



CSES Module 5 Pretest Report:

SWEDEN

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INTRODUCTION

This report is an overview of the performance of the CSES Module 5 pre-test conducted in Sweden in December of 2015 and January of 2016. The module was implemented in Sweden as part of the eighteenth Citizen Panel conducted between December 1, 2015 and January 4, 2016. The full panel included 41,132 respondents, while the CSES pre-test was completed by 1,279 individuals (670 from an opt-in sample and 609 from a probability-based sample). Additional details about the Citizen Panel can be found at <http://lore.gu.se/surveys/citizen>.

In Sweden, the pilot was prepared by Henrik Oscarsson. It was administered by the staff at LORE (Laboratory of Opinion Research, <http://lore.gu.se/>), SOM Institute, University of Gothenburg. In particular, Maria Andreasson at LORE provided valuable assistance. LORE is responsible for the Citizen Panel, which is an ongoing panel that began in 2010 and is collected via web questionnaires.

Analyses for this report were conducted by Linda Kimmel, with assistance from Lauren Guggenheim and Yioryos Nardis, all at Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

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 (in this report labeled as “National Identity”). 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 the populism measures are related to vote choice of populist parties.

METHODOLOGY

Sample. The sample consisted of individuals aged 18 to 86 years old. Data for several demographic variables were collected, including age, gender, education, and income. Political interest was also collected. For these demographic variables, descriptive statistics are described below in Tables 1-5. Each of the table provides the distribution both for the total sample as well as separately for the opt-in and probability portions of the sample.

Representativeness. No weights are included with the data therefore all analyses were run unweighted. Tables 1 through 5 provide the distributions of the sample (both opt-in and probability) on some key demographic variables. One important characteristic of this sample is

the high level of interest in politics; 78% of all respondents reported being very or somewhat interested in politics (82% of the opt-in panel and 73% of the probability sample).

Table 1. Gender

	Total	Opt-in	Probability
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Female	45.4	44.0	47.0
Male	53.9	55.2	52.4
Other	0.2	0.2	.2
Missing	0.3	.6	.5
Total	1,279	670	609

Table 2. Age

	Total	Opt-In	Probability
	Percent	Percent	Percent
18-30	9.3	9.2	9.4
31-40	15.2	16.3	14.0
41-50	15.0	15.5	14.4
51-60	22.4	24.0	20.5
Over 60	34.9	31.5	38.6
Missing	3.3	3.4	3.1
Total	1,279	670	609

Table 3. Education

	Total	Opt-In	Probability
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Not completed elementary	0.2	.2	.2
Elementary school	3.8	3.6	3.9
High school <3 years	7.7	6.9	8.7
High School 3 or more years	10.2	9.0	11.7
Studies post HS, <3 years	8.7	8.8	8.5
Studies post HS, 3 or more years	2.7	2.2	3.3
University/college, <3 years	12.3	12.2	12.5
University/college, 3 or more years	47.8	50.6	44.8
PhD	4.4	4.5	4.3
Missing	2.1	2.0	2.1
Total	1,279	670	609

Table 4. Income (SEK per Month)

	Total	Opt-In	Probability
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Under 4,000	1.1	1.0	1.2
4,000-8,999	2.4	1.9	2.8
9,000-12,999	7.1	6.9	7.4
13,000-15,999	5.4	5.1	5.8
16,000-18,999	4.5	3.7	5.4
19,000-22,999	5.6	5.2	6.1
23,000-25,999	8.4	8.1	8.7
26,000-29,999	10.6	10.3	11.0
30,000-36,999	20.7	21.6	19.7
37,000-44,999	12.9	14.9	10.7
45,000-54,999	8.1	7.6	8.7
55,000-64,999	3.4	4.0	2.6
65,000 or more	3.2	3.3	3.1
Don't know	2.8	3.0	2.6
Other	.2	0.0	.3
Missing	3.6	3.3	3.9
Total	1,279	670	609

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

	Total	Opt-In	Probability
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Very interested	31.3	39.1	22.7
Rather interested	46.4	43.0	50.2
Not particularly interested	9.5	5.7	13.6
Not at all interested	.8	0.3	1.3
Missing	12.0	11.9	12.2
Total	1,279	670	609

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 data for each item.

ATTITUDES ABOUT ELITES

The following questions on attitudes towards elites from Module 5 were included in the Swedish survey:

Q244_1 In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints.

Q244_2 Most politicians do not care about the people.

Q244_3 Most politicians are reliable.

Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem in [COUNTRY].

Q244_5 Having a strong leader in government is good for [COUNTRY] even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

Q244_6 The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.

Q244_8 Poor people should have a greater voice in politics.

Table 6 shows that Q244_1 “In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints” is skewed toward strongly agreeing (45.3%). In fact, 91.4% of respondents either strongly or somewhat agreed with this statement. The mean, 1.64, is close to the lowest scale value (Strongly Agree = 1) and the standard deviation, .70, is also low. Both the mean and the standard deviation for Q04_1 are much lower than other items on the scale. The next closest item is Q244_3 “Most politicians are reliable,” to which 43.3% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed. It is important to note that the use of the word “reliable” for Q244_3 in the Swedish pilot differs from all of the other pilot studies for Module 5, in which the word “trustworthy” is used. There is also a slight skew towards strongly disagreeing for question Q244_4, “Politicians are the main problem in Sweden,” with 60.9% of the sample either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing to the statement. Overall, the percent missing is very low, with fewer than 2% missing for any of the items.

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

Item	% Strongly Agree (1)	% Agree (2)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Disagree (4)	% Strongly Disagree (5)	%.	%i	M	SD
Q244_1 Important to seek compromise	45.3	46.1	4.9	2.0	.4	.9	.5	1.64	.70
Q244_2 Most politicians do not care	10.6	26.4	21.6	25.6	14.2	.9	.7	3.06	1.24
Q244_3 Most politicians are reliable	9.5	33.8	24.7	23.7	7.0	.9	.4	2.84	1.11
Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem	5.2	14.6	17.9	22.7	38.2	.9	.6	3.75	1.26
Q244_5 Having a strong leader	12.4	25.6	12.0	17.7	30.8	.9	.7	3.29	1.45
Q244_6 The people should make policy decisions	13.2	26.5	20.5	26.0	12.2	.9	.8	2.97	1.25
Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	4.8	16.3	22.3	28.7	26.5	.9	.5	3.56	1.19
Q244_8 Poor people - greater voice	12.1	20.6	28.9	12.6	24.6	.9	.4	3.17	1.34

N=1,279

NOTE: The value labels differ in the Swedish data from other countries in that rather than “somewhat agree” and “somewhat disagree” respondents selected “agree” and “disagree.”

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

The following 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?

Q246_1. Ethnic minorities should adapt to [COUNTRY]'s way of life.

Q246_2. Immigrants are generally good for [COUNTRY]'s economy.

Q246_3. [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 Sweden’s culture is generally harmed by immigrants. As above, there is little item-missing data, with just over 1% missing for any of the outgroup items.

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

Item	% Strongly Agree (1)	% Agree (2)	% Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	% Disagree (4)	% Strongly Disagree (5)	%. ¹	%i	M	SD
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	19.9	40.2	15.3	16.6	6.8	.9	.2	2.50	1.18
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	25.7	33.6	14.8	16.9	7.9	.9	.2	2.47	1.26
Q246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	6.4	14.2	14.6	23.8	39.7	.9	.3	3.77	1.29

N=1,279

NOTE: The value labels differ in the Swedish data from other countries in that rather than “somewhat agree” and “somewhat disagree” respondents selected “agree” and “disagree.”

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

Q248_1. To have been born in [COUNTRY].

Q248_2. To have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life.

Q248_3. To be able to speak [COUNTRY NATIONAL LANGUAGES].

Q248_4. To be [COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION].

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

Q248_5. To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws.
 Q248_6. To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY].
 Q248_8. To have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.

The above questions were modified with Sweden in place of [COUNTRY] and Swedish in place of [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]. Respondents were asked the importance of being Christian for the religion question (Q248_4).

Table 8 shows that respondents feel strongly that individuals should respect Sweden’s laws, with 83.1% rating it as very important and another 12.9% rating it as somewhat important. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents (62.3%) feel it is very important that individuals speak Swedish and another 29.2% feel it is somewhat important. In contrast, over two-thirds (68%) feel it is not at all important that individuals be Christian. The percent missing is very low for this set of measures as well, with less than 2% missing on any item.

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

Item	%				%DK	%Ref.	M	SD
	% Very Important (1)	Somewhat Important (2)	% Not Very Important (3)	% Not Important at All (4)				
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	6.2	14.6	39.4	38.4	1.0	.4	3.10	.88
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	7.7	29.3	36.9	24.6	1.0	.5	2.80	.90
Q248_3 Speak Swedish	62.3	29.2	5.0	2.4	1.0	.2	1.47	.70
Q248_4 Be Christian	2.7	7.0	21.0	68.0	1.0	.3	3.56	.74
Q248_5 Respect Sweden’s laws	83.1	12.9	1.5	1.2	1.0	.2	1.20	.52
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	35.3	40.4	16.4	6.2	1.0	.6	1.93	.88
Q248_8 Have Swedish ancestry	3.0	6.0	21.3	68.3	1.0	.3	3.57	.74

Note. N=1,279

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. We used principal component factoring with oblimin (an oblique) rotation, allowing the factors to be correlated. We then ran a second factor analysis with an unfixed number of factors, to see if the data produced fewer than three or more than three factors.

Below are results fixing the 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
Q244_1 Important to seek compromise			0.4026	0.8177
Q244_2 Most politicians do not care		0.8368		0.2950
Q244_3 Most politicians reliable		-0.7571		0.4507
Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem		0.7774		0.3600
Q244_5 Having a strong leader		0.3418		0.7954
Q244_6 The people should make policy decisions		0.6252		0.5707
Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the rich		0.6886	-0.3676	0.4153
Q244_8 Poor people-greater voice			-0.5508	0.6301
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	0.3778	0.3298	0.4614	0.3796
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	-0.5021	-0.3654		0.4157
Q246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.5375	0.3554		0.3763
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	0.8767			0.2675
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	0.8470			0.3361
Q248_3 Speak Swedish	0.3558		0.5222	0.4902
Q248_4 Be Christian	0.6124			0.5636
Q248_5 Respect Sweden's laws		0.6834		0.5456
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	0.4595			0.8005
Q248_7 Have Swedish ancestry	0.8088			0.3352

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

With three factors, the factors are similar, but not identical, to the dimensions proposed by the report. In the open factor solution – allowing for an unlimited number of factors – four factors are obtained (see Table 10). For the most part, the elite items load on factor 2 while most of the national identity items load on Factor 1. The outgroup items load nearly identically on factors 1 and 2. The third factor seems to measure concern for the disadvantaged, with “Most politicians care only about the rich” (.625) and “Poor people should have a greater voice” (.873) dominating the factor. The fourth factor is a mix of items the importance of seeking compromise (from the elite battery) and the importance of speaking Swedish and respecting Sweden’s laws (both from the national identity battery).

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

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Uniqueness
Q244_1 Important to seek compromise				0.6223	0.5974
Q244_2 Most politicians do not care		0.8615			0.2879
Q244_3 Most politicians reliable		-0.8060			0.3802
Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem		0.7949			0.3565
Q244_5 Having a strong leader		0.3645			0.7946
Q244_6 The people should make policy decisions		0.5721	0.3090		0.5500
Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the rich		0.5592	0.6250		0.2982
Q244_8 Poor people-greater voice			0.8734		0.2541
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	0.3183	0.4005		0.3161	0.3795
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	-0.4056	-0.4549			0.3649
Q246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.4515	0.4369			0.3441
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	0.8747				0.2627
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	0.8663				0.3097
Q248_3 Speak Swedish	0.3323			0.4582	0.4640
Q248_4 Be Swedish	0.6057				0.5597
Q248_5 Respect Sweden's laws				0.7850	0.3707
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	0.5043				0.7400
Q248_78 Have Swedish ancestry	0.8026				0.3349

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 when examined individually. We look at scaling through the use of correlations and Cronbach's alpha. For correlations, we use polychoric correlation coefficients, which 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 eight items in the Attitudes About Elites battery. Items Q244_1 (important to seek compromise) and Q244_8 (give poor people a greater voice) have weak correlations of less than .10 with most of the other items in the battery. Similarly, having a strong leader (Q244_5) has weak correlations with many other items in the battery. For the most part, the remaining items have moderate to strong correlations.

Table 11. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Attitudes About Elites

	Q244_1	Q244_2	Q244_3	Q244_4	Q244_5	Q244_6	Q244_7	Q244_8
Q244_1 Important to seek compromise	1.00							
Q244_2 Most politicians do not care	-.08	1.00						
Q244_3 Most politicians reliable	.19	-.65	1.00					
Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem	-.08	.71	-.59	1.00				
Q244_5 Having a strong leader	.01	.29	-.22	.36	1.00			
Q244_6 The people should make policy decisions	-.06	.46	-.36	.50	.16	1.00		
Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	-.09	.51	-.42	.46	.15	.44	1.00	
Q244_8 Poor people-greater voice	-.06	.03	.00	.03	-.07	.17	.48	1.00

Factor Analysis. The factor loadings in Table 12 suggest there are three factors (using oblimin rotation and pcf factoring, as above). Five of the eight items have their strongest loadings on the first factor, which may represent attitudes about elites. The item on the importance of compromise is the only item that loads on the third factor, and seems to measure something other than attitudes about elites in the Swedish case. The second factor is represented by two items – Q244_7 and Q244_8 that both measure left-wing populism concerns.

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

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Q244_1 Important to seek compromise			0.95	0.10
Q244_2 Most politicians do not care	0.84			0.29
Q244_3 Most politicians reliable	-0.75			0.38
Q244_4 Politicians are the main problem	0.83			0.31
Q244_5 Having a strong leader	0.54			0.61
Q244_6 The people should make policy decisions	0.56	0.31		0.54
Q244_7 Most politicians care only about the rich	0.46	0.66		0.28
Q244_8 Poor people-greater voice		0.91		0.20

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 .72. Items 1 (seeking compromise) and 8 (poor people should have stronger voice) had weak correlations with the other items in the set (see Table 11) and have the lowest item-test correlations in the Cronbach's alpha. When dropped from the analysis, the Cronbach's alpha for the remaining six items increases to .77.

Table 13. Cronbach's Alpha, Attitudes About Elites

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q244_1. Important to seek compromise	1262	0.22	0.10	0.45	0.73
Q244_2. Most politicians do not care	1259	0.75	0.63	0.29	0.64
Q244_3. Most politicians reliable	1263	0.67	0.53	0.33	0.66
Q244_4. Politicians are the main problem	1261	0.75	0.62	0.29	0.64
Q244_5. Having a strong leader	1259	0.48	0.24	0.38	0.73
Q244_6. The people should make policy decisions	1258	0.64	0.48	0.33	0.67
Q244_7. Most politicians care only about the rich	1262	0.71	0.58	0.31	0.65
Q244_8. Poor people-greater voice	1263	0.36	0.13	0.42	0.75
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.35	0.72

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

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

Correlations. The table below (Table 14) shows the polychoric correlation matrix for Out-Group Attitudes. All of the correlations are substantial and in the expected direction, with the strongest relationship between the two questions about immigrants ($r = -.78$).

Table 14. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for Out-Group Attitudes

	Q246_1	Q246_2	Q246_3
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	1.00		
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	-0.61	1.00	
Qq246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.65	-0.78	1.00

Factor Analysis. The factor loadings for the three Out-Group Attitudes items are all strong, and in the correct direction, indicating that the items do appear to measure a single dimension.

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

Item	Factor1	Uniqueness
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	0.79	0.37
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	-0.88	0.23
Q246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	0.89	0.21

Cronbach's Alpha. The Chronbach's alpha for the three Out-Group Attitudes question is .81, indicating that the items have good internal consistency.

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

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q246_1 Minorities should adapt	1265	0.80	0.58	1.15	0.83
Q246_2 Immigrants good for economy	1265	0.88	0.70	0.83	0.70
Q246_3 Culture harmed by immigrants	1264	0.89	0.72	0.78	0.69
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.92	0.81

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

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Correlations. Table 16 shows displays the polychoric correlation coefficients for the items in the National Identity set of questions. Item Q248_5 -- Respect Sweden's laws – has the lowest overall correlations with the other questions in the battery, with several of approximately .10).

Table 17. Polychoric Correlation Matrix for National Identity

	Q248_1	Q248_2	Q248_3	Q248_4	Q248_5	Q248_6	Q248_8
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	1.00						
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	0.82	1.00					
Q248_3 Speak Swedish	0.51	0.54	1.00				
Q248_4 Be Christian	0.56	0.50	0.48	1.00			
Q248_5 Respect Sweden's laws	0.07	0.13	0.48	0.24	1.00		
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	0.30	0.42	0.33	0.27	0.11	1.00	
Q248_8 Have Swedish ancestry	0.81	0.69	0.49	0.66	0.40	0.28	1.00

Factor Analysis. Factor analysis of the seven items in the National Identity battery produced two factors. One of the items – feel Swedish – has only weak loadings (.34 and .30 respectively) on both of the factors. The other five items have strong loadings of at least .66 on just one of the factors. The first factor appears to tap into feelings of Swedish ancestry. The second factor is dominated by respecting Sweden’s laws, with a factor loading of .89.

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

Item	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	0.89		0.23
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	0.80		0.31
Q248_3 Speak Swedish		0.68	0.36
Q248_4 Be Christian	0.66		0.56
Q248_5 Respect Sweden’s laws		0.89	0.26
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	0.34	0.30	0.74
Q248_8 Have Swedish ancestry	0.86		0.30

Cronbach’s Alpha. Table 18 shows the Cronbach’s alpha for Attitudes about National Identity as well as the alphas if each item is deleted. Overall the items have an acceptable alpha of .77. Item 248_5 – respect Sweden’s laws – has the lowest item-test correlation of .29. If this item is dropped from the analysis the remaining six items have an alpha of .79.

Table19. Cronbach’s Alpha, National Identity

Item	N	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha if item deleted
Q248_1 Born in Sweden	1261	0.81	0.68	0.16	0.69
Q248_2 Lived in Sweden	1260	0.81	0.68	0.15	0.69
Q248_3 Speak Sweden	1264	0.62	0.47	0.20	0.74
Q248_4 Be Christian	1262	0.64	0.49	0.20	0.74
Q248_5 Respect Sweden’s laws	1263	0.29	0.15	0.25	0.79
Q248_6 Feel Swedish	1259	0.55	0.33	0.21	0.77
Q248_8 Have Swedish ancestry	1262	0.72	0.59	0.18	0.72
				Covariance	Alpha
Test scale				0.19	0.77

ITEM VALIDITY: REGRESSIONS WITH VOTE CHOICE

To examine whether populist attitudes predict voting for populist parties, we validated each of the populism items against intention to vote for the Sweden Democrats, typically classified as a right-wing populist party. We predicted intention to vote for Sweden Democrats in three separate equations, the first (in Table 20) includes the eight Elite Attitudes items. The second equation (Table 21) includes the three Out-Group items, while the third equation (Table 22) 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 37,000 SEK or higher (original values of 10 through 13 for q451) and 0 for incomes of less than 37,000 SEK (original values of 1 through 9 for q451).
- Educational attainment – Coded as 1 for some college (values of 7 through 9 for variable q449) and 0 for less than college (values of 1 through 6 for q449).
- Year of birth – entered as a continuous variable (q8) ranging from 1939 to 1999.

The dependent variable – intention to vote (q15) was recoded so that “Sweden Democrats” was 1 and all other options were 0. Respondents who cast invalid ballots or responded “Don’t Know” or refused were coded as missing.

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

Six of the eight Elite Attitudes items have a significant impact on intention to vote for Sweden Democrats (see Table 20), and all of the coefficients are in the expected direction. Item q244_1 – the importance of seeking compromise – is not significantly related to vote intention. This is not surprising as there was little variance in the item, with over 90% of the respondents either strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statement. Most politicians care only about the rich (q244_7) also did not have a significant effect on voting intent.

Table 20. Logistic Regression of Influence of Elite Attitudes on Intent to Vote for Sweden Democrats

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Intrv]	
q244_1	Important to seek compromise	-0.27	0.32	-0.84	0.39	-0.91	0.36
q244_2	Most politicians do not care	1.15	0.21	5.43	0.00	0.74	1.57
q244_3	Most politicians are reliable	-0.90	0.22	-4.09	0.00	-1.33	-0.47
q244_4	Politicians are the main problem	1.01	0.21	4.72	0.00	0.59	1.43
q244_5	Having a strong leader	0.42	0.19	2.14	0.03	0.04	0.80
q244_6	The people should make policy decisions	0.56	0.20	2.78	0.00	0.17	0.96
q244_7	Most politicians care only about the rich	-0.38	0.26	-1.50	0.13	-0.88	0.12
q244_8	Poor people greater voice	-0.50	0.23	-2.12	0.03	-0.96	-0.04
Gender	(female)	-0.60	0.20	-3.03	0.00	-0.98	-0.21
q8	Year of birth	-0.00	0.01	-0.33	0.74	-0.02	0.01
ded	Educational attainment (some college)	-0.45	0.20	-2.27	0.02	-0.85	-0.06
dinc	Income (high)	0.16	0.22	0.71	0.48	-0.27	0.58
_cons	Constant	2.94	13.27	0.22	0.82	-23.06	28.94

Logistic regression: Number of obs = 980; LR Chi2(12) = 254.24; Prob>chi2 = 0.0000; Log likelihood= -374.16297; Pseudo R2 = 0.2536

OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES

All three of the items measuring Out-Group attitudes have a significant effect on voting intent (see Table 21). The direction of the coefficients is as expected, with those who agree that minorities should adapt and that the culture is harmed by immigrants being more likely to intend to vote for Sweden Democrats, and those who agree that immigrants are good for the economy being less likely to intend to vote for Sweden Democrats.

Table 21. Logistic Regression of Influence of Out-group attitudes on Intent to Vote for Sweden Democrats

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Intrv]	
q246_1	Minorities should adapt	0.94	0.30	3.16	0.00	0.36	1.52
q246_2	Immigrants good for economy	-1.91	0.25	-7.69	0.00	-2.39	-1.42
q246_3	Culture harmed by immigrants	1.98	0.22	9.06	0.00	1.55	2.40
gender	(female)	-0.40	0.22	-1.80	0.07	-0.84	0.03
q8	Year of birth	0.00	0.01	0.30	0.76	-0.013	0.01
ded	Educational attainment (some college)	-0.48	0.22	-2.20	0.03	-0.90	-0.05
dinc	Income (high)	0.00	0.24	0.01	0.99	-0.47	0.47
_cons	Constant	-6.05	15.15	-0.40	0.69	-35.74	23.64

Logistic regression: Number of obs = 999; LR chi2(7)=408.54; Prob>chi2=0.000;
Log likelihood= -306.79135; Pseudo R2 = 0.3997

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Five of the seven National Identity questions have a significant effect on intent to vote for the Sweden Democrats, with the direction of the coefficients in the expected direction (see Table 22). Two of the items – important to respect Sweden’s laws and feel Swedish – do not have a significant relationship with intent to vote. There was nearly universal agreement among the respondents for the importance of respecting Sweden’s laws (96%). Thus, it is not surprising that the item does not have a significant relationship with voting intent, and that it had low polychoric correlations with the other items and also the lowest item-test correlation when Chronbach’s alpha was calculated. There was also a high level of agreement (75.7%) with the second item – feel Swedish – that failed to have a significant effect on voting intent. In the factor analysis feel Swedish had low loadings of approximately .30 on both of the factors that emerged (see Table 17).

Table 22. Logistic Regression of Influence of National Identity attitudes on Intent to Vote for Sweden Democrats

Variable	Description	Coeff.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Intrv]
q248_1	Born in Sweden	1.07	0.25	4.28	0.00	0.58 1.55
q248_2	Lived in Sweden	0.46	0.23	1.97	0.05	0.00 0.91
q248_3	Speak Swedish	1.25	0.62	2.00	0.05	0.02 2.47
q248_4	Be Christian	1.41	0.28	5.00	0.00	0.86 1.96
q248_5	Respect Sweden’s laws	-0.16	0.58	-0.27	0.79	-1.29 0.98
q248_6	Feel Swedish	-0.07	0.25	-0.26	0.79	-0.56 0.43
q248_8	Have Swedish ancestry	0.81	0.31	2.64	0.01	0.21 1.40
gender	(female)	-0.59	0.20	-2.95	0.00	-0.97 -0.20
q8	Year of birth	0.01	0.01	1.50	0.14	-0.00 0.023
	Educational attainment					
ded	(some college)	-0.86	0.19	-4.48	0.00	-1.24 -0.49
dinc	Income (high)	0.14	0.21	0.69	0.49	-0.26 0.55
_cons	Constant	-22.06	13.17	-1.68	0.09	-47.87 3.75

Logistic regression: Number of obs=991; LR chi2(11)=236.29; Prob>chi2=0.000;
Log likelihood=-388.3789; Pseudo R2=0.2332