Politics of Nostalgia and Populism: Evidence from Turkey

Ezgi Elçi eelci14@ku.edu.tr

Online Appendix

A) Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Populism and Nostalgia Items

Variable	Nostalgia	Populism	Uniqueness
Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.	-0.011	**0.521**	0.732
The power of a few special interests prevents our country from making progress.	-0.078	**0.588**	0.673
The politicians in Parliament need to follow the will of the people.	-0.025	**0.681**	0.545
The people, and not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	0.175	**0.604**	0.548
Listening to new pieces of music, I miss the old days and those beautiful folk songs.[1]	**0.644**	0.042	0.569
We must not forget the values that we had in the past.	**0.581**	0.184	0.571
I miss my country's good, old glorious days.[2]	**0.781**	-0.162	0.433
We can get rid of today's problems we experience today as "the people" only by looking to our past.	**0.725**	-0.001	0.475
Eigenvalue	2.277	1.177	
Proportion	0.285	0.147	
Cumulative Proportion	0.285	0.432	
CFA fit indices (First order model)			
$\chi^2(df)$	99.460 (19)		
CFI	0.933		
TLI	0.902		
SRMR	0.032		
RMSEA	0.053 [0.043 - 0.064]		

Note: Method: Principal-component factors with Promax rotation and Kaiser normalization (EFA) and maximum likelihood estimation (CFA). Weights are applied. $N = 1492$.

---

[1] This question is from Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu (2009).
[2] This question is adapted from Smeekes (2015).

B) Measurement of Independent Variables

Interpersonal trust

Q: In your opinion, can most people be trusted in general? Or do they need to be approached with precaution?

1 = Most people can be trusted

0 = People need to be approached with precaution

Euroskepticism

Q: "Would you vote in favor of or against membership in the EU if a referendum were to be held today?"

1 = Support

0 = Neutral

-1 = No support

Religiosity

Q: Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are a religious person?

Not religious at all										Very religious
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Alevi and Kurdish Identity

We asked respondents various questions in order to identify whether he or she is Alevi. First, we openly ask the respondents whether they are Alevi or not. Second, we ask who are the most important and the second most important religious figures according to their beliefs. Third, we ask whether there are any pictures of significant religious figures or

religiously important places at the respondent's home. I coded respondents as 1 who openly express his/her Alevi belief in the first question. Next, I coded respondents who said Imam Ali, Haji Bektash Veli, and Sheikh Ahmet Yesevi are the most and second most important figures as 1. Then, I coded the respondents as 1 if they have pictures of the 12 Imams and Imam Ali's pictures in their home. Finally, I summed all of these variables and recoded the values above 0 as 1 to create the Alevi dummy variable and 0 otherwise (See: Çarkoğlu 2005).

For identifying Kurdish respondents, we asked the question of "Among the following, which languages and dialects can you speak?" and I coded the responses of Kurdish as 1 and 0 otherwise.

Satisfaction with Life, Economic Conditions, and Democracy

Q: Overall, to what extent are you satisfied with your life?

Q: How satisfied are you with your current economic condition?

Q: Could you tell me how satisfied you are with the way democracy works in Turkey in general?

I'm not satisfied at all.										I'm very satisfied.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Partisanship

Q: Which party did you vote for in the 1st of November 2015 elections?".

1 = Preferred party (AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP)

0 = Otherwise

Demographic Variables

For the sex variable, females are coded as 1. Urban is coded as 1 for the respondents who reside in the center of metropolises. Educational attainment ranges from 1 (no formal education) to 5 (university graduates). Monthly household income ranges from 1 (less than 1000 Turkish liras) to 6 (more than 5000 Turkish liras).

C) Unstandardized coefficients of Table 3

DV: Populism	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Nostalgia	0.252***	0.253***	0.252***	0.251***	0.252***	0.250***	0.251***	0.249***	0.249***	0.250***
	(0.0331)	(0.0330)	(0.0332)	(0.0331)	(0.0332)	(0.0334)	(0.0334)	(0.0334)	(0.0335)	(0.0335)
Income	0.656	0.724	0.676	0.636	0.658	0.421	0.459	0.399	0.419	0.424
	(0.512)	(0.514)	(0.508)	(0.511)	(0.514)	(0.516)	(0.523)	(0.512)	(0.516)	(0.517)
Female	1.100	1.208	1.155	0.910	1.069	0.690	0.737	0.632	0.595	0.648
	(1.149)	(1.149)	(1.146)	(1.143)	(1.149)	(1.174)	(1.177)	(1.174)	(1.166)	(1.174)
Urban	-3.070***	-3.013***	-3.073***	-3.143***	-3.058***	-1.960+	-2.007+	-1.927	-2.036+	-1.921
	(1.165)	(1.164)	(1.165)	(1.163)	(1.165)	(1.189)	(1.188)	(1.194)	(1.192)	(1.191)
Education	0.844	0.977+	0.885	0.806	0.833	0.844	0.889	0.804	0.811	0.834
	(0.589)	(0.587)	(0.601)	(0.583)	(0.590)	(0.603)	(0.601)	(0.616)	(0.599)	(0.602)
Age	0.182	0.148	0.184	0.207	0.190	0.224	0.204	0.225	0.237	0.239
	(0.203)	(0.206)	(0.203)	(0.203)	(0.204)	(0.208)	(0.210)	(0.208)	(0.209)	(0.209)
Age^2	-0.00267	-0.00229	-0.00264	-0.00299	-0.00275	-0.00304	-0.00283	-0.00311	-0.00322	-0.00318
	(0.00215)	(0.00219)	(0.00216)	(0.00216)	(0.00216)	(0.00220)	(0.00223)	(0.00221)	(0.00221)	(0.00221)
Religiosity	1.207***	1.149***	1.182***	1.158***	1.218***	0.966***	0.956***	0.985***	0.945***	0.974***
	(0.275)	(0.280)	(0.283)	(0.276)	(0.274)	(0.292)	(0.293)	(0.296)	(0.292)	(0.291)
Alevi	-1.308	-0.982	-1.191	-1.464	-1.409	-1.268	-1.219	-1.349	-1.370	-1.371
	(1.590)	(1.588)	(1.628)	(1.589)	(1.598)	(1.605)	(1.602)	(1.624)	(1.607)	(1.609)
Kurdish	-2.788	-2.587	-2.903	-3.145+	-3.344+	-2.370	-2.303	-2.236	-2.568	-3.168
	(1.779)	(1.794)	(1.801)	(1.788)	(1.963)	(1.835)	(1.842)	(1.871)	(1.850)	(2.012)
EU Support	-1.268*	-1.063+	-1.217*	-1.288*	-1.280*	-1.140+	-1.093+	-1.174+	-1.162+	-1.140+
	(0.608)	(0.609)	(0.615)	(0.608)	(0.609)	(0.627)	(0.626)	(0.629)	(0.629)	(0.627)
Trust	1.107	0.565	1.015	1.037	1.112	0.429	0.313	0.469	0.434	0.375
	(1.522)	(1.560)	(1.540)	(1.513)	(1.517)	(1.617)	(1.625)	(1.622)	(1.608)	(1.608)
Sat. w. Life						0.644*	0.633*	0.645*	0.641*	0.644*
						(0.254)	(0.255)	(0.255)	(0.254)	(0.253)
Sat. w. Dem.						-0.0248	-0.0848	0.00215	-0.0405	0.00505
						(0.228)	(0.242)	(0.233)	(0.228)	(0.229)
Sat. w. Econ.						0.238	0.210	0.257	0.229	0.247
						(0.260)	(0.261)	(0.262)	(0.261)	(0.261)
AKP		2.352*					1.069			

5

		(1.183)					(1.357)			
CHP			-0.828					0.864		
			(1.653)					(1.808)		
MHP				-3.114+					-1.638	
				(1.799)					(1.863)	
HDP					3.061					4.349
					(3.692)					(3.771)
Constant	35.83***	35.01***	35.77***	36.50***	35.60***	32.62***	32.75***	32.45***	33.11***	32.09***
	(6.195)	(6.182)	(6.189)	(6.173)	(6.217)	(6.286)	(6.311)	(6.324)	(6.273)	(6.319)
N	1273	1273	1273	1273	1273	1208	1208	1208	1208	1208
R^2	0.129	0.132	0.129	0.131	0.129	0.141	0.142	0.141	0.142	0.142

Table: OLS Analysis with unstandardized coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Poststratification weights are applied. $^{+} p < 0.1$, $^{*} p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$.

D) Regression table of Figure 2 (with heterogeneous treatment effects)

DV: Populism	Model 1 No Interaction	Model 2 AKP Interaction	Model 3 CHP Interaction
(Intercept)	68.56 ***	73.35 ***	65.56 ***
	(1.18)	(1.23)	(1.44)
Ottoman	3.66 *	3.54 *	3.38
	(1.73)	(1.79)	(2.17)
Kemalist	2.96 +	2.74	3.28
	(1.68)	(1.73)	(2.06)
AKP		-19.53 ***	
		(2.48)	
Ottoman*AKP		-0.58	
		(3.67)	
Kemalist*AKP		-1.73	
		(3.61)	
CHP			8.57 ***
			(2.44)
Ottoman*CHP			-0.65
			(3.51)
Kemalist*CHP			-1.18
			(3.45)
N	788	788	788
R²	0.01	0.19	0.04

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. $^+ p < 0.1$, $^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$