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CSES Module 5 pre-test report, Switzerland

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1 Introduction

In this report we present the results from the pre-test of the CSES module 5 proposal that was conducted in Switzerland. The survey was fielded in October 2015 in German and French. The pilot was prepared and implemented by the members of the team of the Swiss electoral study *Selects* (Nicolas Pekari, Georg Lutz) and the data cleaning and the major part of the data analysis was done mainly by Marina Shkapina in collaboration with the Selects staff.

Overall the goal of the pre-test was to

- explore the distribution of answers of the new questions in the CSES V module,

- find out how those new variables are related to each other,

- explore how those variables are related to turnout and voting for specific (populist) parties.

The questionnaire was adapted as proposed by the planning committee with one exception. The question of attitudes on redistribution was adapted slightly.

The initial formulation was *"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 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"?*

We changed this to *"spending less [more] on social services, health and education"* because at least in the Swiss context spending for health and education is usually not viewed as "social services".

In addition we wanted to test whether the order of the answer categories on this question made a difference because we worried that when answer categories start with "increasing taxes" this will likely not be picked. Therefore we introduced a random split experiment where we changed the order of the answer categories.

1.1 Methodology

The survey was conducted using an online access panel sample provided by Lightspeed GMI and the survey tool Qualtrics where the questionnaire had been programmed in-house. The survey started with a soft launch on 29 October 2015 and full launch on 30 October and ended on 10 November 2015. The launch was not immediately after Election Day because we needed some more time to translate and prepare the questionnaire.

The great majority of responses were gathered until November 5, with a few extra days to fill out all the quotas as predetermined.

1.1.1 Sample

The sample consisted of 1000 individuals with Swiss nationality residing in Switzerland aged 18 to 65 years old. A quota sample was used in order to make the sample representative for gender, age groups and main regions.

Table 1. Gender and age quotas

Age	Male	Female	Total
18-24	7%	6%	13%
25-34	10%	10%	20%
35-44	11%	12%	23%
45-54	12%	12%	24%
55-65	10%	10%	20%
Total	50%	50%	100%

It was decided to run the survey in German and French taking advantage of the multilingual context to test the questionnaire in two languages. French language speakers were overrepresented in the quotas so that they amounted for 35% of the sample instead of the roughly 23% of the population they represent. This was done to have a sufficient number of cases to possibly compare the two language regions. However, the Italian speaking population, representing around 8% of the total population, was excluded from the study because the relatively small number of respondents would not have allowed an analysis of this sub-population, and to avoid additional translation costs.

In order to increase the number of French speakers in the sample compared to the population, it was necessary to increase the quotas for French speaking regions. For example, in Lake Geneva region (mostly French speaking) the quota was increased by 20%, in Espace Mittelland (mostly German speaking but with French also) by 10% whereas the others were reduced by about 10%. Italian speaking Ticino was excluded. The quotas by region are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Region quotas (NUTS II level)

| Region	Quota (%)
Lake Geneva region	24.0
Espace Mittelland	25.0
Northwestern Switzerland	12.5
Zurich	16.0
Eastern Switzerland	13.5
Central Switzerland	9.0

1.1.2 Recruitment

GMI Lightspeed uses various methods to recruit their panelists and the panels are actively managed to ensure the information is up to date and the panelists are active. Sources of recruitment include opt-in emails, newsletter campaigns, banners on websites, as well as social media. For the survey, panelists received a simple notification saying a new survey was available and how much the incentive for completing the survey was. No information was given on the topic of the survey to avoid self-selection bias.

1.1.3 Representativeness

To assess the representativeness of the survey, we compare the distribution on some basic sociodemographic characteristics not managed by quotas between the Selects post-election survey (PES). The latter is a benchmark survey with more than 5'300 participants and a response rate of about 45% conducted using a high quality sampling frame from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office which was in the field in the five weeks after the election.

Figure 1. Income in PES and CSES surveys
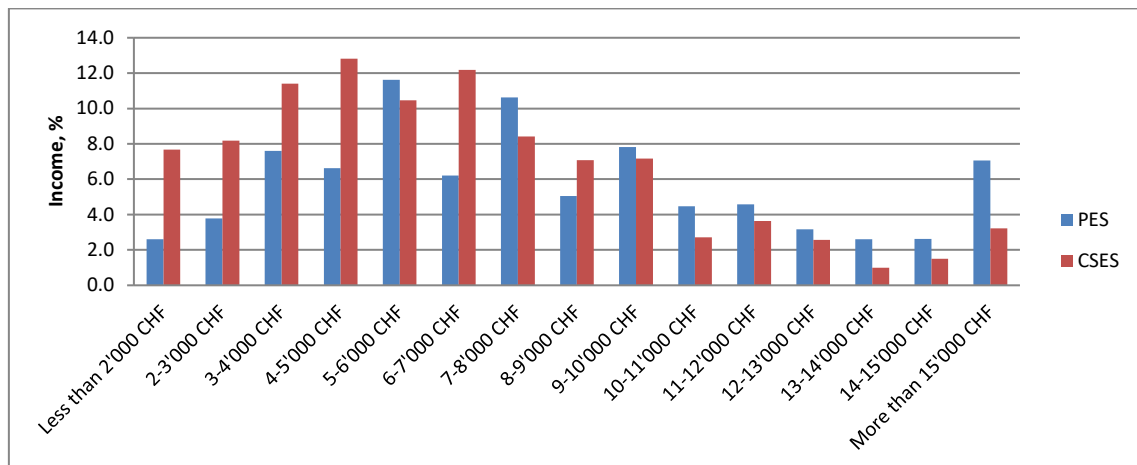
Comparing the two surveys, we find that respondents with low income are overrepresented in the CSES pilot sample, whereas people with high income are underrepresented, especially for the highest income category. This can be expected as high income individuals are less likely to take part in opt-in panels.

Figure 2. Education in PES and CSES surveys
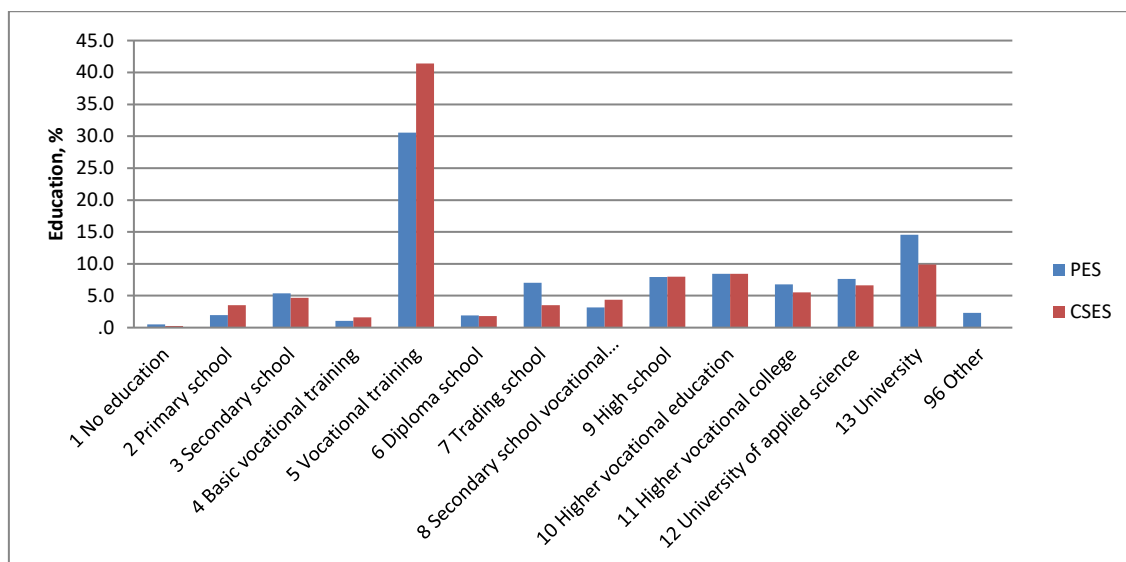
Respondents with vocational training are overrepresented in the CSES sample, while people holding university degrees are underrepresented. For most of the other categories, however, the proportions are very similar to those found in the reference survey.

In addition to socio-demographic indicators we also looked at the distribution of key variables of political behavior, participation in the election and party choice. Table 3 shows that the sample is rather biased despite using quotas in the selection of respondents. The amount of respondents who stated that they have participated in the election (60%) is much higher than in reality (48.5%). This is, however not unusual in voter surveys in countries with low turnout.

The respondents are also slightly biased towards the two larger parties. There are more respondents who claimed to have voted for the right wing SVP than in reality (35% vs. 29%) and also for the social democrats (SP, 24% vs. 19%). The Christian Democrats (CVP) as well as smaller parties were all rather underrepresented.

Table 3. Turnout and party choice bias

	Sample distribution	Results	Difference
Turnout			
Voters	59.6	48.5	+10
Non-Voters	40.4	51.5	-10
Total	100	100	
Party			
FDP	14	16	-2
CVP	6	12	-6
SP	24	19	5
SVP	35	29	6
GPS	5	7	-2
GLP	4	5	0
BDP	4	4	0
Other parties	8	9	-1
Total	100	100	
N	573		

Taking this into account we would expect that the left-right distribution is slightly biased to the more extreme parties than what we have in the *Selects* post-election study. Figure 3 shows the distribution on the left-right scale in the CSES and the PES sample. For the voters the distribution is surprisingly similar, slightly more voters than non-voters position themselves on the right than on the left. For non-voters the sample is rather similar too.

Figure 3. Left-right self-placement CSES pilot and PES, voters and non-voters
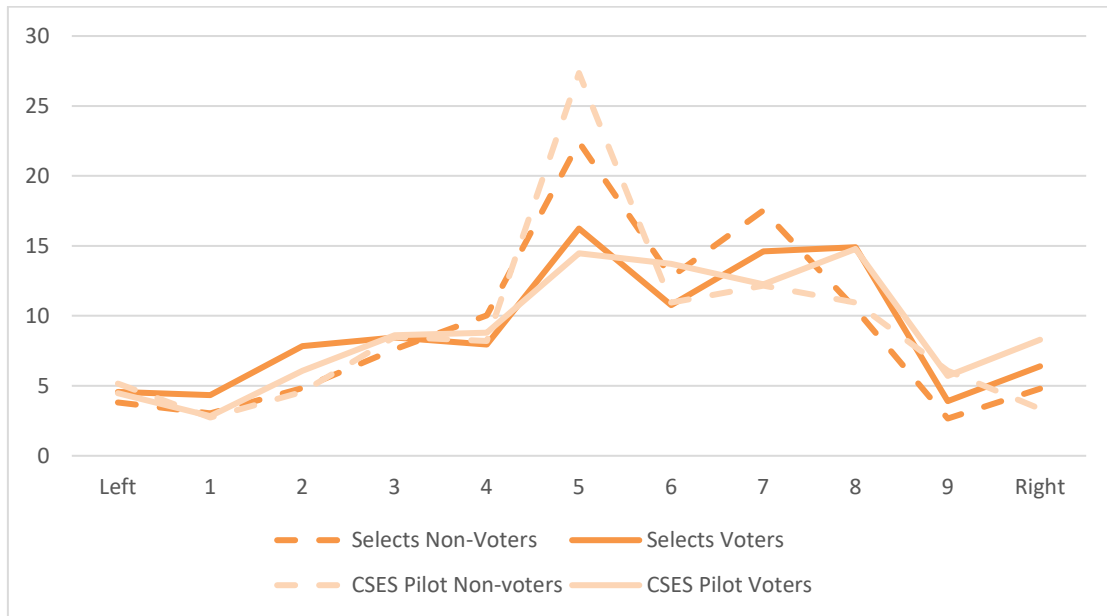
Taking all those factors into account, we can assume that the data we used for this pilot is not systematically biased and gives us a decent indication on the distributions and the relationship between the different variables. As a consequence we decided not to weight the data.

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2   Distribution of key variables

2.1   Attitudes about elites

An important part of the new module questionnaires are attitudes towards elites. The following questions on attitudes toward the elite are included in Module 5:

- *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*

Figure 4. Distribution of variables measuring "Attitudes about elites", in %
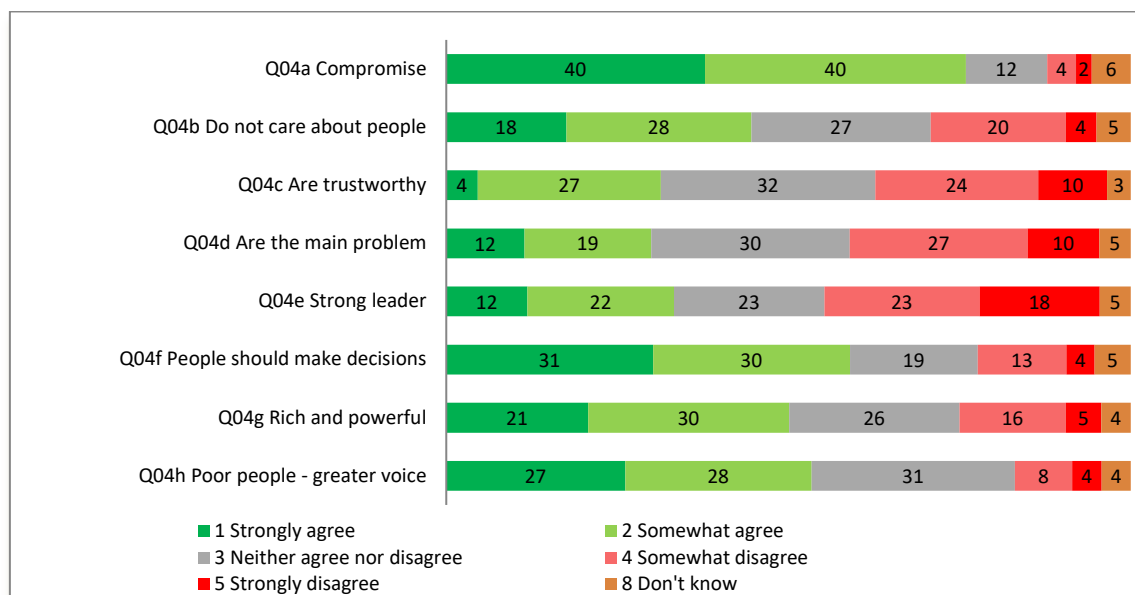
With some exceptions the distributions are not very skewed on most items, making the questions in general usable for empirical research. However, the percentage of respondents who choose the category "Neither agree nor disagree" is high in most cases. The proportion of "Don't know" –answers is slightly above average but remains low and no question stands out in particular in this respect.

Respondents clearly support the statement that in a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints (Q04a). This is to be expected in a prototype consensus democracy where all major parties have been represented in government for the more than 50 years. Swiss respondents also agree that the people, not politicians, should make the most important policy decisions (Q4f). These results are in line with the concept of direct democracy, which is valuable for Switzerland, so this could be an issue specific to Switzerland.

The distribution of responses on the questions about political elites (i.e., most politicians do not care about the people (Q04b) that they are trustworthy (Q4c) or that they are the main problem (Q4d)) tend

to be spread more evenly across categories. This is also true of whether having a strong leader in government is acceptable (Q04e), but the highest percentage of respondents also disagree with this statement.

Both items that are supposed to capture left-wing populism have a high number of respondents in favour and fewer against the two statements. About 50% think that elites care more about the rich and powerful (Q04g) and about 55% of respondents say that poor people should have a greater voice.

2.2 Corruption

The perception that the political elite may be corrupt is widespread in many democracies. The question included in the survey was:

- *Q07. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in [COUNTRY]: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, or it hardly happens at all?*

Figure 5. Distribution of variable "How widespread is corruption"
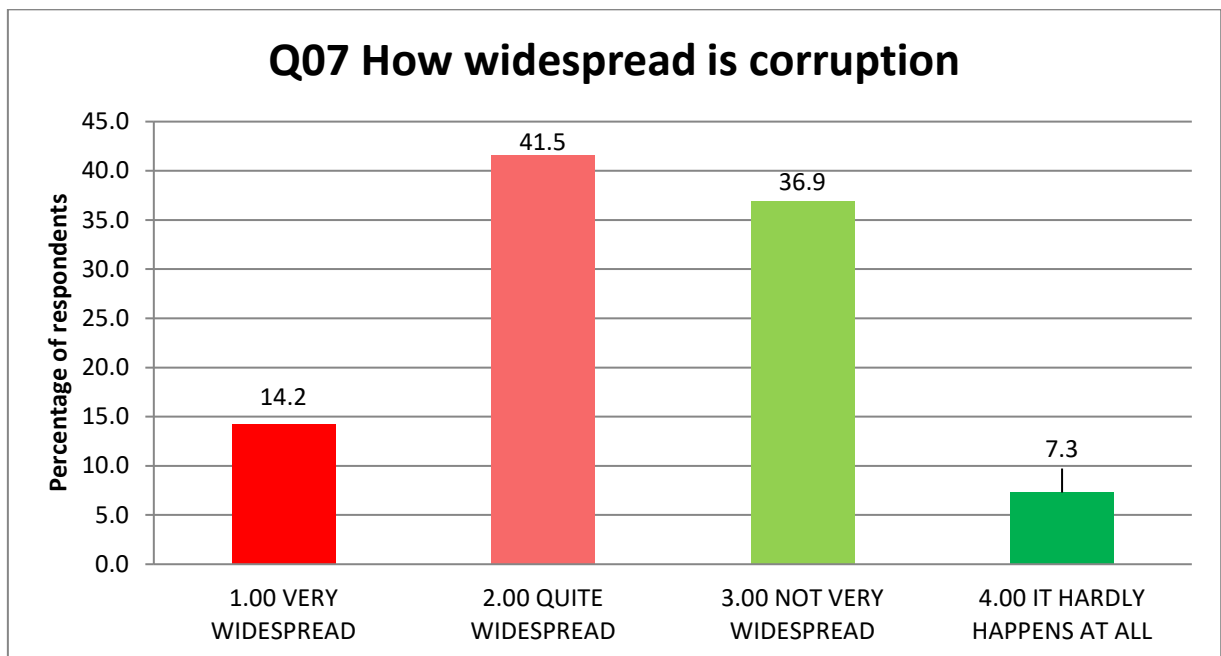
Many respondents think that corruption is very widespread (14.2%) or quite widespread in Switzerland (41.5%). At the same time, the number of people who answered that corruption hardly happens at all in Switzerland is not that big (7.3%) while many respondents believe that corruption is not very widespread is high too (36.9%).
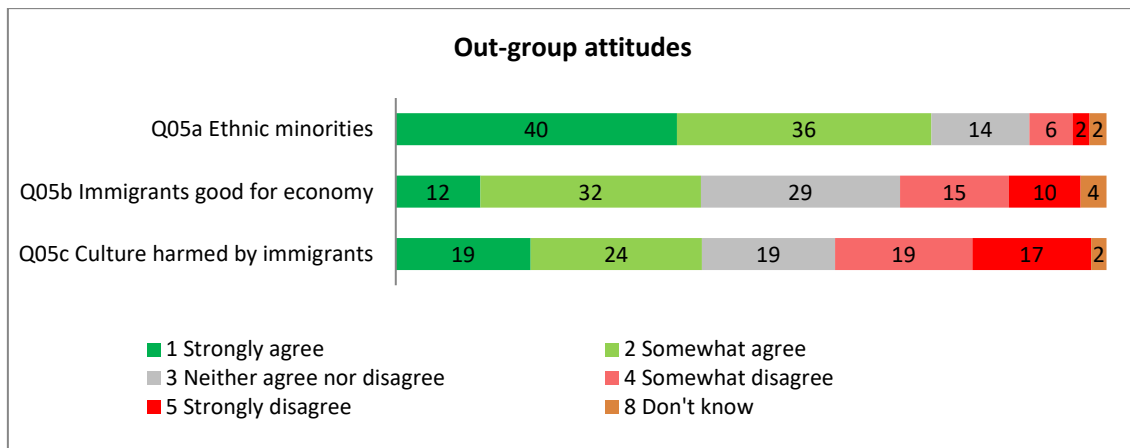
2.3 Out-group attitudes

The following questions were asked about attitudes towards out-groups:

- *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.*

Figure 6. Distribution of variables measuring Out-group attitudes, in %

Out-group attitudes

Question	1 Strongly agree	2 Somewhat agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat disagree	5 Strongly disagree	8 Don't know
Q05a Ethnic minorities	40	36	14	6	2	2
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	12	32	29	15	10	4
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	19	24	19	19	17	2

Legend:
- ■ 1 Strongly agree
- ■ 2 Somewhat agree
- ■ 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- ■ 4 Somewhat disagree
- ■ 5 Strongly disagree
- ■ 8 Don't know

There is substantial variation on these questions too. A clear majority of respondents support the idea that ethnic minorities should adapt to the Swiss way of life (Q05a) and only a small minority disagrees on that statement. The number of respondents who disagree on this statement is very small.

The item on attitudes towards immigrants has a better distribution. The number of people who agree that immigrants are good for economy is almost equal to a number of respondents who think that culture is generally harmed by immigrants. More respondents disagree that culture is harmed by immigrants than immigrants are good for economy. The proportion of "Don't know" –answers is low in all three questions.

2.4 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?

- *Q6a. To have been born in [COUNTRY].*

- *Q6b. To have lived in [COUNTRY] for most of one's life.*

- *Q6c. To be able to speak [COUNTRY NATIONAL LANGUAGES].*

- *Q6d. To be [COUNTRY DOMINANT RELIGION].*

- *Q6e. To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws.*

- *Q6f. To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY].*

- *Q6g. To have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry.*

Figure 7. Distribution of variables "National identity", in %
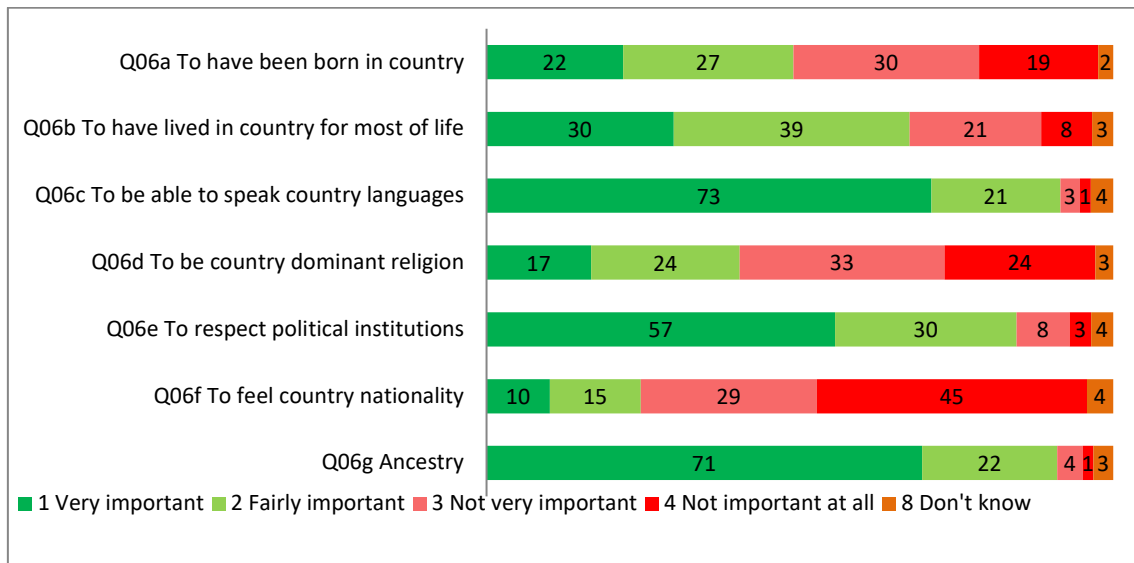
The set of items shows various patterns. Among the most important characteristics which define national identity for respondents are: ancestry, ability to speak country languages and respect for political institutions and laws. Respondents do not consider feeling Swiss to be important for national identity. Being born in Switzerland is less important than living in the country for most of one's life too. Religion is also not the dominant factor in defining national identity. The proportion of "Don't know" –answers is low throughout.

2.5 Attitudes towards redistribution

The pilot questionnaire included a question on attitudes towards redistribution. However, the respondents potentially could be sensitive to the question wording because it emphasizes increasing taxes, which could be perceived more negatively compared to increases in social spending. In order to test for potential differences was provided the question in two different ways, placing different accents in the answer options.

The question was as followed:

Q8. 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"?

In a random split experiment we then divided the question into two answering categories:

- Q08_1 puts emphasis on taxes: "Governments should **decrease taxes** and spend less on services"

- Q08_2 focus more on services: "Governments should **spend less on services** and decrease taxes"

The purpose of such a split is to examine possible negative reaction to the term 'increasing taxes' and possible positive reactions to the term 'decreasing taxes'. The hypothesis implied that the wording of response categories may affect respondents' attitudes.

The results on the experiment in Figure 8 showed, however, that the wording of the response categories does not affect response behavior. The slight difference in the response categories did not significantly influence respondents' attitudes towards redistribution.

Figure 8. Distribution of two variables of attitudes towards redistribution
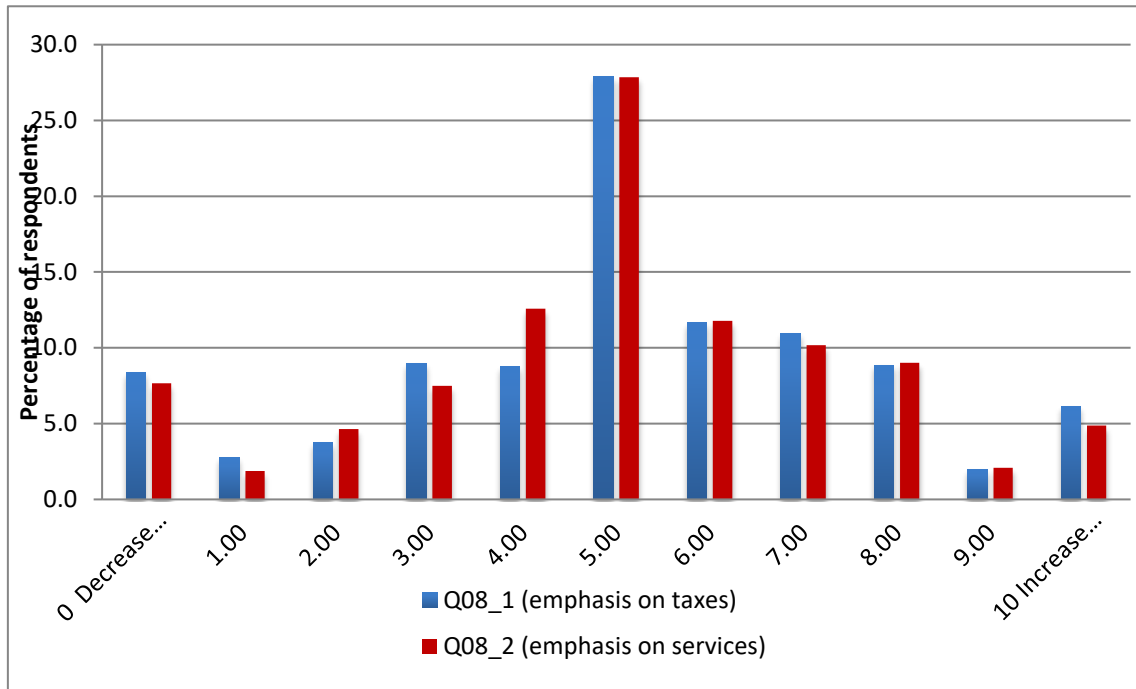
3 Associations between the different variables

In order to reveal relations between key variables, various kinds of statistical analysis were conducted: correlation analysis, factor analysis, correspondence analysis.

3.1 Correlation

3.1.1 Attitudes about elites

Looking at the correlations between items we see few surprises, as they are in the expected direction. The view that politicians do not care about the people (Q04b), is positively associated with the view that politicians are the main problem (Q04d), that they care more about the rich and powerful (Q04g), and are not trustworthy (Q04c). At the same time, when respondents feel that political elites are seen as helping the rich and powerful (Q04g), they also feel that people should make policy decisions (Q04f) and poor people should have greater voice (Q04h). The same logic applies to the following: if respondents think elites do not care about the people (Q04b), they also think more often that people should make the important policy decisions (Q04f).

Table 5. Correlation table of variables from the group Attitudes about elites

		Q04b Do not care about the people	Q04c Are trustworthy	Q04d Are the main problem	Q04e Strong leader	Q04f People should make policy decisions	Q04g Rich and powerful	Q04h Poor people - greater voice
Kendall's tau_b correlation coefficient	Q04a Compromise	.057**	.117**	-.019	.004	.164**	.124**	.251**
	Q04b Do not care about the people	-	-.300**	.507**	.097**	.305**	.507**	.269**
	Q04c Are trustworthy	-	-	-.245**	.110**	-.071**	-.255**	-.108**
	Q04d Are the main problem	-	-	-	.184**	.290**	.426**	.257**
	Q04e Strong leader	-	-	-	-	.114**	.076**	.027
	Q04f People should make policy decisions	-	-	-	-	-	.306**	.232**
	Q04g Rich and powerful	-	-	-	-	-	-	.396**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.1.2   Out-group attitudes

There is a negative correlation between variables Q05b and Q05c, which present opposite attitudes towards immigrants. Thus, the expectations about respondents' answers are met.

Table 6. Correlation table of variables from the group Attitudes about elites

		Q05b Immigrants good for economy	Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants
Kendall's tau_b correlation coefficient	Q05a Ethnic minorities	-0,120**	0.342**
	Q05b Immigrants good for economy	-	-0.464**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.1.3   National identity

A strong positive correlation exists between the items Q06a and Q06d, being born in Switzerland and being Christian. The connection between religion and living in Switzerland for most of life is also quite strong, as well as between religion and feeling Swiss.

Table 7. Correlation table of variables from the group National identity

		Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	Q06c To be able to speak country languages	Q06d To be country dominant religion	Q06e To respect political institutions	Q06f To feel country nationality	Q06g Ancestry
Kendall's tau_b correlation coefficient	Q06a To have been born in country	.487**	.056	.631**	.237**	.323**	.090**
	Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	-	.190**	.494**	.354**	.253**	.217**
	Q06c To be able to speak country languages	-	-	.086**	.334**	.012	.454**
	Q06d To be country dominant religion	-	-	-	.245**	.404**	.098**
	Q06e To respect political institutions	-	-	-	-	.140**	.257**
	Q06f To feel country nationality	-	-	-	-	-	.020

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.1.4   Corruption vs elites

The correlations between corruption in Switzerland and attitudes towards elites are interesting. For example, if respondents feel that corruption is widespread (Q07), elites, according to respondents, do not care about the people (Q04b) but about the rich and powerful (Q04g), feel that elites are the main problem (Q04d) and are not trustworthy (Q04c).

Table 8. Correlation between variable Q07 and variables from the group Q04

		Q04a Compromise	Q04b Do not care about the people	Q04c Are trustworthy	Q04d Are the main problem	Q04e Strong leader	Q04f People should make policy deci-	Q04g Rich and powerful	Q04h Poor people - greater voice
Kendall's tau_b	Q07 How wide-spread is cor-ruption	-.066[*]	.330[**]	-.301[**]	.349[**]	.021	.166[**]	.336[**]	.200[**]

[**]. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.2 Factor analysis (key dimensions)

In order to detect patterns among the different items we ran a series of factor analysis for the different blocks of questions.

3.2.1 Attitudes about elites

For the factor analysis on attitudes about elites principal axis factoring was used and three factors were extracted. No rotation was used, as both orthogonal and oblique rotations did not offer any improvement for the interpretation of the results.

Factor 1. Negative attitudes towards elites. This factor includes high loadings for the items elites do not care about the people (Q04b), elites are the main problem (Q04d), and (elites) are rich and powerful (Q04g). The item on elites are trustworthy has a negative loading (Q04c) in this factor. The items people should make policy decisions (Q04f) and poor people should have greater voice (Q04h) have a moderate positive loading in this factor.

Factor 2. Positive attitudes towards elites. Two variables have moderate positive loadings: importance of seeking compromise among different viewpoints (Q04a) and elites are trustworthy (Q04c). These variables could be defined as expressing positive attitudes towards elites.

Factor 3. Strong leader. The factor under consideration has only one variable and presents the attitudes towards necessity of a strong leader in Swiss government even if this leader bends the rules to get things done (Q04e). Thus, this factor represents the views of people who support more authoritarian governance than democratic one and seems to be a bit of an outlier.

Table 9. Results of factor analysis: Attitudes about elites

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Q04a Compromise		.543	
Q04b Do not care about the people	.743		
Q04c Are trustworthy	-.349	.484	
Q04d Are the main problem	.708		
Q04e Strong leader			.433
Q04f People should make policy deci-sions	.492		
Q04g Rich and powerful	.767		
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	.531		

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

3.2.2 National identity

On the items of national identity a rotation was necessary to get more distinct results. Principal axis factoring with Varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization was used. Based on the factor analysis and rotation, three factors were obtained.

Factor 1. Importance of being born in Switzerland (Q06a) and of spending most of life in this country (Q06b). The dominant defining feature of this factor is being Swiss by birth and to be a holder of Swiss nationality with the knowledge of traditions (including Christian religion – Q06d) and feeling Swiss (Q06f).

Factor 2. Importance of Swiss ancestry (Q06g) and ability to speak Swiss national languages (Q06c). This factor could be interpreted as national identity based on Swiss relatives, the ability to speak the country's languages and to show respect to Swiss political institutions and laws.

Factor 3. This factor focuses on the fact that a person should live in Switzerland for most of their life to be Swiss (Q06b). To be born in Switzerland (Q06a) and to respect political institutions (Q06e) are also important items in this factor.

Table 10. Results of factor analysis: National identity

	Factor (Rotated)		
	1	**2**	**3**
Q06a To have been born in country	.710		.310
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	.486		.626
Q06c To be able to speak country languages		.862	
Q06d To be country dominant religion	.923		
Q06e To respect political institutions		.418	.328
Q06f To feel country nationality	.481		
Q06g Ancestry		.611	

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

3.3 Scalability (Cronbach Alpha)

To measure consistency (scale reliability) of each group of key variables, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was used.

3.3.1 Attitudes about elites

To test the scalability of the different items we recoded the item Q04c (Elites are trustworthy) because this item clearly goes into the opposite direction of all other items. Cronbach's Alpha for all items is 0.699 which is overall not very high. Some items do no scale very well, the item on trustworthiness of the elite (Q04c), the item on strong leaders (Q04e) as well as the item on compromise (Q04a) which is not unexpected.

Table 11. Item-total statistics: Attitudes about elites

	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q04a Compromise	.186	.708
Q04b Do not care about the people	.608	.619
Q04c Are trustworthy (reversed)	.187	.711
Q04d Are the main problem	.576	.625
Q04e Strong leader	.118	.737
Q04f People should make policy decisions	.438	.659
Q04g Rich and powerful	.632	.613
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	.433	.661

3.3.2 National identity

Cronbach's Alpha is 0.617 when all items are included, which is somewhat low. However, there are only three items in this scale. The question on attitudes toward ethnic minorities is the one that correlates the least and removing it would increase the Cronbach's Alpha to 0.680.

Table 12. Item-total statistics: National identity

	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q06a To have been born in country	.292	.680
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	.420	.525
Q06c To be able to speak country languages	.610	.197

3.3.3   National identity

Cronbach's Alpha is 0.765 when all items are included. Two items (Q06c - language and Q06g - ancestry) showed slight increase with Alpha if the item is deleted (0.767 and 0.766 respectively). The item-total correlations are not that small so the questions are generally reliable.

Table 12. Item-total statistics: National identity

	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q06a To have been born in country	.614	.705
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	.642	.699
Q06c To be able to speak country languages	.304	.767
Q06d To be country dominant religion	.668	.690
Q06e To respect political institutions	.466	.740
Q06f To feel country nationality	.387	.760
Q06g Ancestry	.307	.766

3.4   Correspondence analysis

We explored with correspondence analysis the relationship between the perception of corruption and other anti-elite attitudes. Perception of corruption measures have not been used a lot so far in Switzerland and we wanted to find out how they relate to the key measures of anti-elite attitudes.

Correspondence analysis is an exploratory technique designed to analyze contingency tables containing a measure of correspondence between the rows and tables. The results provide information which is similar in nature to those produced by factor analysis and they allow exploring in a graphical way the structure of categorical variables included in the table.

3.4.1   How widespread is corruption vs elites rich and powerful

Table 13. Correspondence table: Q07 vs Q04g

Q07 How widespread is corruption	Q04g Attitudes about elites: rich and powerful				
	Strongly agree	**Somewhat agree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Somewhat disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
Very widespread	31%	13%	7%	4%	9%
Quite widespread	52%	49%	36%	27%	31%
Not very widespread	16%	33%	50%	55%	36%
It hardly happens at all	1%	5%	7%	14%	24%

Figure 8. Correspondence figure: Q07 vs Q04g
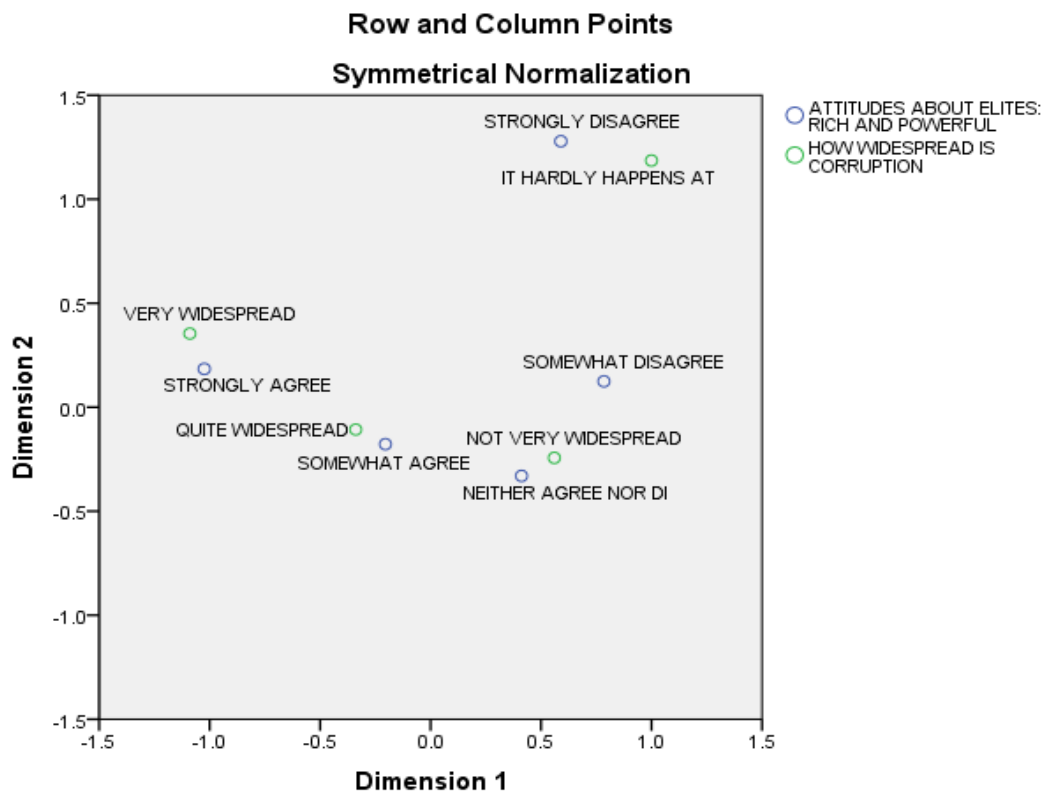
The figure shows the connection between variables Q07 and Q04g. The general trend is when elites are seen as serving the rich and powerful, corruption is seen as more widespread. For example, people who strongly disagree that elites are rich and powerful, think that corruption hardly happens at all. On the contrary, when corruption is very widespread, people admit that elites are rich and powerful.

3.4.2   Corruption vs elites do not care about the people

Table 14. Correspondence table: Q07 vs Q04b

| Q07 How wide-spread is cor-ruption	Q04b Attitudes about elites: do not care about the people				
	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Very widespread	32%	14%	8%	2%	19%
Quite widespread	46%	55%	39%	28%	21%
Not very widespread	18%	29%	46%	57%	36%
It hardly hap-pens at all	4%	2%	7%	14%	24%

Figure 9. Correspondence figure: Q07 vs Q04b
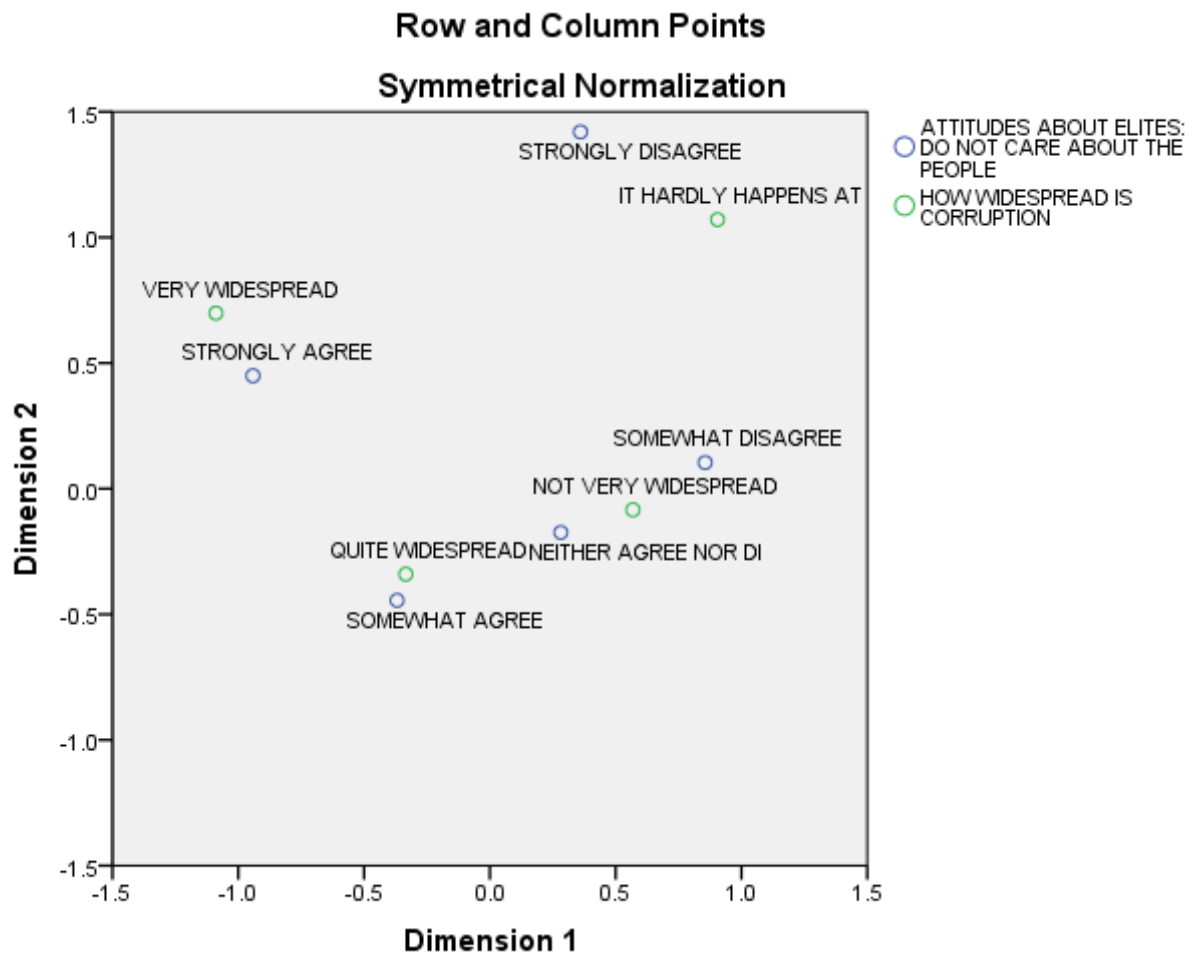
The same trend can be seen when comparing the opinions about corruption and the extent to which elites care about the people. The general logic here is that if corruption is seen as widespread, politicians do not care about the people in the respondents' view and vice versa.

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3.4.3   Corruption vs elites are trustworthy

Table 15. Correspondence table: Q07 vs Q04c

Q07 How wide-spread is cor-ruption	Q04c Attitudes about elites: are trustworthy				
	Strongly agree	**Somewhat agree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Somewhat disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
Very widespread	15%	5%	8%	19%	45%
Quite widespread	26%	32%	47%	49%	40%
Not very widespread	26%	54%	39%	28%	14%
It hardly hap-pens at all	33%	9%	6%	4%	1%

Figure 9. Correspondence figure: Q07 vs Q04c
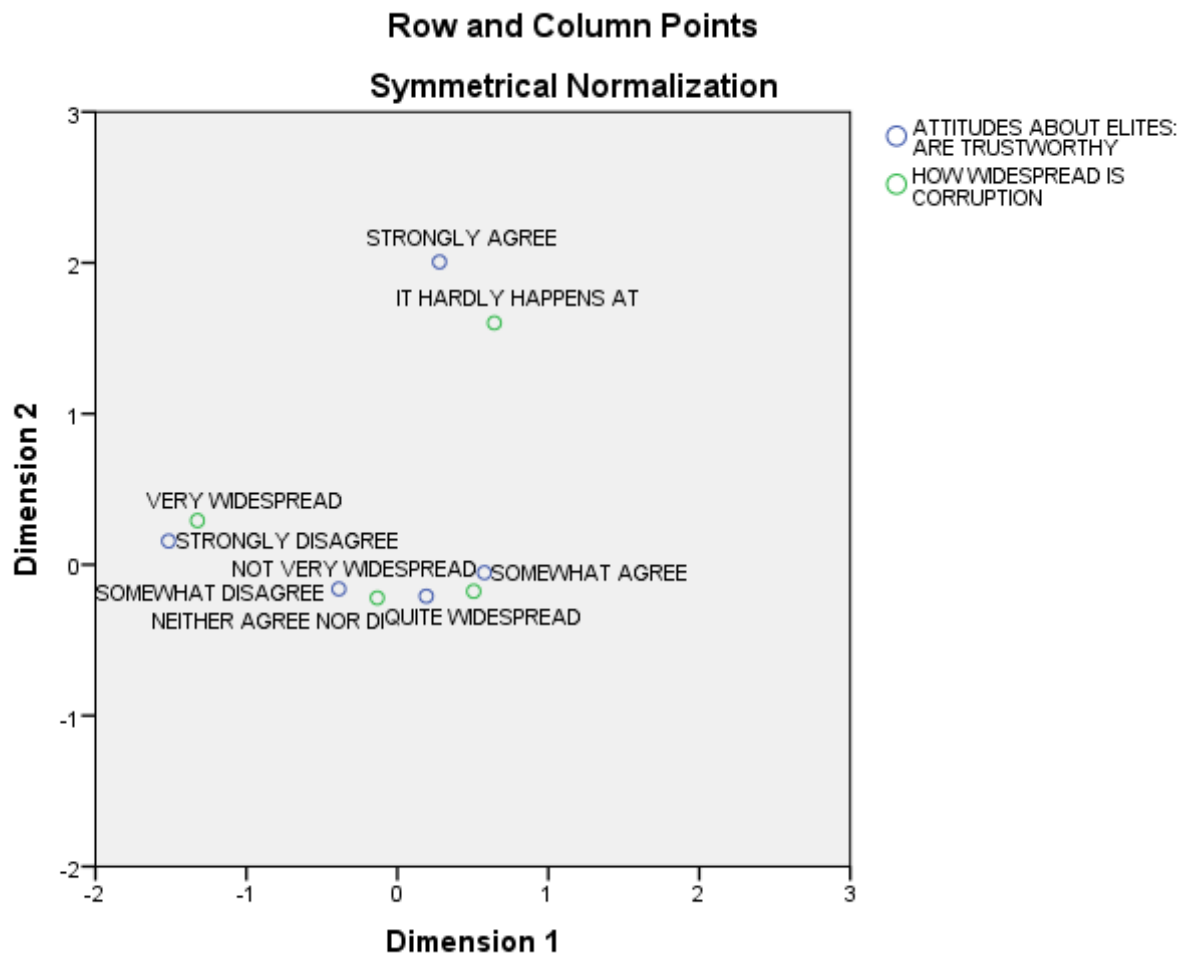
Positive attitudes towards elites are also connected with measurement of corruption: if politicians are seen as trustworthy, corruption is not at all widespread in the respondents' views.

4 Explaining turnout and voting for populist and left parties

For the last part of this report we ran a series of logit regression models with turnout, voting for the right wing populist party and voting for a left party as dependent variables. The following dummy variables were used in the analysis as dependent variables:

- Turnout (1=yes, 0=no)

- SVP (voted SVP: 1=voted SVP, 0=voted other parties)

- LEFT (set of left parties social democrats, socialist, green parties SPS, GPS, PDA, SOL: 1=voted left parties, 0=voted other parties)

The independent variables were dummy variables for the different items and they were introduced in separate models. The independent variables were specified as followed:

- For *attitudes about the elites* always those who strongly or somehow agreed on an item as dependent variables.

- For *out-group attitudes* those who strongly agree or somewhat agree.

- For national *identity items*, those who an item is very or somewhat important.

- For *corruption* those who think corruption is very or rather widespread.

In all the models we also included a small set of control variables (age, gender, high income and high education levels dummy variables) which are however not shown in the tables.

4.1 Regression with **turnout** as dependent variable

We expect that many of the attitudes about elites would have a negative impact on turnout. This is, however not the case. Lack of trust, the feeling that compromise matters, being a strong leader, and the feeling that elites care most about the rich and powerful have an impact on turnout. The other items do not have a significant impact.

Out-group attitudes do not have much of an influence on turnout either.

The strongest predictors of turnout are the items from the "National identity" questions, especially "To be able to speak country languages", "To respect political institutions and laws" and "Ancestry". Those who feel that this is important are also more likely to participate.

However, the feeling that there is corruption among politicians has a negative impact on turnout.

Table 13. Model estimates on turnout (coefficients for control variables not shown)

	B	SE		Exp(B)
Q04a Compromise	.437	.203	**	1.549
Q04b Do not care about the people	-.197	.165		.821
Q04c Are trustworthy	.567	.182	***	1.762
Q04d Are the main problem	-.065	.175		.937
Q04e Strong leader	.362	.175	**	1.437
Q04f People should make policy decisions	.130	.172		1.139
Q04g Rich and powerful	-.414	.167	**	.661
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	-.072	.167		.930

Q05a Ethnic minorities	.100	.197		1.105
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	.299	.169	*	1.349
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	.118	.166		1.126
Q06a To have been born in country	.013	.163		1.013
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	.134	.176		1.144
Q06c To be able to speak country languages	.657	.352	*	1.928
Q06d To be country dominant religion	-.061	.164		.941
Q06e To respect political institutions	.703	.235	***	2.020
Q06f To feel country nationality	.586	.201	***	1.797
Q06g Ancestry	.692	.322	**	1.998
Q07_d Corruption widespread	-.358	.173	**	.699

4.2   Regression with **voting for SVP** as dependent variable

Multiple variables have quite a strong impact on voting for the SVP which is what we would expect given that the party campaigns on populist anti-elite and anti-immigration attitudes. Among the strong predictors are the variable that supports being a strong leader, all the variables from "Out-group attitudes" and majority of variables from the "National identity" items.

So taking this into account, these variables to a substantial degree can explain voting for a right wing populist party.

Table 14. Model estimates on voting for the right wing SVP
(coefficients for control variables not shown)

	B	SE	sig	Exp(B)
Q04a Compromise	-.671	.232	***	0.511
Q04b Do not care about the people	.549	.176	***	1.731
Q04c Are trustworthy	-.176	.179		0.839
Q04d Are the main problem	.736	.183	***	2.088
Q04e Strong leader	1.461	.184	***	4.310
Q04f People should make policy decisions	.773	.193	***	2.166
Q04g Rich and powerful	.063	.174		1.065
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	.047	.176		1.048
Q05a Ethnic minorities	.551	.241	**	1.734
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	-1.469	.190	***	0.230
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	1.982	.196	***	7.255
Q06a To have been born in country	1.067	.182	***	2.908
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	1.132	.226	***	3.103
Q06c To be able to speak country languages	.492	.534		1.635
Q06d To be country dominant religion	1.282	.183	***	3.603
Q06e To respect political institutions	.597	.358	*	1.816
Q06f To feel country nationality	.852	.187	***	2.343
Q06g Ancestry	-.086	.457		0.918
Q07_d Corruption widespread	.363	.179	**	1.438

4.3 Regression with voting for **left parties** as dependent variable

Finally, the vote for left wing parties can less often be explained by the various measures included in the study. In most cases if an effect is significant it goes into the opposite direction than voting for the right-wing SVP. Having the view that poor people should have more to say in politics make it more likely that you vote for a left party, however the view that the rich and powerful have too much to say does not have a significant effect.

Table 15. Model estimates on voting for the left wing parties
(coefficients for control variables not shown)

	B	SE	sig	Exp(B)
Q04a Compromise	.596	.278	**	1.815
Q04b Do not care about the people	-.275	.182		.760
Q04c Are trustworthy	-.053	.183		0.949
Q04d Are the main problem	-.364	.198	*	.695
Q04e Strong leader	-1.216	.205	***	0.296
Q04f People should make policy decisions	-.313	.185	**	0.731
Q04g Rich and powerful	.160	.179		1.174
Q04h Poor people - greater voice	.646	.186	***	1.909
Q05a Ethnic minorities	-.542	.221	**	0.582
Q05b Immigrants good for economy	1.109	.190	***	3.030
Q05c Culture harmed by immigrants	-1.502	.205	***	0.223
Q06a To have been born in country	-.908	.187	***	0.403
Q06b To have lived in country for most of life	-.937	.192	***	0.392
Q06c To be able to speak country languages	-.472	.477		0.624
Q06d To be country dominant religion	-.863	.195	***	.422
Q06e To respect political institutions	-.373	.309		0.689
Q06f To feel country nationality	-.892	.220	***	0.410
Q06g Ancestry	-.051	.471		0.950
Q07_d Corruption widespread	.024	.183		1.025