



CSES Module 5 Pretest Report:

IRELAND

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INTRODUCTION

This report is an overview of the performance of the CSES Module 5 pre-test conducted in Ireland in March 2016. The module was implemented in Ireland as part of a post-election study, with data collected between 1st and 6th of March 2016. The data were collected after the general election held on Friday 26th February. The sample was drawn from individuals who were previously polled by the company, RED C Research, between 7th September 2015 and 21st February 2016. The sample size is N=1,000 respondents.

In Ireland, the pilot was prepared by PI Michael Marsh and conducted by RED C Research.

Analyses for this report were conducted by Lauren Guggenheim, with assistance from Linda Kimmel and Yioryos Nardis, all at Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan. Stephen Quinlan from GESIS Leibniz Institute, Mannheim, also provided advice.

BACKGROUND

The CSES Module 5 was designed to introduce new measures of political populism to the CSES and investigate the notion of divided democracies. Core objectives of the module were to allow researchers to account for variation in the contestation of political elites and ‘populist’ attitudes across democracies, examine how ‘populist’ perceptions shape electoral behavior, and explore the distribution of populist attitudes cross-nationally. The module accounted for three core components, or dimensions, of populist attitudes: (1) attitudes towards political elites and electoral democracy, (2) attitudes towards out-groups within society, and (3) perceptions of “the people” and attachment to the nation. The CSES Planning Committee Module 5 Report further discusses these underlying dimensions, as well as possible sub-dimensions, and expands on the theoretical basis for the module.

The goal of the pretest was to (1) examine the distribution of answers to the questions in the CSES Module 5, (2) determine how the measures performed as scales representing specific dimensions of populism, and (3) explore how populism measures are related to vote choice of populist parties.

METHODOLOGY

Sample. The sample consisted of individuals aged 18 to 86 years old (i.e., born between 1929 and 1998). Data for several demographic variables were collected, including age (i.e., year and month of birth), gender, education, income, and political interest.

Demographic variables were cleaned and recoded. Refusals and “Don’t Know” responses were recoded as missing. To construct the age variable, D01 (Year of birth) was subtracted from 2015. For those born in January and February, their birth year was subtracted from 2016. Ranges were then constructed from the resulting ages. To create the income variable, D09 and D09A were combined. Respondents gave their household income in D09. Those who refused to provide an income were asked a follow up question that allowed them to place their household in an income bracket. To construct the income variable, D09 was first coded into the same income brackets as

D09A, and then the two questions were combined. For these demographic variables, descriptive statistics for both weighted and unweighted frequencies are described below in Tables 1-5.

Representativeness. Post-stratification weights were included in the dataset. Weights did not make much difference for the distributions of the demographic variables with the exception of gender; the unweighted sample was slightly more male than the weighted sample (51% relative to 49%). Tables 1-5 below show the weighted and unweighted distributions of the demographic variables.

Table 1. Gender, Unweighted and Weighted

	Freq.	Percent	Weighted Percent
Female	489	48.90	51.00
Male	511	51.10	49.00
Total	1,000	100	100

Table 2. Age, Unweighted and Weighted

	Freq.	Percent	Weighted Percent
18-30	196	19.60	21.06
31-40	230	23.00	22.40
41-50	202	20.20	19.54
51-60	154	15.40	15.44
Over 60	207	20.70	20.44
Missing	11	1.10	1.12
Total	1,000	100	100

Table 3. Education, Unweighted and Weighted

	Freq.	Percent	Weighted Percent
Less than Primary	2	0.20	0.20
Primary	26	2.60	2.55
Lower Secondary	75	7.50	7.57
Upper Secondary	251	25.10	25.27
Post-Secondary Non-Tertiary	226	22.60	22.49
Short-Cycle Tertiary	79	7.90	7.94
Bachelor or Equivalent	200	20.00	19.99
Master or Equivalent	118	11.80	11.74
Doctoral or Equivalent	13	1.30	1.26
Don't Know	5	0.50	0.48
Refused	5	0.50	0.50
Total	1,000	100	100

Table 4. Income, Unweighted and Weighted

	Freq.	Percent	Weighted Percent
Under 20,000	188	18.80	18.92
20,000 to 24,999	69	6.90	6.90
25,000 to 29,999	57	5.70	5.65
30,000 to 34,999	66	6.60	6.61
35,000-39,999	34	3.40	3.41
40,000 to 49,999	95	9.50	9.45
50,000 to 74,999	177	17.70	17.61
75,000 to 99,999	94	9.40	9.25
100,000 to 149,000	90	9.00	8.91
150,000+	32	3.20	3.21
Don't Know	44	4.40	4.70
Refused	54	5.40	5.37
Total	1,000	100	100

Table 5. Political Interest, Unweighted and Weighted

	Freq.	Percent	Weighted Percent
Very Interested	429	42.90	42.89
Somewhat Interested	431	43.10	42.93
Not Very Interested	93	9.30	9.43
Not At All Interested	47	4.70	4.75
Total	1,000	100	100

Notes. Political Interest is Q01: How Interested would you say you are in politics?

One important characteristic of this sample is the high level of interest in politics; 86% of respondents reported being “very interested” or “somewhat interested” interested in politics. Interest in politics is typically high in Ireland; however, the sample had also previously been polled by the survey company, which could also result in higher levels of interest.

In the next sections, the distributions, means, and standard deviations are based on weighted data, but additional analyses in the report use unweighted data.

DISTRIBUTIONS OF KEY VARIABLES

Tables 6-8 show the frequency distributions, means, and standard deviations of each of the items contributing to the scales for Attitudes about Elites, Out-Group Attitudes, and National Identity. Results shown in the tables use the weights provided in the dataset. To investigate whether missing data could be a problem, we provide the percentages of “don’t know” responses and respondent refusals for each item.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

The following questions on attitudes about elites are included in Module 5:

Q04_1 In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.

Q04_2 Most politicians do not care about the people.

Q04_3 Most politicians are trustworthy.

Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem in [COUNTRY].

Q04_5 Having a strong leader in government is good for [COUNTRY] even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

Q04_6 The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.

Q04_8 Poor people should have a greater voice in politics.

Table 6 shows that Q04_1 “In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints” is skewed toward strongly agreeing. In fact, 95.6% of respondents either “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” with this statement. The mean, 1.36, is close to the lowest scale value (Strongly Agree = 1) and the standard deviation, .67, is also low. Both the mean and the standard deviation for Q04_1 are much lower than other items on the scale. Respondents also tended to agree with Q04_8 “Poor people should have a greater voice in politics” more often than other items in the table, but to a lesser extent than Q04_1. With the exception of these two items, there appear to be few notable issues with the questions comprising the Attitudes about Elites dimension in Table 6. Overall, the percent missing is very low.

Table 6. Attitudes About Elites: Percentages, Means, and Standard Deviations

Item	% Strongly Agree (1)	% Somewhat Agree (2)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Somewhat Disagree (4)	% Strongly Disagree (5)	%DK	%Ref.	M	SD
Q04_1 Important to seek compromise	71.6	24.0	2.0	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.0	1.36	0.67
Q04_2 Most politicians do not care	19.2	22.6	8.7	25.5	23.9	0.0	0.0	3.12	1.48
Q04_3 Most politicians are trustworthy	6.4	36.7	13.4	22.9	20.5	0.2	0.0	3.14	1.29
Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem	16.0	21.9	9.9	28.2	23.9	0.1	0.0	3.22	1.43
Q04_5 Having a strong leader	19.1	28.7	6.9	17.8	27.4	0.2	0.0	3.06	1.53
Q04_6 The people should make policy decisions	27.7	26.8	7.7	22.9	14.8	0.1	0.1	2.70	1.45
Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	23.9	25.6	8.0	25.9	16.5	0.1	0.0	2.85	1.45
Q04_8 Poor people - greater voice	43.4	27.8	13.1	8.4	6.9	0.4	0.0	2.07	1.24

Note. Percentages, means, and standard deviations are based on weighted data. N=1,000. DK is "Don't Know" responses and Ref. is refusals.

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

The following attitude questions were asked about out-groups:

Now thinking about ethnic minorities. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement?

Q05a. Ethnic minorities should adapt to [COUNTRY]'s way of life.

And now thinking specifically about immigrants: Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?

Q05b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY]'s economy.

Q05c. [COUNTRY]'s culture is generally harmed by immigrants.

Table 7 below shows the percentages, means, and standard deviations for attitudes about outgroups. Respondents tend to agree that minorities should adapt and that immigrants are good for the economy, and they tend to disagree that Ireland’s culture is generally harmed by immigrants. As above, there is little item-missing data.

Table 7. Attitudes About Outgroups: Percentages, Means, and Standard Deviations

Item	% Strongly Agree (1)	% Somewhat Agree (2)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Somewhat Disagree (4)	% Strongly Disagree (5)	%DK	%Ref.	M	SD
Q05A Minorities should adapt	40.8	38.7	8.2	8.0	4.1	0.1	0.1	1.96	1.09
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy	25.3	45.7	12.0	9.0	7.7	0.3	0.0	2.28	1.16
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants	6.8	11.5	9.9	28.6	42.9	0.2	0.1	3.89	1.26

Note. Percentages, means, and standard deviations are based on weighted data. N=1,000. DK is “Don’t Know” responses and Ref. is refusals.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

In addition to the previous group of questions the following questions on national identity were included in order to understand respondents’ views on national self-determination:

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Other says they are not important.

How important do you think each of the following is... very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all?

Q06_1. To have been born in [COUNTRY].

Q06_2. To have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life.

Q06_3. To be able to speak [COUNTRY NATIONAL LANGUAGES].

Q06_4. To be [COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION].

Q06_5. To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws.

Q06_6. To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY].

Q06_7. To have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.

The above questions were modified with Ireland in place of [COUNTRY] and Irish in place of [COUNTRY NATIONALITY], with the exception of Q6_5, which asked the importance of respecting Ireland’s political institutions and laws. Respondents were asked the importance of being able to speak Irish and to be Roman Catholic for the languages (Q06_3) and religion (Q6_4) questions respectively.

Table 8 shows that respondents tended to think that being Roman Catholic was not as important to being Irish as some of the other measures (Q06_4), and they tended to feel that it was important to respect Ireland’s laws (Q06_5) and to feel Irish (Q06_6). The percent missing is very low for this set of measures.

Table 8. Importance of National Identity: Percentages, Means, and Standard Deviations

Item	% Very Important (1)	% Fairly Important (2)	% Not Very Important (3)	% Not Important at All (4)	%DK	%Ref.	M	SD
Q06_1 Born in Ireland	22.4	28.0	33.3	16.0	0.3	0.0	2.43	1.01
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland	23.8	36.3	28.6	11.2	0.1	0.0	2.27	0.95
Q06_3 Speak Irish	11.2	19.7	41.9	27.1	0.1	0.0	2.85	0.95
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic	6.2	8.7	37.1	47.7	0.3	0.0	3.27	0.86
Q06_5 Respect Ireland’s laws	62.9	29.4	4.6	3.1	0.1	0.0	1.48	0.73
Q06_6 Feel Irish	46.4	37.4	11.6	4.3	0.3	0.0	1.74	0.83
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry	22.8	28.1	31.1	17.9	0.1	0.0	2.44	1.03

Note. Percentages, means, and standard deviations are based on weighted data. N=1,000. DK is “Don’t Know” responses and Ref. is refusals.

FACTOR STRUCTURE

Because populism is thought to have three main dimensions, we conduct an exploratory factor analysis on the populism measures, fixing the number of dimensions to three. We conduct a factor analysis with principal component factoring using oblimin (an oblique) rotation, allowing the factors to be correlated. Here, we use unweighted data.

Below are results fixing factors to three (Table 9) and with an unfixed number of factors (Table 10).

Table 9. Pattern Matrix for Three Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q04_1 Important to seek compromise			0.54	0.70
Q04_2 Most politicians do not care	0.80			0.34
Q04_3 Most politicians trustworthy	-0.58			0.66
Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem	0.74			0.43
Q04_5 Having a strong leader				0.93
Q04_6 The people should make policy decisions	0.53			0.71
Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	0.80			0.33
Q04_8 Poor people-greater voice	0.55			0.61
Q05A Minorities should adapt			-0.33	0.83
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy			0.68	0.46
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants			-0.66	0.40
Q06_1 Born in Ireland		0.70		0.44
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland		0.68		0.51
Q06_3 Speak Irish		0.59		0.66
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic		0.56		0.60
Q06_5 Respect Ireland's laws	-0.33			0.82
Q06_6 Feel Irish		0.61		0.64
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry		0.72		0.43

Notes. Principal component factors. Rotated solution. For ease of interpretation, blanks represent loadings less than .3.

In the three factor solution, the factors are similar to the dimensions proposed by the report. However, Q04_1 “Important to seek compromise” and Q06_5 “Respect Ireland’s laws” do not load on the expected dimensions. Also, the question about minorities adapting (Q05A) has a weak loading on the third factor.

In the open factor solution, shown in Table 10, Factor 1 is attitudes about elites and factor 2 is the importance of national identity, both of which reflect the proposed dimensions. Factor 3 could be a desire to get along (i.e., seek compromise, immigrants good for economy, culture not harmed by immigrants). Factor 4 is slightly more difficult to interpret, but it could be the desire

to integrate immigrants (i.e., compromise, minorities should adapt to Ireland’s way of life, important to respect Ireland’s laws). Factor 5 could be considered trust in leaders (having a strong leader and pols are trustworthy).

Table 10. Pattern Matrix for Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Uniqueness
Q04_1 Important to seek compromise			0.66	0.36		0.43
Q04_2 Most politicians do not care	0.79					0.34
Q04_3 Most politicians trustworthy	-0.50				0.56	0.41
Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem	0.73					0.42
Q04_5 Having a strong leader					0.64	0.54
Q04_6 The people should make policy decisions	0.58				0.30	0.57
Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	0.81					0.33
Q04_8 Poor people-greater voice	0.59					0.54
Q05A Minorities should adapt				0.76		0.40
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy			0.63			0.44
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants			-0.59			0.35
Q06_1 Born in Ireland		0.77				0.36
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland		0.75				0.43
Q06_3 Speak Irish		0.57				0.61
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic		0.55				0.56
Q06_5 Respect Ireland’s laws				0.70		0.44
Q06_6 Feel Irish		0.55				0.61
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry		0.76				0.40

Notes. Principal component factors. Rotated solution. For ease of interpretation, blanks represent loadings less than .3.

HOW THE ITEMS PERFORM AS SCALES

The next set of analyses investigates how well each set of items scale. Scaling is examined using correlations and Cronbach's alpha. To look at the correlations, we use polychoric correlation coefficients. These allow for the use of ordinal variables with a small number of response options (where the underlying trait being measured is assumed to be continuous). They can be interpreted the same way as a Pearson's coefficient.

To examine the dimensionality of each set of items, we use factor analysis. The factor analyses use the same procedures as above. We again use oblimin (an oblique) rotation, allowing the factors to be correlated. Our expectation is that if multiple factors emerge from these sets of items, the factors should be associated with one another.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

Correlations. Table 11 shows the polychoric correlations between the Attitudes About Elites items. The table generally shows moderate to large correlations between the items. However, the importance of seeking compromise (Q04_1) is extremely weakly correlated with the other items, except Q04_8. Likewise, having a strong leader (Q04_5) has only a very minor correlation with the other items. The negative coefficients for Q04_3 show that the direction of this item should be reversed to fit with this scale.

Table 11. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Attitudes About Elites

	Q04_1	Q04_2	Q04_3	Q04_4	Q04_5	Q04_6	Q04_7	Q04_8
Q04_1 Important to seek compromise	1.00							
Q04_2 Most politicians do not care	0.01	1.00						
Q04_3 Most politicians trustworthy	-0.05	-0.50	1.00					
Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem	0.06	0.63	-0.43	1.00				
Q04_5 Having a strong leader	0.00	0.06	0.07	0.05	1.00			
Q04_6 The people should make policy decisions	0.06	0.34	-0.20	0.35	0.07	1.00		
Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	0.08	0.71	-0.43	0.61	0.03	0.39	1.00	
Q04_8 Poor people-greater voice	0.20	0.39	-0.16	0.31	-0.04	0.33	0.47	1.00

Factor Analysis. The factor loadings in Table 12 suggest that there are three factors (using oblimin rotation and pcf factoring, as above). The first factor seems to be skepticism or distrust in political elites, the second factor appears to be a desire for an increase in democratic decision-

making, which appears to tap left-wing populism, and the third factor is the right wing populist notion of having a strong leader in power.

Table 12. Pattern Matrix, Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation, Attitudes About Elites

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q04_1 Important to seek compromise		0.86		0.29
Q04_2 Most politicians do not care	0.84			0.30
Q04_3 Most politicians trustworthy	-0.68			0.49
Q04_4 Politicians are the main problem	0.77			0.40
Q04_5 Having a strong leader			0.96	0.10
Q04_6 The people should make policy decisions	0.45			0.63
Q04_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	0.80			0.32
Q04_8 Poor people-greater voice	0.38	0.53		0.51

Table 13. Cronbach's Alpha, Attitudes About Elites

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q04_1. Important to seek compromise	998	0.18	0.07	0.51	0.71
Q04_2. Most politicians do not care	1000	0.77	0.63	0.30	0.59
Q04_3. Most politicians trustworthy	998	0.54	0.37	0.40	0.66
Q04_4. Politicians are the main problem	999	0.72	0.57	0.33	0.61
Q04_5. Having a strong leader	998	0.28	0.03	0.51	0.75
Q04_6. The people should make policy decisions	998	0.58	0.38	0.38	0.66
Q04_7. Most politicians care only about the rich	999	0.77	0.64	0.30	0.59
Q04_8. Poor people-greater voice	996	0.53	0.36	0.41	0.67
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.39	0.69

Notes. The direction of item Q04_3, Most Politicians Are Trustworthy was reversed.

Cronbach's Alpha. Table 13 shows the Cronbach's alpha for Attitudes About Elites as well as the alphas if each item is deleted. The alpha for Attitudes About Elites is .69. Two of the items seem to perform poorly in both the full factor analysis and factoring on the individual dimension (i.e., Attitudes About Elites), which also have higher alpha if item deleted scores. First, dropping item 5 (Having a strong leader), results in an alpha of .75 (see Table 13 above). Additionally, dropping both item 5 and 1 (seeking compromise) results in an alpha of .77. The scales are more reliable without these two measures. Additionally, because item 8 seemed to fit more strongly on a separate factor, we also checked the Cronbach's alpha after dropping it (in addition to 5 and 1). This did not improve the score, providing an alpha of .77.

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

Correlations. The table below (Table 14) shows the polychoric correlation matrix for Out-Group Attitudes. There is a relatively large, negative correlation between the two questions about immigrants ($r = -.52$), while the correlations between the question on minorities (Q05A) and the immigrant items are low to moderately sized. The signs suggest that the direction of these relationships is consistent (but Q05B_1 should be reverse coded). Overall, the table suggests that although there may be a small to moderate relationship between attitudes about minorities and immigrants, the two could also be considered separately.

Table 14. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Out-Group Attitudes

	Q05A	Q05B_1	Q05B_2
Q05A Minorities should adapt	1.00		
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy	-0.19	1.00	
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.36	-0.52	1.00

Factor Analysis. The table below (Table 15) shows that there is only a single factor (using oblimin rotation and pcf factoring, as above). The items appear to tap the same underlying dimension of Out-Group Attitudes (although Q05B_1 could be reverse coded, as mentioned above).

Table 15. Pattern Matrix, Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation, Out-Group Attitudes

Item	Factor1	Uniqueness
Q05A Minorities should adapt	0.53	0.71
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy	-0.77	0.40
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.83	0.31

Cronbach's Alpha. Table 16 shows the Cronbach's alpha for Out-Group Attitudes as well as the alphas if each item is deleted. The alpha for Out-Group Attitudes is .54. Dropping Q05A, "Minorities should adapt" increases the alpha to .62. This increase is likely due to the remaining two items referring specifically to immigrants; question Q05A is the only one of the three items referring to minorities.

Table 16. Cronbach's Alpha, Out-Group Attitudes

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q05A Minorities should adapt	998	0.60	0.22	0.66	0.62
Q05B_1 Immigrants good for economy	997	0.73	0.39	0.34	0.39
Q05B_2 Culture harmed by immigrants	997	0.81	0.46	0.17	0.24
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.39	0.54

Notes. The direction of item Q05b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY]'s economy was reversed.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Correlations. Table 17 shows the polychoric correlation matrix for National Identity. The table generally shows moderate to large correlations between the items, although the importance of respecting Ireland's laws (Q06_5) has only small correlations with the other items.

Table 17. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for National Identity

	Q06_1	Q06_2	Q06_3	Q06_4	Q06_5	Q06_6	Q06_7
Q06_1 Born in Ireland	1.00						
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland	0.64	1.00					
Q06_3 Speak Irish	0.34	0.30	1.00				
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic	0.42	0.38	0.39	1.00			
Q06_5 Respect Ireland's laws	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.13	1.00		
Q06_6 Feel Irish	0.32	0.30	0.26	0.27	0.18	1.00	
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry	0.63	0.52	0.37	0.46	0.02	0.39	1.00

Factor Analysis. The factor loadings shown in Table 18, below, suggest that there are two factors for national identity (using oblimin rotation and pcf factoring, as above). The importance of feeling Irish (Q06_6) loads on both factors. Although it loads more strongly on the first factor, it does not load particularly strongly on either factor. The first factor could be interpreted as being ethnically and culturally Irish, and the second factor could be based on respecting the country's

laws. New immigrants might be able to fall into the second factor, but the first factor appears to be related to having roots of some kind in Ireland. Looking at these two factors suggest that Q06_5, the importance of respecting Ireland's laws, belongs separately from the other measures, which all load on the first factor. As indicated by the correlational analysis, this item does not fit as well with the other questions.

Table 18. Pattern Matrix, Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation, National Identity

Item	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
Q06_1 Born in Ireland	0.83		0.34
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland	0.76		0.45
Q06_3 Speak Irish	0.49		0.66
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic	0.60		0.61
Q06_5 Respect Ireland's laws		0.93	0.15
Q06_6 Feel Irish	0.42	0.32	0.67
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry	0.81		0.36

Cronbach's Alpha. The results of these tests suggest that Q06_5, respecting Ireland's laws do not fit as well in the scale. The alpha of all of the national identity items is .72. Dropping importance of respect for Ireland's laws pulls the scale up to .75. However, dropping both Q06_6, feeling Irish (which loads on two factors) and Q06_5 leads to an alpha of .75, which does not improve the scale. Here, it is Q06_5 about respecting Ireland's laws and institutions that does not seem to fit with the rest of National Identity.

Table 19. Cronbach's Alpha, National Identity

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q06_1 Born in Ireland	997	0.75	0.60	0.19	0.65
Q06_2 Lived in Ireland	999	0.70	0.54	0.20	0.67
Q06_3 Speak Irish	999	0.58	0.39	0.23	0.71
Q06_4 Be Roman Catholic	997	0.61	0.44	0.23	0.69
Q06_5 Respect Ireland's laws	999	0.30	0.13	0.30	0.75
Q06_6 Feel Irish	997	0.54	0.36	0.25	0.71
Q06_7 Have Irish ancestry	999	0.74	0.57	0.19	0.65
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.23	0.72

ADDITIONAL MEASURES

Although the focus of Module 5 is measuring populist attitudes, the broader purpose is to investigate divided democracies. Other measures were added to the module with this purpose in mind. Some of these measures are new to the CSES. We check their frequency distributions, means, standard deviations, and missing data (see Tables 20 to 24). In this section, we use the weights provided in the dataset.

Overall, the levels of missing data are very low. The question about attitudes toward income distribution (Table 23) has the most missing data (0.8%), with the remaining items ranging between 0.0% and .6% missing data. Additionally, it is worth noting that respondents have high levels of political efficacy (Table 21) and report following politics closely (Table 20), although the latter is not uncommon in political media use measures in other countries. Respondents also tended to lean away from decreasing taxes (Table 23).

POLITICS IN THE MEDIA (Q02)

And how closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or not at all?

Table 20. Politics in the Media

Categories	%
Very closely (1)	31.6
Fairly closely (2)	49.3
Not very closely (3)	13.1
Not at all (4)	5.9
Missing	0

Mean	SD
1.93	.83

INTERNAL EFFICACY (Q03)

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:

You feel you understand the most important political issues of this country.

Table 21. Internal Efficacy

Categories	%
Strongly Agree (1)	45.3
Somewhat Agree (2)	42.1
Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3)	3.3
Somewhat Disagree (4)	5.4
Strongly Disagree (5)	3.9
Missing	0
Mean	SD
1.81	1.01

CORRUPTION (Q07)

How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in Ireland: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, or it hardly happens at all?

Table 22. Corruption

Categories	%
Very Widespread (1)	16.0
Quite Widespread (2)	33.2
Not Very Widespread (3)	42.7
It Hardly Happens At All (4)	7.6
Don't Know	0.6
Mean	SD
2.42	.85

ATTITUDES TOWARDS REDISTRIBUTION (Q08)

Some people think that the government should cut taxes even if it means spending less on social services such as health and education. Other people feel that the government should spend more on social services such as health and education even if it means raising taxes. Where would you place yourself on this scale where 0 is "Governments should decrease taxes and spend less on services" and 10 is "Governments should increase taxes and spend more on services"?

Table 23. Attitudes Towards Redistribution

Categories	%
0 – Government should decrease taxes and spend less on services	2.5
1	1.0
2	1.7
3	1.7
4	3.8
5	18.7
6	10.5
7	17.5
8	20.2
9	6.2
10 – Government should increase taxes and spend more on services	15.6
Refused	0.2
Don't Know	0.6
Mean	SD
6.81	2.31

PARENTS BORN OUTSIDE OF COUNTRY (D15)

Was either or both of your parents born outside of [COUNTRY OF BIRTH AT D.14]?

Table 24. Parents Born Outside of Country

Category	%
Yes	14.9
No	84.9
Refused	0.2

ITEM VALIDITY: REGRESSIONS WITH VOTE CHOICE

To examine whether populist attitudes predict voting for populist parties, we validated each of the populism items against voting for Sinn Féin. Although Sinn Féin may not be a typical populist party, it does have some of the characteristics of a left-populist party. For example, the party advocates a strong national identity and skepticism of elites.

We predicted voting for Sinn Féin in three separate equations. The first equation (Table 25) includes the eight Elite Attitudes items. The second equation (Table 26) includes the three Out-Group items, while the third equation (Table 27) includes the seven National Identity items. The following control variables were included in each of the three equations:

- Gender – Coded as “1” for female and “0” for male.
- Income – Coded as “1” for 75,000 or higher and “0” for incomes of 74,999 or less.
- Educational attainment – Coded as “1” for Bachelor’s degree or equivalent and greater, and coded “0” for less than a Bachelor’s degree.
- Age – entered as a categorical variable (see description of age in section on demographics), with the first category from 18-30, the second from 31-40, the third from 41-50, the fourth from 51-60, and the fifth from 61 and over.

The dependent variable –vote for Sinn Féin—was based on Q12P1B, “Thinking about how you voted at the General Election on 26th February, what party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to?” Sinn Féin was coded as “1” and all other options were “0”. Respondents who cast invalid ballots or responded “Don’t Know” or refused were coded as missing (values 96-99 on Q12P1B).

Each of the items from the Elite Attitudes and Out-Group attitudes were recoded into dichotomous variables with “Strongly Agree” or “Somewhat Agree” coded as 1 and all other responses as 0. In the National Identity model “Very Important” and “Fairly Important” were coded as 1 and all other responses were coded as 0.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

Two of the eight Attitudes About Elites items have a significant relationship with voting for Sinn Féin. Agreeing that poor people should have a greater voice (Q04_8) and most politicians only care about the rich (Q04_7) were significantly associated with a vote for Sinn Féin, as shown in Table 25. These items were designed to tap left-wing populism, and thus the results are in the expected direction. It is also worth noting that the item “Politicians are the main problem” (Q04_4) is also marginally significant in the expected direction.

Table 25. Logistic Regression of Elite Attitudes on Vote for Sinn Féin

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	95% Conf. Int.	
Q04_1	Important to seek compromise	-0.77	0.52	-1.48	0.14	-1.78	0.25
Q04_2	Most politicians do not care	0.22	0.30	0.72	0.47	-0.37	0.80
Q04_3	Most politicians trustworthy	-0.09	0.25	-0.35	0.73	-0.58	0.40
Q04_4	Politicians are the main problem	0.46	0.27	1.70	0.09	-0.07	0.99
Q04_5	Having a strong leader	-0.15	0.24	-0.64	0.52	-0.62	0.32
Q04_6	The people should make policy decisions	0.17	0.26	0.68	0.50	-0.33	0.68
Q04_7	Most politicians care only about the rich	0.79	0.31	2.55	0.01	0.18	1.41
Q04_8	Poor people greater voice	0.80	0.38	2.11	0.04	0.06	1.53
	Gender (female)	-0.78	0.25	-3.17	0.00	-1.27	-0.30
	Age	-0.16	0.08	-1.96	0.05	-0.33	0.00
	Educational attainment	-0.90	0.32	-2.80	0.01	-1.53	-0.27
	Income	-0.23	0.34	-0.70	0.49	-0.89	0.42
	Constant	-0.82	0.71	-1.16	0.25	-2.20	0.56

Notes: N=780; LR chi2(12)=79.46; Prob>chi2=0.0000; Log likelihood=-247.26638; Pseudo R2=.1384

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

None of the three Out-Group Attitude items was significantly related to voting for Sinn Féin, as shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Logistic Regression of Out-Group Attitudes on Vote for Sinn Féin

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	95% Conf. Int.	
Q05A	Minorities should adapt	-0.44	0.28	-1.57	0.12	-0.99	0.11
Q05B_1	Immigrants good for economy	-0.21	0.25	-0.86	0.39	-0.70	0.27
Q05B_2	Culture harmed by immigrants	0.03	0.29	0.11	0.91	-0.53	0.60
	Gender (female)	-0.64	0.23	-2.71	0.01	-1.10	-0.18
	Age	-0.12	0.08	-1.47	0.14	-0.28	0.04
	Educational attainment	-1.20	0.31	-3.81	0.00	-1.81	-0.58
	Income	-0.65	0.32	-2.02	0.04	-1.28	-0.02
	Constant	0.19	0.48	0.40	0.69	-0.75	1.13

Notes: N=785; LR chi2(7)=40.07; Prob>chi2=0.0000; Log likelihood= -269.58885; Pseudo R2 =0.0692

NATIONAL IDENTITY

None of the seven National Identity items has a significant relationship with voting for Sinn Féin, as indicated in Table 27. However, Q06_2, believing that it is important to have lived in Ireland for most of one's life is marginally significantly associated with voting for Sinn Féin.

Table 27. Logistic Regression of National Identity on Vote for Sinn Féin

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	95% Conf. Int.	
Q06_1	Born in Ireland	0.29	0.27	1.04	0.30	-0.25	0.83
Q06_2	Lived in Ireland	-0.44	0.25	-1.72	0.09	-0.94	0.06
Q06_3	Speak Irish	0.06	0.26	0.24	0.81	-0.44	0.57
Q06_4	Be Roman Catholic	0.04	0.34	0.11	0.92	-0.62	0.70
Q06_5	Respect Ireland's Laws	-0.11	0.43	-0.25	0.80	-0.95	0.73
Q06_6	Feel Irish	-0.01	0.31	-0.02	0.98	-0.61	0.59
Q06_7	Have Irish ancestry	-0.20	0.27	-0.74	0.46	-0.73	0.33
	Gender (female)	-0.64	0.24	-2.67	0.01	-1.10	-0.17
	Age	-0.14	0.08	-1.65	0.10	-0.30	0.03
	Educational attainment	-1.20	0.31	-3.88	0.00	-1.81	-0.59
	Income	-0.66	0.32	-2.06	0.04	-1.29	-0.03
	Constant	0.04	0.60	0.07	0.94	-1.12	1.21

Logistic regression: Number of obs=780; LR chi2(11)=40.97; Prob>chi2=0.0000;
 Log likelihood=-268.49616; Pseudo R2=0.0709