Versatile citizens: media reporting, political cynicism and voter behavior

Adriaansen, M.L.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Introduction, Main Concepts of this Dissertation
Appendix B: Chapter 1, Survey Characteristics
Appendix C: Chapter 1, Exact Wording of the Questions
Appendix D: Chapter 1, Coding Scheme
Appendix E: Chapter 2, Strategic and Substantive News
Appendix G: Chapter 2, Political Cynicism Scale
Appendix H: Chapter 3, Overview of All Effects in the SEM
Appendix I: Chapter 4, News Paper Items About Education Policies
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Appendix A: Introduction, Main Concepts of this Dissertation

**Strategic news coverage:** covers of gains and losses, power struggles between political actors, the performance of political actors, and public perception of their performance. Also includes “horse race” news or game-oriented news; words of warfare and (sports) games are often used.

**Substantive news coverage:** provides information about present and future government policy, about political stands of parties, and about ideologies and ideas.

**Political cynicism:** strong distrust in the reliability and / or competence of political actors. The opposite is political trust.

**Electoral volatility:** the percentage of seats that changed party between two successive elections, measured on the aggregate level.

**Voter volatility:** the share of citizens not choosing the same party in two successive elections, measured on the individual level. A *changing voter* is someone who does not vote for the same party in two successive elections. **Ideological voter volatility** includes the ideological scope of the change; changing between two related parties is regarded as a “smaller change” than changing between non-related parties and we call the scope of change ideological voter volatility.

**Voter uncertainty:** the share of citizens not making a party choice long before the elections or hesitating which party to vote for, measured on the individual level. A *hesitating voter* is someone who hesitates which party to vote for and who does not make a party choice until shortly before the elections. **Ideological voter uncertainty** includes the ideological scope of hesitation; hesitating between two related parties can then be regarded as a “smaller hesitation” than doubting between non-related parties.
### Appendix B: Chapter 1, Survey Characteristics

Table B1 shows that our respondent data in Study 1 and 2 mirror census data by and large in terms of age, gender, and education.

Table B1: Respondent Characteristics Compared with Census Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dataset Study 1</th>
<th>Dataset Study 2</th>
<th>Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• male</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• female</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 18-34</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 35-44</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 45-54</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 55-64</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 65+</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• lower</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• middle</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• higher</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Study 1 includes 436 respondents. Study 2 includes 426 respondents. Census data concern the year 2009 and were obtained from “Gouden Standaard”, which is the reference instrument of the Dutch Market Research Association (MOA), these reference data are collected by the Dutch National Statistics Institute (CBS). Not all columns add up to 100 percent because of rounding to decimal places.
### Appendix C: Chapter 1, Exact Wording of the Questions

Table C1: Questions in the Dataset of Study 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answering categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1. To what extent do you trust government?</td>
<td>1. very little trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. little trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. much trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. very much trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>If Q1=1 or Q1=2:</strong> Q2a. Could you explain why you have (very) little trust in government?</td>
<td>1. are dishonest and not integer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. they are incompetent and not able to do their job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. they do not know what is important for the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. they only care about their own interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. they do not do what they promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. they do not care about people like me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. they are not decisive in taking care of problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. they are only interested in the money they earn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. I do not have a reason, it is mainly an impression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. other reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. I do not have a reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>If Q1=3 or Q1=4:</strong> Q2b. Could you explain why you say you have (very) much trust in government?</td>
<td>1. they are honest and integer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. they are competent and able to do their job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. they know what is important for the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. they try to do what is best for the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. they do what they promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. they stand up for people like me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. they are decisive in taking care of problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. I do not have a reason, it is mainly an impression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. other reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. I do not have a reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table C2: Questions in the Dataset of Study 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answering categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1. To what extent do you trust government?</td>
<td>1. very little trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. little trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. much trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. very much trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Q1=1 or Q1=2: Q2a. Could you explain why you have (very) little trust in government?</td>
<td>Open-ended question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Q1=3 or Q1=4: Q2b. Could you explain why you say you have (very) much trust in government?</td>
<td>Open-ended question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix D: Chapter 1, Coding Scheme**

Table D1: Coding Scheme for Positive Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Based on literature</th>
<th>Based on pretest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reliability - honesty:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. honest, trustworthy, sincere,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not manipulative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. not corrupt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. politics open, no backroom</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. not too much quarrel, blaming</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability - promises</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. do what they promise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability - motives:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. good intentions, do what is</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>best for the country, do try</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to do the best, ethical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. represent the general interest,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interest, interest of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>different groups in society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. do not represent their own</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a. subcategory: not too</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concerned with public opinion,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getting re-elected, own career</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b. subcategory: money is not</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their primary motivation, in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office for own pocketbook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. do not represent special</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interests, the elite or a few</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big interests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. no favoritism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability - responsiveness:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. listen to the public, responsive, voice heard</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. reference to people like</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>themselves, the ordinary citizen,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the common man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence - general:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. are competent, capable, skilful</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or smart, government performs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or is good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. things look good for the</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country, everything will work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out all right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence - taking charge:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. decisiveness, effective, vigor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do what is necessary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. efficient, using tax money</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>efficiently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence - awareness:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. are aware of problems, know</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what is going on, what is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. precise when dealing with</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problems, careful in general</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. give sufficient information</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for citizens to form an opinion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other categories:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. focused on the long term</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. are stable</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. respondent agrees with policy,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideology or vision, specific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political parties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. democratically chosen,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decision-making democratic,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizens should trust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. one cannot satisfy everybody,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one cannot do everything</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfectly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. politics is important,</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respondent politically interested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. negative motivation (it could</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have been worse, no alternative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer or no interpretation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. no answer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. no interpretation possible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* All categories are coded as dichotomous variables (yes or no). Categories 4, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 were added after the pretest. In categories 3, 8b, 11, 13 and 18 extra aspects were added after the pretest.
### Table D2: Coding Scheme for Negative Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Based on literature</th>
<th>Based on pretest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reliability - honesty:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dishonest, not trustworthy, crooked, twisters, manipulative</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. corrupt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. politics to closed and secret, backroom politics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. too much quarrel, blaming each other</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reliability - promises</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. do not do what they promise, promise more than they can deliver</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reliability - motives:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bad intentions, do not do what is best for the country, do not do try to do the best, not ethical</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. do not represent the general interest, not the interest of the different groups in society</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. represent their own interest</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a. subcategory: too concerned with public opinion, getting re-elected, own career</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b. subcategory: money is primary motivation, in office for own pocketbook</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. represent special interests, the elite or a few big interests</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. favoritism</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reliability - responsiveness:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. do not listen to public, unresponsive, interested in votes not opinions, voice unheard</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. reference to people like themselves, the ordinary citizen, the common man</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Competence - general:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. are not competent, capable, skilful or smart, government performs or is bad</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. things look bad for the country, it is going worse</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Competence - taking charge</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. no decisiveness, not effective, no vigor, put things off, do not do what is necessary</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. not efficient, wasting tax monies</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Competence - awareness:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. are not aware of problems, do not know what is going on, what is important</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. superficial when dealing with problems, superficial in general</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. do not give sufficient information for citizens to form an opinion</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other categories:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. focused on the short term, instead of the long term</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. are not stable</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. respondent disagrees with policy, ideology or vision, specific political parties</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. not democratically chosen, decision-making is undemocratic</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. -</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. politics is unimportant, respondent not politically interested</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. positive motivation (one can always do better)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. other</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No answer or no interpretation possible:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. no answer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. no interpretation possible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* All categories are coded as dichotomous variables (yes or no). Categories 4, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 were added after the pretest. In categories 3, 8b, 11, 13 and 18 extra aspects were added after the pretest.
Table E1 shows the percentages of substantive and strategic news in the different news outlets. The lowest share of substantive news was found for Hart van Nederland (37 percent), while the highest share was found for Een Vandaag (83 percent). The lowest share of strategic news was found for Trouw (40 percent), while the highest share was found for Nova/Nederland Kiest (70 percent).

### Table E1: Substantive and Strategic News in the Different News Outlets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Substantive news</th>
<th>Strategic news</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>News programs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NOS Journaal</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• RTL Nieuws</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hart van Nederland</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current affairs programs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Een Vandaag</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nova / Nederland Kiest</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regular newspapers:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Algemeen Dagblad</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NRC Handelsblad</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• De Telegraaf</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Trouw</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• de Volkskrant</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Free newspapers:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Metro</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sp!ts</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Chapter 2, Survey Characteristics

From a panel of approximately 145,000 Dutch citizens, a representative sample (1,115 persons) of the population of persons 18 years and older was selected, and invited to participate in a questionnaire. Of these persons, 870 respondents completed the questionnaire at t1 (September), and 703 respondents completed the questionnaire at t2 (November). This yields an overall response rate of 63 percent. Table F1 shows that our respondent data mirror census data by and large in terms of age, gender, and education.

Table F1: Respondent Characteristics Compared With Census Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dataset, n = 703</th>
<th>Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Census data is from 2006. Reference data were obtained from Gouden Standaard, which is the reference instrument of the Dutch Market Research Association (MOA); this reference data were collected by the Dutch National Statistics Institute (CBS). Not all columns add up to 100 percent because of rounding off to decimal places.
Appendix G: Chapter 2, Political Cynicism Scale

For the political cynicism scale, respondents were asked the following question, as shown in Table G1 (exact wording).

Table G1: Questions political cynicism scale

*Could you please indicate for each statement whether you agree or do not agree? Do you …*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>… fully agree</th>
<th>… agree</th>
<th>… disagree</th>
<th>… fully disagree</th>
<th>don’t know / no answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politicians consciously promise more than they can deliver</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers and junior-ministers are primarily self-interested</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To become Member of Parliament, friends are more important than abilities</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties are only interested in my vote, not in my opinion</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians do not understand what matters to society</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians are capable of solving important problems</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most politicians are competent people who know what they are doing</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. n = 801. Cell entries are the frequencies for t2 (November).*

For each statement, there were four possible answers: completely agree, agree, disagree and completely disagree. For the analysis, these categories were re-coded; higher values mean a more cynical response and the category “Don’t know / no answer” was coded “missing” For every statement a respondent is given a score of between 1 and 4 (from non-cynical to very cynical) and we combined the scores for the seven items in one scale.

Political cynicism scale t1: *mean = 2.806, sd = .503, Cronbach’s alpha = .867.* The inter-item correlations are between .354 and .578. Factor analysis shows that all items load on a single factor, with factor loadings between .675 and .806.

Political cynicism scale t2: *mean = 2.761, sd = .510, Cronbach’s alpha = .871.* The inter-item correlations are between .404 and .599. Factor analysis shows that all items load on a single factor, with factor loadings between .698 and .792.
### Table H1: Measurement Model for Political Cynicism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Unstandardized Factor Loading</th>
<th>Standardized Factor Loading</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 1</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.631</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 2</td>
<td>1.487</td>
<td>0.722</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 3</td>
<td>1.338</td>
<td>0.693</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 4</td>
<td>1.399</td>
<td>0.732</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 5</td>
<td>1.459</td>
<td>0.754</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 6</td>
<td>0.942</td>
<td>0.573</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. cyn. statement 7</td>
<td>1.032</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table H2: Measurement Model for Political Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Unstandardized Factor Loading</th>
<th>Standardized Factor Loading</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pol. int. statement 2</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.568</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pol. int. statement 1</td>
<td>1.139</td>
<td>0.733</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table H3: Causal Relationships between Independent, Intermediary and Dependent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dependent variable</th>
<th>independent variable</th>
<th>unstandardized effect</th>
<th>standardized effect</th>
<th>significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.122</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>-0.142</td>
<td>-0.371</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>0.185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.075</td>
<td>-0.101</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>-0.354</td>
<td>-0.271</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.084</td>
<td>0.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
<td>0.203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>0.236</td>
<td>0.471</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.253</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.098</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>0.258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>turnout intention</td>
<td>0.632</td>
<td>0.645</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>-0.179</td>
<td>-0.139</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>ideological voter uncertainty</td>
<td>0.344</td>
<td>0.266</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.105</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>0.693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual turnout</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
<td>0.518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideological voter volatility</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>0.590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table H3 shows the effects of independent variables on intermediary variables and dependent variables, as well as the effects of intermediary variables on dependent variables.
Table H4: Relationships between Independent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable 1</th>
<th>independent variable 2</th>
<th>unstandardize effect</th>
<th>standardized effect</th>
<th>significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
<td>-0.216</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>1.577</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.121</td>
<td>-0.204</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>0.289</td>
<td>0.326</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.074</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>-0.121</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.176</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>0.443</td>
<td>0.166</td>
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<td>gender</td>
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<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>0.456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
<td>-0.055</td>
<td>0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>3.381</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>scale political cynicism</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>-0.045</td>
<td>0.268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left right position</td>
<td>scale political interest</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
<td>0.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>-0.092</td>
<td>-0.117</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>-0.707</td>
<td>-0.089</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>-4.361</td>
<td>-0.174</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The direction of the relationships between independent variables in Table H4 is not defined. Although these relationships are interesting, it is beyond the scope of this study.
D66 = Liberal Democrats, CDA = Christian Democrats, GroenLinks = Green Party, PvdA = Social Democrats, SP = Socialists, VVD = Liberal Party

**Substantive version education policies**

**Education in Amsterdam important for all political parties**

AMSTERDAM – The performance of educational institutions in Amsterdam is comparable to the national average. Nevertheless, there are some persistent problems in the school in Amsterdam. The improvement of education is therefore an important issue for the Election of the city council.

Each kind of school has its own problems. The quality of black primary schools is for example too low and many students in secondary schools have serious language deficiencies. Also, students too often play truant and the number of students that leave school without a certificate is too high. Furthermore, the waiting lists for education for children with special needs are long. The political parties in Amsterdam have different ideas to solve these problems. GroenLinks thinks that learning to live together in society and learning social skills are equally important as writing and calculating adequately. This party therefore aims to invest more in the “broad school”, in which education, community work and sporting are combined. PvdA reserves money in their election program to control more for non-attendance. In this way, the party tries to prevent students from playing truant or leaving school without a certificate.

VVD stresses the importance of safety in schools: many schools are confronted with vandalism and physical violence among students. VVD therefore wants to pay more attention to the safety plan each school is supposed to have. D66 does not solely want to focus on problematical case, but also pleads for a special talent program for excellent students. Some parties focus on specific schools. CDA for example aims to reserve money for Christian schools in new housing estates, because students from these neighborhoods have to travel too far. SP wants to give more money to schools in the poor areas of the city. All in all, each party has clear policy preferences for increasing traffic safety. At the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.

**Strategic version education policies**

**Political parties squabble about education in Amsterdam**

AMSTERDAM – The performance of educational institutions in Amsterdam is comparable to the national average. Nevertheless, there are some persistent problems in the school in Amsterdam. The improvement of education is therefore an important issue for the Election of the city council.

The political parties use the education policies to create a distinct profile for themselves: in this way they aim to attract parents with young children. The governing parties PvdA and GroenLinks emphasize the differences between them to attract voters, while their viewpoints hardly differ. GroenLinks uses education policies to underline its social image. PvdA performs badly in the polls and loose almost half of their seats. The party therefore asked their own Alderman to acquire publicity for the successes in the last four years.

VVD characterizes the governing parties as patronizing and calls the ideas of the governing parties “communistic”.

---

VERSATILE CITIZENS

Appendix I: Chapter 4, News Paper Items About Education Policies
In this way, VVD tries to hold on to rightist voters in the city, without mentioning reasonable alternative policies. D66 performs well in the polls and does everything to maintain this position: the party therefore does not want to compel the voter to anything. Some parties appeal to specific groups, CDA aims to emphasize its image of a party for families and SP focuses on the poorer voters with its education policies. In this way these parties try to emphasize the contrast between themselves and the largest party in the city: PvdA.

We asked Piet de Jong, an expert on local politics, his opinion about this issue. He summarized the situation in this way: “Despite the successes, much more would have been possible in the last four years. A lot of things have not been done because parties in the city council thwart each other all the time. Now the elections will be soon they try to make a decisive impression after all and try to win seats in this way. They only care for a good election result.” At the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.

Substantive & strategic version education policies

Education in Amsterdam important in election contest

AMSTERDAM – The performance of educational institutions in Amsterdam is comparable to the national average. Nevertheless, there are some persistent problems in the school in Amsterdam. The improvement of education is therefore an important issue for the Election of the city council.

Each kind of school has its own problems. The quality of black primary schools is for example too low and many students in secondary schools have serious language deficiencies. Also, students too often play truant and the number of students that leave school without a certificate is too high. Furthermore, the waiting lists for education for children with special needs are long. The political parties in Amsterdam have different ideas to solve these problems. The political parties use the education policies to create a distinct profile for themselves: in this way they aim to attract parents with young children. The governing parties PvdA and GroenLinks emphasize the differences between them. GroenLinks therefore stresses how many policy plans it has, the party for example want more money for the “broad school”. PvdA performs badly in the polls and therefore asked their own Alderman to acquire publicity for the successes in the last four years. With more control for non-attendance, the party tries to prevent students from playing truant.

VVD characterizes the governing parties as patronizing and stresses the importance of safety in schools: many schools are confronted with vandalism and physical violence among students. D66 performs well in the polls and does everything to maintain this position. The party therefore does not want to compel the voter to anything: but D66 pleads for a special talent program for excellent students. CDA aims to emphasize its image of a party for families and therefore reserve money for Christian schools in new housing estates. SP focuses on the poorer voters and therefore wants to give more money to schools in the poor areas of the city. At the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.
Appendix J: Chapter 4, News Paper Items About Cycling Policies

D66 = Liberal Democrats, CDA = Christian Democrats, GroenLinks = Green Party, PvdA = Social Democrats, SP = Socialists, VVD = Liberal Party

**Substantive version cycling policies**

*Cyclists’ traffic safety important for all political parties*

AMSTERDAM – Amsterdam has almost a hundred dangerous cross roads, also called black spots. Many traffic incidents occur in the city and cyclists are especially vulnerable. Each party’s electoral program mentions traffic safety; it is an important issue for the Election of the city council.

In the past years, a lot of money was invested in traffic safety. Some regulations are far-reaching, like the construction of separate cycle tracks in busy streets, but sometimes smaller solutions are possible. Despite these policies, still many traffic incidents occur. The political parties in Amsterdam have different ideas to solve this problem.

GroenLinks stresses the importance of the bike as an environmentally friendly transportation and therefore proposed a lot of policies. A new idea is to ban mopeds from cycle tracks. PvdA suggests in its election program to decrease the speed limit in the city to 30 kilometers an hour. This will decrease the difference in speed between cars and cyclists and will therefore decrease the risk of collisions.

VVD opposes a decrease of the speed limit, but suggests introducing mirrors that cover the blind spot at each dangerous cross road. Blind spot mirrors make sure that truck drivers can see cyclists next to their vehicle and therefore help preventing incidents. D66 wants to stimulate visitors to park their car on the large parking spaces outside the city center and continue their trip with public transportation. Some parties aim to increase traffic safety in specific places. CDA for example points at the areas around schools and SP points at the poor areas of the city. All in all, each party has clear policy preferences for increasing traffic safety. At the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.

**Strategic version cycling policies**

*Political parties squabble about cyclists’ traffic safety*

AMSTERDAM – Amsterdam has almost a hundred dangerous cross roads, also called black spots. Many traffic incidents occur in the city and cyclists are especially vulnerable. Each party’s electoral program mentions traffic safety; it is an important issue for the Election of the city council.

The political parties use the cycling policies to create a distinct profile for themselves: in this way they aim to attract young voters. The governing parties PvdA and GroenLinks emphasize the differences between them to attract voters, while their viewpoints hardly differ. GroenLinks uses traffic safety policies to stress its environmentally friendly image. PvdA performs badly in the polls and loose almost half of their seats. The party therefore asked their own Alderman to acquire publicity for the successes in the last four years.

VVD characterizes the governing parties as patronizing and calls the ideas of the governing parties “anti-car policies”. In this way, VVD tries to hold on to car owners in the city, without mentioning reasonable alternative
policies. D66 performs well in the polls and tries everything to maintain this position: the party therefore does not want to compel the voter to anything. Some parties appeal to specific groups, CDA aims to emphasize its image of a party for families and SP focuses on the poorer voters. In this way these parties try to emphasize the contrast between themselves and the largest party in the city: PvdA.

We asked Piet de Jong, an expert on local politics, his opinion about this issue. He summarized the situation in this way: “A lot of things have not been done because parties in the city council thwart each other all the time. Now the elections will be soon they try to make a decisive impression after all and try to win seats in this way. They only care for a good election result.”

On the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.

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**Substantive & strategic version cycling policies**

**Cyclists’ traffic safety important in election contest**

AMSTERDAM – Amsterdam has almost a hundred dangerous cross roads, also called black spots. Many traffic incidents occur in the city and cyclists are especially vulnerable. Each party’s electoral program mentions traffic safety; it is an important issue for the Election of the city council.

In the past years, a lot of money was invested in traffic safety. Some regulations are far-reaching, like the construction of separate cycle tracks in busy streets, but sometimes smaller solutions are possible. Despite these policies, still many traffic incidents occur. The political parties in Amsterdam have different ideas to solve this problem.

The political parties use the cycling policies to create a distinct profile for themselves: in this way they aim to attract young voters. The governing parties PvdA and GroenLinks emphasize the differences between them. GroenLinks therefore stresses how many policy plans it has, among which the idea to ban mopeds from cycle tracks. PvdA performs badly in the polls and therefore asked their own Alderman to acquire publicity for the successes in the last four years. Also, the party considers decreasing the speed limit in the city to 30 kilometers an hour.

VVD characterizes the governing parties as patronizing. VVD opposes a decrease of the speed limit, but suggests introducing mirrors that cover the blind spot at each dangerous cross road. D66 performs well in the polls and tries everything to maintain this position. The party therefore does not want to compel the voter to anything; D66 only wants to stimulate visitors to park their car on the large parking spaces outside the city center. CDA aims to emphasize its image of a party for families and therefore points at the areas around schools. SP focuses on the poorer voters and therefore want to pay extra attention to traffic safety in the poor areas of the city. At the third of March, the voter can express its preferences.
Appendix K: Chapter 4, Political Cynicism Items

Table K1: Distribution of Answers on the Seven Political Cynicism Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements about reliability:</th>
<th>fully disagree</th>
<th>fully 2</th>
<th>fully 3</th>
<th>fully 4</th>
<th>fully 5</th>
<th>fully 6</th>
<th>fully agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*politicians consciously promise more than they can deliver</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*the mayor and aldermen are primarily self-interested and</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*friends more important than abilities to become city-councilor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*political parties are only interested in my vote, not in my opinion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements about competence:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*politicians do not understand what matters to for the city</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*politicians are capable of solving important problems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*most politicians competent people who know what they do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Data entries are percentages. *n* = 459.