## Appendix to the article ‘Populism and the scales of statehood: localism and populist attitudes in Western Europe’, European Political Science Review

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Table A1: Question wording

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Variable | Item |
| *Dependent variables* | *Now think about the current political situation in [country] and consider whether you would tend to agree or disagree with the following statements [0=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree]* |
| Anti-elitism | Politicians are not really interested in what people like me think. |
|  | MPs in Parliament very quickly lose touch with ordinary people |
| People-centrism | Ordinary people are of good and honest character. |
|  | Ordinary people all pull together |
|  | The [citizens of country] are basically honest and upright. |
|  | The [citizens of country] are a coherent entity, rather than just a bunch of individuals |
| Popular sovereignty | The people should have the final say the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums. |
|  | The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken |
| *Independent variables* |  |
| Scalar orientation | How attached do you feel to…[0=not at all attached 10=very attached] |
| Local | …the local authority area in which you live |
| National | …the [country] as a whole |
| European | …Europe |
| *Control variables* |  |
| Gender | Are you…[Female, Male, Other] |
| Age | In what year were you born? |
| Education | What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?[recoded into ISCED levels, levels 5 and 6 are equal to tertiary education] |
| Anti-immigrant sentiment | To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?…too many immigrants just don't want to fit into [country’s] society[0=strongly disagree 10=strongly agree] |
| Left-right self-placement | In politics people sometimes speak of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a left-right scale?[0=left, 10=right] |
| Party identification | Do you generally think of yourself as a supporter of a political party or is there some party that you feel closer to than the others?[Yes, No, Don’t know] |
|  | [If yes:] Which party is that?[List of main parties in country] |

Figure A1: Populist attitudes and party identification



Table A2: Scalar orientations and populist attitudes (anti-elitism; people-centrism, popular sovereignty and overall): OLS regression

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Anti-elitism | People-centrism | Popular sovereignty | Populism (overall) |
| *Independent variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Local scalar orientation | 0.022\* | 0.040\*\*\* | 0.036\*\*\* | 0.050\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| European scalar orientation | -0.021\* | -0.033\*\*\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.030\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| *Control variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Gender (male=1) | -0.056 | -0.035 | -0.144\*\* | -0.077 |
|  | (0.046) | (0.045) | (0.052) | (0.047) |
| Age cohorts (B = ≤25) |  |  |  |  |
| 26-35 | -0.008 | 0.081 | -0.007 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.080) | (0.083) | (0.089) | (0.084) |
| 36-45 | 0.078 | 0.116 | 0.012 | 0.107 |
|  | (0.075) | (0.078) | (0.082) | (0.076) |
| 56-65 | 0.051 | 0.096 | -0.009 | 0.040 |
|  | (0.081) | (0.079) | (0.084) | (0.079) |
| >65 | -0.100 | 0.118 | -0.211\* | -0.095 |
|  | (0.080) | (0.082) | (0.096) | (0.084) |
| Tertiary education (=1) | -0.194\*\*\* | -0.296\*\*\* | -0.449\*\*\* | -0.334\*\*\* |
|  | (0.048) | (0.044) | (0.053) | (0.047) |
| Anti-immigrant sentiments | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.079\*\*\* | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.094\*\*\* |
|  | (0.067) | (0.065) | (0.081) | (0.071) |
| *Country (B = Switzerland)* |  |  |  |  |
| France | 1.011\*\*\* | -0.041 | 0.196\*\* | 0.352\*\*\* |
|  | (0.062) | (0.063) | (0.064) | (0.062) |
| United Kingdom | 0.713\*\*\* | 0.500\*\*\* | 0.091 | 0.540\*\*\* |
|  | (0.060) | (0.053) | (0.059) | (0.053) |
| *Intercept* | 1.787\*\*\* | 1.462\*\*\* | 2.542\*\*\* | 1.615\*\*\* |
|  | (0.082) | (0.085) | (0.093) | (0.087) |
| N | 2831 | 2594 | 2865 | 2526 |
| F-Test | 45.018 | 41.762 | 26.196 | 42.029 |
| p>F | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Adjusted-R2 | 0.199 | 0.213 | 0.129 | 0.216 |

*Note*: Weighted data. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Figure A2: OLS Regression coefficients (with 95% CI) for local orientation and European orientation on populist attitudes (overall index). Regressions include country-dummies and control variables, and exclude indicated country one at a time.



Table A3: Populist attitudes: scalar orientation and left-right self-placement

|  | Interaction: local scalar orientation |  | Interaction: European scalar orientation |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |  | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | Anti-elitism | People-centrism | Popular sovereignty | Populism (overall) |  | Anti-elitism | People-centrism | Popular sovereignty | Populism (overall) |
| Local scalar orientation | 0.044\* | 0.027 | 0.062\*\* | 0.042\* |  | 0.037\*\*\* | 0.043\*\*\* | 0.046\*\*\* | 0.056\*\*\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.020) | (0.024) | (0.020) |  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.011) | (0.011) |
| European scalar orientation | -0.048\*\*\* | -0.049\*\*\* | -0.063\*\*\* | -0.056\*\*\* |  | -0.013 | -0.043\* | 0.002 | -0.027 |
| (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.011) | (0.011) |  | (0.020) | (0.022) | (0.024) | (0.023) |
| Left-right self-placement | -0.000 | 0.055\*\*\* | -0.007 | 0.027\* |  | -0.009 | 0.050\*\*\* | -0.021 | 0.016 |
| (0.012) | (0.011) | (0.013) | (0.011) |  | (0.013) | (0.011) | (0.013) | (0.012) |
| Local scalar orientation \* left-right self-placement | -0.001 | 0.003 | -0.003 | 0.003 |  |  |  |  |  |
| (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |  |  |  |  |  |
| European scalar orientation \*left-right self-placement |  |  |  |  |  | -0.006\* | -0.001 | -0.012\*\*\* | -0.006 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
| Gender (male=1) | -0.041 | -0.039 | -0.122\* | -0.090 |  | -0.045 | -0.040 | -0.128\* | -0.094 |
|  | (0.049) | (0.048) | (0.056) | (0.051) |  | (0.049) | (0.048) | (0.055) | (0.051) |
| Age cohorts (B = <26) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 26-35 | 0.058 | 0.115 | 0.012 | 0.063 |  | 0.063 | 0.115 | 0.021 | 0.065 |
|  | (0.084) | (0.090) | (0.096) | (0.090) |  | (0.084) | (0.090) | (0.096) | (0.091) |
| 36-45 | 0.171\* | 0.150 | 0.073 | 0.209\* |  | 0.176\* | 0.151 | 0.080 | 0.211\* |
|  | (0.080) | (0.085) | (0.092) | (0.083) |  | (0.080) | (0.085) | (0.092) | (0.083) |
| 56-65 | 0.116 | 0.198\* | 0.055 | 0.153 |  | 0.120 | 0.199\* | 0.063 | 0.155 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.093) | (0.087) |  | (0.085) | (0.086) | (0.093) | (0.087) |
| >65 | 0.056 | 0.189\* | -0.103 | 0.048 |  | 0.060 | 0.189\* | -0.097 | 0.049 |
|  | (0.085) | (0.091) | (0.104) | (0.093) |  | (0.085) | (0.091) | (0.104) | (0.093) |
| Tertiary education ( = 1) | -0.234\*\*\* | -0.349\*\*\* | -0.529\*\*\* | -0.405\*\*\* |  | -0.235\*\*\* | -0.351\*\*\* | -0.530\*\*\* | -0.407\*\*\* |
|  | (0.048) | (0.045) | (0.055) | (0.049) |  | (0.048) | (0.045) | (0.055) | (0.049) |
| Country (B = Switzerland) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.721\*\*\* | -0.087 | -0.120 | 0.142 |  | 0.717\*\*\* | -0.088 | -0.127 | 0.139 |
|  | (0.074) | (0.070) | (0.087) | (0.079) |  | (0.074) | (0.070) | (0.087) | (0.079) |
| France | 1.100\*\*\* | 0.031 | 0.248\*\*\* | 0.419\*\*\* |  | 1.107\*\*\* | 0.040 | 0.259\*\*\* | 0.437\*\*\* |
|  | (0.062) | (0.065) | (0.067) | (0.065) |  | (0.061) | (0.065) | (0.066) | (0.064) |
| United Kingdom | 0.756\*\*\* | 0.599\*\*\* | 0.152\* | 0.627\*\*\* |  | 0.761\*\*\* | 0.602\*\*\* | 0.160\* | 0.634\*\*\* |
|  | (0.063) | (0.055) | (0.062) | (0.056) |  | (0.062) | (0.055) | (0.062) | (0.056) |
| Constant | 2.047\*\*\* | 1.509\*\*\* | 2.886\*\*\* | 1.857\*\*\* |  | 2.077\*\*\* | 1.530\*\*\* | 2.935\*\*\* | 1.899\*\*\* |
|  | (0.091) | (0.099) | (0.100) | (0.100) |  | (0.093) | (0.100) | (0.103) | (0.102) |
| Observations | 2696 | 2472 | 2728 | 2403 |  | 2696 | 2472 | 2728 | 2403 |
| F-Test | 31.793 | 27.879 | 17.180 | 24.480 |  | 33.151 | 28.403 | 21.675 | 26.110 |
| *p* > F | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Adjusted-R2 | 0.159 | 0.177 | 0.091 | 0.145 |  | 0.161 | 0.177 | 0.097 | 0.146 |

*Note*: Weighted data. Table entries are undstandardized OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A4: Populist attitudes: scalar orientation and party identification

|  | Interaction: local scalar orientation |  | Interaction: European scalar orientation |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |  | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | Anti-elitism | People-centrism | Popular sovereignty | Populism (overall) |  | Anti-elitism | People-centrism | Popular sovereignty | Populism (overall) |
| Local scalar orientation | 0.019 | 0.035\*\* | 0.044\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* |  | 0.021\* | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.035\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* |
|  | (0.012) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.015) |  | (0.009) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| European scalar orientation | -0.020\* | -0.034\*\* | -0.033\*\* | -0.029\*\* |  | -0.030\* | -0.020 | -0.038\*\* | -0.022 |
| (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.011) | (0.010) |  | (0.012) | (0.013) | (0.013) | (0.012) |
| Party identification (B = None) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other | -0.227\*\*\* | -0.100 | -0.200\*\* | -0.230\*\*\* |  | -0.190\*\*\* | -0.129\* | -0.170\*\* | -0.233\*\*\* |
|  | (0.054) | (0.052) | (0.061) | (0.053) |  | (0.057) | (0.055) | (0.065) | (0.056) |
| Left-wing populist | 0.031 | -0.049 | 0.134 | 0.055 |  | 0.048 | -0.078 | 0.158 | 0.047 |
|  | (0.146) | (0.172) | (0.177) | (0.178) |  | (0.150) | (0.171) | (0.185) | (0.177) |
| Right-wing populist | -0.039 | -0.002 | 0.009 | -0.089 |  | -0.127 | -0.069 | -0.107 | -0.240 |
|  | (0.120) | (0.117) | (0.113) | (0.116) |  | (0.182) | (0.153) | (0.163) | (0.169) |
| Party identification \* local scalar orientation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other \* local scalar orientation | 0.007 | 0.001 | -0.002 | 0.002 |  |  |  |  |  |
| (0.019) | (0.020) | (0.022) | (0.022) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing populist \* local scalar orientation | -0.001 | 0.026 | -0.035 | 0.007 |  |  |  |  |  |
| (0.048) | (0.052) | (0.056) | (0.050) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing populist \* local scalar orientation | -0.016 | 0.018 | -0.070\* | -0.019 |  |  |  |  |  |
| (0.029) | (0.034) | (0.027) | (0.033) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party identification \* European scalar orientation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other \* European scalar orientation |  |  |  |  |  | 0.033 | -0.022 | 0.023 | -0.001 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.020) | (0.021) | (0.023) | (0.020) |
| Left-wing populist \* European scalar orientation |  |  |  |  |  | 0.015 | -0.040 | 0.032 | -0.013 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.037) | (0.060) | (0.072) | (0.069) |
| Right-wing populist \* European scalar orientation |  |  |  |  |  | -0.024 | -0.021 | -0.055 | -0.056 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.032) | (0.029) | (0.028) | (0.033) |
| Anti-immigration sentiments | 0.071\*\*\* | 0.078\*\*\* | 0.070\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* |  | 0.072\*\*\* | 0.077\*\*\* | 0.070\*\*\* | 0.091\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.009) |  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Gender (male = 1) | -0.050 | -0.034 | -0.141\*\* | -0.071 |  | -0.051 | -0.032 | -0.143\*\* | -0.071 |
|  | (0.046) | (0.045) | (0.051) | (0.046) |  | (0.046) | (0.044) | (0.051) | (0.046) |
| Age cohorts (B = <26) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 26-35 | 0.019 | 0.094 | 0.006 | 0.024 |  | 0.008 | 0.092 | 0.001 | 0.017 |
|  | (0.079) | (0.083) | (0.089) | (0.084) |  | (0.079) | (0.082) | (0.090) | (0.083) |
| 36-45 | 0.106 | 0.132 | 0.025 | 0.132 |  | 0.102 | 0.127 | 0.030 | 0.128 |
|  | (0.074) | (0.079) | (0.083) | (0.076) |  | (0.074) | (0.078) | (0.083) | (0.075) |
| 56-65 | 0.113 | 0.127 | 0.031 | 0.098 |  | 0.109 | 0.125 | 0.038 | 0.095 |
|  | (0.084) | (0.080) | (0.086) | (0.082) |  | (0.084) | (0.081) | (0.087) | (0.082) |
| >65 | -0.024 | 0.150 | -0.154 | -0.024 |  | -0.030 | 0.149 | -0.151 | -0.026 |
|  | (0.081) | (0.084) | (0.096) | (0.085) |  | (0.081) | (0.083) | (0.096) | (0.083) |
| Tertiary education ( = 1) | -0.158\*\*\* | -0.286\*\*\* | -0.409\*\*\* | -0.301\*\*\* |  | -0.159\*\*\* | -0.284\*\*\* | -0.413\*\*\* | -0.302\*\*\* |
|  | (0.047) | (0.045) | (0.053) | (0.047) |  | (0.047) | (0.044) | (0.053) | (0.046) |
| Country (B = Switzerland) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.678\*\*\* | -0.194\*\* | -0.126 | 0.065 |  | 0.676\*\*\* | -0.199\*\* | -0.125 | 0.059 |
|  | (0.068) | (0.065) | (0.081) | (0.071) |  | (0.068) | (0.064) | (0.081) | (0.071) |
| France | 1.025\*\*\* | -0.036 | 0.211\*\*\* | 0.365\*\*\* |  | 1.022\*\*\* | -0.039 | 0.208\*\* | 0.362\*\*\* |
|  | (0.062) | (0.063) | (0.064) | (0.061) |  | (0.061) | (0.064) | (0.064) | (0.061) |
| United Kingdom | 0.747\*\*\* | 0.515\*\*\* | 0.124\* | 0.569\*\*\* |  | 0.748\*\*\* | 0.510\*\*\* | 0.128\* | 0.568\*\*\* |
|  | (0.061) | (0.054) | (0.060) | (0.055) |  | (0.061) | (0.054) | (0.060) | (0.054) |
| Constant | 1.830\*\*\* | 1.480\*\*\* | 2.593\*\*\* | 1.669\*\*\* |  | 1.819\*\*\* | 1.506\*\*\* | 2.575\*\*\* | 1.682\*\*\* |
|  | (0.084) | (0.085) | (0.095) | (0.087) |  | (0.083) | (0.085) | (0.095) | (0.086) |
| N | 2831 | 2594 | 2865 | 2526 |  | 2831 | 2594 | 2865 | 2526 |
| F-Test | 32.937 | 28.276 | 20.212 | 31.086 |  | 34.873 | 28.486 | 23.713 | 31.886 |
| *p* > F | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Adjusted-R2 | 0.209 | 0.214 | 0.140 | 0.227 |  | 0.211 | 0.215 | 0.141 | 0.229 |

*Note*: Weighted data. Table entries are undstandardized OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

Figure A3: The relationship between populist attitudes and local scalar orientation depending on party identification



Figure A4: The relationship between populist attitudes and European scalar orientation depending on party identification

