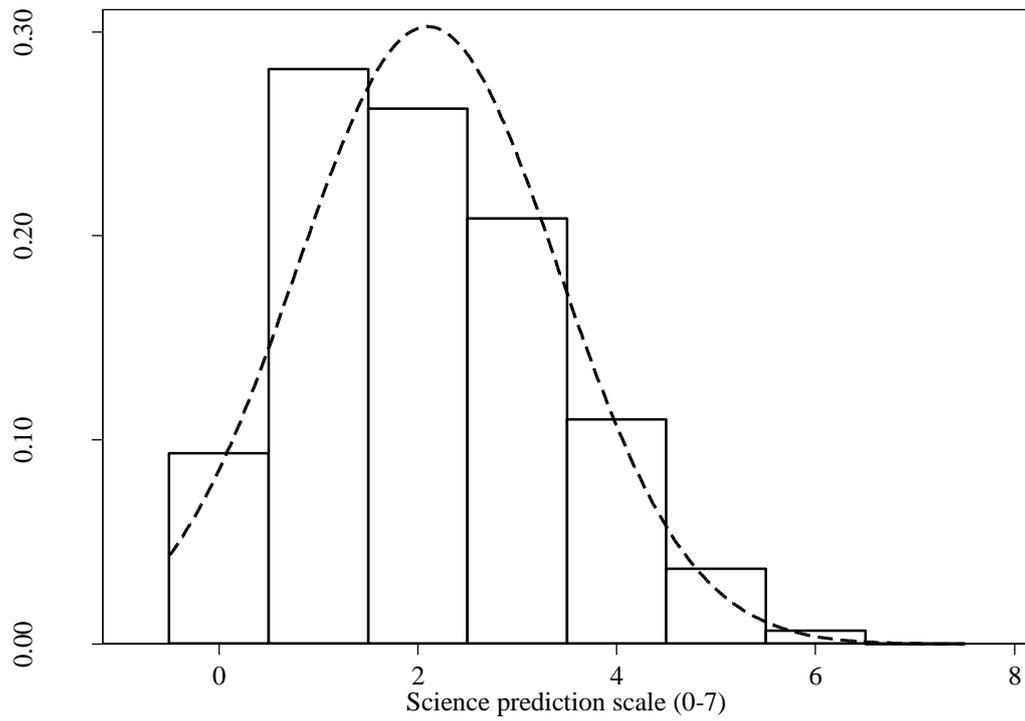
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967 –1970, question 16

Figure A12.2: Profile of correct predictions of anomie by 2000
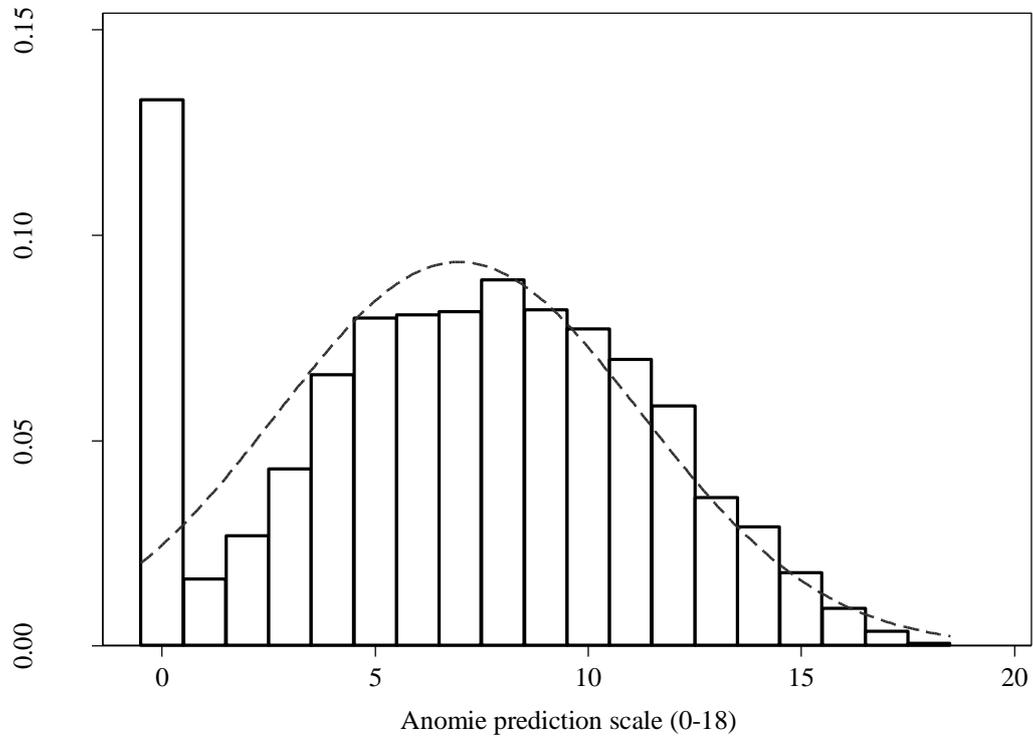
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 Survey, 1967 –1970, question 13

Table A12.1: Correct predictions of scientific developments by 2000 by country?

Country	Number of correct predictions (%)								Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Spain	18	38	26	12	4	1	0	0	100
Slovenia	15	35	24	17	7	2	0	0	100
Czechs	12	38	28	14	6	1	0	0	100
Slovaks	8	49	24	10	7	1	0	0	100
Finland	8	25	25	24	12	5	1	0	100
West Germany (FRG)	6	24	28	23	14	5	1	0	100
Norway	5	20	26	24	17	6	1	0	100
Netherlands	3	15	28	33	16	4	1	0	100
Britain	1	14	24	32	19	8	2	0	100
Average for all countries	9	28	26	21	11	4	1	0	100

Source: Image of the World in the Year 2000, 1967-1970, question 16

Note all questions were recoded where a correct forecast was coded as '1' and all other responses as zero. All row percentages sum to 100 percent. These estimates of forecasting success show national profiles where there is no obvious pattern showing that individuals living in communist versus capitalist states were better at predicting.

Table A12.2: Correct predictions of anomie by 2000 by country, percent

				Country					
Item	CZ	FRG	SPA	NOR	NET	FIN	SLO	SK	Total
Q13a	17	23	14	42	38	29	28	16	23
Q13b	20	25	22	42	53	27	28	19	27
Q13c	15	25	15	36	66	44	34	23	28
Q13d	78	56	41	59	72	65	49	70	57
Q13e	68	51	80	75	81	75	72	80	69
Q13f	68	40	60	67	64	68	59	72	57
Q13g	26	25	23	40	46	40	42	36	30
Q13h	8	16	13	24	28	16	23	8	16
Q13i	56	60	80	82	81	83	73	63	71
Q13j	40	39	60	52	34	38	49	53	46
Q13k	47	47	67	80	76	70	72	64	61
Q13l	85	69	48	89	90	88	56	79	69
Q13m	24	32	25	44	55	32	61	31	35
Q13n	37	30	63	48	48	53	32	45	44
Q13p	54	24	56	76	62	60	74	59	51
Q13q	47	54	65	86	85	75	75	60	64
Q13r	34	40	46	73	69	49	73	45	49
Mean	43	39	46	60	62	54	53	48	47
Std. Dev.	23	15	23	20	19	21	19	23	18
Median	40	39	48	59	64	53	56	53	49

Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000, 1967–1970, question 13
Note the response options were: (1) more, (2) about as now, (3) less, (4) don't know, no answer. All parts of question 13 were recoded to reflect more anomie in the year 2000. The exact coding scheme for a correct prediction coded as a '1' with all other responses coded as a zero (0) are given below.

Legend for countries:
CZ: Czechs; FRG: West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany); SPA: Spain; NOR: Norway; NET: Netherlands; FIN: Finland; SLO: Slovenia; and SK: Slovakia.

Legend for anomie indicators where the underlined terms indicated the response option coded as a correct forecast and given a value of '1' with all other answers coded as zero.
  Q13a: people will be less happy than they are today?
  Q13b: people will be less interested in inner experiences and inner life than they are today?
  Q13c: people will enjoy their work less than they do today?
  Q13d: people will believe less in their religion than they do today?
  Q13e: people will be more interested in material things like cars etc. than they are today?
  Q13f: people will be more interested in social success than they are today?
  Q13g: people will be less kind to each other than they are today?
  Q13h: people will be less interested in having really good friends than they are today?
  Q13i: there will be more sexual freedom for young people than there is today?
  Q13j: people will be less attached to their families than they are today?
  Q13k: there will be more divorce than there is today?
  Q13l: people will have more leisure time than they have today?
  Q13m: there will be more unemployment than there is today?
  Q13n: people will be less similar to each other than they are today?
  Q13o: there will be more differences between people high up and low down in society?
 Q13p: there will be more mental illness than there is today?
 Q13q: there will be more use of narcotics and drugs than there is today?
  Q13r: there will be more criminality than there is today?

Figure A 12.3: Relationship between level of political knowledge and ability to forecast scientific advances by the year 2000, country-level results
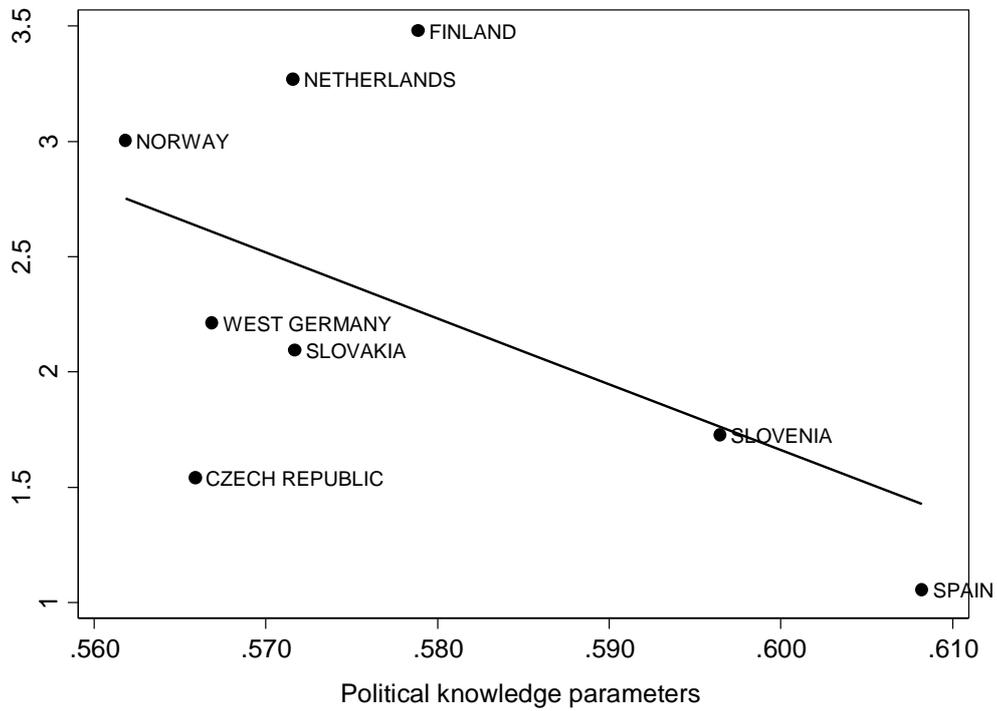
*(a) All eight countries: negative relationship*

*(b) Excluding Spain and Slovenia: positive relationship*
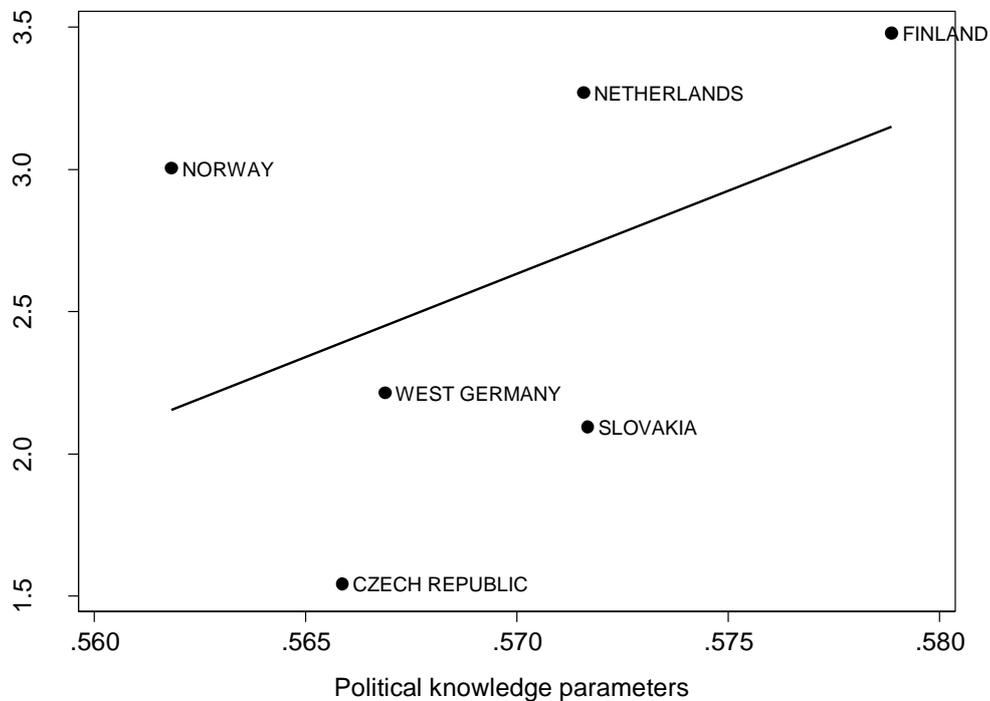
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 survey, 1967–1970

Figure A12.4: Relationship between level of political knowledge and ability to forecast anomie in the year 2000, country-level results
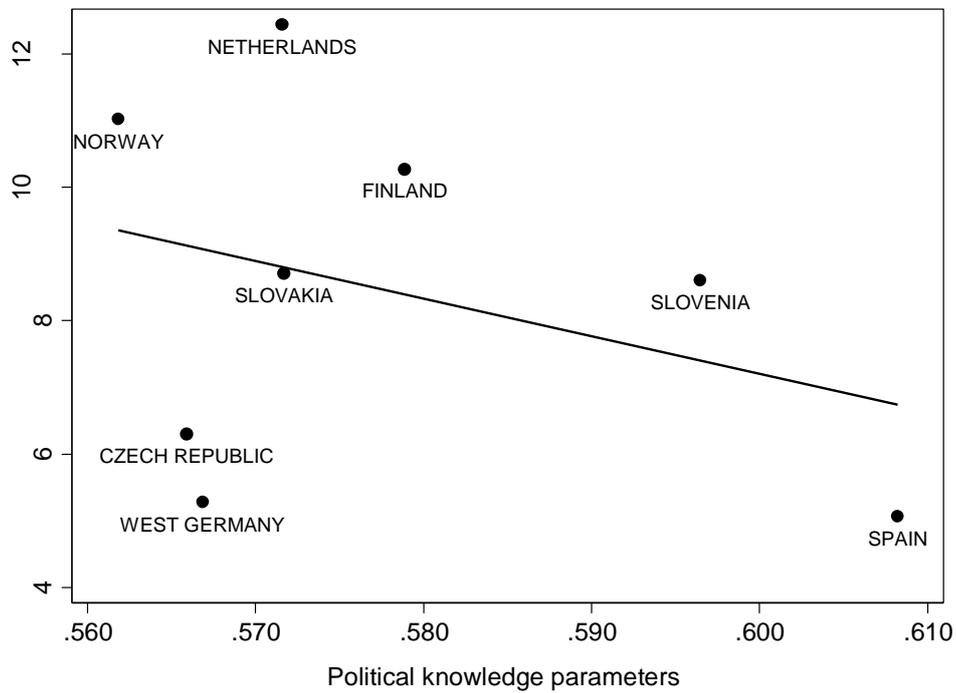
(a) All eight countries: negative relationship

(b) Excluding Spain and Slovenia: positive relationship
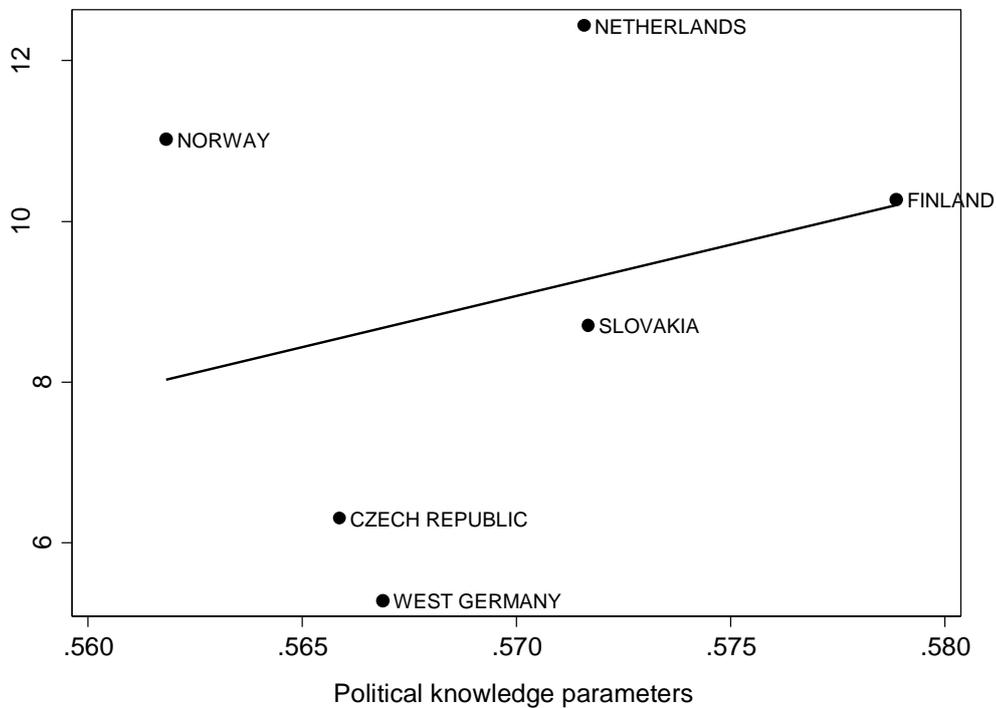
Source: Images of the World in the Year 2000 survey, 1967–1970

Appendix for Chapter 13

The PhilPapers Survey Questionaire (2009)
The order of the questions and answer options was randomized each time they were presented to respondents. The questions were:

Q1:   A priori knowledge: yes or no?
Q2:   Abstract objects: Platonism or nominalism?
Q3:   Aesthetic value: objective or subjective?
Q4:   Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes or no?
Q5:   Epistemic justification: internalism or externalism?
Q6:   External world: idealism, skepticism, or non-skeptical realism?
Q7:   Free will: compatibilism, libertarianism, or no free will?
Q8:   God: theism or atheism?
Q9:   Knowledge: empiricism or rationalism?
Q10:   Knowledge claims: contextualism, relativism, or invariantism?
Q11:   Laws of nature: Humean or non-Humean?
Q12:   Logic: classical or non-classical?
Q13:   Mental content: internalism or externalism?
Q14:   Meta-ethics: moral realism or moral anti-realism?
Q15:   Metaphilosophy: naturalism or non-naturalism?
Q16:   Mind: physicalism or non-physicalism?
Q17:   Moral judgment: cognitivism or non-cognitivism?
Q18:   Moral motivation: internalism or externalism?
Q19:   Newcomb's problem: one box or two boxes?
Q20:   Normative ethics: deontology, consequentialism, or virtue ethics?
Q21:   Perceptual experience: disjunctivism, qualia theory, representationalism, or sense-datum theory?
Q22:   Personal identity: biological view, psychological view, or further-fact view?
Q23:   Politics: communitarianism, egalitarianism, or libertarianism?
Q24:   Proper names: Fregean or Millian?
Q25:   Science: scientific realism or scientific anti-realism?
Q26:   Tele transporter (new matter): survival or death?
Q27:   Time: A-theory or B-theory?
Q28:   Trolley problem (five straight ahead, one on side track, turn requires switching, what ought one do?): switch or don't switch?
Q29:   Truth: correspondence, deflationary, or epistemic?
Q30:   Zombies: inconceivable, conceivable but not metaphysically possible, or metaphysically possible?

Respondents could 'accept' or 'lean toward' any of the options mentioned in the questions above. They could also choose one of a set of 'other' responses. These additional possible responses were as follows (with minor variations for non-binary questions): (1) Accept both, (2) Reject both, (3) Accept an intermediate view, (4) Accept another alternative, (5) The question is too unclear to answer, (6) There is no fact of the matter, (7) Insufficiently familiar with the issue, (8) Agnostic/undecided, (9) Other, or (10) Skip. A 'Skip' answer was given by skipping the question instead of picking an answer in the answer form.

The PhilPapers Metasurvey Questionaire (2009)
In the metasurvey, respondents had to estimate what percentages of respondents in the primary target population would either 'accept' or 'lean' toward any of the main positions mentioned in the survey. For the question on a priori knowledge, for example (Q1 above), respondents had to assign percentages to the following three sets of responses: (1) Accept: yes, Lean toward: yes; (2) Accept: no, Lean toward: no; (3a) Accept both, (3b) Reject both, (3c) Accept an intermediate view, (3d) Accept another alternative, (3e) The question is too unclear to answer, (3f) There is no fact of the matter, (3g) Insufficiently familiar with the issue, (3h) Agnostic/undecided, (3i) Other, and (3j) Skip. Respondents therefore had to specify three percentages for this question. Answer options were randomized wherever they appeared.

Online Questionnaire for the Survey of Czech Economists on Economic Policy, December 2008 to January 15 2009

Instructions
This questionnaire can be saved at any stage of progress by pressing the button at the end of the page, and can be retrieved back later anytime until the deadline of *January 15 2009*. Do not leave the survey questionnaire open and idle for more than 30 minutes without saving your responses – they could be lost that way. *The survey is strictly anonymous – the responses CANNOT in any way be associated with the real names of respondents. Moreover, both the sign-up name and the password can be changed <u>here</u> and the trace after the original sign-up information can thus be entirely eliminated.* Please, always tick just one option – the one that most closely matches your opinion. In part B you state in which direction you would adjust the current form of the given economic policy tool or measure in the Czech Republic, i.e. you propose its desirable form with respect to the current state of it. All questions are couched as recommendations, and thus make a *normative* impression. In case of doubts regarding the normative grounds for economic policy-making, please assume that the goal of economic policy is the welfare of the inhabitants of the Czech Republic *as you personally conceive of it*. In some cases the question really refers to a bundle of several measures (e.g. different types of 'farm support') and/or to a measure of a local nature (e.g. rent control). In such cases, please, assume you cannot change the *structure* of such measures, and that you can only change their *average* level.

A. General view
Q1: Do you think the economic policy reflects in a sufficient way the insights of economic theory and the policy recommendation made by economists (i.e. that they are not systematically distorted by policy)? Response options: (1) yes, (2) no.

B. Particular policy opinions
Q2: The extent to which trade barriers (tariffs, quotas etc.) are used should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q3: The extent to which antidumping and similar trade-political proceedings against foreign producers are used should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q4: The amount of attention paid by policy-makers to the balance-of-trade deficit should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q5: The size of the budget deficit should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q6: The size of the government expenditures should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q7: The marginal rate of the income tax should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q8: The size of the total tax burden should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.
Q9: The rate of the money supply growth should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q10: The level of the inflation target set by the central bank should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q11: The extent to which environmental regulation is used should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q12: The extent to which regulation is used to protect consumers should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q13: The extent to which the anti-trust authority interferes with the economy should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q14: The difficulty with which employees can be laid off should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q15: The legislated power of the labour unions should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q16: The extent to which trade with illicit drugs is regulated should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q17: The extent to which trade with human organs is regulated should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q18: The level of legislated minimum wage should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q19: The legislated maximum rent that can be charged for apartments should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q20: The extent to which farming is subsidized by government should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q21: The extent to which university students share the cost of university education should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

Q22: The extent to which investment perks are used should be? Response options: (1) higher, (2) unchanged, (3) lower, (4) declined to answer.

C. Respondent information

Q23: Age? Response options: (1) 25 years or below, (2) 26 to 35 years, (3) 36 to 45 years, (4) 46 to 55 years, (5) 56 to 65 years, (6) 66 years or more, (7) declined to answer

Q24: Sex? Response options: (1) male, (2) female, (3) declined to answer

Q25: What sort of economist do you conceive yourself of? Response options: (1) academic, (2) private sector, (3) government, (4) avocation, (5) other, (6) declined to answer

Q25a: Verbatim response for Q25, option 5

Q26: Gross income? Response options: (1) 250 CZK or less, (2) 250 to 500 CZK, (3) 500 to 750 CZK, (4) over 750 CZK, (5) declined to answer

Q27: Which political party's program is closest to your vision of economic policy? Response options: (1) ČSSD (social democratic), (2) KDU-ČSL (Christian conservative), (3) KSČM (communist), (4) ODS (civic conservative), (5) SZ (environmental), (6) other, (7) declined to answer

Q27a: Verbatim response for Q27, option 6

Czech Expert Survey of Party Policy Positions, November 2013 to January 2014

This expert survey fielded 38 scales; the majority replicate the Laver and Benoit (2006) questions. This web-based survey was implemented using the open-source LimeSurvey software, and so it was possible to also measure the times of responses because this might be useful for evaluating data quality, and timing responses did not involve any additional burden on the respondents. For the expert survey, the response rate was about 25% for fully completed questionnaires, and about 44% for incomplete questionnaires. The expert respondents were sent three email reminders during late November–December 2013, and January 2014.

As an informal experiment, we also fielded the same survey to non-experts or citizens interested in politics using social networks (Facebook) and the Institute of Sociology's website (http://www.soc.cas.cz/) to recruit respondents. This was a completely separate survey and did not interfere in any way with the main study. The main purpose of this informal research was to see if the experts' scores are significantly different of 'well-informed' (non-academic) citizens. This survey research revealed that many non-experts started the online survey relative few completed it – the completion rate was about 11%. In contrast, the completion rate for experts was about 25%. This differential suggests that experts have more 'patience' in completing a set of party policy items that took about 30 minutes to finish.

Each data file contains both complete and incomplete questionnaires. There is variable labelled 'complete' which facilitates selecting only those respondents who answered all questions. In the combined 'expert' and 'non-expert' there is also a variable who were the different type of respondents. All timing variable data is in seconds, and represents the LimeSurvey software measurements of how long it took a respondent to complete a position or importance question for all 8 parties. In this survey, this duration represented the opening and closing of a specific webpage. There are thus 38 timing variables: one for each scale.

Czech Expert Survey of Party Policy Positions Questionnaire

(1) Economic policy: (Taxes vs Spending) – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Promotes raising taxes to increase public services
20: Promotes cutting public services to cut taxes

(2) Social policy: (Social Liberalism) – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Favours liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia
20: Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia

(3) Economic policy (Privatization) – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Promotes maximum state ownership of business and industry
20: Opposes all state ownership of business and industry

(4) Environment – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth
20: Supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment

(5) Decentralisation – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Promotes decentralization of all administration and decision making
20: Opposes any decentralization of administration and decision making

(6) Market regulation – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Favours high levels of state regulation and control of the market
20: Favours deregulation of markets at every opportunity

(7) Support of business – POSITION/IMPORTANCE
(1) Favours policies to ensure most control of business in the Czech Republic
20: Favours policies to facilitate business in the Czech Republic

(8) EU: Authority – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Favours increasing the range of areas in which the EU can set policy
20: Favours reducing the range of areas in which the EU can set policy

(9) Media freedom – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: The mass media should be completely free to publish any material they see fit
20: The content of mass media should be regulated by the state in the public interest

(10) EU: Strengthening – POSITION/IMPORTANCE *
1: Favours a more powerful and centralized EU
20: Opposes a more powerful and centralized EU

(11) Tax system – POSITION/IMPORTANCE
1: Favours a highly progressive tax system
20: Favours a flat tax system

(12) Euro – POSITION/IMPORTANCE
1: Favours adoption of the euro as the domestic currency
20: Opposes adoption of the euro as the domestic currency

(13) Civil liberties – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Promotes protection of civil liberties, even when this hampers efforts to fight crime and promote law and order
20: Supports tough measures to fight crime and promote law and order, even when this means curtailing civil liberties

(14) Immigration – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Favours policies designed to help asylum seekers and immigrants integrate into Czech society
20: Favours policies designed to help asylum seekers and immigrants return to their country of origin

(15) Health care – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Advocates that the government should provide universal free health care
20: Advocates medical expenses should be paid by individuals and private insurance plans

(16) Benefits of EU membership – POSITION/IMPORTANCE
1: Advocates that EU membership is beneficial for the Czech Republic
20: Advocates that EU membership is not beneficial for the Czech Republic

(17) Former communists – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Former communist party officials should have the same rights and opportunities as other citizens to participate in public life
20: Former communist party officials should be kept out of public life as far as possible

(18) Nationalism – POSITION/IMPORTANCE*
1: Strongly promotes a cosmopolitan rather than a Czech national consciousness, history, and culture
20: Strongly promotes a Czech national rather than a cosmopolitan consciousness, history, and culture

(19) The general left-right dimension – POSITION*
Please locate each party on a general left-right dimension, taking all aspects of party policy into account.
1: Left
20: Right

(20) Respondent sympathy/closeness to party – POSITION*
Taking all aspects of party policy into account, please score each party in terms of how close it is to your own personal views.
1: Same as the respondent
20: Farthest from respondent

Note that all 15 scales indicated with a star (*) are the same as those in Laver and Benoit (2006: Appendix A, pp. 168–175). An additional, four Czech-specific scales were also included in this expert survey.

Table A13.1: Overview of the discrimination and difficulty of the Czech economists' expert survey questions using an IRT model

(a) Discrimination

No	Policy	B	SE	Z	P	95% CI	
1	Inflation target should be reduced	.55	.23	2.43	.015	.11	1.00
2	Money supply should be reduced	.91	.25	3.67	<.001	.43	1.40
3	Maximum rent limits should be increased*	1.11	.25	4.48	<.001	.62	1.59
4	Illegal drug regulation should be reduced	1.38	.28	4.85	<.001	.82	1.93
5	Human organ sales should be less regulated	1.70	.35	4.83	<.001	1.01	2.39
6	State budget deficit should be reduced	1.82	.39	4.68	<.001	1.06	2.59
7	Environmental regulations should be reduced	1.86	.36	5.14	<.001	1.15	2.57
8	Investment incentives should be reduced	1.94	.37	5.21	<.001	1.21	2.66
9	Total tax burden should be reduced	1.96	.40	4.87	<.001	1.17	2.76
10	Income tax rate should be reduced	2.02	.39	5.18	<.001	1.26	2.78
11	Students should pay more of university costs*	2.03	.43	4.72	<.001	1.19	2.88
12	Farm subsidies should be reduced	2.15	.41	5.20	<.001	1.34	2.96
13	Minimum wage should be reduced	2.20	.42	5.20	<.001	1.37	3.02
14	Anti-trust powers should be reduced	2.27	.45	5.05	<.001	1.39	3.16
15	Difficulty of dismissing workers be reduced	2.28	.44	5.16	<.001	1.42	3.15
16	Government expenditure should be reduced	2.39	.47	5.03	<.001	1.46	3.32
17	Anti-dumping actions should be reduced	2.41	.48	5.00	<.001	1.46	3.35
18	Importance of balance of trade be reduced	2.52	.51	4.93	<.001	1.52	3.53
19	Use of trade tariffs should be reduced	2.57	.52	4.98	<.001	1.56	3.58
20	Consumer protection regulation be reduced	2.81	.63	4.49	<.001	1.58	4.04
21	Formal power of trade unions be reduced	3.31	.68	4.85	<.001	1.97	4.65

(b) Difficulty

No	Policy	B	SE	Z	P	95% CI	
1	State budget deficit should be reduced	-1.12	.19	-5.92	<.001	-1.50	-.75
2	Students should pay more of university costs*	-.95	.16	-5.85	<.001	-1.27	-.63
3	Total tax burden should be reduced	-.83	.15	-5.40	<.001	-1.13	-.53
4	Government expenditure should be reduced	-.60	.13	-4.77	<.001	-.85	-.35
5	Maximum rent limits should be increased*	-.54	.19	-2.91	.004	-.91	-.18
6	Difficulty of dismissing workers be reduced	-.42	.12	-3.48	.001	-.65	-.18
7	Formal power of trade unions be reduced	-.36	.10	-3.41	.001	-.56	-.15
8	Farm subsidies should be reduced	-.27	.12	-2.30	.021	-.50	-.04
9	Income tax rate should be reduced	-.12	.12	-1.04	.299	-.36	.11
10	Minimum wage should be reduced	-.04	.11	-.35	.728	-.27	.19
11	Investment incentives should be reduced	-.04	.12	-.31	.756	-.28	.20
12	Use of trade tariffs should be reduced	-.03	.11	-.25	.804	-.24	.19
13	Anti-dumping actions should be reduced	.21	.12	1.85	.065	-.01	.44
14	Environmental regulations should be reduced	.85	.17	5.02	<.001	.52	1.18
15	Anti-trust powers should be reduced	.86	.16	5.47	<.001	.55	1.17
16	Importance of balance of trade be reduced	1.02	.16	6.22	<.001	.70	1.34
17	Consumer protection regulation be reduced	1.12	.17	6.68	<.001	.79	1.45
18	Illegal drug regulation should be reduced	1.20	.24	5.08	<.001	.74	1.66
19	Human organ sales should be less regulated	1.51	.25	6.14	<.001	1.03	1.99
20	Money supply should be reduced	2.32	.55	4.19	<.001	1.23	3.40
21	Inflation target should be reduced	3.53	1.36	2.60	.009	.87	6.19

Source: Survey of Czech Economists on Economic Policy, December 2008 to January 2009, n=182. Šťastný (2010) and authors' calculations. Model parameters derived from a two part (2PL) Item Response Theory (IRT) estimator. * Items that are reversed coded in contrast to the direction of all other questions.