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Authoritarianism and the Rise of Populist National Parties in Europe: Preliminary Findings from Surveys of Four European Nations

Data from four recently completed surveys in Great Britain, France, Sweden, and Germany demonstrate an attitudinal link between the supporters of European populist national parties¹ and Alt-Right Trumpism in the United States.² The disposition that links the political behavior of these supporters on both sides of the Atlantic is authoritarianism.

At its core, authoritarianism is an intolerant aversion to diversity that seeks to maintain social order and norms. Authoritarians obey authority, seek conformity, and may act aggressively to people or groups who are identified as outsiders or targeted as “the other.”

Since 1992, four simple child-rearing questions have been used by researchers in the United States and elsewhere to estimate individuals’ predisposition to authoritarianism. These questions generate a scale that is statistically predictive of authoritarian political behavior, ranging from anti-democratic to anti-immigrant political

¹ All European data comes from four surveys administered online by YouGov Plc. Survey dates and sample sizes are noted in Section IV.

² U.S. data comes from (1) a national online survey conducted under the auspices of the University of Massachusetts Amherst and (2) the national 2014 Cooperative Congressional Electoral Survey (CCES). Survey date and sample sizes are noted in Section IV.

views. Importantly, the child-rearing values measured by questions on the scale are conceptually distinct from and formed before the authoritarian political attitudes predicted by the scaled answers.

In the United States, 2015 survey research using these child-rearing questions found that authoritarianism was a key component of Donald Trump’s support during the Republican nominating campaign. In fact, authoritarianism and personal fear of terrorism were the only two variables estimated in a robust model that were statistically and substantively predictive of early support for Donald Trump.

In Europe, data from four recently completed surveys reveals that authoritarianism, estimated using the same set of questions, has a statistically and substantively significant³ effect on support for the United Kingdom Independence Party in Great Britain, National Front in France, Swedish Democrats in Sweden, and, using just two child-rearing questions, the National Democratic Party of Germany and Alternative for Germany. Importantly, authoritarian attitudes not only influence support for populist national parties in Europe, but also predict support for Brexit in Great Britain.

The preliminary conclusion from these surveys is inescapable: the electoral rise of Trumpism and the Alt-Right in the United States and populist national parties in Europe appear to share one common, measurable trait – a predisposition among supporters toward authoritarianism.

While much more work needs to be done to understand how and why authoritarianism is driving right-wing populism in Europe and to analyze its similarities and dissimilarities with Trumpism, the authoritarian “worldview evolution” theorized by Hetherington and Weiler as the root cause of partisan polarization in the United States⁴

³ Statistically significant means the observed effect of authoritarianism on support for these parties attains a p-value of <.05. In other words, authoritarianism has a greater than 95% chance of affecting someone’s support. Substantively significant means that the observed effect is meaningful.

⁴ Hetherington and Weiler (2009) “characterize American politics as undergoing a worldview evolution in which politics is increasingly contested over issues for which preferences are structured by authoritarianism.” The worldview evolution began with the addition of gut-level issues to the political debate in America in the 1960s which drove the existing wedge between authoritarians and non authoritarians deeper. Changing feelings toward both Republican and Democratic parties, falling voter turnout, and shifting voter choice in presidential and Senate contests are the quantifiable, political manifestations of the shift to a

appears to be at work in Europe, fueling the recent rise of populist national parties that target immigrants as “the other” and are antithetical to civil and democratic society.

Survey results for Great Britain, France, Sweden, and Germany are presented in the next section. These results are followed in Section Two by comparable findings for the United States that detail the authoritarian core of Donald Trump’s support.⁵ Section Three is a brief backgrounder by Dr. Erik Tillman that describes what authoritarianism is, how it has been estimated, and existing measurements of authoritarianism in Europe produced prior to the data reported here. The final section includes contact and survey information.

I. Survey Results by Nation

Great Britain. Almost thirty-six percent (35.8%) of people 18 years of age or older in Great Britain are highly disposed to authoritarianism. By definition, “high authoritarians” are those who score .75 or above on the authoritarian scale derived from the child-rearing questions. On this scale, 1 represents an individual with the strongest predisposition to authoritarianism and 0 equals a non authoritarian.

Just over fourteen percent of Britains (14.4%) notch a 1 on the scale. In the United States, by comparison, 16.8% of white Americans scored 1 on the authoritarian scale generated from data from the national 2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES).

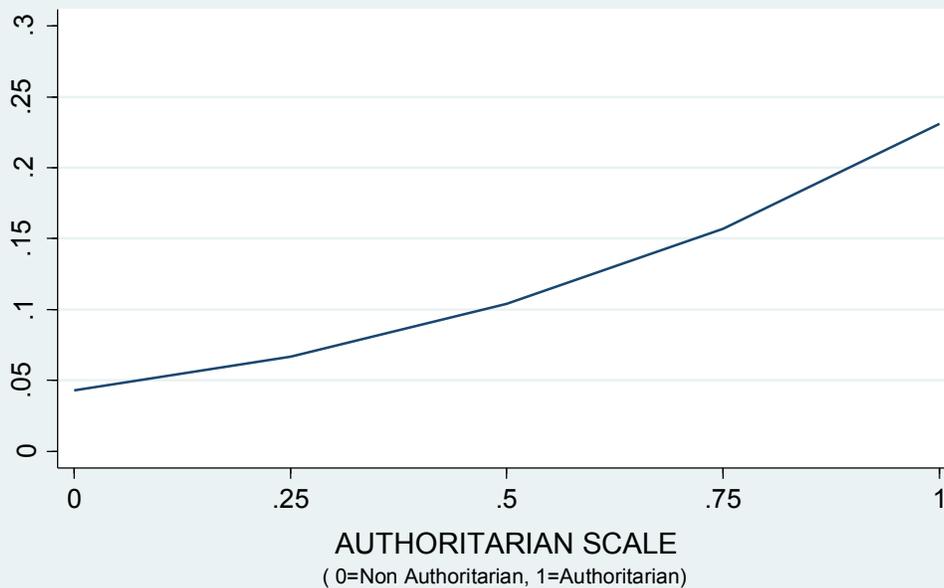
British authoritarians are more likely to support the right-wing Eurosceptic and populist United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). When support for UKIP in the 2015 elections is estimated in a model that includes six variables – authoritarianism, age, gender, income, ethnicity, and social status – the effect of authoritarianism on support for UKIP is statistically and substantively significant. The only other variable in the model with a statistically significant effect on the 2015 UKIP vote is social class. But the effect of social class on support for UKIP is dwarfed by that of authoritarianism.

worldview structured along the dispositional and socially-learned division between authoritarians and non authoritarians.

⁵ A fuller discussion of Trump’s success in the Republican nominating process can be found at <https://acpress.amherst.edu/the-rise-of-trump/>.

British authoritarians are almost five times more likely to support UKIP than non authoritarians. While just over nine percent of Britains (9.5%) claimed in the survey to have voted for UKIP in the 2015 general election, almost a quarter of authoritarians (23.1%) who scored 1 on the scale were predicted to be UKIP supporters. The rising support for UKIP across the authoritarian scale is demonstrated graphically using predicted probabilities⁶ in the figure below (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Support for United Kingdom Independence Party by Authoritarianism



N=1,661. YouGov Online Survey for MSC 8/23-24, 2016

Authoritarianism in Britain was also a significant determinant of the outcome of the Brexit vote. In a model with Brexit as what is known methodologically as the dependent variable and authoritarianism, age, gender, income, ethnicity, and social status the independent variables, the effect of authoritarianism was again both statistically and substantively significant. In the case of the Brexit vote, however, age, income and social

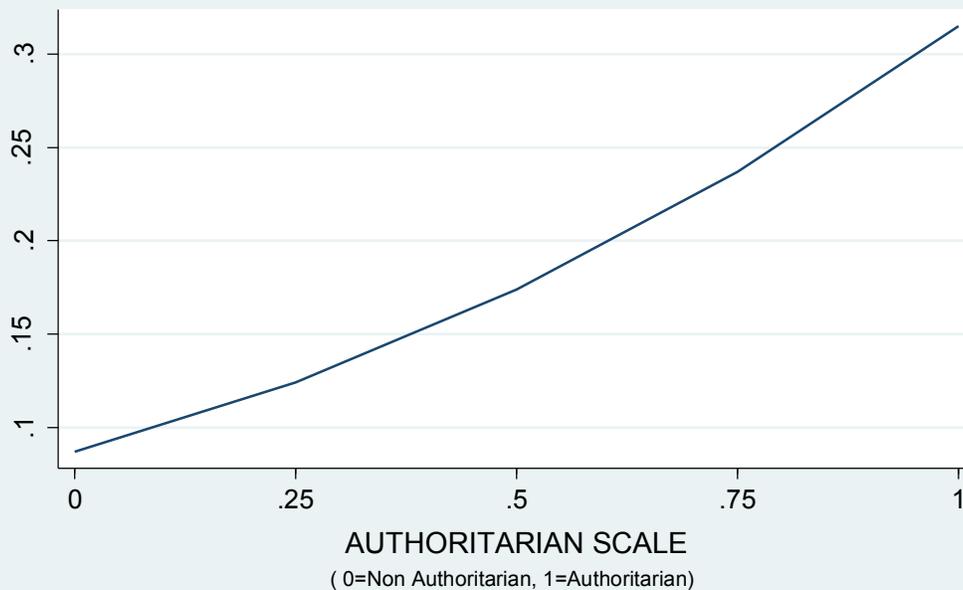
⁶ Predicted probabilities are a statistical tool that is used to transform difficult to interpret regression results into simple data that is readily understandable.

class also had statistically significant effects on the vote with British voters who are older, poorer, and of lower social status being more likely to vote to leave the European Union. The substantive effect of authoritarianism was similar to the effect of age on the Brexit vote but was substantially greater than both income and social class. A British non-authoritarian's predicted probability of supporting Brexit was just 3 in 10 (31%) while the likelihood an authoritarian in Britain supported Brexit was 3 in 4 (74%).

France. Nearly thirty-nine (38.6%) of people in France age 18 and older are high authoritarians, scoring either .75 or 1 on the authoritarian scale. In a vote model that contained authoritarianism, age, gender, income, and education, authoritarianism was the only statistically significant and substantive variable predicting a vote for the National Front presidential candidate, Marine Le Pen, in the first round of the 2012 French presidential elections. None of the other variables in the model approached statistical significance. As with support for UKIP in Britain, the effect of authoritarianism on voting for the National Front was unmistakable.

When asked which party they feel closest to now, authoritarianism is once again a statistically significant and substantive predictor of French support for the National Front – though educational differences also play a role. The probability of a non authoritarian in France supporting the National Front is less than 1 in 10 (8.7%) while over 3 in ten authoritarians in France (31.5%) are likely to support the National Front. Again, the structuring of French support for the National Front by authoritarianism is readily apparent when graphed across the 0-to-1 authoritarian scale (see Figure 2 – next page).

Figure 2: Support for National Front in France by Authoritarianism

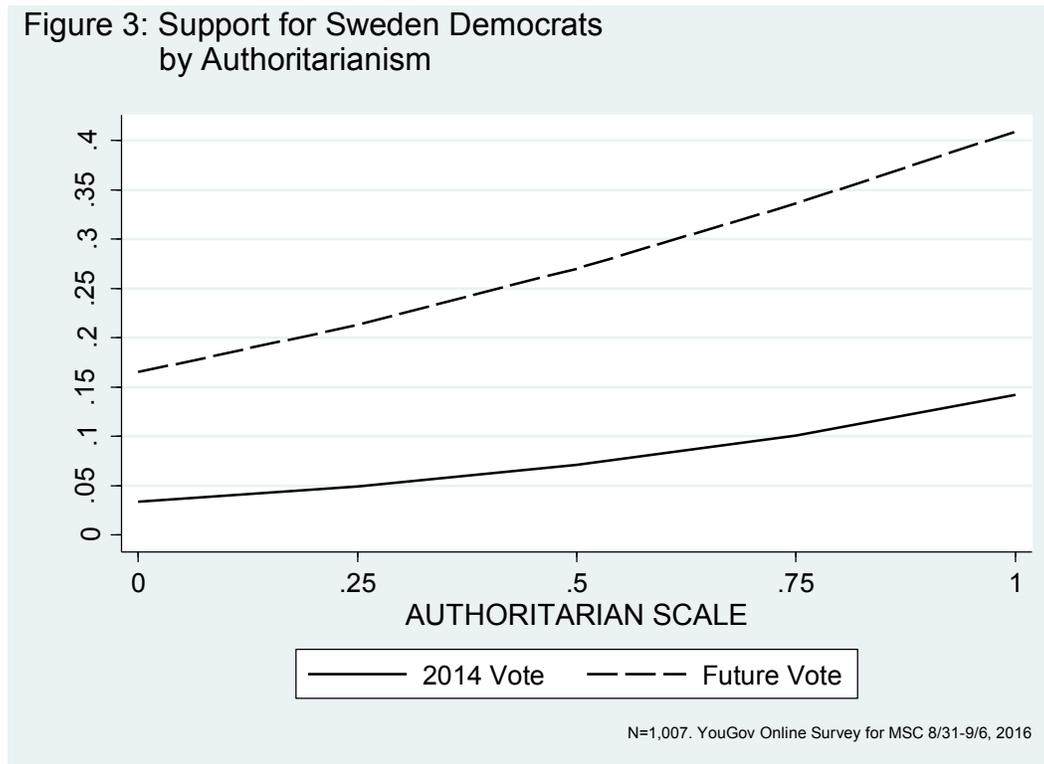


N=1,001. YouGov Online Survey for MSC 8/31-9/2, 2016

Sweden. Sweden has the smallest percentage of high authoritarians (20.5%) among the four nations analyzed. Nonetheless, authoritarianism structures political behavior in Sweden as it does in Great Britain, France, and Germany. Authoritarianism had a statistically and substantively significant effect on support for the right-wing populist Sweden Democrats in the 2014 parliamentary elections. In a model with gender, education, income, and age, the probability of the highest authoritarians (1 on the scale) voting for the Sweden Democrats in 2014 was 14.2% while non-authoritarians' likelihood of supporting them was only 4.9%.

More importantly, authoritarianism is likely to play a much greater role in the next election in Sweden. Authoritarianism and gender are the only variables with a statistically significant effect on support for the Sweden Democrats. And the effect of authoritarianism is substantively quite pronounced with 40.8% of the highest authoritarians predicted to support the Sweden Democrats compared to just 16.5% of non authoritarians.

The stated support for Sweden Democrats in 2014 and the projected support if an election were held today is graphed below across the authoritarian scale and shows the increasing influence of authoritarianism on estimated support for Sweden Democrats (see Figure 3).



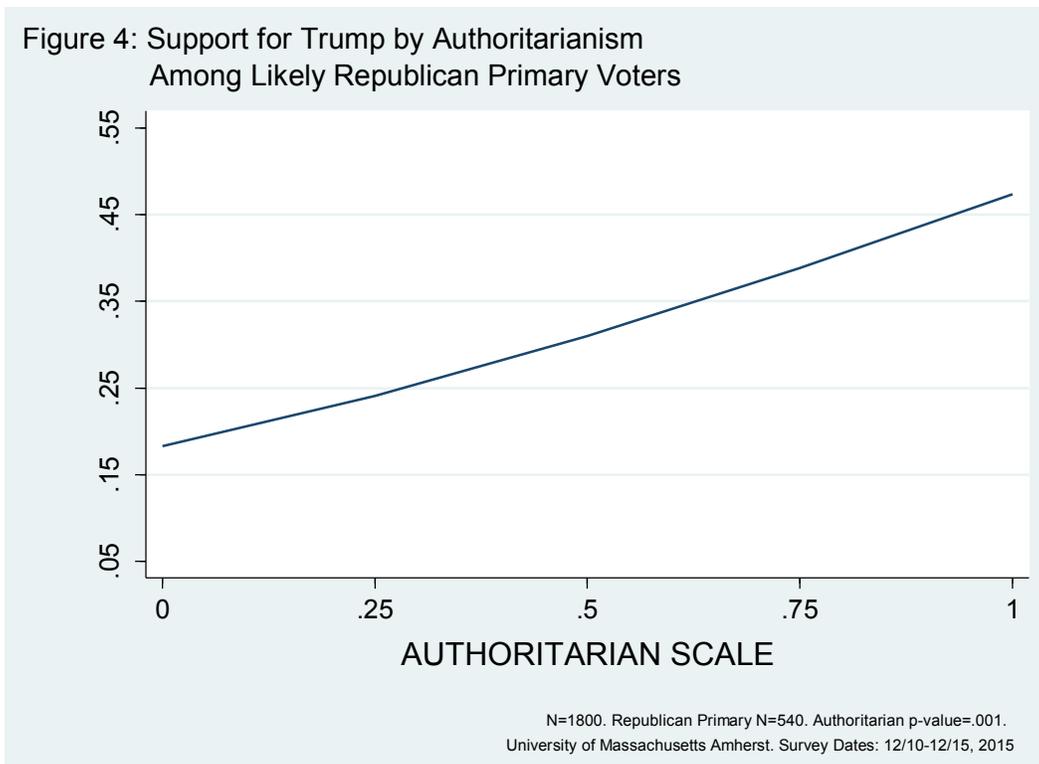
Germany. Almost one in three (31.9%) of people age 18 years or older in Germany are high authoritarians, scoring either a .75 or 1 on authoritarianism. Because of statistical concerns about the validity of the full scale, which is likely a product of the question wording translation, just two of the child-rearing questions were used to estimate the effect of authoritarianism on support for the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) and Alternative for Germany (AFD). These two questions ask whether children should be obedient and respect elders. These two values have been core components of authoritarian measurement since the F-scale was developed in the late 1940s.

In a model specifying authoritarianism⁷, gender, age, education, and income as independent variables and membership in the NPD or AFD as the outcome, every independent variable except income had a statistically significant and substantive effect. The effect of authoritarianism on support for the NPD or AFD, however, was the greatest. The probability of a German who is not an authoritarian supporting either of these parties is just 5.2%, while a German authoritarian has a 47.4% predicted probability of supporting either the NPD or AFD. In other words, there is a fifty-fifty likelihood that a German who believes that children should be obedient and respect elders supports one of these two parties – a significant outcome.

II. Comparative Data: Authoritarian Support in the United States for Donald Trump

Approximately one month before the first Republican nominating contests in Iowa and New Hampshire in 2016, a national poll of registered voters in the United States was fielded to determine if Donald Trump's authoritarian message and manner had activated American authoritarians. Using the four child-rearing questions to estimate Americans' individual disposition to authoritarianism, the poll found that authoritarianism was one of only two variables that were statistically and substantively significant predictors of Trump's support among likely Republican primary voters. The authoritarian inclinations of Trump voters were abundantly clear when the predicted probability of supporting Trump is estimated and arrayed across the authoritarian scale (see Figure 4 – next page).

⁷ Authoritarianism was estimated as the interaction between these two questions. Thus, a person who answered obedience and respect is considered an authoritarian.

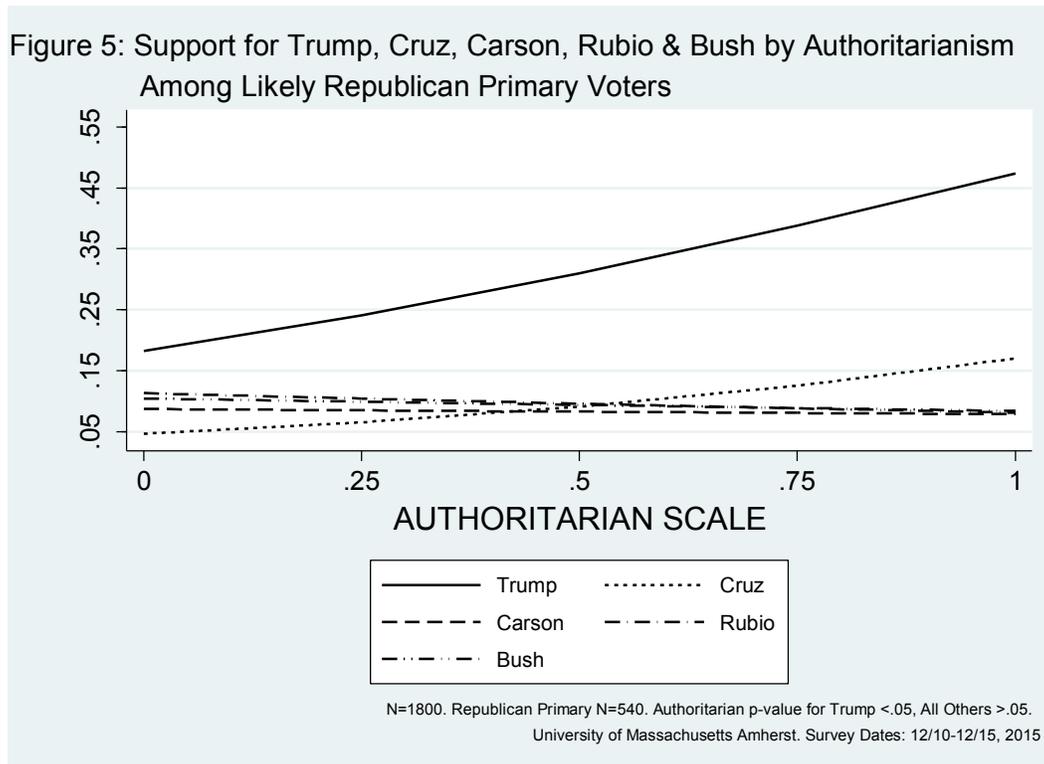


The only other variable that was a statistically significant predictor of support for Trump was personal fear of terrorism.⁸ Additional variables in the regression model included sex, educational attainment, age, church attendance, evangelicalism, ideology, race, and income—all are typically important predictors of support for or opposition to a candidate. These variables had no statistical bearing on support for Trump. Importantly, when it comes to authoritarianism, Trump supporters were also distinct in their attitudes from the followers of other Republican candidates for president. Models examining support for Ted Cruz, Ben Carson, Marco Rubio, and Jeb Bush, estimated using the same set of independent variables, found that authoritarianism had no effect on support for Trump’s opponents

The difference between predicted authoritarian support for Trump and all other Republican candidates is readily apparent when combined into one chart (see Figure 5). Looking at this figure, it is important to note that authoritarianism is *only* a statistically

⁸ The wording of this question was: “How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of terrorism?” Question answers ranged from “Not At All” to “A Lot” on a 7-point Likert scale.

significant variable for Trump. Thus, while the difference between the predicted value of Trump’s support among authoritarians and non authoritarians is statistically meaningful, any variation in support across the authoritarian scale for the other candidates is not.



Theoretically, authoritarians *and* non authoritarians, who are more worried about terrorism, should also be a receptive audience for fear-laden message of a candidate like Donald Trump. And they were.

Results from the national survey found that personal fear of terrorism was a statistically significant predictor of support for Trump. Authoritarians, as well as fearful Americans, were (and remain) key components of Donald Trump’s base of support. Trump’s calls for vigilance activated authoritarians as well as energizing an audience of non authoritarians primed by fear.

Using predicted probabilities, the effect of fear of terrorism on support for Trump among less authoritarian voters is also unmistakable. The more fearful non authoritarians were of the threat posed by terrorism, the more likely they were to support Donald Trump.

Authoritarians and fearful non authoritarians were activated by Trump’s message and energized to support him. Authoritarianism and fear – activated and focused by a leader who adopts a strongman manner and message – is likely to be as potent a political force in Europe as it has been in the United States.

III. Summary: Review of Existing Measures of Authoritarianism in European Survey Data (by Dr. Erik Tillman)

The relationship between authoritarianism and political behavior is generating renewed and growing interest. Recent developments suggest that a “worldview evolution” (Hetherington & Weiler 2009) is underway in Western countries that may shape their electoral politics for decades to come. For this reason, access to reliable and valid measures of dispositional traits such as authoritarianism, which shape worldviews, is essential. Unfortunately, few existing cross-national and national survey series in Europe currently contain such measures, hindering the development of knowledge about this important area of research. While alternative measures offer some promise, it is often unclear how well these indicators perform in estimating authoritarianism. Thus, the study of authoritarianism and its effects on political attitudes and behavior in Europe is limited by the lack of comparable survey measures across different surveys, countries, and years.

What follows reviews authoritarian theory, measurement, and European cross-national and national survey data measuring authoritarianism.

Conceptualizing Authoritarianism.

Authoritarianism was developed as a concept to explain popular support for fascist regimes in Europe (Adorno et al 1950). Though early pioneering studies were soon criticized on conceptual and methodological grounds, the topic has remained influential in the study of political psychology. Later scholars have revised the concept and its measurement in various ways (e.g., Altemeyer 1981, 1996; Stenner 2005; Oesterreich 2005; Hetherington & Weiler 2009). As a result, there are a cluster of definitions that agree on several core traits while disagreeing on questions related to the origins of

authoritarianism, how it is manifested in attitudes and behavior, and how to measure it. As Stenner (2009, 142) notes, “Scholars with *widely* varying notions of what authoritarianism is and where it comes from have long agreed on the broad contours of what it looks like and what it does” (emphasis original).

Authoritarianism is characterized by a high desire to maintain social order and conformity at the expense of individual autonomy (Feldman & Stenner 1997, Stenner 2005, Hetherington & Weiler 2009). To that end, authoritarians display several attitudinal and behavioral traits. The first trait is conventionalism, a pronounced tendency to adopt the shared values and behaviors of the dominant social group and to reject non-conformist behavior or values. A second trait is higher willingness to submit to established sources of authority, which could include political or religious leaders and texts or simply “traditional values.” It also includes more willingness to punish deviants and members of the out-group who challenge the conventional values of the in-group (as defined by established authorities) (see Adorno et al 1950; Altemeyer 1981, 1996). As a result, authoritarianism is likely to lead to higher levels of traditionalism, out-group hostility, intolerance of dissent, and support for the punishment of deviants and “troublemakers.” By contrast, low authoritarians display greater preference for preserving individual autonomy, reflected in higher tolerance for out-group members, deviance, dissent, and greater hostility towards sources of authority that tend to suppress them.

Measuring Authoritarianism.

Since the start of research into authoritarianism in the immediate postwar years (Adorno et al 1950), scholars have developed several measurement approaches. Aside from the usual pitfalls facing the development of any valid and reliable measurement scale, the study of authoritarianism poses a further challenge. Scholars are usually interested in measuring authoritarianism in individual respondents in order to understand its effects on social and political attitudes. Therefore, the scales should not include items measuring the same sorts of attitudes that researchers may then wish to explain. This has proven a particular challenge in the development of the measurement of authoritarianism.

The initial scale used to measure authoritarianism was the California F-Scale (Adorno et al 1950), so called because the “F” stood for fascism. This scale soon fell out of

favor for several reasons, and psychologist Bob Altemeyer developed the most important alternative called the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale (Altemeyer 1981, 1996). The RWA scale, while a very valid and reliable measure of authoritarianism, suffers from the problem described in the previous paragraph. Its items include measures of social, cultural, and political attitudes, meaning that it may measure the same sort of attitudes that authoritarianism researchers will wish to explain.

An improved measure was identified by political psychologists Stanley Feldman and Karen Stenner (see Feldman 1997, Feldman and Stenner 2003, Stenner 2005). They identified that using items asking respondents to indicate preferences towards child-rearing values generates a scale that is a valid and reliable measure of authoritarianism while measuring values that are conceptually distinct and that develop prior to the attitudes that authoritarianism should explain. The most common four-item scale is as follows:

“Although there are a number of qualities that people believe children should have, every person thinks that some qualities are more important than others. Below are four pairs of desirable qualities. Please choose which quality from each pair is more important for a child to have:

- 1. (a) Respect for Elders OR (b) Independence*
- 2. (a) Self-reliance OR (b) Obedience*
- 3. (a) Good Manners OR (b) Curiosity*
- 4. (a) Being considerate OR (b) Being well-behaved”*

Respondents’ answers to these questions reveal their preferences concerning the fundamental tradeoff between individual autonomy and conformity to social expectations. The answers indicating a preference for individual autonomy (independence, self-reliance, curiosity, being considerate) reflect a preference for non-authoritarian values, while the other set of responses (respect for elders, obedience, good manners, and being well-behaved) demonstrate a preference for authoritarian values. These four items generate a scale of authoritarianism, which research in various contexts has shown to be valid and

reliable (Stenner 2005, Hetherington & Weiler 2009, Tillman 2013). In short, this child-rearing values scale is the preferred measure of authoritarianism

Cross-National Surveys.

There are four major cross-national survey series in Europe that are widely used by researchers: the European Values Survey (EVS) and World Values Survey (WVS), European Social Survey (ESS), the European Election Study (EES), and the Eurobarometer series.

European Values Survey

The EVS/WVS surveys include a question that can be used to generate a modified form of the child-rearing values scale. The survey contains a question asking respondents to name up to five characteristics (from a list of 11) that are desirable in children. Three of those characteristics (good manners, obedience, and religious faith) tap into authoritarian values, while three others (independence, imagination, and “tolerance and respect for other people”) tap into non-authoritarian values. The other five values (hard work, feeling of responsibility, thrift, determination, and unselfishness) do not reflect a tradeoff between authoritarian and non-authoritarian values. By measuring the number of authoritarian and non-authoritarian values that each respondent chooses, one can calculate a measure of authoritarianism from this question.

The major problem with the EVS/WVS measure is the format of the question. The inclusion of five “neutral” characteristics, along with the fact that respondents are asked to choose “up to five” answers, means that respondents can avoid indicating any preference for authoritarian or non-authoritarian qualities. Moreover, the five neutral qualities are generally desirable for all people, so it is reasonable to expect that many respondents would prefer those regardless of their level of authoritarianism. Therefore, this question will likely yield a scale with more responses close to the midpoint (i.e., neutral between authoritarian and non-authoritarian values), producing a measure that tends to underestimate the degree of authoritarianism and thus produce more conservative estimates of the relationship between authoritarianism and political attitudes. Nonetheless, this measure is the best available for studying authoritarianism in the major European cross-national surveys.

The EVS/WVS series is limited in one further respect. The EVS was only administered every nine years, in 1981, 1990, 1999, and 2008 (a 2017 wave is being jointly planned with the WVS). This infrequent survey administration limits the use of EVS data to examine changing attitudes over time. Nonetheless, the EVS is a high-quality data source containing a useful measure of authoritarianism.

European Social Survey

The ESS is also a high-quality cross-national survey that has been administered every two years since 2002. Its frequency, wide country coverage, and broad range of questions make it an excellent data source. However, it does not include a direct measure of authoritarianism.

The ESS includes the 21-item Portrait Values Questionnaire, developed by psychologist Shalom Schwartz (Schwartz 1992, 1994; Davidov et al 2008). This questionnaire links to Schwartz's conceptualization of ten universal human values. Each value (except Universalism, which has three questions) is measured via two questions, in which respondents are asked to state whether a portrait of a person's values are very much like themselves or not. The Portrait Values Questionnaire measures are analytically prior to the political attitudes and behaviors that they might predict, increasing its value. It does not directly measure authoritarianism, but it may be possible for researchers to use it to measure specific authoritarian values.

There are four values that are particularly relevant to authoritarianism: Universalism (negatively coded), Security, Traditionalism, and Conformity. Security describes a motivation to live in a safe, harmonious, and stable environment free from threats or danger. It is a motivation to preserve individual safety and the broader social order. Tradition and Conformity are closely related values. Tradition describes an adherence to the values and beliefs provided by religion and other established social rules, while Conformity describes a desire to restrain one's behavior to avoid violating social norms. In this sense, Tradition describes adherence to established and unchanging values (such as those provided by religion) while Conformity describes adherence to the values and norms of one's community (which could be localized and changeable). These two values share in common a motivation to maintain the social order and to subordinate one's autonomy to external standards. Universalism describes a value of tolerance of and

concern for the welfare of all people. In this sense, universalism is a rejection of ethnocentrism; individuals who endorse universalistic values would believe that all persons deserve equal treatment. Tillman uses these values in unpublished papers to measure the effect of authoritarianism on support for European integration (2016a) and support for radical right parties (2016b). However, there is limited research suggesting that these human values are appropriate measures of authoritarianism. Therefore, these should be viewed as alternatives that may be acceptable when other measures of authoritarianism are not available.

European Election Study

The European Election Study is a cross-national survey conducted in each EU member state at the time of each European Parliament election. The most recent was conducted in 2014. The survey series does not include a consistent measure of authoritarianism, limiting its usefulness for researchers. However, the most recent version contained two questions that can be used to create a very basic scale. The first asks respondents to place themselves on a 0-10 scale indicating opposition or support for same-sex marriage. The second asks respondents whether they prefer to protect individual privacy rights or to fight crime. These questions tap into preferences related to traditionalism, social conformity, and individual autonomy. However, the political content of these questions, and the fact that there are only two, limit their appropriateness as measures of authoritarianism. Therefore, the EES has limited value for scholars interested in understanding the effects of authoritarianism on political behavior in Europe.

Eurobarometer

The Eurobarometer survey series is an impressive data collection enterprise. However, the survey series does not contain a measure of authoritarianism, so it is not useful for political psychologists interested in researching this dynamic.

National Survey Series.

The situation is similar with the national election study series. National election studies have developed in most European countries over the past several decades. Because each survey series has typically developed within a national context, shaped by a particular group of researchers within that country, there can often be significant differences in the

questions that are included on each. No European national election study series appears to include the child-rearing questions. Some series include alternative measures that resemble “Right-Wing Authoritarianism” items, including those of Austria and Britain. Other national series include measures that are of varying use in measuring authoritarian attitudes, which can include questions about punitiveness towards criminals, acceptance of non-conformist lifestyles, or of multiculturalism. Child-rearing questions were included, however, in recent national election surveys fielded in Germany and Switzerland; preliminary results suggest that these measures “travel” effectively across language and cultural boundaries, and they are valid and reliable measures in those contexts.

British Election Study

The British Election Study (BES) has been established for several decades. It includes a battery of five questions measuring authoritarian attitudes. In the most recent panel survey, these questions were:

- Young people today do not have enough respect for British values
- For some crimes, the death penalty is most appropriate
- Schools should teach children to obey authority
- Censorship is necessary to uphold moral values
- People who break the law should get stiffer sentences.”

Respondents are asked to state agreement or disagreement with each of these statements, with more agreement indicating endorsement of authoritarian attitudes. These statements are useful measures of authoritarian attitudes, and they can be combined to form a valid and reliable scale. However, several questions contain political content (particularly the “death penalty” and “stiffer sentences” questions), which can potentially contaminate analyses of the effects of authoritarianism on political attitudes by measuring the same attitudes that are supposed to be explained. Moreover, measures of authoritarian attitudes leave an unresolved question about whether the predisposition is being measured or the attitudes when activated. Nonetheless, the inclusion of these questions opens the possibility of analyzing the relationship between authoritarian attitudes and certain political attitudes.

Austrian National Election Study

The Austrian National Election Study (AUTNES) is relatively new, having only been established in time for the 2009 election. It includes a five-question battery similar to that of the BES. Those items are:

- We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what to do
- The age in which discipline and obedience for authority are some of the most important values should be over (reversed)
- Our society for once has to crack down harder on criminals
- Our country needs people who oppose traditions and try out different ideas (reversed)
- This country would flourish if people paid more attention to traditions and values

As with the BES scale, these questions are reliable measures of authoritarian attitudes. However, the third question about crime would likely “contaminate” any analyses of attitudes about criminal policy or regarding parties promising to impose law and order. Additionally, it is worth noting that the final two questions seem to be reversed versions of each other, which may introduce some problems into the scale.

German Longitudinal Election Study

The German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) is also a high-quality survey with an extensive time series collection and core battery of questions. As such, it is an excellent resource for scholars of public opinion. However, its measurement of authoritarianism is limited. The standard survey includes a “Libertarian-Authoritarian Dimension” question. This question asks respondents to place themselves on a scale favoring more (libertarian) or less (authoritarian) immigration. As such, this question measures a theorized attitudinal consequence of authoritarianism (hostility towards outgroups) rather than the authoritarian disposition itself.

In response to a Call for Questions in 2012, a battery of three child-rearing authoritarianism measures was included in the Spring 2014 wave of the survey (it did not include the “being considerate” versus “being well behaved” question). Analyses using these questions are reported in Tillman (2016b), and they suggest that these items are valid and reliable when used in a German survey.

Other National Survey Series

As noted in the introductory paragraph, no national survey series other than those described has consistently offered an authoritarianism measure, to the author's knowledge. Most offer some set of questions that can potentially be used to measure authoritarian attitudes, though these remain problematic for scholars interested in studying the effects of authoritarianism on political attitudes. In addition, the fact that different questions tend to be asked in each national series means that there is some uncertainty about the substitutability of each measure. Work designed to measure how well various questions asked in each national survey correlate or predict the same attitudes and behaviors would be necessary.

One example of such questions can be found in the Finnish Election Study. It has a battery of questions asking respondents to express their (dis)approval of various potential developments in Finland in the coming years. This battery includes social, economic, and cultural items. The specific items that can be used to generate an authoritarian attitudes scale are:

- Christian values having a greater role
- More law and order
- Traditional Finnish values being cherished
- The status of families is reinforced
- The status of sexual minorities is reinforced (reversed)
- Multicultural Finland where foreigners with different religions and lifestyles are tolerated (reversed)

For each item, respondents can place themselves on a ten-point scale with one pole indicating whether this would be a good development for Finland and the other indicating that it would be a bad development.

IV. Contact and Survey Information

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Survey Information:

Great Britain: Sample: N=1,661 Adults. Fieldwork: August 23-24, 2016. Online Survey – YouGov.

France: Sample: N=1,001 Adults. Fieldwork: August 31-September 2, 2016. Online Survey – YouGov.

Sweden: Sample 1,007 Adults. Fieldwork: August 31-September 6, 2016. Online Survey – YouGov.

Germany: Sample 2,125 Adults. Fieldwork: August 31-September 5, 2016. Online Survey – YouGov.

United States: Sample 1,800 Adults. Fieldwork December 10-15, 2015. Online Survey – University of Massachusetts Amherst and Matthew C. MacWilliams.