CSES Module 5 Pretest Report:

Greece

August 31, 2016

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INTRODUCTION

This report is an overview of the performance of the CSES Module 5 pretest conducted in Greece between November 2015 and February 2016. The module was implemented in Greece as part of the Hellenic (Greek) Voter study following the parliamentary election of September 2015, and is part of the Hellenic National Election Studies (ELNES). Recruitment was done through Random Digit Dialing. Data were collected by the Laboratory of Applied Political Research at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Data were collected from 1,068 cases between November 16, 2015 and February 29, 2016 either as web-based self-administered surveys or telephone interviews.

In Greece, the pilot was prepared by Ioannis Andreadis.

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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, referred to as "National Identity" in this report. 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 99 years old. Data for several demographic variables were collected, including age, gender, education, and income. The study also asked about level of political interest. For these demographic variables and political interest, descriptive statistics are described below in Tables 1-5.

Representativeness. No weights are included with the data therefore all analyses were run unweighted.

Table 1. Gender

	Freq.	Percent
Female	511	47.8
Male	545	51.0
Missing	12	1.1
Total	1,068	100

Table 2. Age

	Freq.	Percent
18-30	125	11.7
31-40	221	20.7
41-50	263	24.6
51-60	224	21.0
Over 60	209	19.6
Missing	26	2.4
Total		

Table 3. Education

	Freq.	Percent
ISCED Level 0 – Early childhood educ.	2	.2
ISCED Level 1 – Primary	21	2.0
ISCED Level 2 – Lower secondary	28	2.6
ISCED Level 3 – Upper Secondary	136	12.7
ISCED Level 4 – Post-Sec Non-Tertiary	52	4.9
ISCED Level 5 – Short-cycle tertiary	109	10.2
ISCED Level 6 – Bachelor or equivalent	463	43.4
ISCED Level 7 – Master or equivalent	189	17.7
ISCED Level 8 – Doctoral or equivalent	51	4.8
No Education	2	.2
Missing	15	1.4
Total	1,068	100.0

Table 4. Household Income

	Freq.	Percent
Less than 10.001	215	20.1
10.001-15.000	221	20.7
15.001-25.000	278	26.0
25.001-40.000	171	16.0
More than 40.000	76	7.1
Missing	107	10.0
Total	1,068	100.0

Table 5. Political Interest (How interested would you say you are in politics?)

	Freq.	Percent
Very interested	354	33.2
Somewhat/fairly interested	440	41.2
Not very interested	181	17.0
Not at all interested	70	6.6
Missing	23	2.2
Total	1,068	100.0

One important characteristic of this sample is the high level of interest in politics; 74% of respondents reported being very or somewhat interested in politics.

DISTRIBUTIONS OF KEY VARIABLES

Tables 6 through 8 below 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. To investigate whether missing data could be a problem, we provide the percentages of missing responses for each item.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

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

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement?

Q04a In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.

Q04b Most politicians do not care about the people.

Q04c Most politicians are trustworthy.

Q04d Politicians are the main problem in [COUNTRY].

Q04e Having a strong leader in government is good for [COUNTRY] even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

Q04f The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

Q04g Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.

Q04h Poor people should have a greater voice in politics.

Table 6 shows that a number of the questions in the Attitudes about Elites battery are skewed. Q04a, "In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints" is skewed toward agreement, with 77.2% of respondents either strongly or somewhat agreeing with the statement, and only 10.5% somewhat or strongly disagreeing. Similarly, 76.1% of the respondents either agree or strongly agree with Q04b, "Most politicians do not care about the people," while only 9.5% somewhat or strongly disagree. Conversely, 76.5% of the respondents somewhat or strongly disagree with Q04c, "Most politicians are trustworthy. "Overall, the percent missing is very low, ranging from 1.2% to 2.7% for the Attitudes about Elites items.

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

Item	% Strongly Agree (5)	% Somewhat Agree (4)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Somewhat Disagree (2)	% Strongly Disagree (1)	% Missing	M	SD
Q04a Important to seek compromise	19.2	58.0	10.2	8.7	1.8	2.2	3.86	0.90
Q04b Most politicians do not care	34.6	41.5	13.1	8.5	1.0	1.2	4.01	0.96
Q04c Most politicians are trustworthy	3.0	7.0	12.0	49.6	26.9	1.5	2.08	0.97
Q04d Politicians are the main problem	24.7	33.1	19.0	16.7	4.9	1.7	3.57	1.18
Q04e Having a strong leader	11.1	30.2	18.5	28.2	9.2	2.7	3.06	1.20
Q04f The people should make policy decisions	15.5	32.1	23.7	23.2	4.2	1.2	3.32	1.12
Q04g Most politicians care only about the rich	25.8	39.8	18.4	13.0	1.2	1.7	3.77	1.02
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	18.4	41.2	22.7	12.8	2.9	2.0	3.60	1.03

N=1,068

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

The following attitude questions were asked about out-groups:

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

Q05a. Ethnic minorities should adapt to [COUNTRY]'s way of life.
Q05b. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY]'s economy.
Q05c. [COUNTRY]'s culture is generally harmed by immigrants.

Table 7 shows the percentages, means, and standard deviations for Attitudes about Out-groups. Just over half of the respondents agree that ethnic minorities should adapt (51.9%) while 56.8% disagree that Greece's culture is generally harmed by immigrants. There is a general tendency for more respondents to neither agree nor disagree with the Attitudes about Out-groups items than with the Attitudes about Elite questions. As was the case in the previous section, the percent of item-missing data is low ranging from 1.5 to 1.8%.

Table 7. Attitudes About Out-groups: Percentages, means, and Standard Deviations

Item	% Strongly Agree (5)	% Somewhat Agree (4)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Somewhat Disagree (2)	% Strongly Disagree (1)	% Missing	M	SD
Q05a Minorities should adapt	15.4	36.5	22.9	20.7	2.6	1.8	3.42	1.07
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	4.1	32.6	27.8	24.8	9.1	1.6	2.98	1.06
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	6.7	16.5	18.8	39.0	17.4	1.5	2.55	1.16

N=1,068

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:

> *How important do you think each of the following is... very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all?[1]*
> *Q06a. To have been born in [COUNTRY].*
> *Q06b. To have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life.*
> *Q06c. To be able to speak [COUNTRY NATIONAL LANGUAGES].*
> *Q06d. To be [COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION].*
> *Q06e. To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws.*
> *Q06f. To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY].*
> *Q06g. To have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.*

The above questions were modified with Greece in place of [COUNTRY] and Greek in place of [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]. Respondents were asked the importance of being able to speak

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[1]The Swedish pre-test also included a question about grandparents (Q248_7. To have Grandparents born in Sweden) that is not included in this report.

Greek and to be Greek Orthodox for the language (Q06c) and religion (Q6d) questions respectively.

Table 8 shows that many of the responses to the Attitudes about National Identity questions are also skewed. The importance of feeling Greek (Q06f) and respecting Greece's laws (Q06e) are strongly skewed toward a response of very important (69.4% and 70.1% respectively), and over 90% of respondents felt these two items were either very or fairly important. Respondents also feel speaking Greek (83.6%) and having lived in Greece for most of one's life (72.2%) is either very or fairly important. In contrast, 42.9% feel being Greek Orthodox is not important at all and another 24.9% feel it is not very important. The percent missing is very low for this set of measures ranging from 1.1% to 1.7%.

Table 8. Attitudes About National Identity: Percentages, means, and Standard Deviations

Item	% Very Important (1)	% Fairly Important (2)	% Not Very Important (3)	% Not Important at All (4)	% Missing	M	SD
Q06a Born in Greece	18.8	29.8	29.8	19.9	1.7	2.52	1.02
Q06b Lived in Greece	28.5	43.7	18.6	7.8	1.4	2.06	0.89
Q06c Speak Greek	47.3	36.3	11.3	3.9	1.1	1.72	0.82
Q06d Be Greek Orthodox	15.4	15.1	24.9	42.9	1.7	2.97	1.10
Q06e Respect Greece's laws	69.4	22.3	4.9	2.1	1.4	1.39	0.68
Q06f Feel Greek	70.1	21.1	5.2	2.2	1.5	1.38	0.69
Q06g Have Greek ancestry	21.5	26.7	30.8	19.5	1.5	2.49	1.04

Note. N=1,068

FACTOR STRUCTURE

Because populism is thought to have three main dimensions, we first conduct an exploratory factor analysis on the populism measures, fixing the number of dimensions to three, using principal component factoring with an oblimin (an oblique) rotation, allowing the factors to be correlated (see Table 9). We conduct a second factor analysis with unfixed factors, to see if the populism measures represent fewer than or more than three factors (see Table 10).

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

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q04a Important to seek compromise			-0.30	0.89
Q04b Most politicians do not care			0.64	0.51
Q04c Most politicians trustworthy			-0.45	0.78
Q04d Politicians are the main problem	-0.47		0.37	0.63
Q04e Having a strong leader	-0.55			0.71
Q04f The people should make policy decisions			0.62	0.55
Q04g Most politicians care only about the rich			0.77	0.39
Q04h Poor people-greater voice			0.56	0.65
Q05a Minorities should adapt	-0.63			0.58
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	0.62			0.58
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	-0.73			0.43
Q06a Born in Greece		0.68		0.42
Q06b Lived in Greece		0.83		0.34
Q06c Speak Greek		0.65		0.51
Q06d Be Greek Orthodox	0.65			0.46
Q06e Respect Greece's laws			.33	0.72
Q06f Feel Greek	0.34			0.85
Q06g Have Greek ancestry	0.52	0.34		0.51

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

With three factors, the factors only loosely resemble the dimensions proposed by the CSES Module 5 report. In the open factor solution shown in Table 10, five factors are obtained. The three out-group items all have their strongest loading on Factor 1. However, two of the National Identity items (importance of being Greek and having Greek ancestry) also have their strongest loadings on Factor 1, indicating a relationship between "being Greek" and feelings about out-groups. The Attitudes about Elites items are spread over three factors (Factors 3 through 5). Three of the National Identity items load strongly on Factor 2, while another – respecting Greece's laws – has only weak loadings of under .40 on both Factor 2 and 4.

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

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Uniqueness
Q04a Important to seek compromise	0.32			0.60		0.56
Q04b Most politicians do not care			0.76			0.35
Q04c Most politicians trustworthy			-0.75			0.42
Q04d Politicians are the main problem			0.49	0.45		0.47
Q04e Having a strong leader				0.59		0.54
Q04f The people should make policy decisions					0.71	0.44
Q04g Most politicians care only about the rich			0.55		0.48	0.36
Q04h Poor people-greater voice					0.82	0.35
Q05a Minorities should adapt	-0.49			0.30		0.58
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	0.71					0.46
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	-0.79					0.36
Q06a Born in Greece	0.34	0.62				0.40
Q06b Lived in Greece		0.85				0.29
Q06c Speak Greek		0.71				0.43
Q06d Be Greek	0.73					0.38
Q06e Respect Greece's laws		0.31		-0.39		0.60
Q06f Feel Greek				-0.46		0.74
Q06g Have Greek ancestry	0.65					0.42

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 the sets of items, we used 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. Only the correlation between most politicians care only about the rich (Q04h) and most politicians do not care about the people (Q04b) is above .50, and over half of the total correlations are below .20, indicating a weak relationship between the items.

Table 11. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Attitudes About Elites

	Q04a	Q204b	Q04c	Q04d	Q04e	Q04f	Q04g	Q04h
Q04a Important to seek compromise	1.00							
Q04b Most politicians do not care	-0.10	1.00						
Q04c Most politicians trustworthy	0.12	-0.44	1.00					
Q04d Politicians are the main problem	0.01	0.45	-0.24	1.00				
Q04e Having a strong leader	0.14	0.08	0.02	0.29	1.00			
Q04f The people should make policy decisions	-0.17	0.20	-0.17	0.08	-.06	1.00		
Q04h Most politicians care only about the rich	-0.12	0.56	-0.36	0.34	0.08	0.38	1.00	
Q04i Poor people-greater voice	-0.11	0.20	-0.06	0.16	0.02	0.41	0.40	1.00

Factor Analysis. The factor loadings in Table 12 suggest 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. The third factor is mix of belief in the importance of having a strong leader (.77) along with the importance of compromise (.55) and a belief that politicians are the main problem (.50).

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

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q04a Important to seek compromise			0.55	0.62
Q04b Most politicians do not care	0.77			0.35
Q04c Most politicians trustworthy	-0.77			0.39
Q04d Politicians are the main problem	0.54		0.50	0.42
Q04e Having a strong leader			0.77	0.40
Q04f The people should make policy decisions		0.74		0.40
Q04g Most politicians care only about the rich	0.52	0.48		0.38
Q04h Poor people- greater voice		0.85		0.31

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

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 .58. The overall alpha will not improve markedly if any of the items are dropped, with the largest increase (.61) coming if having a strong leader is removed.

Table12. Cronbach's Alpha, Attitudes About Elites

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q04a. Important to seek compromise	1045	0.29	0.09	0.20	0.59
Q04b. Most politicians do not care	1055	0.2	0.45	0.14	0.49
Q04c. Most politicians trustworthy	1052	0.43	0.21	0.18	0.56
Q04d. Politicians are the main problem	1050	0.56	0.33	0.15	0.52
Q04e. Having a strong leader	1039	0.34	0.06	0.20	0.61
Q04f. The people should make policy decisions	1055	0.52	0.29	0.16	0.54
Q04g. Most politicians care only about the rich	1050	0.68	0.52	0.12	0.46
Q04h. Poor people-greater voice	1047	0.49	0.28	0.16	0.54
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.16	0.58

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 ($r = -.53$), 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 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 13. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Out-Group Attitudes

	Q05a	Q05b	Q05c
Q05a Minorities should adapt	1.00		
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	-0.28	1.00	
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	0.48	-0.53	1.00

Factor Analysis.

The factor loadings for the Out-Group Attitudes items are substantial, with all at least .70 (see Table 15).

Table 14. Pattern Matrix, Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation, Out-Group Attitudes

Item	Factor1	Uniqueness
Q05a Minorities should adapt	0.70	0.51
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	-0.75	0.44
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	0.85	0.28

Cronbach's Alpha.

Table 16 shows the Cronbach's alpha for Out-group Attitudes as well as the alphas if each item is deleted. Overall the three items have an alpha of .65, and it would not be improved by dropping any of the items.

Table15. 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	1049	0.70	0.37	0.59	0.64
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	1051	0.73	0.43	0.53	0.59
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	1052	0.81	0.49	0.27	0.38
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.46	0.65

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

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Correlations

Many of the correlations between the National Identity items are moderately sized, with only three greater than .50 (see Table 17).

Table 16. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for National Identity

	Q06a	Q06b	Q06c	Q06d	Q06e	Q06f	Q06g
Q06a Born in Greece	1.00						
Q06b Lived in Greece	0.58	1.00					
Q06c Speak Greek	0.40	0.56	1.00				
Q06d Be Greek Orthodox	0.46	0.28	0.40	1.00			
Q06e Respect Greece's laws	0.25	0.29	0.37	0.27	1.00		
Q06f Feel Greek	0.10	0.16	0.29	0.31	0.31	1.00	
Q06g Have Greek ancestry	0.52	0.28	0.38	0.63	0.18	0.36	1.00

Factor Analysis

When examined separately, the seven National Identity items load on three separate factors (see Table 18). The first factor seems to represent a longstanding connection with Greece, being measured by born in Greece, lived in Greece, and speaking Greek. The second factor taps into two cultural aspects of being Greek – having Greek ancestry and being Greek Orthodox. The third factor is dominated by the item about feeling Greek.

Table 17. Pattern Matrix, Unfixed Factor Solution Using Oblimin Rotation, National Identity

Item	Factor1	Factor2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q06a Born in Greece	0.57	0.47		0.30
Q06b Lived in Greece	0.86			0.27
Q06c Speak Greek	0.67			0.42
Q0d Be Greek Orthodox		0.79		0.33
Q06e Respect Greece's laws	0.46		0.60	0.38
Q06f Feel Greek		0.30	0.80	0.27
Q06g Have Greek ancestry		0.85		0.25

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

Cronbach's Alpha

Overall the seven National Identity items have a Chronbach's Alpha of .73, and the reliability is not improved by dropping any of the individual items.

Table 18. Cronbach's Alpha, National Identity

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q06a Born in Greece	1050	0.72	0.54	0.20	0.67
Q06b Lived in Greece	1053	0.63	0.46	0.23	0.69
Q06c Speak Greek	1056	0.64	0.49	0.23	0.69
Q06d Be Greek Orthodox	1050	0.69	0.50	0.20	0.68
Q06e Respect Greece's laws	1053	0.44	0.29	0.27	0.73
Q06f Feel Greek	1052	0.43	0.27	0.28	0.73
Q06g Have Greek ancestry	1052	0.72	0.54	0.20	0.67
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.23	0.73

ADDITIONAL MEASURES

Although the focus of Module 5 is measuring populist attitudes, the 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).

Overall, there the amount is missing data is quite low for these items. The question about attitudes toward income distribution (Table 23) has the most missing data (8.6%), with the remaining items ranging between .9% and 2.2% missing data. The respondents report a relatively high level of engagement with politics with nearly 80% reporting they follow politics in the media either very closely or somewhat or fairly closely (Table 20). There is also a nearly universal belief that political corruptuion is very widespread or quite widespread (Table 22).

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 9. Politics in the Media	
Categories	%
Very closely (1)	29.8
Somewhat or fairly closely (2)	49.7
Not very closely (3)	16.8
Not at all (4)	2.6
Missing	1.0
Mean	SD
1.92	0.75

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 10. Internal Efficacy

Categories	%
Strongly Agree (5)	22.9
Somewhat Agree (4)	48.2
Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3)	15.9
Somewhat Disagree (2)	8.7
Strongly Disagree (1)	2.0
Missing	2.2

Mean	SD
3.83	0.95

CORRUPTION (Q07)

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

Table 11. Corruption

Categories	%
Very Widespread	72.8
Quite Widespread	23.7
Not Very Widespread	2.0
It Hardly Happens At All	0.2
Missing	1.4

Mean	SD
1.28	0.51

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 12. Attitudes Towards Redistribution

Categories		%
1 – Government should decrease taxes and spend less on services		4.7
	2	2.5
	3	3.2
	4	6.4
	5	6.1
	6	33.9
	7	9.2
	8	10.7
	9	7.6
	10	2.7
11 – Government should increase taxes and spend more on services		4.5
Missing		8.6

Mean	SD
6.27	2.31

PARENTS BORN OUTSIDE OF COUNTRY (D15)

Was either or both of your parents born outside of [COUNTRY OF BIRTH]?

Table 13. Parents Born Outside of Country

Category	%
Yes	18.3
No	80.8
Missing	0.9

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 Syriza, a left-populist party.

We predicted voting for Syriza in three separate equations. The first equation (in 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 25,001 or higher (original values of 4 and 5 for D09) and 0 for incomes of 25,000 or less (original values of 1 through 3 for D09).

- Educational attainment – Coded as 1 for Bachelor's degree or equivalent (values of 7 through 9 for variable D3) and 0 for less than a Bachelor's degree (values of 1 through 6 for D3).

- Age – entered as a continuous variable (age) ranging from 18 to 99.

The dependent variable – vote for Syriza (Q13b) was recoded so that "Syriza" was 1 and all other options were 0.

Each of the items from the Elite Attitudes and Out-Group attitudes were recoded into dichotomous variables with strongly agree or agree coded as 1 and all other responses as 0. In the National Identity model very important and somewhat important were coded as 1 and all other responses were coded as 0.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

Three of the items in the Attitudes about Elites battery have a significant relationship with a vote for Syriza (see Table 25). The beliefs that the people should make policy decisions and that most politicians care only about the rich both seem to tap into left populist beliefs and are related to a vote for Syriza. Conversely, a belief that it is important to seek compromise has a negative relationship with a vote for Syriza.

Table 25. Logistic Regression of Influence of Elite Attitudes on Intent to Vote for Syriza

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Intrv]	
Q04a	Important to seek compromise	-0.45	0.21	-2.13	0.03	-0.86	-0.04
Q04b	Most politicians do not care	0.10	0.24	0.40	0.69	-0.37	0.56
Q04c	Most politicians trustworthy	-0.13	0.30	-0.44	0.66	-0.72	0.46
Q04d	Politicians are the main problem	-0.07	0.19	-0.37	0.71	-0.45	0.31
Q04e	Having a strong leader	0.17	0.18	0.90	0.37	-0.20	0.53
Q04f	The people should make policy decisions	0.97	0.18	5.39	0.00	2.00	1.32
Q04g	Most politicians care only about the rich	0.53	0.21	2.49	0.01	0.11	0.95
Q04h	Poor people greater voice	0.17	0.19	0.88	0.38	-0.20	0.54
Gender	(female)	0.13	0.18	0.76	0.45	-0.21	0.48
	Age	-0.01	0.01	-1.56	0.12	-0.02	0.00
	Educational attainment	0.27	0.19	1.38	0.17	-0.11	0.64
	Income	-0.53	0.21	-2.53	0.01	-0.94	-0.12
_cons	Constant	-0.85	0.42	-2.02	0.04	-1.68	-0.03

Logistic regression: Number of obs=664; LR chi2(12)=77.43; Prob>chi2= 0.0000;
Log likelihood=-398.46583; Pseudo R2=0.0896

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

Two of the items in the Out-group attitudes battery – a belief that minorities should adapt and that culture is harmed by immigrants – are negatively related to a vote for Syriza.

Table 26. Logistic Regression of Influence of Out-group attitudes on Intent to Vote for Syriza

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Intrv]	
Q05a	Minorities should adapt	-0.42	0.18	-2.38	0.02	-0.77	-0.07
Q05b	Immigrants good for economy	0.05	0.18	0.31	0.76	-0.29	0.40
Q05c	Culture harmed by immigrants	-0.67	0.23	-2.93	0.00	-1.11	-0.22
gender	(female)	0.15	0.16	0.91	0.36	-0.17	0.47
	Age	-0.00	0.01	-0.59	0.56	-0.02	0.01
	Educational attainment	-0.22	0.18	-1.22	0.22	-0.57	0.13
	Income	-0.72	0.20	-3.65	0.00	-1.11	-0.34
_cons	Constant	0.24	0.34	0.72	0.47	-0.42	0.90

Logistic regression: Number of obs=694; LR chi2(7)=41.21; Prob>chi2=0.0000;
Log likelihood= -436.82627; Pseudo R2 = 0.0450

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Only two of the items in the National Identity questions are significant predictors of a vote for Syriza. Individuals who feel it is important to be Greek Orthodox were less likely to vote for Syriza. Similarly, those who believe it is important to "feel Greek" were also less likely to vote for Syriza.

Table 27. Logistic Regression of Influence of National Identity attitudes on Intent to Vote for Syriza

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Intrv]	
Q06a	Born in Greece	-0.10	0.20	-0.52	0.60	-0.49	0.29
Q06b	Lived in Greece	0.35	0.21	1.66	0.10	-0.06	0.76
Q06c	Speak Greek	-0.15	0.25	-0.59	0.56	-0.63	0.34
Q06d	Be Greek Orthodox	-1.14	0.22	-5.21	0.00	-1.57	-0.71
Q06e	Respect Greece's laws	-0.40	0.32	-1.27	0.20	-1.02	0.22
Q06f	Feel Greek	-0.60	0.30	-2.01	0.04	-1.19	-0.02
Q06g	Have Greek ancestry	0.07	0.20	0.35	0.72	-0.31	0.45
gender	(female)	0.17	0.17	1.04	0.30	-0.15	0.50
	Age	-0.00	0.01	-0.30	0.76	-0.01	0.01
	Educational attainment	-0.09	0.18	-0.51	0.61	-0.45	0.26
	Income	-0.82	0.20	-4.06	0.00	-1.22	-0.42
_cons	Constant	0.86	0.50	1.71	0.09	-0.12	1.85

Logistic regression: Number of obs=692; LR chi2(11)=63.29; Prob>chi2=0.0000;
Log likelihood=-425.38183; Pseudo R2=0.0692