

**EXPLORATORY STUDY OF ANTI-POPULIST ATTITUDES
AND ITS CORRELATES**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	7
LIST OF FIGURES	8
ABSTRACT.....	9
INTRODUCTION	11
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	17
Populism/Anti-Populism Mutual Constitution	17
Populism/Anti-Populism Performativity & Content Characterization	19
Democracy, Crisis & Media	20
Exploratory Hypotheses.....	23
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	29
Research Design.....	29
<i>Spatial and Temporal Delimitation</i>	29
<i>Target population & Sample</i>	30
<i>Sampling Design</i>	30
Survey Questionnaire Design	31
<i>Survey Validity & Reliability</i>	32
Survey Data Collection Fieldwork.....	33
<i>Completion Rate</i>	34
<i>Data Management & Preparation</i>	35
Measurements	36
<i>Anti-populist attitudes</i>	36
<i>Predictive variables</i>	36
Survey Respondents.....	41
RESULTS	43
Predictive Variables Descriptive Analysis.....	43
Anti-Populist Attitudes	44
Anti-Populism Correlates.....	46
Anti Right-Wing Populism Correlates.....	47
<i>Socio-demographic Correlates</i>	48
<i>Populism Dimensions, Elitism & Pluralism</i>	49
<i>Media Trust Effect</i>	51
<i>Covid-19 Impressions</i>	52
<i>Democratic Deficit & Political Support</i>	52
<i>Organizing principles: Entitlement & Egalitarianism</i>	53
Anti Left-Wing Populism Correlates	56
<i>Socio-demographic</i>	57
<i>Populism Dimensions, Elitism & Pluralism</i>	57
<i>Media Trust</i>	58
<i>Covid-19 Impressions</i>	58
<i>Democratic Deficit & Political Support</i>	58
<i>Organizing principles: Entitlement & Egalitarianism</i>	59
CONCLUSIONS.....	63

REFERENCES	67
APPENDIXES	71
APPENDIX A. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES	71
APPENDIX B. SURVEY DISTRIBUTION	93
APPENDIX C. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS & DATA PRIVACY.....	97
Ethical Considerations	97
Survey Data Privacy Statement	97
APPENDIX D. OPERATIONALIZATION.....	99
APPENDIX E. ANTI-POPULISM.....	104
APPENDIX F. REGRESSION ANALYSIS ASSUMPTIONS DIAGNOSIS.....	105
Anti Right-Wing Hierarchical Multiple Regression Assumptions Diagnosis	105
Homoscedasticity	105
Normally distributed residuals.....	105
Anti Left-Wing Hierarchical Multiple Regression Assumptions Diagnosis	106
Homoscedasticity	106
Normally distributed residuals.....	107
APPENDIX G. ANTI RIGHT-WING POPULISM HMR.....	108
APPENDIX H. ANTI LEFT-WING POPULISM HMR.....	109

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. <i>PCA for Items Measuring Populist Attitudes (N=304)</i>	38
Table 2. <i>Descriptive statistics for the three Populist attitudes component indices (N=304)</i>	39
Table 3. <i>Sample Survey Respondents Description (N=304)</i>	42
Table 4. <i>Predictor variables overview (N=302)</i>	43
Table 5. <i>PAF for Items Measuring Anti-Populist Attitudes (N=304)</i>	45
Table 6. <i>Descriptive statistics for the two Anti-Populist attitudes factor indices (N=304)</i>	46
Table 7. <i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Anti Right-Wing Populist Attitudes (N = 301)</i>	54
Table 8. <i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Anti Left-Wing Populist Attitudes (N = 300)</i>	60
Table 9. <i>Alignment matrix of Research Questions, Variables and Questionnaire Items</i>	99
Table 10. <i>PAF for Items Measuring Anti-Populist Attitudes (N=304)</i>	104
Table 11. <i>Inter-correlations of predicted variables on Anti Right-wing populism HMR (N=301)</i>	108
Table 12. <i>Inter-correlations of predicted variables on Anti Left-wing populism HMR (N=300)</i>	109

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Populism search trend in Google (2004-2020).....	12
Figure 2. Model of Anti-Populism Analysis.....	27
Figure 3. Distribution Survey Flyers English and French	93
Figure 4. Distribution Survey Post in University of Luzern Facebook Group	94
Figure 5. Distribution Survey Post in LinkedIn platform.....	94
Figure 6. Distribution Survey Email Example.....	95
Figure 7. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Scatterplot (N=301)	105
Figure 8. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Histogram (N=301).....	105
Figure 9. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Q-Q Plot (N=301).....	106
Figure 10. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Scatterplot (N=300)	106
Figure 11. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Histogram (N=300).....	107
Figure 12. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Q-Q Plot (N=300)	107

ABSTRACT

Drawing from the discursive-performative theoretical approach to the populism/anti-populism divide, this thesis offers a first-time attempt to measure anti-populism at the individual-level, as well as an exploration of its correlates. Using a primary cross-sectional web-based mode survey conducted between April 14th and June 10th, 2020, with a sample of 305 students and researchers from Swiss Universities, we were able to identify two latent factors of anti-populism: Anti Right-Wing Populism, which had a greater prevalence in our sample, and Anti Left-Wing Populism, with a rather neutral score. With regard to the correlates, we used hierarchical multiple regression analyses to test 17 variables grouped in six blocks associated with our exploratory hypotheses: (H1) socio-demographic; (H2) populism dimensions, elitism, and pluralism; (H3) media trust, (H4) Covid-19 outbreak impressions; (H5) democratic deficit and political support; and (H6) organizing principles. In general, our sample results suggest that populist attitudes were inversely correlated to both factors of Anti-Populism. Elitism and National News Media Trust also proved to be associated with the dependent variables, but with different directionality. Moreover, a greater sense of democratic deficit and blame attribution to Institutions for the Covid-19 spread had a positive effect on Anti Right-Wing Populism, while for Anti Left-Wing Populism, the effect was negative. Similarly, egalitarianism diverges in its directionality as it relates to left- or right-wing variables of anti-populism. Although exploratory and limited by a convenience sample, this work provides grounds and insights for future and more comprehensive research on anti-populism.

Keywords: anti-populism, populism, discursive-performative, cross-sectional survey, factor analysis, hierarchical multiple regression.

INTRODUCTION

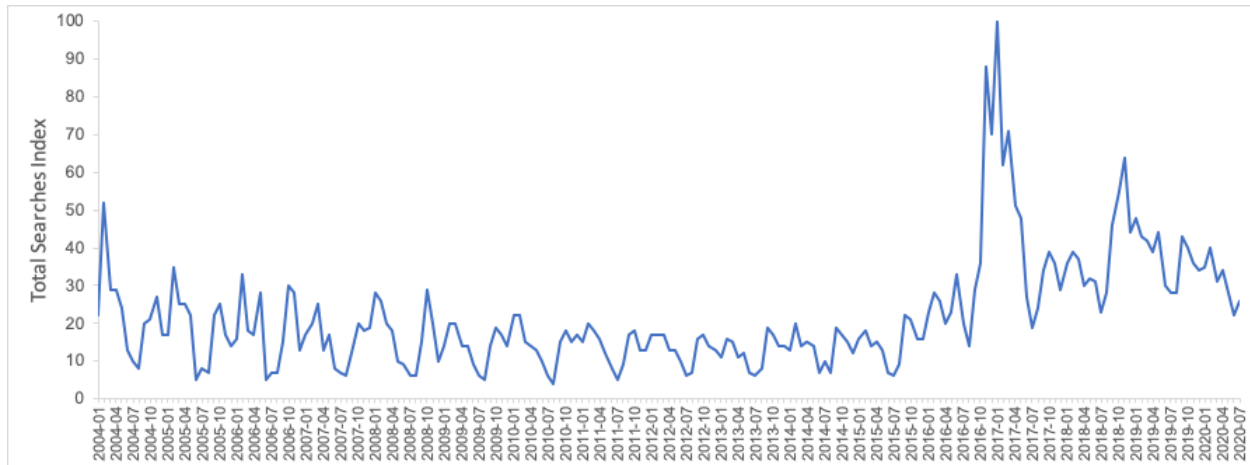
Attention to populism, as a concept and as a phenomenon, has consistently increased around the world. Notably, the year 2016 marks a point in which it gained predominance in contemporary politics, media coverage, and scientific research.

A minimal definition of populism explains it as a simplified view on society that distinguishes between two antagonistic camps: “the people” and “the elite.” “The people” is a function of a vague construction of society attained to interpretations and the implications of current contextual realities, while “the elite” captures those that hold leading and privileged positions, which are considered to work against the general will or sovereignty of the people (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017, pp. 12–16).

Some compelling evidence that reveals the current increased public interest on the topic can be found in the production of scientific publications around populism. For instance, in Web of Science Core Collection¹, 59.4% of the total indexed publications on the topic concentrate between 2016 and April 2020, while the remaining 40.6% distribute along 61 years (1900-2015). A similar pattern is found in Google Trends² data, where the popularity of populism queries peaked (i.e., ranked with maximum value 100) between November 2016 and March 2017, and continued to show the highest search interest scores in the following months when compared with previous years (Figure 1).

¹ Web of Science Core Collection: <https://clarivate.com/webofsciencegroup/solutions/web-of-science-core-collection/> (search performed in April, 20th, 2020)

² Google Trends analyzes the popularity of queries over time in the Google search engine (i.e., 2004 - onward). “Numbers represent search interest relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region and time.” (Google, 2020). More information: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=populism> <https://support.google.com/trends/answer/4365533?hl=en>



Source: (Google, 2020).

Figure 1. Populism search trend in Google (2004-2020)

When looking into the content of the information around populism, we find that it is associated with a wide range of contexts, circumstances, and subjects. Populism poses as a theoretical lens describing, comparing, and making connections between profoundly distinctive instances, from violent authoritarian leaders to referendum processes in democratic countries.

Different actors used it to diagnose all sorts of known and emergent movements, as well as to label parties and politicians across the ideological spectrum, from social movements like Occupy Wall Street (USA) and political parties like Alternative für Deutschland (Germany) and Podemos (Spain) to political figures like Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Bernie Sanders in the USA. It is ambivalently portrayed from a positive and a negative perspective, giving room for arguments in its defense and approval or condemnation and rejection.

An interesting example of this ambivalence is given by the former president of the United States, Barack Obama. In June 2016, when questioned about the populist campaign of the Republican candidate Donald Trump. Obama argued that populism "...has to do with protecting the little guy against powerful corporate interests, guaranteeing educational opportunity regardless of wealth, and ensuring a fair shake for workers. 'I suppose that makes me a populist'..." (Von Drehle, 2016).

A year later (June 2017), on a keynote address to the Montreal Board of Trade, he warned against the populism appeal, arguing about the linkages between the cultivation of cynicism and

distrust towards democratic institutions, and the turn to populist alternatives that "*may not actually deliver.*" (Kilpatrick, 2017).

Such different adaptations and arguments mirrored into the journalistic coverage, political discourse, and scientific research, have been problematized as conceptual stretching and catch-all use of the term — that is, "*...broadening the boundaries of the concept to include an ever-increasing number of empirical referents without reducing its properties...*" (Pappas, 2016, p. 9).

However, besides suggesting a methodological and conceptual problematic, the ambivalent interpretation of populism also asserts to the active use of the term as a signifier, by purposefully giving it "*different meanings and normative inflections depending on the context within which it appears...*" (De Cleen et al., 2018, p. 3).

This perspective allows exploring the idea that the populist hype is fueled by the antagonist dynamic and mutual rhetorical constitution between populism and anti-populism in which different actors advocate for particular interests by giving convenient meanings to populism.

Anti-populism is the concrete antagonistic political logic that criticizes, discredits, and disregards what is considered or intentionally signified as populism. It entails articulating a position against populism from which to defend existing norms, regimes, and power relations discursively associated with liberal democracy (De Cleen et al., 2018; Moffitt, 2018; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019, pp. 1–3).

For instance, Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain, has been actively campaigning against populism. Especially, by means of the Institute for Global Change, Blair has led a discourse that targets populism as one of the biggest challenges and dangers to democracy. Organizations such as the Council of Europe have urged the states to take measures to "*withstand populist assaults*" (Jagland, 2017, p. 5). A straighter forward stand has been taken by influential figures like the head of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis, who in 2018 claimed that "*It is important that young people should know how populism is born. I think of Hitler last century, who had promised the development of Germany. That we know how populism starts: by sowing hate. You can't live sowing hate*" (Staudenmaier, 2018).

In the Swiss context, we can observe the populism/anti-populism divide within the electoral campaign processes. In the same arena, we find Tamara Funicello, a Member of the National Council with the Social Democratic Party (SP), openly self-identified as a left-populist. The Swiss

People's Party (SVP), a well-known right-wing populist political project, and the newcomer Operation Libero consolidated as an organization to "*fight right-wing populism.*"

Funiciello has argued the need for reclaiming the term as a communication strategy to shape the discourse around socialist initiatives like tax reform that proportionally targets the wealthiest citizens. "*We just try to explain things in an easy way. When you don't simplify, as a party, you have no chance.*" (O'Sullivan, 2019). In parallel, the SVP, with a long tradition of electoral success and mass mobilization, is widely considered a populist party in terms of its charismatic leadership and radicalized rhetoric against immigration and EU integration.

While on the other side of the frontier, Operation Libero explains that to beat populism, "*we have to go on the offensive*"... "*...we set the terms of the debate by portraying the SVP's proposal as an attack against fundamental Swiss values. Against the constitution as a pillar of our liberal democracy; the rule of law; equal justice for all. We were the patriots here, because this was an attack on things that every Swiss citizen holds dear*" (Henley, 2019).

When it comes to the literature review, it is well known that a myriad of publications is concentrated on the supply-side of populism. These studies focus on interest actors, populist politicians, and political parties by analyzing their manifestos, speeches, or other forms of communication (e.g., Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Hawkins, 2009; Blassnig et al., 2019; Rooduijn & Pauwels, 2011; Engesser et al., 2017). More recently, the research branch expanded to the demand-side of populism and the public opinion field by analyzing individual populist attitudes from diverse angles (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2012; Akkerman et al., 2014; Elchardus & Spruyt, 2016; Staerklé & Green, 2018; Schulz, Müller, et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, anti-populism remains understudied as the research object. The few known accounts that have broken into the populism/anti-populism frontier are also principally focused on the supply-side perspective and applied to a singular national case study (i.e., Greece). In these empirical studies, anti-populist discourses of media outlets and political party leaders are evaluated in contrast with the contextual populist expressions (e.g., Nikisianis et al., 2019; Stavrakakis et al., 2016; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019). Other studies have mainly developed the theoretical framework that proposes the mutual constitution of populism and anti-populism from a discursive-performative perspective (e.g., Ostiguy, 2009; De Cleen et al., 2018; De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017; Moffitt, 2018).

Yet, studies that explore the discursive patterns of anti-populism empirically in public opinion, and more precisely, at the individual level (i.e., demand-side) are overlooked in the large body of literature on populism.

This thesis is based on the critical analysis provided by relevant literature and a primary cross-sectional survey research and attempts to address anti-populism as the research object. In specific, we pursue the existence of anti-populism as the counterpart of populism by determining the presence of anti-populist attitudes at the individual level, as well as its plausible association with other attitudinal variables (i.e., its correlates).

To respond to the research questions: *How do individuals rate on anti-populism, and which socio-political variables associate with anti-populism?* We implemented a quantitative research design that involved a cross-sectional survey using a convenience sampling strategy among students and graduate researchers from Swiss Universities, which was conducted by web-based mode between April 14th and June 10th, 2020, on a total sample of 305 units, with a completion rate of 67%³. Moreover, factor analysis and hierarchical multiple linear regression were implemented for the analysis of the results.

In the following chapters, we will first provide the theoretical framework utilized to formulate the exploratory hypotheses, followed by a description of the methodological framework applied for the research design and data collection, including information on measurements and the general description of the sample. The results chapter includes the main descriptions and discussions of the research findings. Finally, conclusions are linked to the hypotheses, pointing out some implications for the academic debate, as well as the strengths and limitations of the approach taken, in addition to some recommendations for future research on the topic.

³ A detailed explanation of this is found in the Completion Rate section of the Methodological Framework Chapter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“... for every populist actor asserting its presence, there are other anti-populist actors antagonizing it...”
(Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019, p. 3).

Anti-populism is intrinsically associated with the concept of populism. The prefix “anti” immediately brings us to the notion of opposition (i.e., to be against populism). But beyond this intuitive interpretation, drawing from the discursive-performative approach, we can understand their mutual constitution, characteristics, triggers, and ultimately their empirical representations at the individual level.

Populism/Anti-Populism Mutual Constitution

The discursive-performative approach recognizes populism and anti-populism categories, and their empirical manifestations as specific types of discourse actively expressed in language and/or performance “...that has significant effects on how politics (and political identity) is structured and operates...” (Moffitt, 2020, p. 38).

Minimally defined, populism is the contemplation of society as a juxtaposed dynamic between “the people” and “the elite” (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 6).

In its simplified view, “the people” is a vague construction of society, attained to interpretations and the implications of current contextual realities, but mainly portrayed as a marginalized group. Meanwhile, “the elite” or “the establishment” captures those “powerful others” seen as undermining the fulfillment of the general will of the people. The “general will” suggests popular sovereignty and a critique of representative democracy (Panizza 2005, 6; Stavrakakis and Katsambekis 2019, 2; Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser 2017, 12-16).

On the other hand, anti-populism is an antagonistic political logic that concretely opposes what is intentionally signified as “populism” in defense of existing norms, regimes, and latent power relations discursively associated with a notion of liberal representative democracy that

could be embodied in national⁴ or supra-national frames (De Cleen et al., 2018; Moffitt, 2018; Ostiguy, 2009; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019).

Following the discursive-performative approach, we argue that in both scenarios, the antagonistic articulation is employed by different actors with the purpose of constructing collective identities (Mouffe 2009: 16) in the hopes of “...*navigating the fields of power that comprise the political...*” (Moffitt 2016: 38).

Furthermore, the identities are built based on homogeneity, not necessarily associated with exclusionary demands but rather as a byproduct of the capacity of aggregation of diverse interests and demands (also grievances) to conform a simple and easy to grasp political project and common cause that attempts to challenge or defend established structures or to influence decision-making processes (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017; Laclau, 2005).

The articulation is done through empty signifiers like “the people” and how they combine, relate, and position with other signifiers and discursive elements that determine the populist or anti-populist representation and narrative (i.e., their particular meaning).

Hence, in the case of populism, the principal empty signifiers are “the people” and “the elite” organized against each other in a down/up vertical differentiation that can vary on a nationalist in/out horizontal exclusionary axis, as well as in a left/right ideological orientation, whereas for anti-populism the main empty signifier is “populism” organized against “democracy” on a low/high vertical dimension, that also can vary in the in/out and left/right horizontal axes (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017; Ostiguy, 2009). However, neither populism nor anti-populism as political logics has an exclusive associated ideological or normative stance. This valuation, when present, will depend on the particular political project that is being fostered.

Each discourse is developed by invoking their particular signifiers and interpreting the “*different meanings and normative inflections depending on the context within which it appears...*” most commonly constructing a shared discontent and dissatisfaction towards the endanger of the common interests, demands, and identities (De Cleen et al., 2018, p. 3) which in turn sets the stage for the mutual foundation and polarization between populism and anti-populism, that is vital to examine as a form of contextualizing the broader hegemonic structure (Stavrakakis, 2017).

⁴ Not necessarily with a nationalist connotation, but as a point of reference to historical, institutional, or systemic formal limitations of an imagined political community identified with a territory (Jessop, 2010).

Populism/Anti-Populism Performativity & Content Characterization

For further characterization of populism and anti-populism, we include the work of Pierre Ostiguy (2009, 2017). He complements the vertical differentiation down/up with a low/high appeal approach that is indicative of the stylistic and historically connected forms in which the processes of representation and identity formation operate in and for populism and anti-populism.

Focused on the sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions in which relational practices and decision-making processes take place, populism is known for mobilizing the “*flaunting of the low*” while anti-populism defends or pre-empts contention towards the generally “*high*.” For the sociocultural, populism is associated with the articulation of political interaction between leaders, the social base, and the elite established through “low manners,” whilst anti-populism articulation is linked to “high manners” (Moffitt, 2018; Ostiguy, 2017).

Low manners and high manners make emphasis on opposite traits or practices that can be build-up as identities and forms of asserting and appealing leadership. Hence, the low performs, for instance, closeness, transgressiveness, conflict, and provocation, to defend an allegedly unrepresented truth or sector (e.g., the silent majority, the marginalized), while anti-populism performs distance, for instance, with formality, and a polished and composed behavior (Ostiguy, 2017, p. 90). These comprise cultural assets of distinction and markers of social mobility, and more precisely, expressions and traits of social identities politized to interact with political identities (Bourdieu, 2000).

On the sociopolitical or political-cultural dimension, we locate the low and the high opposition in relation to the ways in which political leadership is presented and the forms in which decision-making processes are developed; on this dimension, populism appeals and advocates for the personalism of politics embodied in charismatic leaders, and with the incorporation of more instances of direct participation from the population, as opposed to the anti-populism preference for impersonal proceduralism, institutionalism, and formalism associated with bureaucratic systems and the technocracy of politics.

Moreover, is important to notice that the articulation is not merely a top-down (manipulative or imposed) relationship between political actors and individuals, but rather a two-way relational articulation that is founded on those “high” or “low” appeals that resonate within particular sections of the society due to sociocultural, economic, and political historical reasons (Ostiguy, 2017, pp. 87–89).

Therefore, coming from what each of the discourses advocates and appeal for, the actions of distinction and contention in the political space are translated as the disregard of the common traits of its opposite camp by interpreting them from a negative standpoint and using them as delegitimizing arguments against “their way” of doing politics versus a “right way,” a Manichean view of society that makes distinctions between a homogeneous “good” and a homogeneous “evil” (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017, pp. 6–10). Also, by misleadingly assigning labels like “the elite” and “populist” to specific convenient examples, which primary feature is not necessarily being part of an elite or the populist discourse.

Furthermore, without explicitly referencing anti-populism, the work of Mudde and Rovira-Kaltwasser (2017, pp. 6–10) associates pluralism and elitism as two apparent opposites of populism. According to the authors, elitism follows the same societal distinction and antagonistic differentiation of groups, as is done by populism. By means of a Manichean distinction, elitists target “the people” as “...*dangerous, dishonest, and vulgar...*” while they, “the elite,” are morally, culturally, and intellectually superior to its counterpart. Following this belief, elitism advocates for “...*politics to be exclusively or predominantly an elite affair, in which the people do not have a say...*” (2017, p. 7)

Moreover, a minimal concept of pluralism sees it as the “...*compromise of different viewpoints, and the need to listen to dissenting voices...*” as opposed to a vision grounded on the division of camps (Akkerman et al., 2014, p. 8). Pluralists advocate a distribution of power that reflects the diversity of groups and interests in society without imposing one group over others (2017, p. 7).

Democracy, Crisis & Media

Another source of specificity for populism and anti-populism comes from their particular association with democracy, as mentioned in the previous section. Both camps set themselves as advocates and defenders of democracy, placing the other as the threat and pathology of their desire model of political participation and representation.

For populism, one of the key arguments is set on the idea of restitution of the popular sovereignty, implying an imbalance between the liberal pillar and the democratic pillar in the current state of democracy. According to this interpretation, the primacy of individual rights and

the rule of law constrains the involvement of “the people” and consolidates an elite's hegemony. For anti-populism, the systems built around liberal democracy are highly valued, and the expressions of populism within this model are seen as an external problem to be solved and avoided at all cause (Moffitt, 2018, p. 9).

At this point, the division between both perspectives and representations can be reinforced when it turns to normative and even moral qualifications with the intention of cultivating fear and hatred to their counterpart, a group-level strategy of differentiation based on “...*a demonization of their enemy...*”. (Stavrakakis et al., 2017, p. 17). For populists, the abstract “elite” condenses all the problems in society, the same for anti-populists, where “populism” is dismantling politics and democracy's stability.

Yet, the difference between populism and anti-populism lies in how, for the latter, the demonization could be extended to “the people” that follow a populist leader, movement, or party. In specific, anti-populism sees the populist identifier motivations as homogeneously wrong, at the risk of marginalizing their grievances. Anti-populism tends to dismiss or question electoral deliberations from the basis that it is irrational and a result of manipulation, signaling an extreme self-righteousness stance that enhances antagonism (Moffitt, 2018; Stavrakakis et al., 2017).

An example framed at this level comes from the remarks made by Hillary Clinton in the middle of the 2016 electoral race at a fundraising event in New York: “*You know, to just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump’s supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables. Right? The racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic—you name it. And unfortunately, there are people like that. And he has lifted them up*” (Reilly, 2016).

In the example, “the people” signifier is presented as the opponent and interpreted as a plausible cause of instability and ultimate damage to democracy. An argument that leads to another source of articulation that plays an important role in the development of the frontier between populism and anti-populism, which is the role of the crisis, but most importantly, who is to blame for the crisis.

In this context, a crisis can be defined as the perception and communication of an anomaly or failure that was not effectively incorporated by the established system of representation, that is later on judged with populist or anti-populist discourse, both relying on blame attribution and differentiation of identities (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019). Hence, we find objective and performative construction of crisis around diverse issues like the state of the economy, democratic

representation, environment, and more. The crisis becomes a signifier, object of subjective appreciations made by different actors with specific interests in mind.

Within the populism/anti-populism divide, the examples include the financial-economic crisis of 2007-2008 and its aftermath, the so-called crisis of democratic representation and politics related to coup attempts (e.g., Turkey, Honduras, Venezuela, Brazil), the Brexit Referendum, the climate change crisis, and more recently, the worldwide sanitary crisis of Coronavirus (Covid-19).

Drawing from Moffitt (2016, p. 119), the “*spectacularization of failure*” sets the stage for polarization, blame attribution, and demand for particular political or policy changes and implementations.

The failures become mediated and elevated to a crisis level amid a divide seeking process, characterized by linking the failure to a broader framework of problems, presenting easy solutions and easy targets to blame as responsible for the crisis, and the legitimization of their actors camp (Moffitt, 2016).

In this process, media’s use for the distribution of the constructed rhetoric plays a vital function. The intended messages of crisis, the victims, and the perpetrators are disseminated and enhanced by the distinct media sources that have a political role.

From public communication theory, we know that interest groups are very much able “...to steer news and public attention to key political issues while simultaneously defining them in advantageous ways.” Consequently, public opinion can be indirectly influenced by concrete ways of strategically selecting and designing the communication of a message around an issue of political interest (Nisbet & Feldman, 2011, p. 285).

Notably, the information that is conveyed by the mass media, which has a broader commonly engaged audience, has a great deal of influence due to the connection that establishes between “*the world outside*” and the “*pictures on our heads*.” In other words, mass media helps in the organization of everyday reality and the establishment of linkages with people’s beliefs and values (Lippmann, 1922).

Theory on communication has developed three main concepts that describe the specific ways in which the media can shape or influence public opinion concerning a particular perspective. First, agenda-setting describes the process in which the news media decides on the issues of importance in a determinate context. It is the creation of awareness of issues determined as salient

and the process of subjectively filtering reality by concentrating on certain topics rather than others (Nisbet & Feldman, 2011, p. 286).

Through the agenda-setting, the media tells people about what topics they should learn, but also by priming, which is the act of giving more substantial coverage to specific issues, the media tells people how much importance they should attach to a concrete issue (Nisbet & Feldman, 2011, p. 287).

Additionally, people develop, reinforce, or reorient a particular conceptualization of a subject through the framing effects in communication. Framing is the ability to tell people how to think about an issue by using specific characteristics of the message that wants to be communicated. That characterization directly or indirectly signals who might be responsible and what can or should be the solution; in other words, it impacts people's perceptions and interpretations about the subject (Chong & Druckman, 2007b).

In this instance, metaphors are commonly utilized to circulate the desired discourse and in favor of the construction of the oppositional social and political identities between populism and anti-populism. The study of Nikisianis et al. (2019) on Greek press recognized clearly defined pro-populist and anti-populist messages provided through media, with a predominance of the latter in national news outlets. Here the tendency is to describe populism as a negative phenomenon, in association with polarizing adjectives such as "pathology," "sickness," "destructiveness," and its threatening role towards the European Union, the economy, and democracy.

According to Chong and Druckman (2007a, p. 104), the frame's potential influence can be measured in terms of loudness and strength. Whichever frame is loudest, that is, the frame repeated most frequently will have the most significant influence on individuals' opinions, having everything else constant. Alternatively, the strength will exert the greatest influence regardless of repetition, and it is determined "...when comes from a credible source..., resonates with consensus values..., and does not contradict strongly held prior beliefs...".

Exploratory Hypotheses

As was noted in the introduction, the general aim of this particular research was to explore the populism/anti-populism divide by analyzing the demand-side of anti-populism. For this purpose, we were interested in measuring anti-populist attitudes at the individual level and studying the

extent to which socio-political variables have an effect on it. Figure 2 presents the model of anti-populism analysis that was followed by this project.

First, following the theoretical framework, we decided to measure anti-populist attitudes following a semantic differential technique, which consists of a list of attitude scales that specifies bipolar responses (Osgood et al., 1957). This method, which has been used marginally for populism research⁵, allows for the prescription of judgment on a continuum that gives a notion of variations in the meaning assigned to a particular object of evaluation. This particular design was considered the most appropriate for our conceptualization, resembling the opposing high and low axes with the dichotomous connotations that take part in the populism/anti-populism divide.

In specific, we focused on sub-dimensions of behavioral competencies that relate to the technocracy of politics preference (e.g., disqualification; unrespectability); aspects of the morality of conduct (e.g., dishonesty; emotional); risk assessment (e.g., danger; threat; bad), and accusations focused on intolerance and cynicism. All of which fulfills the active role of “...*displacement of politics by morality* ...” and the political logic that offers stability and rational meritocracy as an alternative to the disruption of populism (Mouffe, 2009; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019, pp. 6–11).

On the other hand, we measured populist attitudes in three distinct dimensions, anti-elitism, demand for popular sovereignty, and a belief in the people’s homogeneity and virtuousness, which provides a flexible and nuanced alternative to address the populist frontier from a demand-side perspective. The multidimensional measurement aligns with the principal characteristics described from the discursive-performative perspective, that is, a Manichean worldview between “the people” and “the elite,” the chain of equivalences in the form of homogeneity, and the demand for popular sovereignty and people centrism (Schulz, Müller, et al., 2018).

Concerning the correlates of anti-populism, we decided to initially test the effect of three socio-demographic variables: gender, age, and nationality. However, due to the absence of conclusions regarding the association of socio-demographic characteristics with anti-populism, we decided to leave the expectation open in terms of its positive or negative effect on anti-populism; this decision supported the exploratory nature of the study and characteristics of the sample, composed for the most part of a younger population (**Hypothesis 1**).

⁵ For an example of the integration of the semantic differential method, see (De Blasio & Sorice, 2018).

Subsequently, we gauge on the commonly accepted argumentation about pluralism and elitism as opposite variables of populism (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017) (**Hypotheses 2a, 2b**); we test this correlation in addition to the three dimensions of populist attitudes. As a result, we expect the populist attitudes dimensions to be inversely correlated to anti-populism, while pluralism and elitism to be positively correlated with anti-populist attitudes (**Hypotheses 2c, 2d, 2e**).

To incorporate the predominant role of political communication and media in the populism/anti-populism divide, we included predictor variables that attested to the level of trust in particular media information sources. In specific, we expect National News Media Trust to have a positive effect on anti-populist attitudes, while social media trust to be inversely correlated. This assumption comes from the social identity perspective that, in line with political communication theory, explains that populists identifiers prefer alternative media (Schulz, 2019), while anti-populist identifiers will find confirmation of their worldview in national news media (**Hypotheses 3a and 3b**).

In relation to the idea of mediation of crisis within the populist/anti-populist divide, we analyzed satisfaction with the institutional response to the Coronavirus (Covid-19) outbreak and the identification of plausible causes related to its spread.

In particular, we oriented the causes to the action level of “the people” in contrast to the actions of institutionalized actors. Here, we expect that the higher the levels of satisfaction with Covid-19 response, the more anti-populist attitudes. On the other hand, we expect that “blame” on the people for the spread of Covid-19 to be positively correlated with anti-populism, while “blame” on institutions to be inversely correlated with anti-populism (**Hypotheses 4a, 4b, and 4c**).

These expectations are based on the assumption that anti-populist will prefer to legitimize the status-quo in rejection of extreme measures or disruptive alternatives while blaming certain groups of the population that are considered less knowledgeable prone to manipulation or misinformation, or less compliant with the social norms.

It is worth keeping in mind that the impressions about Covid-19 might be influenced by the specific time in which the survey was distributed. Our survey was launched on April 14th, 2020, when the total of accumulated confirmed cases and deaths in Switzerland was 26,825 and 1,161, respectively. Switzerland became one of the first countries in Europe, after Italy and Spain, to experience an initial rapid increase in cases. At the date of the survey launch, the Swiss government

was already onset to “flattening” the curve and had already put in place measures such as widespread lockdowns in public institutions, the suggestion of remote work in private companies, reduced public transport services as well as recommendations for social distancing and personal hygiene protocols. At the time of closing the survey, confirmed cases and deaths had reached 30,992 and 1,685 respectively, already reaching a clear “flattening” of the curve. At either stage of the evolution of cases, individuals can have varying opinions as to whether government measures or individual behaviors are to be blamed/praised for the status of the pandemic (FOPH, 2020).

Concerning democracy, we relied on the concept of democratic deficit, which refers to a perceived deficiency or incongruence between the democratic performance and democratic preferred aspirations. It presents a general evaluation of how democracy works in a particular context by measuring the level of approval of democratic values and principles, put in contrast with the evaluation of democratic performance. We expect democratic deficit scores to be negatively associated with anti-populism, implying a procedural perspective of democratic legitimacy, where decisions are conceived as legitimate if they follow the democratic standards, which can be related to participation, accountability, among others (**Hypothesis 5a**). In addition, as another proxy of legitimacy with the current state of affairs, we presume that the predictor on political support that evaluates satisfaction with political outputs and institutional trust to be positively associated with anti-populism (**Hypothesis 5b**).

Finally, to find the effect of organizing principles or general beliefs, which are building blocks of opinion and attitude formation, we studied the association of the entitlement principle and the propensity towards egalitarianism. For entitlement, defined as “...*a general belief that one deserves more or is entitled to more than others...*” (Campbell & Buffardi, 2007, p. 717), was used to assess the high/low differentiation, we expected to have a positive correlation with the dependent variable. For egalitarianism, briefly defined as the idea that all people should be treated as equals, and everyone should receive the same in a society (Bobbio, 1996, p. 60), will be left open in terms of the expectation of positive or negative effect on anti-populism, because we assumed different results depending on the ideological orientation of the populist example evaluated (**Hypotheses 6a and 6b**).

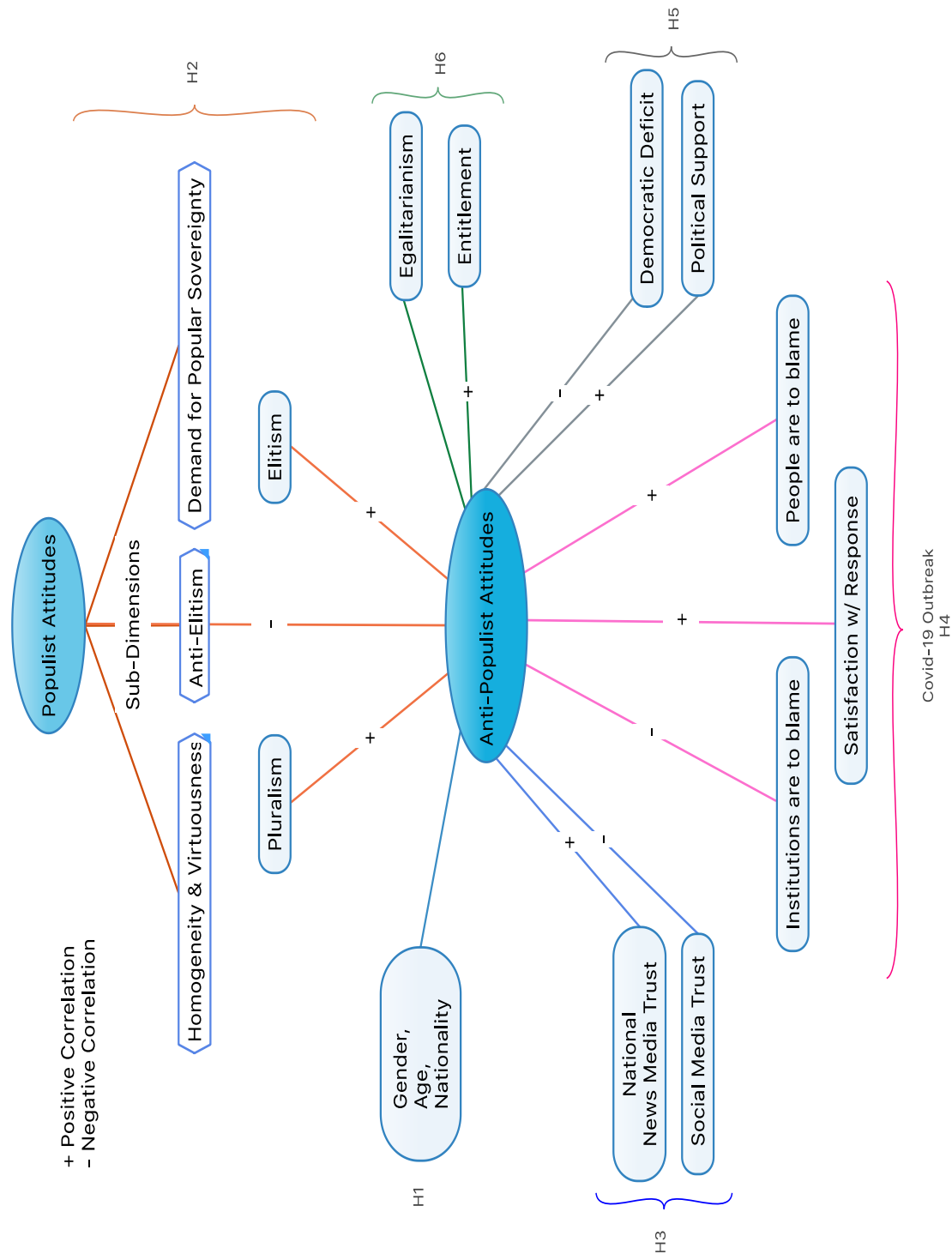


Figure 2. Model of Anti-Populism Analysis

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter covers the methodological framework for the execution of the research project. It includes sections on research design, research object operationalization, survey design, and fieldwork.

Research Design

This project was developed from a quantitative research approach, with the implementation of a non-experimental descriptive-correlational research design and a cross-sectional survey as the gathering data instrument.

The selection of a survey design as the preferred instrument was based on previous works on the topic of populism, the lack of empirical data at the individual level to analyze anti-populism, as well as the conveniences that a survey design provided in terms of the costs, the required expertise, the access to logistical resources, and the rapid process of data gathering.

The survey landed with a non-experimental design due to the correlational interest of the theoretical proposal. In alignment with the scope, the instrument was applied at a single point in time. The mode designated was a web-based self-administered questionnaire (SAQ). This particular choice took into consideration aspects that represent an explicit effort for balancing mode appropriateness for our research question, and the different levels of impact in costs and survey errors.

Spatial and Temporal Delimitation

The spatial delimitation of this research project was defined in terms of a nation-state perspective (i.e., Switzerland). The temporal delimitation corresponded with the period of data collection between April 14th and June 10th, 2020. All of which was chosen as a matter of convenient access considering resources and time constraints.

Target population & Sample

The target population consisted of individuals 18 years of age⁶ and older (with no upper age limit) residents, regardless of nationality or citizenship, that are current students or graduate researchers (PhD students and Post-Doctoral researchers) at Swiss public universities and institutes of technology (UIT)⁷.

According to a report from the Federal Statistical Office (FSO), in 2017/18, the population universe of UIT students and graduate researchers consisted of **152.858 individuals**, 51% female students, and 30.6% international students. Additionally, we know that the most substantial proportion of students (i.e., ~ 60%) are at bachelor level programs, while 23% are at the master level, and 15% at the postgraduate level. Concerning the study fields, most of the students are enrolled in social and economic sciences disciplines (16% and 14% respectively).

With a population universe of 152.858 individuals, a margin of error of 6%, and a confidence interval of 95%, the recommended and the chosen sample size was 266 units (individuals)⁸. With this in consideration and estimating a target response rate of 50%, we had to reach at least 532 individuals to achieve the sample size.

Sampling Design

For the selection of the observation and analysis units to complete the expected sample of 266 individuals, we relied on a non-representative convenience sampling design. This particular form of sampling involves choosing readily available participants, with no strict selection rules or techniques (Salkind, 2010; Tansey, 2007, p. 769).

In the study, convenience was valued in terms of the availability of information for online contact and the accessibility to particular social media platforms.

⁶ This criterion aligns with the average age of University entrance and the exclusion of minors, which required particular ethical guidelines.

⁷ Ecole Polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (ETHZ), Universität Basel, Universität Bern, Université de Fribourg, Université de Genève, Université de Lausanne, Universität Luzern, Université de Neuchâtel, Universität St. Gallen, Università della Svizzera italiana, and Universität Zürich.

⁸ Calculated with: <https://www.custominsight.com/articles/random-sample-calculator.asp>

In specific, we directly approached potential participants from whom we obtained contact information in official UIT's websites, and distributed invitations for participation in social media spaces known for gathering our target population. Therefore, the sample was simultaneously selected by the units that chose to participate in the study after being conveniently approached between April 14th and June 10th, 2020.

This particular sampling design implicated little control over the characteristics of the selected units, which lead to essential issues of external validity, such as sampling error, where the sample characteristics could systematically differ from the population; and under-coverage, where the entire exclusion of specific individual profiles in the sample can be inflicted (Larsen, 2007; Salkind, 2010).

Nevertheless, to mitigate the impact of these possible shortcomings, we made an effort to include some forms of control to direct the participation of the intended target population. For instance, the information displayed in the participation calls specifically asked for individuals that complied with the main filtering characteristics of our target population.

Additionally, to ensure that we were reaching out to our population of interest, we obtained the necessary information to directly contact individuals from UIT's official websites (e.g., directory, team's information from departments, research groups, etc.), which meant that we purposefully filter units that meet the required population characteristics. We also distributed the information through UIT's official student associations, social media groups and pages, courses distribution email lists, and learning platforms, as well as other social media channels oriented to students from Swiss UIT's.

Moreover, we described in other sections the relevant characteristics of the sample, which makes possible its comparison with the population of interest so that in further research, it can be subject to evaluation in terms of its representativeness (Waterfield, 2018).

Survey Questionnaire Design

Due to the novelty of the anti-populist variable, we were unable to locate a suitable instrument that we could reproduce for our purposes. For that reason, we recurred to the modification and creation of a new instrument appropriate for the target population and the general setting of the study.

According to the population of interest, we design a web-based self-administered survey questionnaire that attained a high level of general literacy, a moderate level of socio and political knowledge, internet literacy, internet access, and a reasonable level of understanding of English or French language.

Because the study was interested in capturing attitudes related to political perspectives, most of the expected responses were non-factual and subjective interpretations of the perceived circumstances, as well as manifestations of motivating beliefs. The nature of the response was captured mainly through pre-established close-ended ordinal response categories that consequently provided ordinal indicators and variables. However, the instrument also included nominal and metric variables (see Appendix A for Survey Questionnaires and D for Alignment Matrix).

The survey was divided into three main sections: the welcome page, the core module of questions, and the closing page. The welcome page described the general information about the survey, a brief description the instrument's purpose, and survey instructions. Additionally, it included the notification about the voluntary, anonymous, and confidential character of participation, researcher's contact information, the privacy policy information, and consent option (see Appendix C for the Ethical Considerations and Survey Data Privacy Statement).

The questionnaire's second and core module was organized and divided into groups that relate items measuring similar variables. Nevertheless, the design favored flexibility in the arrangement of the sections in order to improve the sequence and the experience for the respondent. This section contained a total of 80 questions items, varying between dichotomous, 5-point Likert scale, 11-point (0-10) ordinal scales, 5-point semantic-differential, and open-ended questions.

The closing section reiterated the appreciation for the completion of the survey, provided contact information, and the invitation link to participate in a lottery for a chance to win a 20 CHF gift-card incentive (mentioned to the potential participants at the distribution stage), and a space for comments or information requests (see Appendix A for the Surveys in English and French).

Survey Validity & Reliability

The validity, which refers to the level of accuracy and consequent trustworthiness of the survey; and reliability, which is the degree to which the survey instrument consistently measures the same problem and their different variables at different moments, obtaining the same measurements

repeatedly indistinctly of the moment in which is applied, were considered in the process of survey questionnaire design.

Particularly, we relied on a continuous iterative quality evaluation process, which oriented aspects in the wording, the order, and the overall item formulation. Simultaneously, we prioritized using items that have already been tested and widely used in the field. Mainly, we implemented questions that appear in articles about populism published in journals of high impact factor. For other variables of common interest, we use the methodological information provided by the European Social Survey. Specifically, we consulted the translations and the modules that have been recently reviewed and applied in the Swiss context.

Additionally, we conducted survey evaluations that included methods of informal testing, expert review, Question Appraisal System (QAS-99), and a cognitive interview, from which we revise questions comprehension by checking the consistency of words, format simplicity, time reference for particular questions, and elimination of double-barreled questions that measured multiple constructs in the same item, among other aspects that improved the information retrieval process.

Survey Data Collection Fieldwork

The process of data collection started on April 14th and concluded on June 10th, 2020. The fieldwork consisted of an intense process of distribution and calls for participation in social media platforms, particularly Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. We made publications in different social media groups and pages associated with the population of interest and Swiss UIT's.

For this process, we utilized a personal social media account⁹ to ask for access to different private and public groups, and the publications relied on the use of flyers in English and French that provided necessary information of the survey and the option to participate in a lottery for a 20 CHF gift-card.

In parallel, we established direct contact with students and graduate researchers using institutional emails publicly displayed on official websites from the UIT institutions. We contacted

⁹ Daniela Chacón Mendoza - Personal social media accounts (Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, Reddit, Instagram).

student associations and organizations, as well as professors, to ask for collaboration with the survey distribution.

In total, we send out ~347 individual and personalized emails to contact participants (see Appendix B for examples on Survey Distribution). These contacts were made with a personal institutional email from the University of Lausanne. On May 13th, Professor Staerklé (UNIL) distributed the survey among 543 students from his course and published the survey information in the course Moodle platform. Professor Hulliger (UNINE) also published the flyer in his course Moodle platform. Additionally, several PhD students and post-doctoral researchers helped send out emails to the graduate and postgraduate students of their corresponding research groups (e.g., Adolphe Merkle Institute in Fribourg, University of Geneva, ETH Zurich, University of Bern).

Completion Rate

Since we are dealing with a non-probability sampling method (i.e., convenience sampling), the computation of response rates is not applicable. Nevertheless, to have a sense of the data collection process and survey distribution, we can calculate a completion rate, which is defined as the ratio of the number of surveys returned to the number of requested surveys.

Therefore, with a total of 305 completed surveys, collected by June 10th, 2020, the completion rate calculated from the total sum of surveys, including the incomplete responses (i.e., 455) is 67%. In terms of response rate, this percentage surpasses the minimum baseline of ~50% considered adequate for social science research (Groves et al., 2009); however for convenience sampling, a high completion rate conveys anything particularly meaningful or relevant about the respondents.

Another plausible completion reference value is calculated from the sum of emails contacts made to reach out participants (i.e., ~890) that provide a rate of 34.3%. This much lower completion rate can be associated with the absence of implementation of follow-ups and reminders. At the same time, we note that this can be regarded as a higher limited value as it is difficult to estimate the actual number of individuals reached via the distribution lists accessed by the persons helping in the distribution, as well as the individuals reached through the social media platforms.

Data Management & Preparation

The survey's data management and preparation comprised iterative stages of processed responses exploration; codification, and labeling of variables and response categories, variable transformations, among others.

Two aspects to emphasize: the elimination of the IP addresses column information from the dataset, to reinforce the anonymized treatment of the participants' responses, and the removal of any form for possible tracing; and the recodification of open question associated with the “work or study field” variable, in specific, we created a new variable based on the original, and manually cleaned and classified each of the responses, according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED F-2013)¹⁰.

Additionally, the handling of system missing values, which refer to values that are entirely absent from the data, required a thorough general inspection per variable and per case, with the use of descriptive statistics.

First, among the numerical variables, we identified four variables (i.e., Political Interest, Political Participation in Political Party, Political Participation in Protest, and Vote in the Last National Elections) with two missing values (i.e., $305 - N = \text{number of missing values}$, $305 - 303 = 2$), and 56 variables with one missing value (i.e., $305 - 304 = 1$). Following this inspection per variable, we confirmed the absence of high levels of missingness; therefore, none of the variables were excluded for analysis.

On the other hand, from the inspection of system missing values per case, we found one case containing 4 system missing values and another one containing 59. With this information, we decided to filter from further analysis only the case with 59 system missing values, which was considered a significant level of missingness on the study's variables of interest.

Another source of missing values corresponds to deliberate exclusions of specific responses (e.g., “Don't Know”) for a particular analysis. After exploring the data and considering the complexity and number of variables included in the study, we decided to declare as user missing values the “Other” category in the Gender variable, and the “Don't Know” category in the Household Financial Situation variable.

¹⁰The ISCED is the reference international classification for organizing education programs and related qualifications by levels and fields.

Measurements

Anti-populist attitudes

Anti-populist attitudes were measured using 18 items following Osgood et al.'s (1957) semantic differential technique, which consists of a list of attitude scales that specifies bipolar opposing response categories in the format of a 1 to 5-point rating scale ranging from “Very”, “Somewhat,” “Neither/Nor,” “Somewhat,” “Very.” In particular, we asked respondents about which adjective came closer to their impression about right- and left-wing populist parties or movements, providing specific examples for each of the ideological spectrums (e.g., SVP in Switzerland as a Right-Wing example, and La France Insoumise in France as a Left-Wing example). In addition, we asked for which populism and democracy statements came closer to their view, utilizing the same 1 to 5-point rating scale.

To check for the dimensionality of the items, we perform Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), which resulted in the computation of two composite scores; this process is described in detail in the Results chapter.

Predictive variables

With respect to the exploratory analysis of correlates, we took into account predictor variables related to our theoretical framework and hypotheses, along with socio-demographic variables. Among the socio-demographic variables, we entered *age* (as a continuous variable), *gender* (dichotomous) with male as the reference category, and *nationality* (dichotomous) with non-Swiss (or foreign) as the reference category.

The variable nationality was constructed by recoding survey responses on the question about the vote in the Swiss parliamentary elections for the National Council on October 20th, 2019, in which the information of “*Not eligible*” to vote function as a proxy for Swiss and non-Swiss nationality.

Respondents' *populist attitudes* were measured using a combination of modified items from Akkerman et al. (2014) and Schulz et al. (2018) that included nine question statements in a 1 to 5-point Likert scale, from “*Disagree strongly*” (1): to “*Agree strongly*” (5), and where agreement with each of the statements pointed-out to respondents' populist attitudes.

Following our interest in a multidimensional measurement, we included three items for each of the three main dimensions of populism, that is Homogeneity and Virtuousness dimension (e.g., “*In general, ordinary people are of good and honest character*”); Anti-Elitism (e.g., “*Politicians very quickly lose touch with ordinary people*”), and Demand for Popular Sovereignty (e.g., “*The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken*”).

To check for the dimensionality of the items, we performed a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) on the battery of nine items constructed for populist attitudes measurement¹¹.

Initially, we confirmed sampling adequacy, with a Kaiser-Meyer-Olin measure value above the commonly recommended (KMO = .64) and a significant Bartlett’s test of sphericity ($\chi^2_{(36)} = 494.074, p < .001$).

The results from the initial analysis revealed three eigenvalues over the 1.0 threshold indicating the presence of three principal components. The three components together accounted for 60% of the variance (Component 1 = 26%; Component 2 = 17%; Component 3 = 17%, eigenvalues = 2.34, 1.58, 1.51 respectively).

After the varimax rotation method of the component matrix, we noticed that two out of three items on Demand for Popular Sovereignty loaded with the first component. Similarly, two out of three items related to Anti-Elitism loaded with the second component, and all items about Homogeneity and Virtuousness loaded with the third component (see Table 1 below). None of the items were eliminated, as the contributions maintain values above .40, and no cross-loadings of .30 and above were present.

With the exception of just one item in the first and second components, this solution is highly aligned with previous theoretical proposals on populist attitudes measurement (Schulz, Müller, et al., 2018). The first component refers to Demand for Popular Sovereignty, the second component refers to Anti-Elitism, and the third component refers to Homogeneity and Virtuousness, with three items each.

Internal consistency for each component was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. Obtaining and acceptable value for the Component 1 ($\alpha = .76$), and questionable values for Component 2 ($\alpha = .59$), and Component 3 ($\alpha = .58$). Just the last component showed a slight increment in alpha ($\alpha = .61$) with the elimination of one item (i.e., hom1).

¹¹ Refer to Appendix A for a complete description of the items.

Table 1. *PCA for Items Measuring Populist Attitudes (N=304).*

N°	Item	Components			M	SD	
		1	2	3			
1	anti3	The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	.832	.157		2.98	1.06
2	sov2	The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken	.817		.163	2.53	.99
3	sov1	The people should have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums.	.784			3.08	.81
4	anti1	Politicians very quickly lose touch with ordinary people.	.141	.764		3.32	.90
5	anti2	Politicians talk too much and take too little action.		.760		3.42	.93
6	sov3	People like me have no influence on what the government does.		.693		2.46	1.00
7	hom2	Most ordinary people share similar values and interests.			.855	3.82	0.95
8	hom3	Although the Swiss are very different from each other, when it comes down to truly important decisions about how society should work, they all tend to think the same.			.735	3.01	1.12
9	hom1	In general, ordinary people are of good and honest character.	.259		.582	3.27	1.06
		Explained variance 60%	26%	17%	17%		
		Eigenvalues	2.34	1.58	1.51		
		Cronbach's Alpha	.76	.59	.58		

Note. Factor analysis applying principle component analysis and varimax rotation converged in 4 iterations; factor loadings lower than .1 were suppressed; KMO = .64; N = 304.

Composite scores were computed for each of the three components, based on the mean of the corresponding items. Higher scores indicated greater populist attitudes. Demand for Popular Sovereignty was the populist attitude dimension that respondents scored higher with a negatively skewed distribution. Anti-elitism scored slightly less but maintained the negatively skewed distribution, whilst Homogeneity and Virtuousness maintained lower scores and a positively skewed distribution (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Descriptive statistics for the three Populist attitudes component indices (N=304)*

		N. Items	Response Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Pearson's Correlation	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
C1	Demand for Popular Sovereignty	3	1-5 point	.76		3.36	.85	-.13	-.34
C2	Anti-Elitism	3	1-5 point	.59		3.25	.73	-.05	-.26
C3	Homogeneity & Virtuousness	2	1-5 point	.61	.44	2.50	.85	.25	-.54

Note: For Component 3 an item was eliminated that increased the Cronbach's alpha.

Pluralist and *elitist* attitudes were measured with two items each, with response categories that follow a 1-5 point Likert scale format from “*Disagree Strongly*” (1) to “*Agree Strongly*” (5) to the question “*We would like to know to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*” (e.g., “*In a democracy, it is important to make compromises among different viewpoints,*” for pluralism; and “*In general, ordinary people can be trusted to understand our nation's problems,*” a reverse-scored item for elitism).

For the creation of composite scores, we reviewed the correlation and obtained a positive and significant correlation for both variables, $r = .34$, and $r = .20$, respectively. However, due to the low correlation between the elitism items, we decided to keep it as a single item variable, including “*Our Countries will be governed better if important decisions were only made by professionals and experts.*”

With regard to media trust, we measured *National News Media Trust* and *Social Media Trust* with a single item each on a 0 to 10-point ordinal scale, ranging from “*Not trust at all*” (0) to “*Complete trust*” (10).

For the variables that were intended to assess impressions around the Coronavirus (Covid-19) outbreak, we included *Satisfaction with Covid-19 Response* measured with five items on a 0 - 10 scale from “*Extremely dissatisfied*” (0) to “*Extremely satisfied*” (10). The test for internal consistency with the five items provided a satisfactory Cronbach's alpha of .80; however, with the exclusion of one item on educational institutions, the reliability increased to .83. Hence, we eliminated that item to create a composite score, computed with the mean of the individual scores on the rest of the items. PCA confirmed the presence of a single factor that explained 68% of the variance ($KMO = .80$, Bartlett's sphericity test $\chi^2(10) = 555.280$, $p < .001$).

To examine people's opinions regarding the perceived causes of the Coronavirus spread, we use three measurement items that targeted people's behaviors as related factors that explained the spread (e.g., "*Older people continued to go out even after the first restrictions*"), and two items that targeted institutional actions as the related factors (e.g., "*Too slow response from national governments and international organizations*"). The associated question was, "*How related or not do you think each of the following situations has been in the spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19)?*".

For all of the items, we used a 1 to 5-point ordinal scale from "*Extremely related*" (1) to "*Not related at all*" (5). Counterintuitively, an increment in the value signified a lower perceived relationship to the statement as a cause for the Covid-19 spread; therefore, we proceeded to recode each of the items so that a high value indicated an increment in the scale.

The internal consistency test confirmed an acceptable Cronbach's alpha, value ($\alpha = .74$), among the three items that measured *People is to blame for Covid-19 spread*. The PCA attested for a single factor that explains 66% of the variance ($KMO = .68$, Bartlett's sphericity test $\chi^2(3) = 208.448$, $p < .001$), which supported the creation of a composite score with the mean values for each item. On the other hand, the two items measuring *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* presented a moderately significant positive correlation of .51. Hence, we created a composite score, again, with the mean values for each item.

To examine *Democratic Deficit*, we measured the difference between two single-item independent variables, Democratic Aspirations and Satisfaction with Democracy; both presented on a 0 to 10-point ordinal scale. That resulted in a new composite score that ranges from -10 to 10, where higher values indicated a higher perception of democratic deficit.

To analyze the effect of *Political Support*, we included six ordinal indicator items related to general policy satisfaction (e.g., "*How satisfied or dissatisfied are you nowadays with the way the Swiss government is doing its job?*") and institutional trust (e.g., "*On a score between 0 and 10, how much do you personally trust if at all Political parties in Switzerland?*"). All items on a 0 to 10-point ordinal scale. For the construction of a composite score, we performed a PCA that indicated the presence of only one component, including the six items. In terms of reliability with the computation of the Cronbach's alpha, we obtain a value $\alpha = .87$ ($\alpha > .80$ is good). The exclusion of items did not show any improvement in the Cronbach's alpha; hence we kept all of the indicators for the variable.

For *Entitlement*, we included a single item (i.e., “A society is fair when people from families with high social status enjoy privileges in their lives”) measured on a 1 to 5-point Likert scale that ranged from “Disagree strongly” (1) to “Agree strongly” (5).

Finally, to explore the association of we include *Egalitarianism*, which was measured in the survey with four items (e.g., “A society is fair when wealth is evenly redistributed among all of the people”) under the 1 to 5-point Likert scale format from “Disagree strongly” (1) to “Agree strongly” (5). After reverse-scoring an item (i.e., fair7), for the construction of a composite score, we attested a satisfactory Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .73, and the unidimensionality with PCA obtaining that a single factor explained 59% of the variance ($KMO = .74$, Bartlett’s sphericity test $\chi^2(6) = 307.861$, $p < .001$).

Survey Respondents

The survey sample’s socio-demographic characteristics described in Table 3 show that more than half of the respondents (67%) identify as females. This characteristic in the sample is congruent with the female distribution (51%) in the target population reported by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office in 2019 (FSO, 2019, pp. 21–22).

Additionally, 41.8% of respondents reported “Living comfortably,” followed by a 35% that indicated, “Meet my basic expenses with a little left for extras.” These categories are part of the household financial situation variable that, in our study, offers a proxy of the economic status of the individual.

Furthermore, 50.7% of respondents indicated they voted in the last Swiss parliamentary elections (October 20th, 2019), compared to 13.5% that did not. However, a significant percentage (35.5%) manifested not being eligible to vote. This could indicate that in our sample, a considerable number of participants might not be of Swiss nationals, a characteristic that is consistent with the target population, in which 30.6% are international students (FSO, 2019, pp. 21–22).

Finally, the average age in the sample is 26 years ($SD = 6.58$), and in general, they report a Left-Wing ideological orientation preference ($M = 3.64$, $SD = \pm 1.9$ on a 0-10 scale).

Table 3. *Sample Survey Respondents Description (N=304).*

Variables	N	%	M	SD
<i>Gender</i>				
Female	205	67.4		
Male	98	32.2		
<i>Household Financial Situation</i>				
Live comfortably	127	41.8		
Meet my basic expenses with a little left for extras	106	34.8		
Just meet my basic expense	56	18.4		
Don't even have enough to make basic expenses	11	3.6		
<i>Vote*</i>				
Yes	154	50.7		
No	41	13.5		
Not Eligible	108	35.5		
<i>Age</i>	304		26.21	6.58
<i>Left-Right Ideological Orientation</i>	304		3.64	1.90

* Vote in the Swiss parliamentary elections for the National Council on October 20th, 2019.

Furthermore, a bivariate analysis between gender and age recoded in groups indicated that the majority (56.1%) of females in the sample have under 24 years of age, while the majority (45.9%) of male respondents report ages between 25 and 34. Also, the T-test for independent groups based on gender showed that in the sample, male respondents are slightly older ($M = 28.12$, $SD = \pm 6.43$) than female respondents ($M = 25.34$, $SD = \pm 6.47$). However, the mean age difference between gender is not significant to extrapolate to the population (i.e., $t_{(192.209)} = -3.52$, $p = .43$).

In terms of the vote, 48% of male respondents reported being not eligible, compared to 29.9% of female respondents. Among those who voted, 53.9% are female, and 43.9% male.

The household financial situation between gender; indicated that most female and male respondents are “Living comfortably” (i.e., F: 41.3%, M: 43.9%). While, with respect to the ideological orientation, both genders have a defined tendency towards the left-wing ideology, but the mean difference between female ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.86$) and male ($M = 3.69$, $SD = \pm 1.99$) is not a significant result that can be generalized to the population (i.e., $t_{(180.180)} = -0.33$, $p = .51$).

RESULTS

The following chapter describes the different results obtained from the data analysis, all of which were carried out with SPSS 26.0 statistical analysis software. In specific, the first section proceeds with a descriptive overview of the predicted variables. The second part presents the anti-populist attitudes measurement factor analysis. The third and last section goes through the steps and obtained findings from hierarchical multiple regression analyses with two dependent variables of interest.

Predictive Variables Descriptive Analysis

Drawing from the mean values described in Table 4, we noticed that in the responses collected from our sample, *political support* lands on the positive side of the spectrum ($M = 6.33$, $SD = \pm 1.46$), indicating a general sense of trust and satisfaction with the Swiss political system and their institutions.

Table 4. *Predictor variables overview (N=302)*

	N. Items	Response Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Pearson's Correlation	M	SD	%
Political Support	6	[0-10]	.87		6.33	1.46	
Satisfaction w/ Covid-19 Response	3	[0-10]	.88		6.44	1.93	
People are to blame Covid-19	3	[1-5]	.74		3.47	.91	
Egalitarianism	4	[1-5]	.73		3.56	.85	
Pluralism	2	[1-5]		.34	4.31	.61	
Institutions are to blame Covid-19	2	[1-5]		.51	3.71	.91	
Homogeneity & Virtuousness	3	[1-5]		.44	2.50	.85	
Anti-Elitism	3	[1-5]	.59		3.25	.73	
Demand for Popular Sovereignty	2	[1-5]	.76		3.35	.85	
Democratic Deficit	2	[-10-10]			1.74	2.23	
Elitism	1	[1-5]			2.93	1.14	
Entitlement	1	[1-5]			1.93	.97	
Social Media Trust	1	[0-10]			3.03	1.83	
News Media Trust	1	[0-10]			6.57	2.12	
Age (Years)	1	Continuous			26.23	6.57	
Nationality (Swiss = 1)	1	Dummy					64
Gender (Female = 1)	1	Dummy					67

This positive tendency is also shared in opinions about the *Satisfaction with Covid-19 Response* from institutions and public officials were on average, people expressed a general sense of approval with the response given to the sanitary crisis ($M = 6.44$, $SD = \pm 1.93$).

As it relates to the impressions on the causes of Covid-19 spread, survey participants seem to assign more responsibility to institutions actions (*Institutions are to blame for Covid-19 spread*, $M = 3.71$, $SD = \pm .91$) than people's behaviors during the crisis (*People are to blame for Covid-19 spread*, $M = 3.47$, $SD = \pm .91$).

In terms of organizing principles, respondents tend to present a higher level of agreement with *egalitarianism* principles ($M = 3.56$, $SD = \pm .85$), while the level of agreement with a sense of *entitlement* was considerably lower ($M = 1.93$, $SD = \pm .97$).

Concerning *pluralism*, the obtained results show that the sample scored quite high on this particular variable ($M = 4.31$, $SD = \pm .61$), whereas *elitism* ranged from low to neutral scores ($M = 2.93$, $SD = \pm 1.14$).

Turning to media trust, respondents showed much higher confidence levels in *national news media* ($M = 6.57$, $SD = \pm 2.12$) compared to alternative forms of information such as *social media* platforms like Facebook ($M = 3.03$, $SD = \pm 1.83$).

With respect to the constitutive dimensions of populist attitudes survey respondents denoted overall low levels of *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* ($M = 2.50$, $SD = \pm .85$), and higher scores of *Anti-Elitism* ($M = 3.25$, $SD = \pm .73$), and *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* ($M = 3.35$, $SD = \pm .85$).

Finally, as it was described in previous sections, the percentage of female respondents in the sample is 67%, with a mean age of 26 years, ($M = 26.23$, $SD = \pm 6.57$), and a majority of Swiss nationals (64%) with respect to foreign respondents.

Anti-Populist Attitudes

Having briefly described the predictive variables in our study, we shift our attention to anti-populism measurement and the creation of our dependent variable, for that, the 18 items intended to measure anti-populist attitudes were examined with Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) as the method of extraction, with the purpose of identifying latent variables.

The results from the initial analysis, confirmed satisfactory factorability with sampling adequacy above the commonly recommended value (KMO = .81) and significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2_{(153)} = 1673.427, p < .001$) indicating that correlations between items were sufficiently large for EFA. From the analysis we obtain five factors with eigenvalues greater than the 1.0 threshold. The initial five-factor structure accounted for 59% of the variance (Factor 1 = 25%; Factor 2 = 16%; Factor 3 = 7%; Factor 4 = 6%; Factor 5 = 6%, eigenvalues = 4.44, 2.83, 1.21, 1.08, 1.04 respectively).

However, to optimize the solution, items with communalities (h^2) below .30 were eliminated as an indication of a lack of common variance with other items. In total, we excluded seven items from analysis (i.e., rw3-intolerant, rw6-emotional, rw7-pessimistic, lw1-pessimistic, apop3-preserve, and apop4-ban) (see Appendix E, Table 10).

Table 5. *PAF for Items Measuring Anti-Populist Attitudes (N=304).*

N°	Item	1	2	h^2	M	SD
1	rw2 Right-wing populist parties or movements are dishonest	.741	-.166	.486	4.28	.888
2	rw4 Right-wing populist parties or movements are unrespectable	.716	-.292	.507	4.08	.967
3	apop1 Populism threatens democracy	.664	.167	.574	3.94	.978
4	rw1 Right-wing populist parties or movements are dangerous	.643	-.308	.452	3.65	1.073
5	rw5 Right-wing populist parties or movements are unqualified	.632	-.178	.339	2.4	1.192
6	apop2 Populism is bad for democracy	.624	.115	.397	2.77	.938
7	lw4 Left-wing populist parties or movements are unrespectable	-.111	.793	.537	2.37	.972
8	lw5 Left-wing populist parties or movements are dishonest	-.145	.711	.443	2.62	.954
9	lw3 Left-wing populist parties or movements are dangerous	-.121	.654	.325	2.72	.911
10	lw7 Left-wing populist parties or movements are unqualified		.62	.537	3.64	1.047
11	lw2 Left-wing populist parties or movements are intolerant		.611	.516	3.51	1.087
Explained variance 58%		36%	22%			
Eigenvalues		3.91	2.41			
Cronbach's Alpha		.83	.81			

Note. Factor analysis applying principle axis factoring and varimax rotation converged in x iterations; factor loadings lower than .1 were suppressed; KMO = .81; N = 304.

With the remaining 11 items, we ran again the PAF (KMO=.81, Bartlett’s test of sphericity $\chi^2_{(55)} = 1318.096$, $p < .001$) and obtained two factors with eigenvalues above 1.0 accounting for 58% of the variance (Factor 1 = 36%; Factor 2 = 22%, eigenvalues 3.91, 2.41 respectively).

After rotation with the varimax method (see Table 5 above), all items presented loadings over .60, and only one item displayed a cross-loading above .30 (i.e., rw1-dangerous); however, the item has a strong primary factor loading of .64, so we decided to keep the item in the solution.

In the resulting two-factor structure, all items related to anti-right-wing populism correlated to factor 1, with the addition “*populism threatens democracy...*” (i.e., apop1) and “*populism is bad for democracy*” (i.e., apop2); while all items of anti-left-wing populism correlated with factor 2. Internal consistency for each factor was examined, based on the primary loadings, obtaining satisfactory Cronbach alpha values’, Factor 1: Anti-right-wing populism ($\alpha = .83$), and Factor 2: Anti-Left-wing populism ($\alpha = .81$), and no substantial increments by eliminations of items.

Composite scores were constructed for each factor, with higher scores indicating greater anti-populist attitudes. From the mean scores, we notice that *Anti Right-wing Populism* score considerably high with a negatively skewed distribution. *Anti Left-Wing Populism*, on the other hand, scored noticeably less and presented a positively skewed distribution. The skewness and kurtosis were within ranges of normal distribution.

Table 6. *Descriptive statistics for the two Anti-Populist attitudes factor indices (N=304)*

		N. Items	Response Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
F1	Anti Right-Wing Populism	6	1-5 point	.83	3.85	.74	-.37	-.14
F2	Anti Left-Wing Populism	5	1-5 point	.81	2.57	.75	.52	.96

Anti-Populism Correlates

In order to study the effect of selected variables on anti-populism, we conducted multiple linear regressions following our expectations of associations and the model of analysis presented in the Theoretical Framework chapter (Figure 2 in Theoretical Framework chapter). Explicitly, we used a hierarchical method of multiple regression to capture the influence and change in the variance as the variables were added into the model.

As described in the previous section, the factor analysis identified two factors of anti-populist attitudes defined as *Anti Right-Wing Populism* and *Anti Left-Wing Populism*. From which two distinct composite scores were created. We first analyze the *Anti Right-Wing Populism* correlates and then move on to *Anti Left-Wing Populism* to review the results comparatively.

Anti Right-Wing Populism Correlates

For the analysis of Anti Right-Wing Populism correlates, we tested 17 predictor variables, from which two were dichotomous (i.e., gender and nationality) and the rest 15 predictors at the interval measurement level. The dependent variable also was measured at the interval level. Furthermore, respondents (i.e., cases) with missing values were excluded from all the analyses with the implementation of the *listwise* deletion option in SPSS.

The composite score of our dependent variable (see Table 6 above), as we previously noted, shows that the mean values ($M = 3.85$, $SD = \pm .74$) are located above a neutral position “*Neither Agree nor Disagree*” represented by value 3 in the 1-5 Likert scale, in which higher scores denoted higher levels of anti-populist attitudes. Hence, the data obtained from our sample lend to indicate the presence of Anti Right-Wing Populism at the individual level.

Prior to conducting the analyses, we confirmed that a sample size of 301 was deemed adequate to run 17 predictor variables in the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). We also filtered one outlier (i.e., cases with residuals higher than ± 3) that could be a source of concern for the model fit (i.e., case 23).

Additionally, we tested if the multiple regression assumptions were met for our sample. In specific, we found that the Durbin-Watson value of 1.86 (i.e., closer to 2.0) exhibited that the independence of residuals was met. Concerning homoscedasticity, we located that the residuals’ variances were reasonably similar for the different values of the dependent variable (see Figure 3 Appendix F). Although far from perfect, the distributed residuals were well adjusted to the normal distribution curve (see Figure 4 and 5 Appendix F). Furthermore, with a Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistical significance $p = .20$ higher than .05, we confirmed the normal distribution of residuals assumption in our sample.

Finally, the collinearity between predictor variables was evaluated, ratifying the absence of correlations above .80 (see Appendix G); moreover, the statistics of Tolerance and VIF were all

within acceptable limits, that is, VIF below 10 and tolerance statistic (1/VIF) above .10 (Field, 2009); hence the assumption of multicollinearity was deemed to have been met.

After the assumptions' corroboration, we ran a six-stage hierarchical multiple regression with *Anti Right-Wing Populism* as the dependent variable (i.e., constant) in which we tested the different sets of exploratory hypotheses that were drawn from the theoretical framework.

We first report the findings that examine the effect of socio-demographic variations (**Model 1, H1**). Secondly, we present the results from the analysis of the baseline variables for anti-populism, which incorporate elitism and pluralism, in addition to the three dimensions of populist attitudes (i.e., Homogeneity and Virtuousness, Anti-Elitism, Demand for Popular Sovereignty) (**Model 2, H2a, H2b, and H2c**).

Afterward, we integrate the analysis and results about the influence of media trust (**Model 3, H3a, and H3b**), the impressions of the handling of a crisis (i.e., Covid-19 outbreak) (**Model 4 H4a, H4b, and H4c**), and the legitimacy and support of current democratic and political systems of government (**Model 5, H5a, and H5b**).

Finally, we introduced two more variables in order to examine the effect of organizing principles of *entitlement* and *egalitarianism* (**Model 6, H6a, and H6b**). A summary of the principal results from the analysis and each of the models presented in Table 7 below.

Socio-demographic Correlates

H1: Gender, Age, and Nationality are correlated to Anti Right-Wing Populism.

From our first analysis in (Model 1), we find that the chosen group of socio-demographic variables had a peripheral, but significant effect on our dependent variable, accounting for 3% of the variation ($F(3, 297) = 3.16, p = .025$).

It also reveals that among the integrated predictors, *age* was the only one associated with Anti Right-Wing Populism, whereas *gender* and *nationality* individually were unrelated at this point. In turn, this model only reveals that older respondents were more likely to score higher on Anti Right-Wing Populism. Relatively, an increase of one year in the respondents' age increases by .01 the score on the dependent variable.

It is important to mention that the *age* effect remained mostly unchanged until the introduction of variables on democracy, political support, and organizing principles in Model 5

and 6. While *nationality* change to a significant inversely correlated predictor in Model 3, 5, and 6, when controlling for the previously mentioned variables in addition to Media Trust predictors in Model 3. For instance, revealing that Swiss respondents are .14 less Anti Right-Wing Populist than the non-Swiss (Model 5 and 6).

This suggests that in the sample, *nationality* might be a more salient socio-demographic predictor than *age* when controlling for additional theoretical relevant variables. Moreover, these findings allow us to confirm partially our initial expectations.

Furthermore, a plausible interpretation of the *age* finding could be drawn from adulthood's contrasting experience between younger and older generations in terms of the relative economic hardships and grievances. An anti-populist discourse that favors the maintenance of current forms governance could have more resonance with generations whose lifespan has allowed them to experience some realization their socio-economic expectations under those circumstances, while populist discourse, usually associated with change and disruption of established systems, could be more attractive to younger respondents.

Concerning *nationality*, the finding that Swiss nationals in the sample are less Anti Right-Wing Populist than their non-Swiss counterparts might be entangled with respondents' familiarity and understanding (or lack thereof) of Swiss politics and its extended history of right-wing populism, as well as with the proximity to other national and political contexts.

Populism Dimensions, Elitism & Pluralism

H2a: *Elitism* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H2b: *Pluralism* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H2c: *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H2d: *Anti-Elitism* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H2e: *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

In Model 2, we introduced five variables, which enhanced the overall predictive capacity of the model to 8% according to the R^2 , more precisely adding a 5% from Model 1 ($F(8, 292) = 3.00, p = .003$) and reaching statistical significance levels. In this model, the results indicate that the populist attitude dimension on *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* was the most important for the model according to the standardized coefficient ($\beta = -.17$), displaying a negative relationship with the dependent variable, as it was expected.

A unit increase leads to a .15 decrease in the Anti Right-Wing Populism score. The variable stayed significant until Model 5 and 6, suggesting the relevance of the effect added by *democratic deficit*, *political support*, *entitlement*, and *egalitarianism*.

Demand for Popular Sovereignty dimension was also negatively correlated, but only appeared statistically related as unique variables until Model 6, when controlling for *egalitarianism* and *entitlement*. In accordance with the expectations, it shows an inverse correlation. A unit of increase in the predictor decreased by .12 the score on Anti Right-Wing Populism. On the other hand, *Anti-Elitism* remained unrelated to the dependent variable in all the models.

We suspect that the inverse effect of the *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* dimension might also be motivated by a greater sense of rejection of nativist and nationalism commonly proposed by radical right-wing political projects (Moffitt, 2018), which were given as examples in our survey questionnaire. Here, the opposition could be interpreted as a reaction against racism, xenophobia, and minority intolerance associated with political projects which core focus is placed on a horizontal exclusionary differentiation (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017). An interpretation that is supported by Model 5 and 6, with the effect overridden by *democratic deficit* and *egalitarianism* that functions as a proxy of Left-Wing ideological positioning.

Moreover, the found inverse effect of *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* might be a result of a reluctance to alter or question the legitimacy of an already widely established model of direct democracy in Switzerland, but also it may be a response to a greater sense of aversion towards Sovereignty related constitutional amendments like the *Self-Determination Initiative*, which among other measures, proposed the elimination of ultimate share decision-making with supranational bodies (Mueller & Heidelberger, 2020) this rejection aligns with the anti-populist discourse of initiatives like Operation Libero.

With respect to *Elitism* and *Pluralism*, only the former was significant, its association was positive as expected, and it was the second most important variable in the model ($\beta = .11$), a unit increase leads to a .07 increase in the Anti Right-Wing Populism score, which in turns implies the Anti Right-Wing populism preference for the continuity of the technocracy of politics. This variable significance remains through most models of analysis, except for Model 3, which added variables on the Covid-19 outbreak.

Conversely, *pluralism* was completely absent from predicting opposition towards populism, contrary to our hypothesis (**H2b**). Which in turn, might lead us to question this common theoretical assumption, expressed in the relevant work of Mudde and Rovira (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 7), bringing to notice the need for further exploration, perhaps with the inclusion of control variables that have greater predictive influence over *pluralism*.

Media Trust Effect

H3a: *National News Media Trust* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H3b: *Social Media Trust* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

Model 3 increases the overall predictive capacity of the model to 10% according to the R^2 , adding a 3% from Model 2, with the integration of the variables on National News Media and Social Media Trust ($F(10, 290) = 3.57, p < .001$) and reaching established levels of significance.

The impact of National News Media Trust is significant and positive as expected, meaning that more trust in the information provided by National News outlets tends to have a positive association with displaying Anti Right-Wing Populist attitudes. Precisely, a unit increase in News Media Trust is translated in .04 higher dependent variable score.

On the other hand, Social Media Trust, which is one of the most important variables in the model ($\beta = -.16$), as it was expected, correlates negatively, and its effect is significant, a unit increase in Social Media Trust lead a decrease of the degree of the individual level of Anti Right-Wing Populism by nearly .07, holding all the other variables constant.

Both findings suggest the avoidance of out-group informational sources in which national traditional media outlets are often presented as services of higher quality and credibility, due to its public funding support or professionalization proclivity, while alternative emergent sources of information are seen as informal, “popular” and subject of skepticism for social groups like the one in our sample which is characterized by a higher level of education (Schulz, Wirth, et al., 2018).

Covid-19 Impressions

H4a: *Satisfaction w/ Covid-19 Response* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H4b: *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H4c: *People are to blame for Covid-19* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

In Model 4, we introduced the three variables that relate to the Covid-19 outbreak, increasing the explanatory capacity of the model significantly by 20% with an R^2 Change of 9% ($F(13, 287) = 5.37, p < .001$).

With respect to the added variables, contrary to expectations, *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* spread presents a positive unique correlation with the dependent variable. A unit increase in the scale of the predictor variable leads an increase of .24 in the Anti Right-Wing Populism score, and it is the most important variable in the model ($\beta = .30$), whereas *People are to blame for the Covid-19* spread had a highly negative effect, also contrary to expectations. Showing that for a unit increase in that scale, the Anti Right-Wing Populism score decreased by .19. *Satisfaction with Covid-19 Response*, in this model, did not present a significant effect.

As mentioned before, there is a non-trivial complexity in the interpretation of these variables and its influence on Anti-Populism stances, given that the survey spanned over the precise time period where the initial effects of the Covid-19 outbreak and institutional level response took place.

However, plausible interpretations of the greater sense of fault over institutions may derive from the globalized nature of the crisis and the response given by other countries in the region, especially those with right-wing populist parties in government, as well as due to judgments over the actions of particular politicians and public officials that dominated in the news media cycle. This contrasts with the general sense of approval ($M = 6.44$ on a 0-10 range, $SD = \pm 1.93$) of the response given to the sanitary crisis from national institutions and public officials in Switzerland.

Democratic Deficit & Political Support

H5a: *Democratic Deficit* is negatively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H5b: *Political Support* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

In Model 5, the explanatory capacity improved to 30% according to the R^2 , with an R^2 Change of 10% by adding two more variables ($F(15, 285) = 8.10, p < .001$). In specific, *Democratic Deficit* shows a positive statistically significant correlation with the Anti Right-Wing Populism variable.

Contrary to expectations, respondents who show Anti Right-Wing Populists attitudes also have a greater sense of democratic deficit. A unit of increase in the scale is translated as a .12 increase in the individual-level of Anti Right-Wing Populism.

Although opposed to our expectation, this finding might be in line with the interpretation that democracy has already been successfully undermined by the rise and presence of populist discourse and representatives in power, all of which have inferred a global crisis of democracy, especially associated with authoritarian leaders in governments. In the Swiss scenario, the popularity and long history of political intervention of right-wing populist party SVP may already be considered as an obstacle to satisfied democratic standards.

On the other hand, *Political Support* was not significant as a unique predictor in the regression analysis, meaning that this sample does not provide enough evidence to reject the associated *null-hypothesis* nor confirm our expectations (**H5b**).

Organizing principles: Entitlement & Egalitarianism

H6a: *Entitlement* is positively correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

H6b: *Egalitarianism* is correlated to *Anti Right-Wing Populism*.

Model 6 shows the final stage of the hierarchical regression analysis, here we added two variables that improved the overall explanatory capacity to 37% with an R^2 Change of 7% ($F(17, 283) = 9.57, p < .001$).

Both *Entitlement* and *Egalitarianism* presented significant unique effects when controlling for the rest of the variables. Entitlement, contrary to expectations, was inversely correlated with Anti Right-Wing Populism; a unit increase in the scale implicated a .09 decrease in the dependent variable, while Egalitarianism correlated positively with the dependent variable. A unit of increase leads to an increment by .24 in the Anti Right-Wing Populism score. These findings pair with each other are consistent with the general left-wing orientation of the sample and, consequently oppose to right-wing political projects.

Table 7. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Anti Right-Wing Populist Attitudes (N = 301)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
Constant	3.65*** (.22)		3.97*** (.49)		3.76*** (.50)		3.48*** (.52)		3.20*** (.51)		2.99*** (.51)	
Gender (Female = 1)	-.11 (.09)	-.07	-.14 (.09)	-.09	-.09 (.09)	-.06	-.05 (.09)	-.03	-.07 (.08)	-.05	-.09 (.08)	-.06
Age (Years)	.01 (.01)	.12*	.01 (.01)	.13**	.02 (.01)	.13**	.01 (.01)	.12**	.01 (.01)	.08	.01 (.01)	.06
Nationality (Swiss = 1)	-.09 (.09)	-.06	-.11 (.09)	-.08	-.14 (.09)	-.09*	-.14 (.09)	-.09	-.14 (.09)	-.09*	-.14 (.08)	-.09*
Homogeneity & Virtuousness	-.15 (.05)	-.17***	-.14 (.05)	-.16***	-.14 (.05)	-.11*	-.09 (.05)	-.11*	-.06 (.05)	-.07	-.02 (.05)	-.02
Anti-Elitism	-.02 (.06)	-.02	-.02 (.06)	.01	.01 (.06)	.01	.02 (.06)	.02	-.01 (.06)	-.01	.00 (.06)	.00
Demand for Popular Sovereignty	-.05 (.05)	-.06	-.05 (.05)	-.06	-.05 (.05)	-.06	-.07 (.05)	-.08	-.07 (.05)	-.09	-.12 (.04)	-.14***
Elitism	.07 (.04)	.11*	.07 (.04)	.12**	.07 (.02)	.09	.06 (.02)	.09	.09 (.02)	.14**	.09 (.03)	.14***
Pluralism	.02 (.07)	.02	.02 (.07)	.00	.00 (.07)	.00	.01 (.07)	.00	-.03 (.06)	-.02	-.07 (.06)	-.05
National News Media Trust				.05 (.02)	.13**	.04 (.02)	.13**	.04 (.02)	.12*	.04 (.02)	.12*	.06
Social Media Trust				-.06 (.02)	-.16***	-.07 (.02)	-.17***	-.06 (.02)	-.16***	-.07 (.02)	-.16***	-.16***

Satisfaction w/ Covid-19 Response	.01 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.04 (.02)	.11* (.02)	.03 (.02)	.08
Institutions are to blame for Covid-19	.24 (.05)	.30*** (.05)	.22 (.05)	.28*** (.05)	.18 (.05)	.22***
People are to blame for Covid-19	-.19 (.05)	-.24*** (.05)	-.16 (.05)	-.20*** (.05)	-.12 (.02)	-.15***
Democratic Deficit		.12		.35***	.09	.27***
Political Support		.01		.01	.03	.06
Entitlement					-.09 (.04)	-.12**
Egalitarianism					.21 (.05)	.24***
R^2	.03	.08	.20	.30	.37	
Adj. R^2	.02	.05	.16	.26	.33	
R^2 Change	.03**	.05**	.09***	.10***	.07***	

Note: *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Anti Left-Wing Populism Correlates

For the analysis of Anti Left-Wing Populism correlates, we tested the same 17 predictor variables, excluded any missing values with the *listwise* deletion option in SPSS.

The composite score of our dependent variable (see Table 6 above) shows that the mean values ($M = 2.57$, $SD = \pm .75$) are located near the neutral position “Neither agree nor Disagree” represented by value 3 in the 1-5 Likert scale, in which higher scores denoted higher levels of anti-populist attitudes. Consequently, the data obtained from our sample lend to indicate a lack of clear tendency with respect to Anti Left-Wing populism at the individual level in the sample, yet in order to compare with the regression results previously obtained for Anti Right-Wing Populism, we applied the same six-stage hierarchical multiple regression for the Anti Left-Wing Populism variable.

Similar to our prior analysis, we evaluated the fitness of the models and the extrapolation of the results to the rest of the population by testing if the multiple regression assumptions were met for our sample. In specific, a sample size of 300 was deemed adequate to run 17 predictor variables in the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). We also filtered two outliers (i.e., cases with residuals higher than ± 3) after diagnosis (i.e., case 24 and 183).

Furthermore, we found a Durbin-Watson value of 1.99 (i.e., closer to 2.0), which exhibited that the independence of residuals was met. For homoscedasticity, we found that residuals’ variances are reasonably similar for the different values of the dependent variable (see Figure 6 Appendix F). The residuals distribution was also well adjusted to the normal distribution curve (see Figure 7 and 8 Appendix F); moreover, the Kolmogorov-Smimov statistical significance $p = .20$, higher than .05, prove the normal distribution of residuals assumption in our sample.

Lastly, the collinearity between predictor variables was evaluated, confirming the absence of correlations above .80 (see Appendix H); also, the statistics of Tolerance and VIF were all within acceptable limits, that is, VIF below 10 and tolerance statistic ($1/VIF$) above .1 (Field, 2009), hence the assumption of multicollinearity was deemed to have been met.

After confirming the assumptions, we run the six-stage hierarchical multiple regression with *Anti Left-Wing Populism* as the dependent variable (i.e., constant) (available in Table 8) to test the same exploratory hypotheses described in the Theoretical Chapter.

Socio-demographic

H1: *Gender, Age, and Nationality* are correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

The findings in Model 1 show that the socio-demographic variables do not have a predictive capacity on the dependent variable, ($F(3, 296) = .083, p = .970$). None of the variables had a unique significant effect on Anti Left-Wing Populism. These results were maintained in all models; hence, contrary to our proposal (**Hypothesis 1**), we cannot reject the *null-hypothesis* that their effects are simultaneously equal to zero in the population.

Populism Dimensions, Elitism & Pluralism

H2a: *Elitism* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H2b: *Pluralism* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H2c: *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H2d: *Anti-Elitism* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H2e: *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

When introducing new variables on populist attitudes, *elitism*, and *pluralism* in Model 2, the predictive capacity of the model went up marginally to 2%, but remain statistically insignificant ($F(8, 291) = .075, p = .645$), with all its variables unrelated as unique predictors of Anti Left-Wing Populism, except for *Demand for Popular Sovereignty*, which complies with the lowest level of statistical significance in Model 2 and 3 indicating a negative effect. However, models 2 and 3 are not significant; the variable unique association was lost in subsequent models, as a result of the integration variables on Covid-19, democracy, political support, and organizing principles. Which, in turn, makes it harder to confirm our proposed hypotheses (**2c, 2d, 2e**) with the available data.

These findings suggest that opposition to Left-Wing populism is plausibly a result of the use of populism as a signifier for other causes of antagonism, including a contrary ideological stance.

On the other hand, *elitism* gain statistical significance for its inverse correlation with Anti Left-Wing Populism only in Model 5 with a .07 coefficient. This effect was lost in the last model when controlling for organizing principles. *Pluralism* remained unrelated as a unique predictor in all the analyses. For both variables, our hypotheses (2a and 2b) were rejected by the data.

Media Trust

H3a: *National News Media Trust* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H3b: *Social Media Trust* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

Model 3 which added variables on media trust stayed statistically not significant ($F(10, 289) = 1.46, p = .153$). Nevertheless, *National News Media Trust* as a unique predictor controlling for the rest of the variables, reached the significance level threshold in four out four models, showing a negative correlation with *Anti Left-Wing Populism*, contrary to our expectations (**3a**). A unit of increase in *News Media Trust* leads to a .08 decrease on the level of *Anti Left-Wing Populism* according to the coefficient Model 5, and .05 in Model 6. *Social Media Trust* stayed unrelated to the dependent variable in all the models of analysis, contrary to our initial hypothesis (**3b**).

Covid-19 Impressions

H4a: *Satisfaction w/ Covid-19 Response* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H4b: *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H4c: *People are to blame for Covid-19* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

Model 4 which integrated variables on the impression of Covid-19 did not reach the conventional levels of statistical significance ($F(13, 286) = 1.48, p = .125$). Out of the three added variables, just *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* spread showed a unique inverse significant effect when controlling for the rest.

This effect, which agreed with our expectations (**5b**), was only sustained in Model 5 with a lower coefficient and level of significance, but not on the final model. *People are to blame for Covid-19* and *Satisfaction with Covid-19 Response* remained not related to *Anti Left-Wing Populism* for all the models rejecting our connected hypothesis (**4a, 4c**).

Democratic Deficit & Political Support

H5a: *Democratic Deficit* is negatively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H5b: *Political Support* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

On the other hand, Model 5, which added variables on *Democratic Deficit* and *Political Support*, improve the significant explanatory capacity of the model to 12% according to the $R^2, F(15, 284)$

= 2.59, $p = .001$. Here, agreeing with our initial expectations, *Democratic Deficit* had a significant negative correlation with the Anti Left-Wing Populism variable.

In specific, a unit of increase in the scale is translated (**Hypothesis 5a**) as a .05 decrease in the individual-level of Anti Left-Wing Populism. Indicating that rejection towards Left-Wing populism may be based on different conceptions and contentions over how democracy should operate and that the left-wing populist complaints represent the limits of a functioning democracy.

In this model, *Political Support* also reveals a significant association. In specific, it has a positive correlation as it was expected in our hypothesis (**5b**), indicating that a unit increase in the predictor increase by .09 the dependent variable. The rest of the predictors in the model were significantly unrelated to Anti Left-Wing Populism.

It is worth noting that both variables lost their significant predictive capacity and decreased their coefficients in Model 6 when controlling for the effect of *entitlement* and *egalitarianism*. This means that these variables are more powerful predictors of Anti Left-Wing Populism.

Organizing principles: Entitlement & Egalitarianism

H6a: *Entitlement* is positively correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

H6b: *Egalitarianism* is correlated to *Anti Left-Wing Populism*.

In the final Model 6, the added variables on organizing principles improved the overall explanatory capacity to 29% according to the R^2 at a significant level ($F(17, 282) = 6.87, p < .001$).

From the added variables, *Entitlement* and *Egalitarianism*, only the latter, which is the most important variable in the model, according to the β coefficient, presented a significant unique inverse correlation with the dependent variable. A unit of increase in *egalitarianism* leads a decrease by .43 in the Anti Left-Wing Populism score. The inclusion of the variable overruled most of the effect of the rest of the variables, which implies the interpretation that opposition to Left-Wing Populism could be mostly driven by opposite ideological orientation guarded behind “populism” as a signifier.

Table 8. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Anti Left-Wing Populist Attitudes (N = 300)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
Constant	2.49*** (.23)		3.20*** (.50)		3.57*** (.51)		3.83*** (.56)		3.72*** (.57)		4.55*** (.54)	
Gender (Female = 1)	-.02 (.09)	-.01	-.04 (.10)	-.03	-.09 (.10)	-.06	-.11 (.10)	-.07	-.11 (.09)	-.07	-.06 (.09)	-.04
Age (Years)	.00 (.01)	.03	.00 (.01)	.02	.00 (.01)	.02	.00 (.01)	.02	.00 (.01)	.04	.01 (.01)	.08
Nationality (Swiss = 1)	.01 (.10)	.01	.02 (.10)	.02	.06 (.10)	.04	.06 (.10)	.04	.09 (.10)	.06	.08 (.09)	-.05
Homogeneity & Virtuousness			.05 (.05)	.05	.04 (.05)	.05	.02 (.05)	.02	-.03 (.05)	-.03	-.07 (.05)	-.09
Anti-Elitism			-.01 (.06)	-.01	-.06 (.06)	-.06	-.05 (.07)	-.05	.00 (.07)	.00	-.03 (.06)	-.03
Demand for Popular Sovereignty			-.10 (.05)	-.12*	-.09 (.05)	-.09	-.08 (.05)	-.09	-.08 (.05)	-.10	.00 (.05)	.00
Elitism			-.05 (.04)	-.07	-.05 (.04)	-.07	-.04 (.04)	-.05	-.07 (.04)	-.11*	-.05 (.04)	-.09
Pluralism			-.07 (.07)	-.06	-.03 (.07)	-.02	-.03 (.07)	-.02	-.03 (.07)	-.03	.04 (.06)	.03
National News Media Trust			-.06 (.02)	-.19***	-.06 (.02)	-.19***	-.06 (.02)	-.19***	-.08 (.02)	-.24***	-.05 (.02)	-.15**
Social Media Trust			.01 (.02)	-.02	.01 (.02)	-.02	.01 (.02)	.03	.00 (.02)	.01	.01 (.02)	.02

Satisfaction w/ Covid-19 Response	.00 (.02)	-.01 (.03)	-.04 (.03)	-.11 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.07
Institutions are to blame for Covid-19	-.11 (.05)	-.14** (.05)	-.09 (.05)	-.11* (.05)	-.04 (.05)	-.05
People are to blame for Covid-19	.04 (.05)	.05 (.05)	.01 (.05)	-.01 (.05)	-.03 (.05)	-.04
Democratic Deficit			-.05 (.02)	-.16** (.02)	.00 (.02)	-.01
Political Support			.09 (.04)	.19** (.04)	.06 (.04)	.11
Entitlement					-.02 (.05)	-.02
Egalitarianism					-.43 (.05)	-.50***
R^2	.00	.05	.06	.12	.29***	
Adj. R^2	-.01	.02	.02	.07	.25	
R^2 Change	.00	.02	.02	.06***	.17***	

Note: *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis provides a first attempt of anti-populism measurement at the individual level and its correlates. Our contribution stems from the scientific literature on the demand-side of populism and the discursive-performative critical analysis of the populism/anti-populism divide. Methodologically, it was executed by means of a quantitative research design with a primary cross-sectional web-based survey for data collection and a convenience sample of 305 students and researches from Swiss Universities in 2020.

In the context of our specific sample, we were able to define two latent factors of anti-populism: *Anti Right-Wing Populism* and *Anti Left-Wing Populism*. The data obtained lend to indicate the presence of high scores of Anti Right-Wing Populism at the individual level, whereas, in the case of Anti Left-Wing Populism, the information collected showed a lack of a clear tendency, with an average score rather neutral on the 1 to 5-point Likert scale. A finding that seems aligned with the general left-wing ideological orientation of our sample.

With respect to the correlates of Anti-populism, we found that in the sample, **Anti Right-Wing Populism** is more prevalent when the respondent has non-Swiss nationality and when its age increases (**H1**). The analysis also pointed out that Anti Right-Wing populism opposes populism attitudes in the *Homogeneity & Virtuousness* and *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* dimensions (**H2c, H2e**), greater levels of *elitism* also prove to be linked to the dependent variable, pointing out the technocracy of politics preference (**H2a**).

Moreover, we were able to find that *National News Media Trust* was positively correlated to Anti Right-Wing Populism, while *social media trust* was inversely correlated. The obtained information aligned with our expectations about the avoidance of out-group and the particular anti-populist political identity formation (**H3a, H3b**).

Regarding the variables about impressions of the Covid-19 outbreak, we found an effect contrary to our expectations (**H4b, H4c**). *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19* spread was positively correlated, while *People are to blame for Covid-19* spread was negatively correlated to Anti Right-Wing Populism. These results might be attributed to the globalized scope of the pandemic in which respondents could be extending their judgments to foreign governments’

responses, especially those of populist leaders. The effect of these variables will also benefit from future research that can assess change over time in the opinions, more nuance in the question items, as well as the control of other relevant variables.

Democratic deficit also emerged as an important predictor, but contrary to our expectation (**H5a**), it positively affected Anti Right-Wing Populism, meaning that a greater sense of deficit, measured from the difference between democratic aspirations and satisfaction with democracy, will result in a greater level of Anti Right-Wing Populism.

A plausible explanation of this finding comes from the idea that democracy is interpreted as already being harmed or damaged by populism presence in different political contexts, affecting the overall satisfaction with democracy standards that were previously attained, also it is important to notice the predictive capacity (R^2 Change 10%) added by this variable.

On the other hand, *entitlement* and *egalitarianism* show to be correlated to the dependent variable, partially confirming our expectations. However, *entitlement* specifically had a positional effect contrary to our hypothesis (**H6a**) by having a negative effect on the level of Anti Right-Wing Populism. *Egalitarianism* indicated a positive correlation intuitively aligned with an opposition to common Right-Wing political projects. The higher the levels of *egalitarianism*, the higher the opposition to Right-Wing Populism (**H6b**).

Out of 17 predictor variables tested for correlation, 12 reached the established levels of significance and proved to be correlated with Anti Right-Wing Populism. On the other hand, when controlling for all the selected variables, only 9 reached significance and correlation.

For **Anti Left-Wing Populism**, we found fewer variables with a significant association, with only 7 out of 17. Among the populism dimensions, only *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* presented a significant inverse correlation, as expected (**H2e**), while *elitism*, contrary to our expectations (**H2a**), showed a significant inverse correlation.

Another interesting finding, differing from our initial hypothesis (**H3b**), is the inverse correlation of *National News Media Trust*, which was slightly reduced in the level of significance and coefficient when controlling for *entitlement* and *egalitarianism*.

Regarding the impressions about Covid-19, only *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19 spread* showed statistical significance and inverse correlation, supporting our expectation (**H4b**).

Similarly, in line with our hypotheses (**H5a**), *Democratic deficit* had a significant negative association with the dependent variable, while *Political Support* presented a positive correlation (**H5b**).

Finally, in Model 6, when controlling for all variables, only *egalitarianism*, out of the two added variables, indicated a high coefficient and level of significance affecting Anti Left-Wing Populism inversely. A unit of increase in *egalitarianism* leads a decrease of .43 in the Anti Left-Wing Populism score (**H6b**). Moreover, in this model, only *egalitarianism* and *National News Media Trust* reached the significance level.

In general, we can conclude that *Demand for Popular Sovereignty* might be a good predictor of Anti-populism, as it correlates significantly and negatively for both Anti Right-Wing Populism and Anti Left-Wing Populism.

Comparatively, we can observe that besides fewer unique significant variables and different percentages of explained variance, the difference between Anti Right-Wing Populism and Anti Left-Wing Populism lies in the effect of five correlated variables. Anti Right-Wing Populism, in general, shows more disapproval to the status-quo (based on the positive correlations of *democratic deficit* and *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19*), in contrast to Anti Left-Wing Populism. On the other hand, *elitism*, *National Media Trust*, and *egalitarianism* had a positive effect on Anti Right-Wing Populism and a negative effect on Anti Left-Wing Populism.

Moreover, our theoretical framework seems more adjusted to Anti Right-Wing Populism in terms of the explained variance (i.e., Anti Right-Wing Populism $R^2 = 37\%$, Anti Left-Wing Populism $R^2 = 29\%$, both in Model 6) and in the overall alignment with our expectations. Nevertheless, Anti Left-Wing Populism also agreed with our expectations in three important variables that operationalized ideas from our theoretical framework (i.e., *Democratic Deficit*, *Institutions are to blame for Covid-19*, and *Political Support*), all of which will greatly benefit from further empirical analyses, preferably with a representative sample.

Generally, the findings also showed how anti-populism is greatly influenced by a left-right wing ideological stance, which is reflected in the *egalitarianism* variable. Another interesting result is that *pluralism* was unrelated to both dependent variables in opposition to our expectations and populism literature, which might be worth exploring further.

Furthermore, we find that the explanatory capacity of anti-populism with 17 predictor variables is fairly low (~29% to ~37%), which suggest that our theoretical framework will greatly

benefit from the incorporation of other relevant arguments and complementary approaches, as well as from an enhanced operationalization of conceptual variables.

In terms of the methodological design, we were able to test the semantic differential technique for the anti-populism measurement in an effort to link new evidence and a well-known approach that, due to its focus on bipolar meaning abstractions, had the potential to facilitate a suitable representation of individuals attitudes concerning the antagonistic nature of the populist/anti-populist phenomena.

However, we find that a limitation of the study could arise from the use of specific populist examples from Left- and Right-Wing ideological orientations in the survey questions constructed for the anti-populism measurement, where this information might function as a significant source of bias. A suitable alternative could be the use of *vignettes questions*¹² in which hypothetical examples describing populist representations in the media, political figures, political parties, or specific actions are presented to the respondent for its evaluation. This particular question design could also help in the operationalization of more complex arguments of the proposed theoretical framework, like the performance and mediation of a crisis and nuances in democratic representation preferences.

For future research on the topic, we find that it will be interesting to apply mix-methods combining content analysis by means of data mining on media outlets to study the supply-side of anti-populism and survey research to measure the demand-side at the individual level. Moreover, we will also find relevant to address how anti-populism might be acted upon, meaning how it can be related to specific political participation and electoral preference.

For now, although exploratory and limited by a convenience sample, this work provides grounds and insights for future and more comprehensive research on anti-populism.

¹² For more information see: (“Vignette Question,” 2008).

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

Paper self-administered survey questionnaire.

Questionnaire No. _____.



UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Survey on Current Social Affaires

This survey is part of a Master's degree research on public opinion at the University of Lausanne. Your answers will help us to understand better the opinions and impressions people have on different social and political current phenomena.

Your participation is completely **voluntary**, your responses are **anonymous**, and all the information will be kept **fully confidential**.



GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Please read the instructions and each of the questions carefully. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so we invite you to respond as spontaneously and sincerely as possible.

Respond to every question by marking **one** box with the option that **best** represents your opinion. Usually, the first answer that comes to mind is the most faithful.

If you have any questions, don't hesitate to contact:

Researcher: Daniela Chacón-Mendoza

daniela.chaconmendoza@unil.ch

Supervisor: Prof. Christian Staerklé, Institute of Psychology, UNIL

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study!

April 2020

For each of the following questions, please respond by marking **one** box with the option that **best** represents your opinion.

1. How **interested** would you say you are in **politics**?

Very interested	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Quite interested	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Hardly interested	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Not at all interested	<input type="checkbox"/> 4

2. There are different ways of getting involved in **politics**. During the last **12 months**, have you **participated** in any of the following?

	Yes	No
2.1 A political party, social movement, or action group?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
2.2 A protest or public demonstration?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0

3. Did you **vote** in the last Swiss parliamentary elections for the National Council on October 20th, 2019?

No	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Not eligible	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

4. Generally speaking, how **happy** would you say you are nowadays? Please provide **one** answer between 0 and 10, where 0 means 'extremely unhappy' and 10 means 'extremely happy'.

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Extremely Unhappy					Extremely Happy					

5. All things considered, how **satisfied** or **dissatisfied** are you nowadays with...

	Extremely Dissatisfied										Extremely Satisfied											
5.1. ...your life as a whole?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
5.2. ...the way democracy works in Switzerland?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
5.3. ...the way the Swiss government is doing its job?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
5.4. ...the present state of the economy in Switzerland?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

6. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
You can't be too careful					Most people can be trusted					

7. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Most people try to take advantage of me					Most people try to be fair					

8. On a score between 0 and 10, where 0 means 'no trust at all', and 10 'complete trust', how much do you personally **trust**, if at all, the **information** you can get through...

	No trust at all					Complete trust					
8.1. ...national news media organizations?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
8.2. ...social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter or Snapchat?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
8.3. ...friends and family?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

9. Once again, on a score between 0 and 10, how much do you personally **trust**, if at all, each of the following institutions?

	No trust at all					Complete trust					
9.1 The Swiss parliament (National Council & Council of States)?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.2 Political parties in Switzerland?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.3 Swiss politicians?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.4 The Swiss legal system?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

10. In this section, we would like to know to what extent do you **agree** or **disagree** with the following statements? Please provide **one** answer **in each** of the next five items.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
10.1	It is important to listen to people who are different from me. Even when I disagree with them, I still want to understand them.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.2	In a democracy, it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.3	To accept the existence of different and opposing opinions ultimately means that I will have to fight for my own beliefs.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.4	In general, ordinary people can be trusted to understand our nation's problems.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.5	Our countries would be governed better if important decisions were only made by professionals and experts.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

11. In politics, people sometimes talk about '**left**' and '**right**'. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means 'far-left' and 10 means 'far-right'?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Far-Left					Far-Right					

12. Below you will find different statements about politicians and people's involvement in politics. To what extent do you **agree** or **disagree** with each of the following?

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
12.1.	Politicians very quickly lose touch with ordinary people.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.2.	Politicians talk too much and take too little action.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.3.	People like me have no influence on what the government does.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.4.	In general, ordinary people are of good and honest character.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.5.	Most ordinary people share similar values and interests.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.6.	Although the Swiss are very different from each other, when it comes down to truly important decisions about how society should work, they all tend to think the same.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
12.7. The people should have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.8. The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.9. The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

13. There are many different views as to what makes a society fair or unfair. How much do you **agree** or **disagree** with each of the following statements?

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
13.1. I think that, by and large, people get what they deserve.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.2. A society is fair when it takes care of those who are poor and in need regardless of what they give back to society.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.3. A society is fair when hard-working people are properly rewarded for their efforts.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.4. A society is fair when people from families with high social status enjoy privileges in their lives.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.5. A society is fair when wealth is evenly redistributed among all of the people.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.6. For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.7. Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

In this section, we would like to know your general impressions about specific political affairs, in particular **populism**.

Populism refers to a way of political thinking that opposes "**ordinary people**" against the "**establishment**" or "**the elite**". Many political parties and social movements, from the left and the right, have adopted populist ideas and discourses, claiming to represent the will of the people.

14. In the following questions, we will show you a list of **paired opposing adjectives**. Please mark the box with the option that comes closer to your own impression about right- and left-wing **populist** parties or movements.

14.1 For you, in general, **right-wing populist parties or movements** such as BREXIT (UK), The Swiss People's Party (Switzerland), or The Republican Party lead by Donald Trump (US) are?

	Very	Somewhat	Neither/nor	Somewhat	Very	
Dangerous	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Harmless
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Dishonest
Intolerant	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Tolerant
Respectable	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Unrespectable
Qualified	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Unqualified
Emotional	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Rational
Optimistic	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Pessimistic

14.2 For you, in general, **left-wing populist parties or movements** such as Podemos (Spain), La France Insoumise lead by Jean-Luc Mélenchon (France), or The Democratic Party candidate Bernie Sanders (US) are?

	Very	Somewhat	Neither/nor	Somewhat	Very	
Pessimistic	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Optimistic
Emotional	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Rational
Tolerant	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Intolerant
Harmless	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Dangerous
Respectable	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Unrespectable
Dishonest	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Honest
Qualified	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Unqualified

15. How **important** is it for you to live in a country that is **governed democratically**? On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means it is 'not at all important' and 10 means 'absolutely important', what position would you choose?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Not important at all					Absolutely important					

16. Now, we are going to present some pairs of short statements. Please, indicate which statement **comes closer** to your own view?

	Very	Somewhat	Neither/nor	Somewhat	Very	
Populism threatens democracy.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Populism protects democracy.
Populism is good for democracy.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Populism is bad for democracy.
We should try to preserve democracy as is currently working in Switzerland.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	We should try to change democracy as is currently working in Switzerland.
Democracies should ban populist parties and movements that are radical.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Democracies should allow populist parties and movements even if they are radical.

17. In this section, please indicate to what extent do you **agree** or **disagree** with each of the following statements?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
17.1. I feel deprived when I think about what I have, compared to what other people like me have.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
17.2. I feel privileged compared to other people like me.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
17.3. I feel dissatisfied with what I have compared to what other people like me have.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

This section will present some questions about the coronavirus outbreak (COVID-19).

18. How much of a **threat**, if any, is the coronavirus (Covid-19) outbreak for ...

	Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low
18.1. ... your personal and family health ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
18.2. ... your household financial situation ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

19. Overall, how **satisfied** or **dissatisfied** are you with the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak **response** given by ...

	Extremely Dissatisfied					Extremely Satisfied					
19.1. ... international organizations (WHO, EU)?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.2. ... Swiss national government?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.3. ... local officials?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.4. ... public health officials?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.5. ... educational institutions (schools, universities)?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

20. How **related** or **not** do you think each of the following situations has been in the spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19)?

	Extremely related	Very related	Moderately related	Slightly related	Not related at all
20.1. Too slow response from national governments and international organizations.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.2. The minimization of coronavirus risks by certain politicians.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.3. Younger people continued to socially gather even after the first restrictions	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.4. Older people continued to go out even after the first restrictions.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.5. The people, in general, are not taking the coronavirus contagion risks seriously.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Finally, this section will cover some questions about your socio-demographic profile.

21. What **gender** do you identify as?

Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Other not listed, please indicate	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
<input type="text"/>		

22. How **old** are you?

<input type="text"/>	Years old.
----------------------	------------

23. How would you describe your current **household financial situation**?

Live comfortably	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Meet my basic expenses with a little left over for extras	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Just meet my basic expense	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't even have enough to make basic expenses	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	5

24. In which **educational institution** do you mainly study/work right now?

Please indicate:

25. What is your current main **field of study or work**?

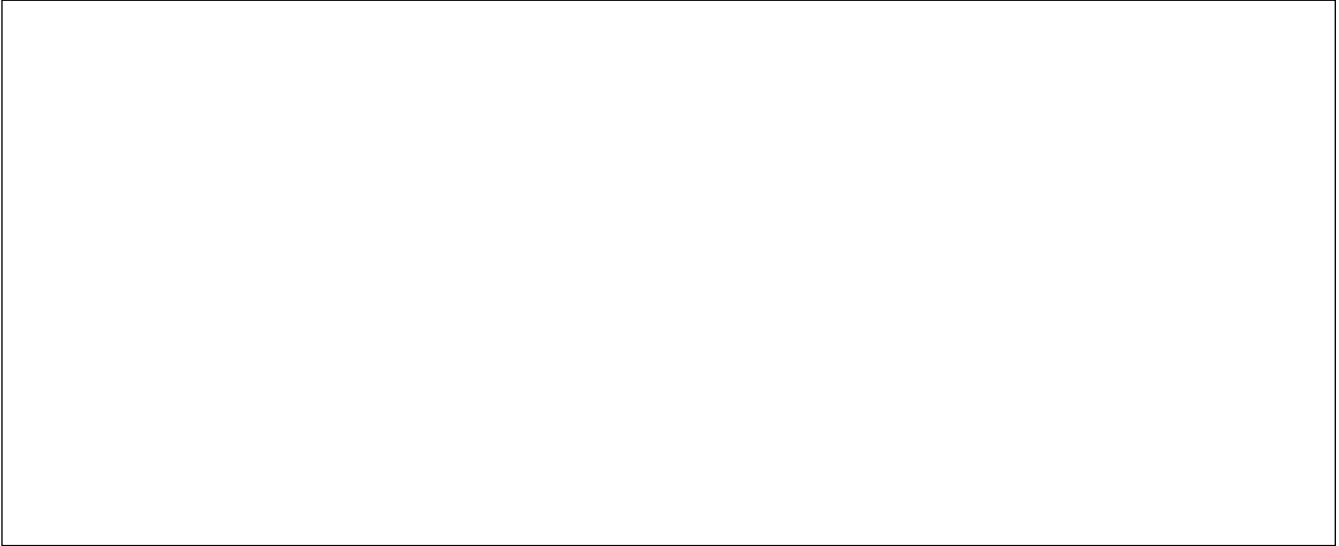
Please indicate:

End of the survey.

We greatly appreciate your help in completing this survey!

Thanks again!

If you have any additional thoughts about the topics covered, please share them here:

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the user to provide additional thoughts or feedback.

Enquête sur les Affaires Sociales Actuelles

Cette enquête est réalisée dans le cadre d'une recherche de Maîtrise sur l'opinion publique à l'Université de Lausanne. Vos réponses nous aideront à mieux comprendre les opinions et les impressions que les individus ont sur différents phénomènes sociaux et politiques.

Votre participation est entièrement **volontaire**, vos réponses sont **anonymes** et tous les renseignements demeureront **entièrement confidentiels**.



INSTRUCTIONS GÉNÉRALES

Veillez lire les instructions et chacune des questions attentivement. Il n'y a pas de "bonne" ou de "mauvaise" réponse, donc nous vous invitons à répondre aussi spontanément et sincèrement que possible.

Répondre à chaque question en cochant **une** case avec l'option qui représente au **mieux** votre opinion. Habituellement, la première réponse qui me vient à l'esprit est la plus fidèle.

Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à contacter :

Chercheur : Daniela Chacón-Mendoza

daniela.chaconmendoza@unil.ch

Superviseur : Prof. Christian Staerklé, Institute of Psychology, UNIL

Merci d'avoir accepté de participer à cette étude !

Avril 2020

Pour chacune des questions suivantes, veuillez répondre en cochant une case avec l'option qui représente au **mieux** votre opinion.

1. Quel **intérêt** avez-vous pour **la politique** ?

Très intéressé	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Assez intéressé	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Peu intéressé	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Pas du tout intéressé	<input type="checkbox"/> 4

2. Il y a plusieurs moyens de participer à la vie politique en Suisse. Durant les **12 derniers mois**, avez-vous **participé** à l'une des activités suivantes ?

	Oui	Non
2.1 Un parti politique, un mouvement social, ou un groupe d'action ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
2.2 Une grève ou une manifestation publique ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0

3. Avez-vous **voté** à la dernière élection parlementaire au Conseil National Suisse du 20 octobre 2019 ?

Non	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
Oui	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
N'a pas le droit	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

4. D'une manière générale, dans quelle mesure diriez-vous que vous êtes **heureux** de nos jours ? Veuillez donner une réponse entre 0 et 10, où 0 signifie 'très malheureux' et 10 signifie 'très heureux'.

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Très malheureux					Très heureux					

5. En prenant tout en compte, en générale, dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **satisfait** ou **insatisfait** de ...

	Très insatisfait/e										Très satisfait/e		
5.1. ...votre vie ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10		
5.2. ...la manière dont la démocratie fonctionne en Suisse ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10		
5.3. ...la manière dont le gouvernement suisse (Conseil Fédéral) fait son travail ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10		
5.4. ...l'état de l'économie en Suisse ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10		

6. Diriez-vous que l'on peut généralement faire confiance à la plupart des personnes ou que l'on n'est jamais trop prudent dans ses contacts avec les autres gens ?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
On n'est jamais trop prudent					On peut faire confiance à la plupart des personnes					

7. Diriez-vous que la plupart des gens tenteraient de profiter de vous s'ils en avaient l'occasion ou qu'ils essaieraient de rester corrects ?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
La plupart des gens tenteraient de profiter de moi					La plupart des gens essaieraient de rester corrects					

8. Sur un score compris entre de 0 et 10, où 0 signifie 'pas du tout confiance' et 10 'complètement confiance', à quel point faites-vous **confiance**, le cas échéant, aux **informations** que vous pouvez obtenir par le biais...

	Pas du tout confiance					Complètement confiance					
8.1. ...des organisations nationales des médias d'information ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
8.2. ...des plateformes de médias sociaux, comme Facebook, Twitter ou Snapchat ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
8.3. ...des amis et famille ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

9. Encore une fois, sur un score compris entre 0 et 10, à quel point faites-vous **confiance**, le cas échéant, à chacune des institutions suivantes ?

	Pas du tout confiance					Complètement confiance					
9.1. Le Parlement suisse (Conseil National et Conseil des États) ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.2. Les partis politiques suisses ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.3. Les politicien·ne·s suisses ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
9.4. La justice suisse ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

10. Dans cette section, nous aimerions savoir dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **d'accord** ou **en désaccord** avec les affirmations suivantes ? Veuillez fournir **une** réponse dans chacun des cinq éléments suivants.

		Tout à fait en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Ni d'accord, ni en désaccord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
10.1	Il est important pour d'écouter les personnes qui sont différents de moi. Même quand je ne suis pas d'accord avec eux, je cherche cependant à les comprendre.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.2	Dans une démocratie, il est important de faire des compromis entre différents points de vue.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.3	Accepter des différentes opinions et/ou opposées signifie finalement que je devrai me battre pour mes propres croyances.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.4	En général, on peut faire confiance aux gens ordinaires pour comprendre les problèmes de notre nation.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10.5	Notre pays serait mieux gouverné si les décisions importantes n'étaient prises que par des professionnels et des experts.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

11. En politique, les personnes parlent parfois de '**gauche**' et de '**droite**'. Où est-ce que vous situeriez-vous sur cette échelle, où 0 signifie 'radical-gauche' et 10 signifie 'radical-droite'?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Radical-Gauche					Radical-Droite					

12. Vous trouverez ci-dessous différentes déclarations sur les politiciens et la participation d'individus dans la vie politique. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **d'accord** ou **en désaccord** avec chacun des éléments suivants ?

		Tout à fait en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Ni d'accord, ni en désaccord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
12.1.	Les politiciens perdent très vite le contact avec le peuple	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.2.	Les politiciens parlent trop et prennent trop peu de mesures.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.3.	Des gens comme moi n'ont aucune influence sur ce que fait le gouvernement.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.4.	En général, les gens ordinaires ont un caractère bon et honnête.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.5.	La plupart des gens ordinaires partagent des valeurs et des intérêts similaires.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

	Tout à fait en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Ni d'accord, ni en désaccord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
12.6. Bien que les Suisses soient très différents les uns des autres, quand il s'agit de décisions vraiment importantes sur le fonctionnement de la société, ils ont tous tendance à penser de la même façon.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.7. Le peuple devrait avoir le dernier mot sur les questions politiques les plus importantes en votant directement sur elles lors de référendums.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.8. Le peuple devrait être consulté lorsque des décisions importantes sont prises.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12.9. C'est le peuple, et non les politiciens, qui devraient prendre nos décisions politiques les plus importantes.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

13. On peut avoir différentes opinions sur ce qui rend une société juste ou injuste. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **d'accord** ou en **désaccord** avec les propositions suivantes ?

	Tout à fait en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Ni d'accord, ni en désaccord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
13.1. Je pense que, dans l'ensemble, les gens ont ce qu'ils méritent.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.2. Une société est juste quand elle prend soin des personnes pauvres et dans le besoin, indépendamment de ce qu'elles donnent en retour à la société.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.3. Une société est juste lorsque les personnes qui travaillent dur sont correctement récompensées pour leurs efforts.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.4. Une société est juste quand les personnes issues de familles au statut social élevé jouissent de privilèges.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.5. Une société est juste lorsque la richesse est uniformément redistribuée entre toutes les personnes.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.6. Pour qu'une société soit juste, les différences de niveau de vie entre les personnes devraient être faibles.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13.7. De grandes différences de revenus entre les personnes sont acceptables pour récompenser convenablement les différences de talents et d'efforts de chacun.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Dans cette section, nous aimerions connaître vos impressions générales sur des affaires politiques spécifiques, en particulier **le populisme**.

Le populisme fait référence à une manière de penser politique qui oppose les '*gens ordinaires*' à '*l'establishment*' ou à '*l'élite*'. De nombreux partis politiques et mouvements sociaux, de gauche et de droite, ont adopté des idées et des discours populistes, prétendant représenter la volonté du peuple.

14. Dans les questions suivantes, nous vous montrerons une liste d'adjectifs opposés appariés. Veuillez cocher la case qui se rapproche le plus de votre propre impression sur les mouvements et partis populistes de droite et de gauche

14.1 Pour vous, en général, **les partis ou mouvements populistes de droite** tels que le BREXIT (UK), Union Démocratique du Centre (Suisse) ou le Parti Républicain dirigé par Donald Trump (États-Unis) **sont** ?

	Très	Quelque peu	Ni l'un ni l'autre	Quelque peu	Très	
Dangereux	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Inoffensifs
Honnêtes	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Malhonnête
Intolérants	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Tolérants
Respectable	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Non Respectable
Qualifié	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Non Qualifié
Émotionnel	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Rationnel
Optimiste	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Pessimiste

14.2 Pour vous, en général, **les partis ou mouvements populistes de gauche** tels que Podemos (Espagne), La France Insoumise dirigée par Jean-Luc Mélenchon (France) ou le candidat du Parti Démocrate Bernie Sanders (US) **sont** ?

	Très	Quelque peu	Ni l'un ni l'autre	Quelque peu	Très	
Pessimiste	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Optimiste
Émotionnel	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Rationnel
Tolérants	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Intolérants
Inoffensifs	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Dangereux
Respectable	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Non Respectable
Malhonnête	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Honnêtes
Qualifié	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Non Qualifié

15. Dans quelle mesure est-il **important** pour vous de vivre dans un pays **gouverné démocratiquement** ? Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, où 0 signifie que ce n'est 'pas du tout important' et 10 signifie 'absolument important', que choisiriez-vous ?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Pas du tout important					Absolument important					

16. Maintenant, nous allons vous présenter quelques paires de courtes déclarations. Veuillez indiquer quelle déclaration se rapproche le plus de votre propre opinion ?

	Très	Quelque peu	Ni l'un ni l'autre	Quelque peu	Très	
Le populisme menace la démocratie.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Le populisme protège la démocratie.
Le populisme est bon pour la démocratie.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Le populisme est mauvais pour la démocratie.
Nous devons essayer de préserver la démocratie comme elle fonctionne actuellement en Suisse.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Nous devons essayer de changer la démocratie comme elle fonctionne actuellement en Suisse.
Les démocraties devraient interdire les partis et mouvements populistes radicaux.	<input type="checkbox"/> -2	<input type="checkbox"/> -1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Les démocraties doivent permettre aux partis et mouvements populistes, même si elles sont radicales.

17. Dans cette section, veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **d'accord** ou **en désaccord** avec chacune des affirmations suivantes ?

	Tout à fait en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Ni d'accord, ni en désaccord	Plutôt d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
17.1. Je me sens privé quand je pense à ce que j'ai, par rapport à ce que d'autres personnes comme moi ont.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
17.2. Je me sens privilégiée par rapport à d'autres personnes comme moi.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
17.3. Je me sens insatisfait de ce que j'ai par rapport à ce que d'autres personnes comme moi ont.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Cette section présentera quelques questions concernant l'épidémie de coronavirus (COVID-19).

18. Quelle est l'ampleur de la **menace**, le cas échéant, que représente l'épidémie de coronavirus (COVID-19) pour...

	Très haut	Haute	Modérée	Faible	Très faible
18.1. ... votre santé personnelle et familiale ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
18.2. ... la situation financière de votre ménage ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

19. Dans l'ensemble, dans quelle mesure êtes-vous **satisfait** ou **insatisfait** de la réponse à l'éclosion de coronavirus (COVID-19) donnée par...

	Très Insatisfait/e					Très satisfait/e					
19.1. ... des organisations internationales (OMS, UE) ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.2. ... gouvernement national Suisse ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.3. ... des autorités locales ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.4. ... des autorités de la santé publique ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
19.5. ... des établissements d'enseignement (écoles, universités) ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10

20. Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que chacune des situations suivantes est **liée** ou **non** à la propagation du coronavirus (COVID-19) ?

	Extrêmement lié	Très lié	Modérément liés	Légèrement lié	Pas du tout lié
20.1. Réponse trop lente des gouvernements nationaux et des organisations internationales.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.2. La minimisation des risques liés au coronavirus par certains politiciens et certaines politiciennes.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.3. Les jeunes ont continué à se rassembler socialement même après les premières restrictions.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.4. Les personnes âgées ont continué de sortir même après les premières restrictions.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
20.5. Les personnes, en général, ne prennent pas au sérieux les risques de contagion des coronavirus.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Enfin, cette section abordera quelques questions concernant votre profil sociodémographique.

21. À quel **genre** vous identifiez-vous ?

Femme	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Homme	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Autre, s'il vous plaît indiquer	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
<input type="text"/>		

22. Quel **âge** avez-vous ?

<input type="text"/>	Ans.
----------------------	------

23. Comment décririez-vous la **situation financière** actuelle de votre ménage ?

Vivre confortablement	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Faire face aux mes dépenses de base avec un peu sur le côté les extras	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Il suffit de répondre à mes dépenses de base	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Même pas assez pour faire les dépenses de base	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Ne sait pas	<input type="checkbox"/>	5

24. Dans quel **établissement d'enseignement** vous étudier/travailler principalement en ce moment ?

Veillez indiquer :

25. Actuellement, quel est votre principal **domaine d'études** ou **de travail** actuel ?

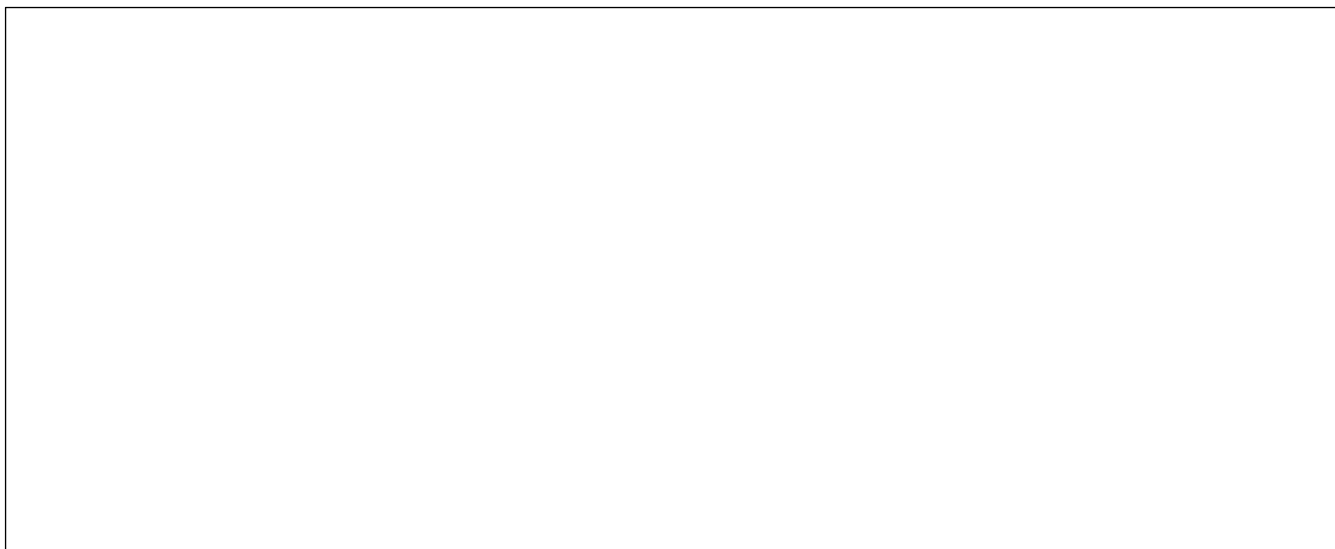
Veillez indiquer :

Fin de l'enquête.

Nous apprécions infiniment votre aide pour répondre à cette enquête !

Merci encore !

Si vous avez d'autres réflexions sur les sujets traités, veuillez les partager ici :

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for users to share their reflections on the topics discussed.

APPENDIX B. SURVEY DISTRIBUTION



Figure 3. Distribution Survey Flyers English and French



Figure 4. Distribution Survey Post in University of Luzern Facebook Group

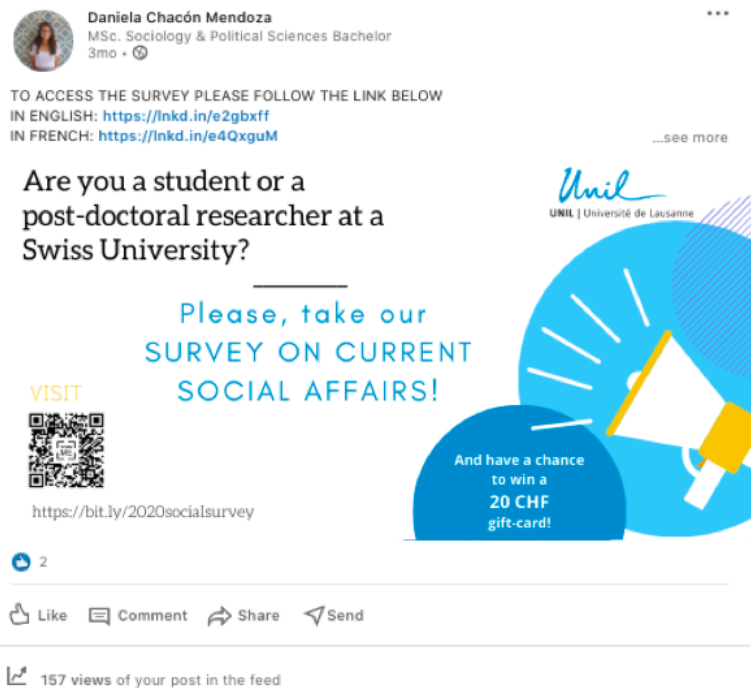


Figure 5. Distribution Survey Post in LinkedIn platform

Dear Mr. Man [REDACTED]

My name is Daniela Chacón-Mendoza, I'm student of the Master in Public Opinion and Survey Methodology at the University of Lausanne.

As part of a research project in public opinion, supervised by Prof. Christian Staerklé from the Institute of Psychology. I'm conducting a **Survey on Current Social Affairs** to students and graduate researchers from Swiss universities.

I'm contacting you to ask if you would be willing to take part in this survey, which takes less than 20 min to complete. As a thank you for your time, you will have the opportunity to enter the lottery for a **20 CHF gift-card** at the end of the questionnaire.

Your participation in this survey is extremely valuable for the validity of our study. We need perspectives from different regions and educational backgrounds. You will be helping us to investigate relevant current topics related to the populism/anti-populism divide, satisfaction with life, and government, as well as your perceptions around the recent global coronavirus outbreak (COVID-19).

To access the survey please follow this link: <https://socialaffairssurvey.limequery.com/587956?lang=en>

Let me know if you have any questions.

Thank you very much.

Daniela Chacón-Mendoza
University of Lausanne
(41) 76 205 28 81
Switzerland

Figure 6. Distribution Survey Email Example

APPENDIX C. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS & DATA PRIVACY

Ethical Considerations

The anticipation of ethical dilemmas in scientific research that deals with human beings, is essential to provide credibility and authenticity. For this reason, this section displays a set of requirements following the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Due to the nature of the research, no social experiments nor biomedical procedures were performed. In addition, no affectation or modification of personal environments, neither people's work nor psychological status was compromised as a result of the participant's provision of information; this was ensured by the pre-tests of the survey questionnaires.

Clear and summarized explanations of the research purposes and methods will be reported to all participants, including information of the non-commercial involved organizations, the procedures of protection and confidential treatment of the data, the participant selection, and how its contact information was obtained.

The general research design and process of data collection will guarantee free voluntary, anonymous participation. All participants, before taking part in the research, will be asked to give an "Informed Consent" that will approve their involvement and use of the information for the research stated purposes.

The participants' data collection will be limited by the general objective of the research project and will be processed only under those purposes; its access will also be restricted only to authorized researchers. Likewise, integrity and confidentiality of the respondents and the provided data will be secured by minimizing the respondent's identification data with the use of codes for anonymity; and the use of institutional, technical support and platforms protected and regulated by public national laws and scientific, ethical guidelines that will ensure private, secure processing and storage.

Transparency will be guaranteed by the public disclosure of the involved researchers, methodology and processing information throughout the development and finalization of the project, all of which will be available for demand, contact information will be display in case of questions or complaints.

Survey Data Privacy Statement

This survey is published and managed by Daniela Chacón-Mendoza, Master student of the Public Opinion and Survey Methodology Program at the University of Lausanne (UNIL), with the supervision of Prof. Christian Staerklé from the Institute of Psychology (UNIL).

The following statement presents the essential information regarding the handling of the data collected through this survey. Please be aware that we take every reasonable effort to comply with ethical and data protection regulations.

All of the information collected would be entirely used for academic research purposes with no intent of commercialization.

Respondents' participation is completely voluntary, anonymous, and all the information will be kept fully confidential.

1. Survey general objective:

The survey intends to explore the general views and perceptions of current political and social issues in the Swiss and international context about topics concerned with political participation, government, justice, satisfaction with life and the government, populism, COVID-19, among others.

Additionally, it collects general demographic characteristics of the target population, i.e., students and graduate professionals (e.g., doctorate students and pos-doctoral researchers) associated with Swiss universities and institutes of technology (UIT).

2. Information collected and technical details:

Identification data

The data collected and processed is contextual data, such as gender, age, and views on a variety of social and political issues, among others, required for a consequential analysis of the survey objectives. **No identifying data is collected for purposes of the study.**

As an incentive of participation, a link for an opportunity to voluntarily enter a lottery, to win a 20 CHF gift-card, is presented at the end of the survey questionnaire.

The link provided gives access to a separate form that requests for an institutional email address; this contact information is stored in an entirely different database that in no way could be associated to the survey responses.

Technical information

The web-tool used to collect survey responses is LimeSurvey Software, which provides accessibility of survey design and technical delivery and is compliant with the European Union General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR); in effect since 25 May 2018.

Regular e-mail-addresses and social media posts are used for the survey distribution where an URL gives access to the survey questionnaire. Any contact information is stored or managed entirely separate from the survey responses delivered.

To make possible the safe functionality of the online survey, and to prevent repeated participation, a cookie is turned on, by the survey web-server.

3. Access to the information:

The access to the information collected in the context of this survey is only granted through User ID/Password to the survey administrator: Daniela Chacón-Mendoza (UNIL).

The information can be disclosed solely in an anonymous form and for academic research purposes and research dissemination.

4. Information protection:

The collected survey data is exclusively hosted/stored on a server in Germany provided by the Lime Survey Professional hosting service. Lime Survey and the server location comply fully with the General Data Protection Regulation.

5. Contact information:

In case of any questions regarding the survey, or concerning information processed in the context of the study, please contact:

Daniela Chacón-Mendoza

University of Lausanne

daniela.chaconmendoza@unil.ch

APPENDIX D. OPERATIONALIZATION

Table 9. *Alignment matrix of Research Questions, Variables and Questionnaire Items*

Research Question 1: How do individuals' rate on anti-populist attitudes?		
Variables	Question item	
Anti-populist attitudes	Risk Assessment	Please, indicate which statement comes closer to your own view? Populism threatens democracy Populism protects democracy Populism is good for democracy Populism is bad for democracy *Dangerous Harmless
	Morality of Conduct	*Honest Dishonest *Emotional Rational
	Tolerance	*Intolerant Tolerant
	Behavioral Competence	*Respectable Unrespectable *Qualified Unqualified
	Cynicism	*Optimistic Pessimistic
	Status-Quo	Please, indicate which statement comes closer to your own view? We should try to preserve democracy as is currently working in Switzerland We should try to change democracy as is currently working in Switzerland Democracies should ban populist parties and movements that are radical Democracies should allow populist parties and movements even if they are radical.
	* This item was asked two separate times one referencing right-wing populist parties and another one referencing left-wing populist parties. The respective questions are the following: - For you, in general, right-wing populist parties or movements such as BREXIT (UK), The Swiss People's Party (Switzerland), or The Republican Party lead by Donald Trump (US) are? - For you, in general, left-wing populist parties or movements such as Podemos (Spain), La France Insoumise lead by Jean-Luc Mélenchon (France), or The Democratic Party candidate Bernie Sanders (US) are?	

Research Question 2: Which variables correlate with anti-populist attitudes?

Variables	Question item
<p>Political interest (European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>How interested would you say you are in politics?</p> <p>There are different ways of getting involved in politics. During the last 12 months, have you participated in any of the following? A political party, social movement, or action group? A protest or public demonstration?</p>
<p>Political Participation (European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>Did you vote in the last Swiss parliamentary elections for the National Council on October 20th, 2019?</p>
<p>Subjective Well-being (European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>Happiness Generally speaking, how happy would you say you are nowadays?</p>
<p>Democratic Deficit (European Social Survey, 2018; Norris, 2011)</p>	<p>Life Satisfaction All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you nowadays with your life as a whole?</p> <p>Satisfaction with Democracy All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you nowadays with the way democracy works in Switzerland?</p> <p>Democratic Aspirations How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically?</p>
<p>Political Support (European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>Satisfaction with output - general policy satisfaction All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you nowadays with the way the Swiss government is doing its job?</p> <p>Satisfaction with the economy All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you nowadays with the present state of the economy in Switzerland?</p> <p>Trust in parliament How much do you personally trust, if at all, the Swiss parliament (National Council & Council of States)?</p> <p>Trust in political parties How much do you personally trust, if at all, political parties in Switzerland?</p> <p>Trust in politicians How much do you personally trust, if at all, Swiss politicians?</p> <p>Trust in the legal system How much do you personally trust, if at all, the Swiss legal system?</p>

<p>Social Trust (European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>Generally speaking, would you say that 'most people can be trusted', or that "you can't be too careful" in dealing with people?</p> <p>Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?</p> <p>How much do you personally trust, if at all, the information you can get through national news media organizations?</p> <p>How much do you personally trust, if at all, the information you can get through social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter or Snapchat?</p> <p>How much do you personally trust, if at all, the information you can get through friends and family?</p>
<p>Informational Trust (Pew Research Center, 2019)</p>	<p>Informational Source Trust</p> <p>In politics, people sometimes talk about "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means "far-left" and 10 means "far-right"?</p>
<p>Pluralist attitudes (Akkerman et al., 2014; European Social Survey, 2018)</p>	<p>Value of compromise among differing viewpoints</p> <p>In a democracy, it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints.</p> <p>Listening dissenting voices</p> <p>It is important to listen to people who are different from me. Even when I disagree with them, I still want to understand them.</p>
<p>Agonistic pluralism</p>	<p>To accept the existence of different and opposing opinions, ultimately means that I will have to fight for my own beliefs.</p>
<p>Elitist attitudes (Akkerman et al., 2014; Schulz, Müller, et al., 2018)</p>	<p>In general, ordinary people can be trusted to understand our nation's problems.</p> <p>Our countries would be governed better if important decisions were only made by professionals and experts.</p>
<p>Populist Attitudes (Akkerman et al., 2014; Schulz,</p>	<p>Anti-elitism</p> <p>Politicians very quickly lose touch with ordinary people.</p> <p>Politicians talk too much and take too little action.</p> <p>The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.</p>

Homogeneity & Virtuousness

In general, ordinary people are of good and honest character.

Most ordinary people share similar values and interests.

Although the Swiss are very different from each other, when it comes down to truly important decisions about how society should work, they all tend to think the same.

The people should have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums.

Demand for Popular Sovereignty

The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken.

People like me have no influence on what the government does.

System justification

I think that, by and large, people get what they deserve.

Need principle:

A society is fair when it takes care of those who are poor and in need regardless of what they give back to society.

Equity principle

A society is fair when hard-working people are properly rewarded for their efforts.

Normative principles of distributive justice

(European Social Survey, 2016)

Entitlement principle

A society is fair when people from families with high social status enjoy privileges in their lives.

A society is fair when wealth is evenly redistributed among all of the people.

Egalitarianism - Equality principle

For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small.

Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts.

How much of a threat, if any, is the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak for your personal and family health?

COVID-19 Threat Perception

your household financial situation?

	Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak response given by international organizations (WHO, EU)?
	by the Swiss national government?
	by local officials?
	by public health officials?
	by educational institutions (schools, universities)?
	How related or not do you think each of the following situations has been in the spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19)?
	Too slow response from national governments and international organizations.
	The minimization of coronavirus risks by some politicians.
	Younger people continued to socially gather even after the first restrictions.
	Older people continued to go out even after the first restrictions.
	The people, in general, are not taking the coronavirus contagion risks seriously.
	I feel deprived when I think about what I have, compared to what other people like me have.
	I feel privileged compared to other people like me.
	I feel dissatisfied with what I have compared to what other people like me have.
	What gender do you identify as?
	How old are you?
	How would you describe your current household financial situation?
	In which educational institution do you mainly study or work right now?
	What is your current main field of study or work?
	How did you find about this survey?

Satisfaction with COVID-19 Institutional Response

Perceived Causes of COVID-19 spread

Relative deprivation

(Callan et al., 2011)

Socio-Demographic

Gender

Age

Household financial situation

(PEW Research Center, 2016)

Educational Institution

Work or study field

Survey outreach mechanism

APPENDIX E. ANTI-POPULISM

Table 10. *PAF for Items Measuring Anti-Populist Attitudes (N=304).*

N°	Item	Factors					<i>h</i> ²	M	SD	
		1	2	3	4	5				
1	rw4	Right-wing populist parties or movements are unrespectable	.789	-.259	.117			.533	4.28	.888
2	rw2	Right-wing populist parties or movements are dishonest	.722		.197	-.286		.543	4.08	.967
3	rw5	Right-wing populist parties or movements are unqualified	.719	-.119			-.134	.265	4.06	1.309
4	rw1	Right-wing populist parties or movements are dangerous	.611	-.27	.21	-.156	.124	.597	3.94	.978
5	rw6	Right-wing populist parties or movements are emotional	.435	.115	.111			.482	3.65	1.073
6	rw3	Right-wing populist parties or movements are intolerant	.425	-.114	.115	-.107	.219	.22	3.75	1.276
7	lw5	Left-wing populist parties or movements are unrespectable		.779		.21	-.134	.129	3.61	1.025
8	lw6	Left-wing populist parties or movements are dishonest	-.173	.694		.151		.201	2.69	1.019
9	lw7	Left-wing populist parties or movements are unqualified		.667				.219	3.6	1.07
10	lw4	Left-wing populist parties or movements are dangerous	-.127	.631		.18		.375	2.4	1.192
11	lw3	Left-wing populist parties or movements are intolerant		.57		.327		.424	2.77	.938
12	lw2	Left-wing populist parties or movements are emotional		.419			.29	.55	2.37	.972
13	apop2	Populism is bad for democracy	.278		.872		-.111	.469	2.62	.954
14	apop1	Populism threatens democracy	.385	.108	.67			.373	2.72	.911
15	lw1	Left-wing populist parties or movements are pessimistic		.267		.524		.566	3.64	1.047
16	apop3	We should try to preserve democracy as is currently working in Switzerland				.157		.538	3.51	1.087
17	rw7	Right-wing populist parties or movements are pessimistic	.238				.371	.071	3.58	1.251
18	apop4	Democracies should ban populist parties and movements that are radical					-.262	.095	2.71	1.158
		Explained variance 59%	25%	16%	7%	6%	6%			
		Eigenvalues	4.44	2.83	1.21	1.05	1.04			
		Cronbach's Alpha	.77	.79						

Note. Factor analysis applying principle axis method and varimax rotation; factor loadings lower than .1 were suppressed; KMO = .81; N = 304.

APPENDIX F. REGRESSION ANALYSIS ASSUMPTIONS DIAGNOSIS

Anti Right-Wing Hierarchical Multiple Regression Assumptions Diagnosis

Homoscedasticity

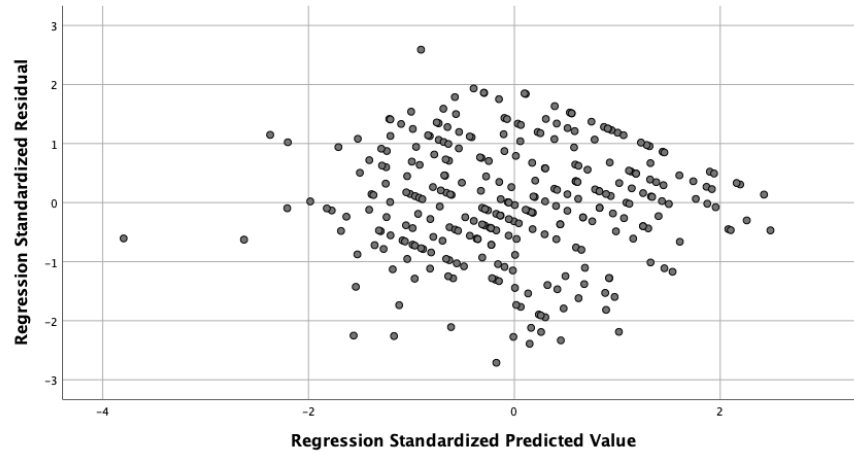


Figure 7. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Scatterplot (N=301)

Normally distributed residuals

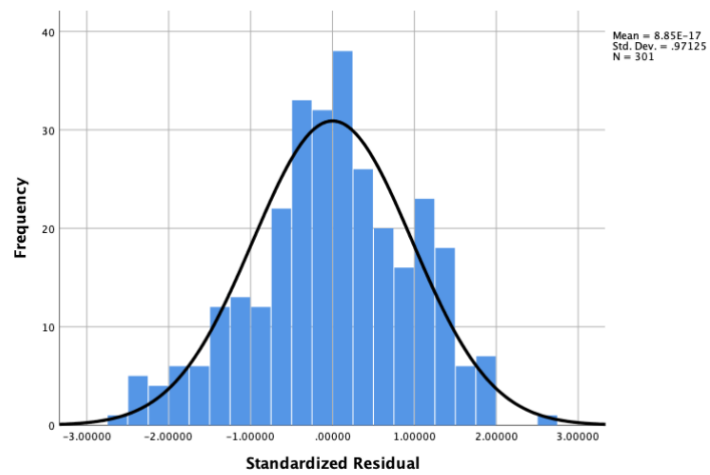


Figure 8. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Histogram (N=301)

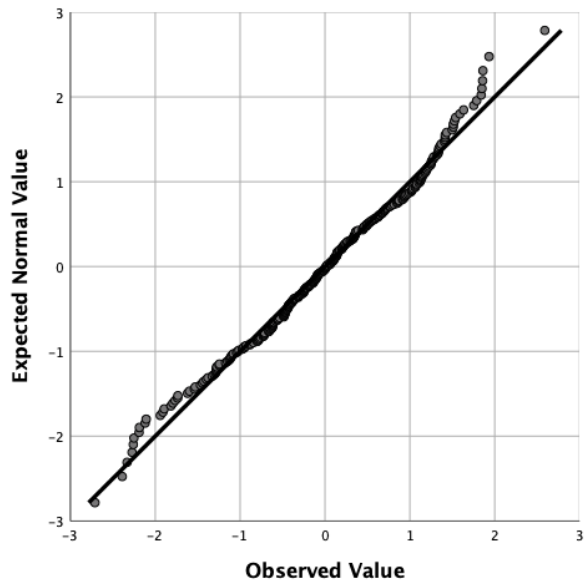


Figure 9. Anti Right-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Q-Q Plot (N=301)

Anti Left-Wing Hierarchical Multiple Regression Assumptions Diagnosis

Homoscedasticity

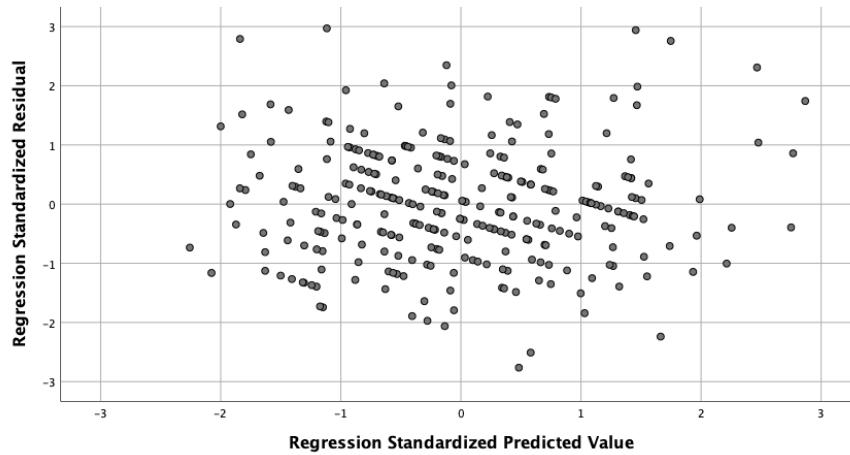


Figure 10. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Scatterplot (N=300)

Normally distributed residuals

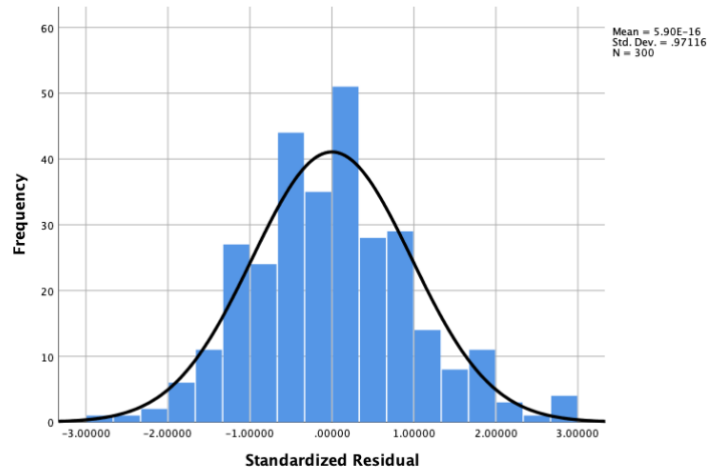


Figure 11. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Histogram (N=300)

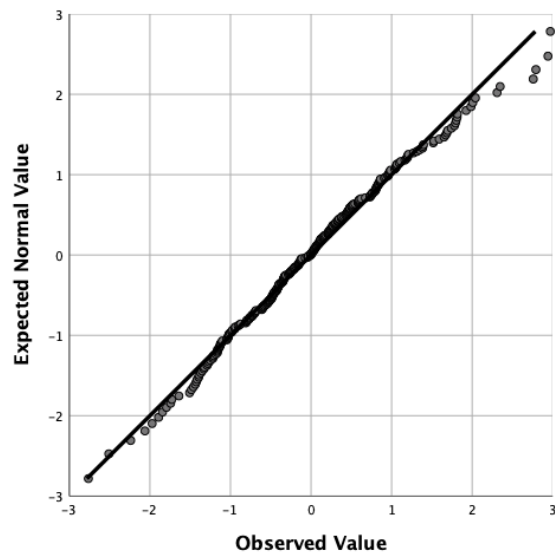


Figure 12. Anti Left-Wing Populism Standardized Residuals Q-Q Plot (N=300)

APPENDIX G. ANTI RIGHT-WING POPULISM HMR

Table 11. Inter-correlations of predicted variables on Anti Right-wing populism HMR (N=301).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
1 Anti Right-Wing Populism	1																		
2 Gender (Female = 1)	-.11*	1																	
3 Age	.15**	-.20***	1																
4 Nationality (Swiss = 1)	-.11*	.18***	-.32***	1															
5 Homogeneity & Virtuousness	-.11*	-.18***	.17***	-.25***	1														
6 Anti-Elitism	.02	-.10*	.13*	-.21***	.10*	1													
7 Demand for Popular Sovereignty	-.11*	-.09	-.05	.08	.10*	.13**	1												
8 Elitism	.13*	-.12*	.08	-.15**	.09	.18***	-.20***	1											
9 Pluralism	.01	.03	-.05	.02	-.06	-.08	.02	-.05	1										
10 National News Media Trust	.09	-.11*	-.04	.18***	-.09	-.27***	.04	-.08	.18***	1									
11 Social Media Trust	-.14**	.05	.04	.00	.01	-.01	.05	.02	.03	.18***	1								
12 Satisfaction w/ Response to C-19	-.02	-.01	-.08	.04	.06	-.27***	-.09	.01	.10*	.30***	.06	1							
13 Institutions are to blame for C-19	.22***	-.07	-.07	-.05	-.11*	.15**	.09	.18***	.04	-.03	.06	-.19***	1						
14 People are to blame for C-19	-.13*	.03	-.14***	-.07	.03	.16**	.03	.14**	.06	-.06	.03	.01	.39***	1					
15 Democratic Deficit	.35***	.06	.09	.02	-.16**	.10*	.05	-.15**	.05	-.05	-.05	-.28***	.07	-.11*	1				
16 Political Support	-.14**	-.01	-.03	-.06	.19***	-.31***	-.05	.09	.17***	.42***	.16**	.50***	-.14**	.08	-.52***	1			
17 Entitlement	-.30***	.02	.03	-.14**	.25***	.04	-.08	.14**	-.10*	-.14**	.03	.03	-.17**	.16**	-.23***	.20***	1		
18 Egalitarianism	.38***	.05	.07	.07	-.21***	-.02	.19***	-.10*	.14**	.15**	.06	-.07	.13*	-.12*	.40***	-.21***	-.44***	1	

Note: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX H. ANTI LEFT-WING POPULISM HMR

Table 12. *Inter-correlations of predicted variables on Anti Left-wing populism HMR (N=300).*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
1 Anti Left-Wing Populism	1																		
2 Gender (Female = 1)	-.02	1																	
3 Age	.03	-.20***	1																
4 Nationality (Swiss = 1)	-.01	.19***	-.33***	1															
5 Homogeneity & Virtuousness	.04	-.18***	.17***	-.26***	1														
6 Anti-Elitism	-.02	-.09	.13**	-.19***	.09	1													
7 Demand for Popular Sovereignty	-.10*	-.09	-.05	.07	.10*	.13**	1												
8 Elitism	-.04	-.13*	.09	-.15**	.10*	.16**	-.20***	1											
9 Pluralism	-.06	.02	-.04	.01	-.03	-.12*	.03	-.02	1										
10 National News Media Trust	-.16**	-.11	-.04	.17**	-.07	-.29***	.04	-.06	.22***	1									
11 Social Media Trust	-.02	.05	.04	.01	.00	.01	.05	.02	.02	.17**	1								
12 Satisfaction w/ Response to C-19	-.02	-.02	-.08	.02	.08	-.28***	-.09	.03	.15**	.33***	.04	1							
13 Institutions are to blame for C-19	-.13*	-.07	-.06	-.04**	-.11*	.15**	.09	.16**	.01	-.04	.06	-.20***	1						
14 People are to blame for C-19	-.01	.03	-.14**	-.07	.03	.16**	.02	.13*	.03	-.08	.03	-.01	.39***	1					
15 Democratic Deficit	-.19***	.07	.09	.03	-.17***	.12*	.04	-.17**	.00	-.08	-.03	-.31***	.08	-.09	1				
16 Political Support	.10*	-.03	-.04	-.07	.20***	-.32***	-.05	.12*	.21***	.44***	.14**	.52***	-.15**	.06	-.53***	1			
17 Entitlement	.20***	.02	.03	-.14	.25***	.03	-.08	.14**	-.08	-.13*	.03	.04	-.17***	.16**	-.24**	.21***	1		
18 Egalitarianism	-.50***	.04	.07	.07	-.20***	-.03	.19	-.10	.15**	.17**	.06	-.06	.12*	-.13*	.39*	-.20***	-.44***	1	

Note: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$