The following section will introduce the data and its sources. We use the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) on European party position in order to construct our dependent variable of *Support for Populist Parties* (i.e. Support for Progressive or Traditionalist Populist parties) along with individual level data from the European Social Survey (ESS) (Section 3.1). The following subsection operationalizes our hypotheses (cultural and economic explanations for populism) and subsequently a description of the used control variables is given (Section 3.2). Following this, the statistical methodology is explained (Section 3.3) and a short examination of descriptive statistics takes place (Section 3.4). Lastly, the results of estimated multinomial logistic regression models are reported and examined for their implications regarding the research hypotheses (Section 3.5).

Data & Operationalization

TODO:

The CHES data is such and such.

- from when to when
- which countries
- how many parties

The CHES dataset contains information on the positions of XXX political parties in 40 European countries on european and national policy issues in the timerange between 1999 and 2014. This makes the CHES data suitable for identifying the ideological party positions that classify as progressive and traditionalist populism within the European context.

As a first step, we selected two variables that are in line with our minimalistic definition of populism:

Establishment - Anti-Establishment Axis

Populism, as it is conceptualized in this study, is characterized by two main features: a disdain for the established elites that supposedly exploits the *pure* and *little* people and an opposition to the effects of globalization that brings cultures and economies closer together at the expense of the (local) working class.

Anti-Elite Sentiment

Anti-Elite Sentiment is measured with the 11-point scale (0-1) variable *antielite_salience* that indicates the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within a given party. This corresponds with Mudde and Kaltwasser's concept of populism where the "corrupt elite" is pitted against the pure people (M/K 2017: 12).

- *Salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric* 0 = Not important at all : 10 = Extremely important

Euroskepticism

Euroskepticism ($position^1$) will be used as a proxy variable for anti-globalization. Populists are consistently opposed to the European integration process, albeit for different reasons.

- *Overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration
  1. Strongly opposed
  2. Opposed
  3. Somewhat opposed
  4. Neutral
  5. Somewhat in favor
  6. In favor
  7. Strongly in favor

---

[1]The Euroskepticism variable has been recoded so that higher values indicate higher opposition to European integration.

Progressivism - Traditionalism Axis

Next, we try to identify the value cleavage between progressivism and traditionalism.

This value cleavage depicted divides *progressives*, who favor progressive social values, promote liberal lifestyles and acceptance of homosexuality, civil liberties and multiculturalism from *traditionalists* who take the opposite stance on of all these positions. The following Variables have been selected in order to distinguish between progressive and traditionalist populism.

GAL-TAN

The capital letters here indicate the endpoints of the scale and they stand for Green-Alternative-Libertarian and Traditional-Authoritarian-Nationalist respectively.

- *Position of the party [. . .] in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues (galtan).*
  0. Libertarian/Postmaterialist
  1. Center
  2. Traditional/Authoritarian

Social Lifestyle

- *Position on social lifestyle (e.g. homosexuality) (sociallifestyle).*
  0. Strongly supports liberal policies
  1. Strongly opposes liberal policies

Law and Order

- *Position on civil liberties vs. law and order (civlib_laworder).*
  0. Strongly promotes civil liberties
  1. Strongly supports tough measures to fight crime

Multiculturalism

- *Position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (multiculturalism vs. assimilation) (multiculturalism).*
  0. Strongly favors multiculturalism
  1. Strongly favors assimilation

Left-Right Scale

- *Position of the party [. . .] in terms of its overall ideological stance (lrgen).*
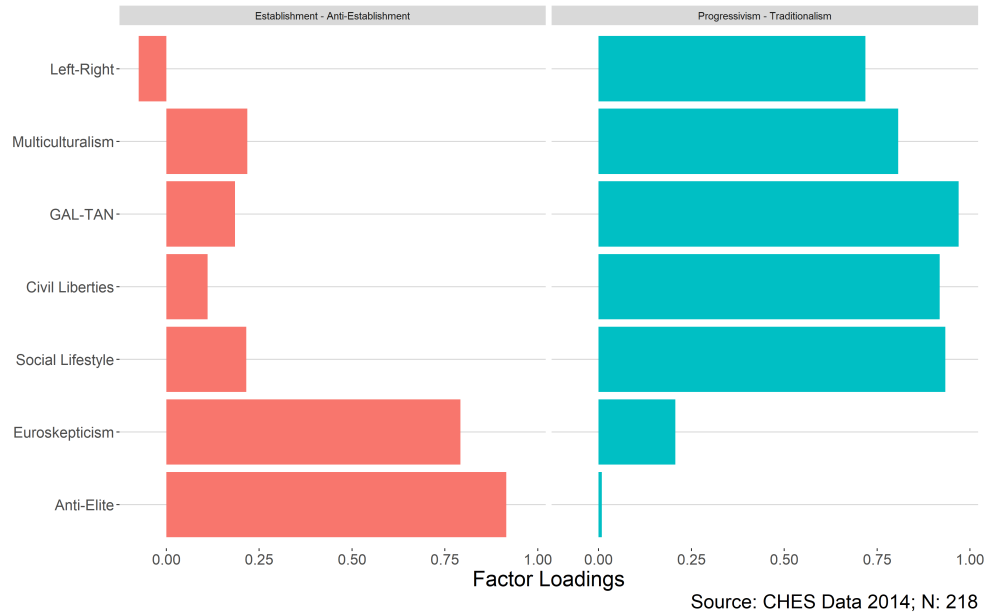 0. Extreme left
  1. Center
  2. Extreme right

Having selected the variables, a maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation is conducted in order to estimate whether our proposed dimensions are being measured by the relevant variables.

Based on the Kaiser-Criterion, two distinct dimensions are extracted explaining a total variance of 0.78%. The extracted scales are then summed into two scales *Establishment vs. Anti-Establishment* and *Progressive vs. Traditionalism*, each standardized from 0 to 100 points to facilitate easy interpretation.

As a next step, we want to extract our populist dimension. K-Nearest Neighbour clustering identifies four clusters, traditionalist and progressive populist parties as well as their two establishment counterparts that are merged into a single establishment cluster. The two dimensions as well as the clustering method can be used to visualize the ideological position of each Euopean party, which is illustrated in Figure XXX.

TODO:

Figure 1: Factor Analysis of CHES Data

Clustering Methodology

Top Left shows progressive populists such as:

DESCRIBE THEM

Top Right shows traditionalist populists such as:

DESCRIBE THEM

Bottom left and bottom right shows progressive and traditionalist establishment parties:

DESCRIBE THEM

Our measure of populism correlates well with different similar classification methods.

(TODO:) CORRELATION WITH OTHER MEASURES (TODO:) ONLY INCLUDE PARTIES THAT ARE USED LATER ON

A full list of used parties as well as their respective affiliations can be found in the appendix.

(TODO: TABLE that shows the individuals scores)

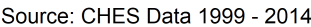**Dependent Variable: Support for Populist Parties**

TODO:

The European Social Survey data is such and such.

- from when to when
- which countries
- how many parties
- actual operationaliztion

After the successful classification, we combine the clusters from the CHES data with the *European Social Survey* (ESS) Round 5 – 8. We decided to use only these dates, as we expect the years after the European

Figure 2: Party Alignment of European Parties

financial crisis (2008-09) to be more homoegenous in terms of populism. Two variables will be used to measure our dependent variable *Support for Populist Parties*:

1. *What party did you vote for in the last national election?*

2. *Which party is closest to your views?*

A respondent that either voted for or indicated that they feel closest to a specific party , will be classified as either supporting a progressive or traditionalist populist or an establishment party, based on the clusters generated by the K-Nearest Neighbour alghorithm. If it is the case that a person voted for a party but felt close to a different party, we decided to classify said person as a supporter of the party that it felt most close to (thus ranking their vote as less indicative of their support). This is based on the assumption that many voters have an incentive to vote strategically and they might end up voting for an establishment party even though they actually support a populist party (TODO: **CITATION**).

After the merging is completed we are left with XXX respondents from 24 European countries.

TODO: **Descriptives?**

Independent Variables: Cultural and Economic Explanations

TODO: **Description of INDEPENDENT VARIABLES?**

Measuring this or that (just check Inglehart on how hey have done it)

The models include standard social and demographic controls, including sex, age, education, and ethnicity. Economic inequality was monitored through experience of unemployment, households dependent upon social benefits (excluding pensions) for their main source of income, urbanization, and subjective feelings of income insecurity. Principal Component Factor analysis with Varimax Rotation was used to determine the dimensionality of a range of cultural items which were included in all waves of the ESS and which were expected to be particularly salient for the division between Populist and Cosmopolitan Liberal values. Five values scales were produced through this process, including scales on attitudes towards immigration, trust in global governance, trust in national governance, authoritarian values, and left-right ideological self-placement. The value scales were each standardized to 100-points, for ease of comparison. All models were checked by tolerance tests to be free of problems of multicollinearity. The inclusion of items consistently asked across all rounds of the ESS maximized the size of the pooled sample of populist voters, and therefore strengthened confidence in the reliability of the results, although unfortunately it also restricted the full range of items which ideally could be included, for example concerning gender equality. The descriptive means and standard deviations of all the items are presented in Appendix C.

Statistical Methodology

Here comes a description of the multinomial model (might need to change the name of the title)

Descriptives

TODO:
- Populist Parties by Region
- Populist Parties by Country (map)

Descriptive Statistics and Exploratory Evaluation of the Hypotheses

Multinomial Logistic Regression

Here comes the Analysis Part