The Consequences of Authoritarian Populism in Britain

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Authoritarian Populist was a label often hung on the Thatcher governments of the 1980s. Although the UK political landscape has changed enormously since 1990, the popular sentiments that underpinned Margaret Thatcher's repeated electoral successes remain remarkably strong among British voters today. The paper uses extensive survey evidence to characterise what Authoritarian Populism means for voters in Britain today. The analysis shows that there is a coherent set of beliefs, held by a surprisingly large proportion of the UK electorate, which can reasonably be described as Authoritarian Populist. These beliefs focus on the strong role that Britain should play in the world, cynicism about the operation of EU institutions, a virulent opposition to human rights, negative views towards immigration, and preferences for lower taxes and a smaller state. The analysis also shows that (controlling for a wide range of other relevant factors) these views have important consequences for patterns of party support, for likely voting in the forthcoming referendum on the EU, for (dis)satisfaction with British democracy, and for attitudes towards courts.

In the 1980s, it was fashionable among leftist thinkers in the UK and Europe to describe Margaret Thatcher as an authoritarian populist, and 'Thatcherism' as an authoritarian populist ideology (Jessop et al, 1984). The core image that this characterisation conveyed was that Thatcher herself was an authoritarian (as a leader she was unprepared to brook opposition either within her party or in the country at large); that she appealed to the authoritarian instincts of a substantial section of the British electorate (she advocated popular but illiberal policies on civil rights and immigration); that she favoured an aggressive authoritarian stance in Britain's dealings with foreign governments (witness her confrontations with Argentina over the Falklands and with the EU over the size of the UK's budget contribution); and that she was wedded to a set of neoliberal economic beliefs and policies that sought to reduce the role and scope of the state in British life.

What is intriguing about the analyses of authoritarian populism conducted during the Thatcher years is that they were based almost exclusively on interpretative (and frequently highly selective) accounts of what Thatcher and her coterie of close advisers and confidantes said and thought. Almost no attention was paid to how far Thatcher's presumed worldview was shared by the British public and what consequences that might have. It was enough to assert that Thatcherism was a form of authoritarian populism; that it appealed to sufficient numbers of voters to elect a series of Conservative governments after 1979; and that the left needed to develop an 'alternative narrative' that could challenge the ideological dominance of neo-liberalism (Hall and Jacques, 1983). Following Margaret Thatcher's resignation in 1990, debates about authoritarian populism waned. The electoral successes of right-wing populist parties in several EU countries over the last quarter century and the relative popularity of UKIP in Britain in the last decade, however, have ensured that debates about

populism have not disappeared (Goodwin and Ford, 2014). In the wider European context, antiimmigrant/anti-EU parties have made successful populist appeals to substantial (though still minority) parts of the electorates, inter alia, in France, the Netherlands, Italy, Austria, Greece and Hungary. Serious empirical analyses of the bases of electoral support for right-wing populist parties have been conducted, suggesting that this support is typically rooted in a rejection of contemporary liberal politics and discourse (Wodak, KhosraviNik and Mral, 2013). Right wing populism thrives among those who feel that their opinions and interests have been over-ridden by a mainstream party system that is so concerned to protect minority rights (and often ethnic minority rights) that they feel both politically dispossessed and economically left behind (Jones, 2007). Partly as a result of all this, the use of the term populism almost invariably carries negative connotations – the idea that there is something morally disreputable or even repugnant about both its proponents and its supporters. Authoritarian Populism, if anything, is even worse. Not only are unpleasant views being articulated or supported, but they are infected with an authoritarian mind-set that is dismissive of counter-opinion and prepared to use all means possible to achieve the populists' (morally suspect) policy goals. Yet for the populists themselves, and for their electoral supporters, this characterisation is almost wholly false. For them, to be populist is simply to articulate or support popular views perhaps politically incorrect ones – that liberals and socialists don't like.

This paper seeks to use the term authoritarian populism in a politically neutral way focusing on its character, its sources and its consequences. Using evidence from a representative multi-wave panel survey of the UK electorate between 2011 and 2015, it seeks to specify in very precise terms what authoritarian populism means in contemporary British politics. As we show, it is a constellation of attitudes and beliefs concerning immigration, Britain's role in the global political economy, the role of civil liberties laws and punishment in protecting individual and collective interests, and ideological self-placements. Crucially, we attempt to assess the size of the group that can be reasonably characterised as 'authoritarian populist' in its political views. We estimate that authoritarian populists constitute just over half of the UK adult population – that they are much more numerous than the 12.6% vote share obtained by UKIP in the 2015 UK general election would suggest. The second part of the paper explores the sources of authoritarian populist views, outlining it demographic and other correlates. The final part shows why authoritarian populism matters so much in contemporary British politics by examining the attitudinal and behavioural consequences of holding authoritarian populist beliefs. Authoritarian populism provides an important reservoir of electoral support for both UKIP and the Conservatives. Controlling for a range of other theoretically relevant variables, it is hugely important as a predictor of intended EU referendum voting; it significantly increases dissatisfaction with democracy; and, somewhat ironically, it is associated with negative views about the influence exerted by the judiciary in UK politics.

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Wave 1: November 2011, 2760 respondents

Wave 2: April/May 2012, 2396 all panel

Wave 3: February 2013, 2014 all panel

Wave 4: July/August 2013, 1940 panel, 804 top up

Wave 5: March 2014, 2454 panel respondents; 2669 fresh respondents

Wave 6: May 2014, 4027 panellists Wave 7: June 2014, 3821 panellists

Wave 10: April 2015, 2687 panellists

¹ The survey was conducted by YouGov across 10 waves as follows:

1. Operationalising contemporary Authoritarian Populism

As indicated above, the use of the term Authoritarian Populism (AP) derives largely from an intellectual tradition that is content to assert things without the need to subject them to rigorous empirical scrutiny. Populism (invariably of the political right) was not so much subject to systematic analysis, as repeatedly used as a term of academic and political abuse. Populist leaders were held to make appeals over the heads of 'civil society organisations' directly to voters' basest concerns about the integrity of the nation and unwarranted intrusions in its internal affairs by outside agents, their fears about foreigners (later to be overtaken by fears about immigrants), and the threats posed by left-wing ideologies (Dix, 1985). The authoritarian component in the mix derived from a preparedness by such leaders to use severe repression in support of their political ends. That repression in turn was both justified and sold to the public in terms of (a) the permanent risk that civil liberties would degenerate into civil licence and ungovernable anarchy and (b) the need for a punitive judicial system that would preserve civil order.

These ideas were picked up again in the 1980s and developed by leftist commentators interested in understanding Margaret Thatcher's efforts to embed a neo-liberal approach to politics and economics in Britain and, if possible, in the wider world (Scase, 1980; Barnett, 1982). Thatcher's authoritarian populism was built on four pillars and added a fifth as it progressed. First, ideologically, she wanted to 'roll back the state' and expose economic activities in Britain to what she regarded as the energising forces of the market - hence her relentless pursuit of privatisation and her determination to 'curb the unions' in order to reduce their ability to hamper the competitiveness of British industry and commerce (Thatcher, 1993). Second, in terms of the UK's role in world politics, Thatcher wanted 'to put the Great back in Britain' by adopting a more forceful approach to international and security affairs – a role that she pursued with relish in the 1982 Falklands crisis and in her dealings with Ronald Reagan in challenging Soviet global influence throughout the 1980s (Sanders, 1990). Third, Thatcher's innate parochialism led to her having strong convictions about the negative consequences of immigration for British society – she even spoke publicly on one occasion of communities being swamped by immigrants – a view that many observers believed resonated with large numbers of British voters (Moore, 2015). Fourth, Thatcher held strong doubts about the value of laws protecting civil liberties that could be easily exploited by criminals and other undesirables: although she was an economic liberal, she was a social authoritarian (Moore, 2015). Finally, and this developed as her premiership progressed, Thatcher was a Eurosceptic. Although she was prepared to negotiate (successfully) with Europe to secure a 'fairer budget deal for the UK' at Fontainbleu in 1984 and to sign up to the Single European Act (which extended the reach of free market mechanisms within the EU) in 1986, she remained strongly opposed to the EEC's founding principle of 'ever closer union', believing that the EU should be an association of independent sovereign states cooperating primarily in terms of ensuring free trade and the removal of barriers to genuine economic competition in goods and services (Moore 2015).

In terms of contemporary authoritarian populist appeals, the key issue is how far these ideas resonate with public opinion in the UK today. Table 1 describes the variables that we use to operationalize the five components of AP outlined above. In order to measure ideological sympathy for market mechanisms of distribution and the rolling back of the state – in effect, economic

liberalism — we use the respondent's self-placement on a left-right scale, where low values connote a left-wing and high values a right-wing position. To measure preferences towards Britain's global role we use a dummy variable that distinguishes between those respondents who, given a choice of various alternative foreign policy roles, believe that Britain can best protect its interests by being 'strong and tough with other nations and maintaining a powerful military' — and those who do not. In order to assess people's attitudes towards immigration, we use a standard 'emotional reactions' battery of questions that asks respondents to specify which emotions they associate with immigration. Our measure is simply the sum of the number of negative emotions (unease, anxiety, fear, disgust) that respondents indicate they feel. We measure critical attitudes towards human rights through a Likert scale that assesses agreement/disagreement with the proposition that 'People who talk about human rights are mainly interested in protecting the rights of criminals not those of their victims'. Finally, critical attitudes towards the European Union are captured using a variable that asks respondents to indicate how far they approve or disapprove of the UK's membership of the EU.

Table 2 reports the results of a simple exploratory factor analysis of the variables described in Table 1. The pattern of factor loadings shows that all five variables load highly on a single (first) factor, strongly suggesting that they reflect a single underlying dimension that can be reasonably characterised as an Authoritarian Populist scale. This conclusion is confirmed by a simple alpha scale test, which produces a reliability coefficient of 0.75 (above the conventional test cut-off of α >.7). If we accept that the resultant alpha scale does indeed measure the extent to which individuals hold authoritarian populist views, it makes sense to use the component indicator variables in order to try to estimate the proportion of the electorate that can reasonably be characterised as 'authoritarian populists'. There are various ways of making such estimates. Here, we use simple cluster analysis in order to assess if there are distinctive groups of voters who cluster together in their attitudes across the five component variables.

Table 3 summarises the results of a series of cluster analyses that begin with a 2-cluster solution for the five component variables and proceed through to a 5-cluster solution. The cell entries (for each cluster set A, B, C, D) show the variations in average scores among the respondents that belong to each cluster across each of the component variables. Thus, for example, in the 2-cluster solution, the average score on 'Britain should be strong and tough' for respondents who belong to cluster A1 is 0.43, compared with a score of 0.16 for respondents who belong to cluster A2; similarly, the average score on EU Disapproval is 3.81 for cluster A1 respondents and 2.34 for those in cluster in A2; the average scores on Rights Protect Criminals (3.84 versus 2.55), on Negative Immigration Emotions (2.09 versus 0.74) and on Right-Wing Ideology (6.65 versus 3.44) are all substantially higher among cluster A1 respondents than they are in cluster A2. All these differences are highly statistically significant. Indeed, the pattern of differentiation is so consistent that we would characterise the individuals who belong to cluster A1 (52% of our sample) as 'Authoritarian Populist'; by implication, respondents in cluster A2 would be 'not Authoritarian Populist' (48%).

The 3-cluster solution shown in the B segment of Table 3 produces a very similar result to that in the 2-cluster segment. It retains the same group of 'not Authoritarian Populists' in cluster B3 (as in A2) but differentiates between two very similar groups of APs in clusters B1 and B2 – with the group in cluster B2 holding slightly more extreme views on all five measured component variables than their counterparts in cluster B1. The 4-cluster solution in the C segment of Table 3 retains the same two

(very similar) groups of Authoritarian Populists as in segment B but further differentiates between two groups of not-APs, with cluster C4 exhibiting the lowest average scores on all four component variables. Crucially, respondents in clusters C3 and C4 all exhibit attitude patterns that indicate their rejection of Authoritarian Populism: they do not believe that Britain should act in a 'strong and tough' manner on the world stage; they approve of the EU; they take a positive view of human rights; they are not fearful of immigration and they place themselves very much on the left of the political spectrum. Finally, the 5-cluster solution retains the two clearly not-AP clusters in D4 and D5 but identifies a very small group (D3) which has most of the characteristics of Authoritarian Populism (the group exhibits high scores on Britain Strong and Tough, EU Disapproval, Rights Protect Criminals and Negative Immigration Emotions) but whose members position themselves on the left side of the political spectrum (average score 3.11). We are broadly agnostic as to whether or not this small group (which represents only 3% of our sample) is 'genuinely Authoritarian Populist'. If they are counted as APs (since they look like APs on four of our five components), then as noted in relation to the 2-cluster solution, APs represent roughly 52% of the UK electorate; if they are not, then APs represent around 49%. The key point, given either interpretation, is that Authoritarian Populism represents a world-view exhibited by roughly half the UK adult population. This is a large body of opinion by any standards, the political implications of which need properly to be understood. In the remaining sections of this paper, we explore, first, the sources of these authoritarian populist dispositions and, second, their attitudinal and behavioural consequences.

2. Why do (some) people embrace Authoritarian Populism?

It is extraordinarily difficult to establish why people think the things they do. We make no pretence here to provide a fully-fledged theory of the origins of Authoritarian Populism in Britain. However, we are able to consider the roles played (1) by different demographic factors, (2) by exposure to certain media sources, and (3) by more general social attitudes, particularly beliefs about the family. As with any consideration of potential causal effects using survey data, we fully recognise the risks of endogeneity – the possibility that variables on both sides of a given equation may co-determine each other. Unfortunately, we do not have access to suitable instrumental variables to enable us to deal explicitly with potential endogeneity. We accordingly specify a very simple statistical model, justified primarily on theoretical grounds, which assumes one-way causation.

The first set of factors that might engender an AP mind-set relates to demographics. The basic demographic profile of Authoritarian Populists in the UK is described in Table 4. For presentational purposes, we use a dummy variable derived from the 2-cluster solution described in Table 3 as our measure of Authoritarian Populism/not. Recall that using this measure 52% of our sample can be characterised as AP. The cell entries in Table 4 accordingly need to be set against this 52% baseline in order to assess whether APs are disproportionately over- or under-represented in different sociodemographic groups. As the table shows, the differences by gender (51% of males are AP compared with 53% of women) are non-significant. However, authoritarian populist attitudes are significantly less prevalent among ethnic minorities (only 40% are categorised as AP), among the more highly educated (45%), in the middle class (46%), among trade unionists (28%), among public sector workers (48%) and in the young (39% among the under-30s). None of these findings is particularly surprising in the sense that liberal and left-wing attitudes tend to be more prevalent among these

groups – and by implication we would expect to find lower levels of AP among them too (Heath, Jowell and Curtice, 1994; Clarke et al, 2004). The variations in authoritarian populism level by region are similarly unsurprising: the highest levels of AP are found in the Midlands and in the north and east of England, and the lowest levels in the South-West and in Wales and Scotland. The relatively low numbers of cases in each of the regional groupings means that these differences need to be treated with caution. Accordingly, when we return to the role of regional effects in our multivariate analysis below, we restrict our investigation to only the strongest (positive or negative) regional effects shown in Table 4 – those relating to the West Midlands (60% AP) and to Scotland(46% AP) and Wales (35% AP).

Table 5 describes our second and third sets of factors that could potentially influence Authoritarian Populist attitudes: media exposure and social attitudes. In terms of media exposure we distinguish between those who read 'right wing populist newspapers' - the Mail, Express, Sun, Star and Telegraph – and those who do not. These are all newspapers which, in both their editorials and news coverage, tend to be supportive of an aggressive UK foreign policy stance, sceptical about the value and consequences of human rights legislation, critical of immigration and opposed to Britain's membership of the EU (Seymour-Ure, 1997; Wheeler, 1997). As Table 5 shows, Authoritarian Populism is certainly more common among those exposed to the populist press (74% of its readers fit our categorisation of AP) than it is among those who not exposed (41% of non-readers can be described as AP). Table 5 also reports the differences in average scores on three 6-point scales that seek to measure Traditional Social Values. We differentiate among three sets of traditional social values: the extent to which the respondent evaluates other people on the basis that their actions 'showed love for his or her country'; the extent to which 'children ought to learn respect for authority'; and the extent to which men and women should 'play different roles in society'. We hypothesise that individuals who espouse traditional values like these should be more susceptible to the sort of nationalistic ideational and policy appeals made by Authoritarian Populism. These are people who are likely to be nostalgic about the past, who believe that it is possible for society to return to a (largely non-existent) golden age in which traditional values, traditional social forms and Britain's traditional (and superior) place in the world can be restored. The second segment of Table 5 shows that Authoritarian Populists exhibit significantly higher average scores, across all three sets of traditional social values, than do non-APs. (For example, 59% of APs believe that men and women should perform different social roles, compared with only 39% of non-APs who hold this belief).

The key point of the summary results presented in Tables 4 and 5 is that there are significant differences between those people who can be described as Authoritarian Populists and those who cannot, in terms of demographics, press readership and traditional social values. These simple bivariate relationships can be taken further, however. Rather than treating AP as a simple dichotomy, we can use the AP alpha scale referred to earlier as an interval-level measure of each individual's degree of Authoritarian Populism. Using the same predictor variables identified in Tables 4 and 5, we can specify and test a simple individual-level model of AP as follows:

APScale_i = a + Σ b₁₋₉ (Demographics) + b₁₀ Reads Populist Newspaper + b₁₁ Values Patriotism + b₁₂ Children Respect Authority + b₁₃ Differentiated Gender Roles + ϵ _i [1]

where is a random error term and all predictor variables are defined as in Tables 4, and 5.

Table 6 reports the results of estimating [1]. As APScale, is a normally distributed interval-level variable (see Annex 3), estimation is by OLS. The model is reasonably well determined with an r² of 0.37 - reasonably high for individual-level attitudinal data. The results show, unsurprisingly, that several of the demographic variables identified in Table 4 lose their significance when the effects of other drivers are considered simultaneously. This conclusion clearly applies to gender, ethnicity, public sector employment and residence in Scotland, all of which yield non-significant coefficients. In contrast, it is clear that Authoritarian Populism is influenced positively by age (b=-.004) and by residence in the West Midlands (b=.24); and negatively by education (b=-.13), middle class status (b=-.12), trade union membership (b=-.36) and residence in Wales (b=-.23). The regional effects are not easy to explain, though the positive West Midlands effect may be related to the fact that outside London (which is a special case in relation to many social and political attitudes) the West Midlands has the largest ethnic minority population in the UK at 17.3% (ONS, 2012). The negative effect for Wales could in turn reflect its status as the region with the smallest ethnic minority population (4.4%). These demographic effects are perhaps less important than the other results reported in Table 6. As expected, readers of right-wing populist newspapers are significantly more likely to be score highly on Authoritarian Populism (b=.50). Similarly, each of our measures of traditional social attitudes strengthens AP – see the significant, positive coefficients for the Values Patriotism (b=.11), Children Respect Authority (b=.18) and Differentiated Gender Roles (b=.13) variables shown in the table.

The broad conclusion suggested by Table 6 is not that we can explain definitively why some people are more Authoritarian populist than others but that it can be shown (a) that AP has a distinctive and understandable demographic and (b) that it is affected predictably by media exposure and by traditional social attitudes. In the remainder of the paper, we endeavour to answer the question of 'so what?' Why do Authoritarian populist attitudes matter? What consequences do they have for British politics more generally?

3. The attitudinal and behavioural consequences of Authoritarian Populism

We seek to assess the importance of AP attitudes for contemporary UK politics by specifying and testing four models that use AP as an explanatory variable. These include models of vote intention, dissatisfaction with democracy, intended vote in the planned UK referendum on EU membership, and attitudes towards judicial power in the UK. As far as possible, we specify models that have been developed in previous research. Our key innovation in each is to include a term for APScale as an additional predictor variable. In each case, we show that this AP term adds explanatory power to the specified model, suggesting that across a wide range of attitudinal and behavioural dispositions Authoritarian Populism plays an important explanatory role.

Modelling Voting Intentions

One obvious puzzle follows from our estimate that roughly half the UK adult population can be characterised as Authoritarian Populist: UKIP is clearly a populist party yet it received only 15% of the popular vote in the May 2015 UK general election; so how did the remaining Authoritarian Populists cast their votes? Table 7 provides the simple answer, based on our respondents' voting intentions as stated in April 2015: over half of APs (55%) voted Conservative; 13% voted Labour; 10%

were split across the Liberal Democrats and the nationalist and minor parties; and 22% of APs supported UKIP. Very clearly, therefore, although there is a link between Authoritarian Populism and UK voting patterns, APs are attracted to more than just the archetypal populist party, UKIP: they are equally strongly attracted to the Conservatives and also, though to a lesser extent, to other parties (Goodwin and Ford, 2014). The key issue, of course, is whether or not AP as a mind-set has an effect on vote choice over and above the effects of other known influences on vote.

There is a well-established approach to the specification of UK vote-choice models, which we follow here with minor modifications. Following Whiteley et al (2013) we estimate a multinomial logit that includes core terms for valence calculations (party leader evaluations and assessments of the party best able to handle what the respondent regards as the most important issue facing the country) and ideological spatial proximities (the differences between where the individual locates her/himself on the left-right spectrum and where s/he locates each of the major parties), together with a standard set of demographic controls (Clarke et al, 2009; Whiteley et al 2013). To this core model we add a term for the individual's position on our Authoritarian Populist scale. Because of the limited number of cases available in our dataset and because the main challenge suggested by the results in Table 7 is to assess how far Authoritarian Populism helps to explain Conservative and UKIP voting, we group together all those respondents who indicated support for any of the left-leaning parties that stood in the 2015 UK general election – Labour, the Liberal Democrats, the Greens, Plaid Cymru and the SNP – which we use as our base category in the multinomial estimation. (The results are substantially the same if we use only Labour as the base category – see Annex 6). We exclude all respondents who indicated either that they would not vote or didn't know how they would vote, together with a small number of respondents who indicated their intention of voting for other minor parties. The model we estimate is:

Vote Intention = f(Conservative, UKIP and Labour Leader Evaluations; Conservatives Best Party, UKIP Best party, Labour Best Party on Most Important Issue/not; Spatial Proximity Respondent-Conservatives, Respondent-UKIP, Respondent-Labour; Authoritarian Populism Scale; Demographic Controls) [2]

Table 8 estimates [2]. The results are reassuring in that the model is well determined (pseudo- r^2 =.66) and the relevant valence and spatial terms are significant and correctly signed. In the Conservative versus left-leaning party equation (Segment A), the coefficients for Cameron's ratings, Conservatives as Best Party on Most Important Issue and Conservative-Respondent Spatial Proximity are all positive and highly significant. Similarly, in the UKIP versus left-leaning party equation (Segment B), the coefficients for Farage's ratings, UKIP as Best Party and UKIP-Respondent Spatial Proximity are all positive and highly significant. Critically, for our purposes here, the APscale term is positive and highly significant in both the Conservative (b=1.12) and UKIP (b=1.21) equations. Translating these coefficients into changes in probabilities using CLARIFY indicates that, if we increase the APscale score of an individual from its minimum to its maximum values (from 0.4 to 5.0), holding all other variables constant at their respective means, the probability of an individual supporting the Conservatives increases by p=.61; the probability of supporting UKIP increases by p=.19. In short, over and above the standard valence and spatial effects and controlling for standard demographics, vote intention (in this case in the May 2015 UK general election) is powerfully influenced Authoritarian Populist attitudes: support in May 2015 for UKIP and especially for the

Conservatives was powerfully bolstered by the AP sentiments of a significant proportion of the UK electorate.

Modelling EU Referendum Vote Intentions

Britain is due to hold a referendum on its continued EU membership before the end of 2017. In the April 2015 wave of our survey we asked respondents how they intended to vote in the promised referendum: 40% said they would vote to leave, 45% to stay and 15% were undecided. Models of referendum voting typically focus (a) on the cognitive shortcuts or heuristics that voters tend to use in relatively unusual situations and (b) on how people evaluate Britain's EU membership, whilst (c) controlling for standard demographics (LeDuc 2003 and 2005; Sanders et al, 2015). We follow this general approach, with two additions. In relation to heuristics, we use measures of party identification/not with each the four major UK-wide political parties (we had too few respondents in Scotland and Wales to produce reliable estimates for the effect of identification with either the SNP or Plaid Cymru) together with measures of respondent's affect towards the leaders of each of the four main parties (Cameron for the Conservatives; Miliband for Labour; Clegg for the Liberal Democrats and Farage for UKIP). Given the positions on the EU taken by the party leaderships in the 2015 general election (the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat leaderships were all pro-EU; the UKIP leadership was anti-EU), we expect support for Britain's staying in the EU to be positively associated with Conservative, Labour and Lib-Dem identifications and with the affect measure for Cameron, Miliband and Clegg; in contrast, we expect negative effects for UKIP identification and affect towards Farage.

We assess evaluations of EU membership through responses to three questions about the consequences of Britain's membership: the extent to which European exporters benefit disproportionately more than UK exporters from Britain's membership; the extent to which respondents believe EU politicians and bureaucrats are paid significantly more than their UK counterparts; and whether or not they believe that the UK is obliged to contribute disproportionately too much to the annual EU budget. In addition, we also include terms for Readership of Eurosceptic Newspapers/not (with an obvious expectation that exposure to such newspapers will increase the probability of voting to Leave) and for Authoritarian Populism (with the expectation that such attitudes, since they imply a rejection of the liberal internationalism associated with the European project, will also increase the probability of voting to Leave).²

Our model of EU referendum voting is:

Vote (Stay/DK/Leave) = $a + \Sigma b_{1-4}$ Party Identifications + Σb_{5-8} Party Leader Affect Scores + Σb_{9-11} Evaluations of EU + b_{12} Reads Eurosceptic Newspaper + b_{13} Authoritarian Populism Scale + Σb_{14-22} (Demographics) + ϵ_i [3]

Table 9 estimates [3] using ordered logit. The model is well determined (pseudo r2 =.41) and the results are broadly consistent with theoretical expectations. Of the party identification terms, only Conservative identification is close to significance (with a correctly signed coefficient, b=.95). However, the leader affect variables produce more significant results: the terms for Cameron (b=.13) and Miliband (b=.08) are both positive and (nearly) significant, while the term for Farage (b=-.17) is

² We define Eurosceptic papers as the *Mail, Express, Sun, Star* and *Telegraph*.

significant and negative. As expected, exposure to the Eurosceptic press (b=-.42) increases the probability of voting to Leave. The pattern of coefficients on the demographic variables is broadly in line with previous findings, indicating that support the UK's continued membership is significantly more likely among men (b=.04), the middle class (b=.82) and in Scotland (b=.87). For our purposes here, however, the key coefficient is the b=-2.03 for the Authoritarian Populism scale variable. This translates into a p=.97 increase in voting to Leave the EU if we increase APscale from its minimum to its maximum value, holding all other variables constant at their respective means. Authoritarian Populism, in short, is a hugely important driver of the UK electorate's preferences with regard to Britain's leaving or staying in the EU.

Modelling Dissatisfaction with Democracy

As with models of vote choice, there is a well-established tradition of modelling (dis)satisfaction with democracy (Bowler and Donovan, 2002; Clarke et al, 2013; Sanders et al, 2014). The specification that we employ here makes use of a 14-item battery of survey questions that operationalizes the two key factors that underpin democracy satisfaction: internal efficacy (the individual's sense that her/his actions can affect political outcomes); and external efficacy (the sense that established political institutions respond effectively to citizens' concerns). Generally, external efficacy is found to correlate negatively with democracy satisfaction: the less confidence an individual has in national leaders and institutions, the more likely s/he is to be dissatisfied with the operation of the democratic process. Internal efficacy, in contrast can be either positively or negatively related to (or even unrelated to) democracy dissatisfaction since both supporters and critics of the existing system can in principle believe that their actions are consequential for the democratic process (Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; Niemi, Craig and Mattei, 1991). The exploratory factor analysis reported in Annex 11 shows that the measures in the 14-item survey battery load clearly onto two factors, corresponding to internal and external efficacy. We use simple alpha scaling to produce composite internal and external efficacy measures.³

In addition to these two predictors, our specification also includes a term for economic optimism (previous research has established that optimists are more likely to be satisfied with the democratic status quo that has engendered their optimism in the first place) and terms for standard demographics. Critically, we also include the same APScale variable incorporated into our vote intention model above: Authoritarian Populists are disaffected with the dominant liberal political establishment – for this reason alone, we would expect our APscale measure, *ceteris paribus*, to be positively associated with democracy dissatisfaction. Treating Democracy Dissatisfaction/Not as a binary variable, our model is:

Democracy Dissatisfaction/Not = a + Σb_{1-8} (Demographics) + b₉ Internal Efficacy + b₁₀ External Efficacy + b₁₁ Personal Economic Expectations + b₁₂ Authoritarian Populism Scale + ϵ_i [4]

Table 10 provides logit estimates of [4]. As expected, external efficacy (b=-1.36) and economic expectations (b=-.47) both exert significant and strong negative effects on dissatisfaction. Internal efficacy (for which we had no theoretical expectation) has a significant positive effect (b=.40). The demographic controls are all non-significant. Critically, the APScale effect is significant and positive

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 $^{^{3}}$ The α values for each scale are both well in excess of the α >.7 threshold normally employed.

(b=.32), indicating that over and above the effects of efficacy and economic perceptions, Authoritarian Populist attitudes contribute significantly to UK citizens' dissatisfaction with the democratic process. Increasing APscale from its minimum to its maximum values whilst holding all other variables constant at their respective means increases the probability of being dissatisfied with democracy by p=.33.

Modelling perceptions of over-weaning judicial influence

The results we present in Table 10 show that Authoritarian Populism has a powerful influence on a conventional measure of democracy (dis)satisfaction. There is a further aspect of the functioning of democracy, however, that is probably not picked up by this conventional measure. There is evidence that a significant proportion of the UK electorate believes, for a variety of reasons, that the judicial branch has accreted rather too much influence to itself in recent years. We asked our respondents how far they agreed or disagreed with the statement that 'Decisions made by judges have more influence on our daily lives than changes in the laws passed by Parliament'. Although 44% of respondents took no view, only 18% disagreed with the statement and fully 38% agreed with it, clearly indicating that the idea of over-weaning Judicial Influence has resonance with a substantial minority of UK voters. A simple correlation between our measures of Democracy Satisfaction and Judicial Influence yields r=.03. This, in turn, suggests that our 'too much Judicial Influence' measure is distinct from conventional democracy (dis)satisfaction. Indeed, we would argue that this relatively widespread sense of over-weaning judicial influence, which is independent of conventional measures of democracy dissatisfaction, is something that very much requires explanation.

We hypothesise that there are two key sources of the perception that judges now exert too much influence on people's everyday lives. The first relates simply to general perceptions of courts, and in particular to perceptions of the UK Supreme Court. The Supreme Court was created in 2009, taking over the high-level judicial appeal functions of the 'Law Lords'. The second, third and fourth waves of our panel survey, conducted in 2012/2013, included a battery of nine questions taken directly from surveys investigating attitudes towards the Supreme Court in other countries. Scaling analysis of these items in our survey showed that they reproduced exactly the same sort of uni-dimensional pro/anti Supreme Court scale that has been observed in other countries (Gibson and Caldeira, 2009). We use this scale to test the simple hypothesis that individuals who feel positively towards the UK Supreme Court are less likely to think that judges have too much influence on people's everyday lives in the UK. Our second hypothesis relates to the impact of Authoritarian Populism on attitudes towards judges. Authoritarian Populists, it will be recalled, are highly critical of the human rights agenda. Since the Human Rights Act 1998, the UK judiciary has been obliged to ensure that all UK legislation is interpreted in a manner that is consistent with the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights. This in turn has meant that the more liberal rulings made by the UK's highest courts over the last two decades or so have conflicted with the deep seated anti-human rights sentiments of Authoritarian Populists. We hypothesise in these circumstances that the higher an individual's score on our APscale measure, the more likely it is that s/he will consider that judges exert too much influence on everyday life in the UK.

Incorporating these two hypotheses, with the same demographic controls as in [2]-[4], our model of over-weaning judicial influence is:

Too much Judge Influence/Not = $a + b_1$ Pro Supreme Court + b_2 Authoritarian Populism Scale + Σb_{3-10} (Demographics) + ε_i [5]

Table 11 reports the consequences of estimating [5] using binomial logit. The model is not particularly well determined (pseudo R² is only .10) but the two main hypothesised effects produce significant, correctly signed coefficients. As predicted, the Pro Supreme Court scale exerts a significant negative effect (b=-.45) while the Authoritarian Populism scale effect is significant and positive (b=.65). Increasing APscale from its minimum to its maximum values whilst holding all other variables constant at their respective means increases the probability of believing that judges exert too much influence on UK laws by p=.61.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has had three core objectives: (1) to show that Authoritarian Populism is a distinct mind-set among the UK voting-age population, even though individuals vary in the extent to which they embrace Authoritarian Populist attitudes; (2) to explore the individual-level sources of AP attitudes; and (3) to assess the possible consequences of AP attitudes in terms of UK voting preferences, EU Referendum vote intention, democracy dissatisfaction and perceptions of judicial influence.

The starting point of our analysis was the conjecture that Authoritarian Populism represents a constellation of mass attitudes across five connected domains that form a coherent, single dimension of political attitudes. The five domains focused on attitudes towards the EU, towards human rights, towards immigration, towards the role of the state in providing public services, and about the way the UK should conduct itself in its relations with other countries. We used exploratory factor analysis and simple scale analysis, employing (10-wave) panel data from a representative sample of the British electorate, to show that these five domains could indeed by reduced to a single, measured dimension.

The second stage of the analysis used cluster analysis in order to estimate the approximate size of the Authoritarian Populist population in the UK. This is clearly not the only methodology that could be deployed in this context, but it has the considerable merit of simplicity and clarity. We showed that a simple 2-cluster solution (in which the Authoritarian Populist group represented just over half of the sample) underpinned more elaborated and complex 3-, 4- and 5-cluster solutions. We take this to indicate that Authoritarian Populism is a major mind-set among contemporary British voters that needs to be analysed systematically in order properly to be understood.

The third stage of our analysis explored the individual-level sources of Authoritarian Populist attitudes using our interval-level APScale measure as a dependent variable. Our results showed that AP attitudes are significantly more prevalent among those who read right-wing newspapers and who hold traditional social values with regard to patriotism, gender roles, and the need for children to respect authority. There is also a clear demographic to Authoritarian Populist sentiment: it is lower among graduates, the middle class and trade unionists; it is higher among the old. Geographically, there are variations in average APscale scores across the UK, but the only spatial effects that retain their significance in a multivariate model show that AP is significantly higher in the West Midlands and lower in Wales.

The final stage of our analysis involved assessing the possible consequences of Authoritarian Populism in two behavioural areas (general election voting and EU referendum voting) and two further attitudinal domains (dissatisfaction with democracy and attitudes towards the influence of judges). In each of these areas, we attempted to specify testable models, based where possible on empirical findings from previous studies, which allowed to us to assess whether or not our APscale measure had a clear statistical effect on the selected dependent variable, over and above the effects of other known predictors. The results provided strong a priori evidence for the explanatory power of Authoritarian Populism. In each of the models tested, we found strong evidence for an 'Authoritarian Populism effect'. Over and above standard valence and spatial considerations, AP offers a powerful explanatory account of UKIP and especially Conservative voting intention in the 2015 UK general election. Over and above standard heuristics (party identifications and leader assessments) and economic evaluations of the EU, AP has a huge effect on the decision whether not to vote for Britain to Leave or to Stay in the EU. Over and above the impact of internal and external efficacy and of economic confidence, AP has a significant and positive (if modest) effect on people's dissatisfaction with democracy. Finally, over and above attitudes towards the Supreme Court, AP has a significant and large effect on mass attitudes towards over-weaning judicial influence. All of these effects are significant and robust to variations in model specification that we have not reported here.

Students of democratic politics have discussed the rise of populism and of authoritarian populism in Europe for over 30 years. Here we have offered what we believe is the first systematic empirical analysis of its prevalence as a mind-set among the UK mass public, together with an exploration of its origins and an assessment of its importance for understanding several different developments in UK mass politics. It would be fascinating to explore the extent to which similar attitude patterns, and potential consequences, are evident in other advanced democracies. In any event, both political parties and political observers would do well to watch the evolution of Authoritarian Populist attitudes as they wrestle with the assorted problems of immigration, Britain's EU referendum campaign, and the challenges to human rights laws and conventions arising from concerns about fundamentalist terrorism. We may not like Authoritarian Populists but they are here, now, in large numbers – far more numerous than the four million voters who supported UKIP in 2015. And, as we have shown, their views matter and have consequences.

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Table 1: Measures of the Five Components of Authoritarian Populism

	Mean	Range	N
Ideological sympathy for market and rolling back of the state	5.11	0-10	1236
Britain Strong and Tough Foreign Policy	0.33	0-1	2687
Negative Emotional Response to Immigration	1.37	0-4	2687
Critical of Human Rights	3.25	1-5	2687
Disapproval of European Union	3.04	1-5	2687

For precise measures and question wordings, see Annex 1

Table 2: Exploratory Factor Analysis of the Five Components of Authoritarian Populism

	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Left-Right Self Placement	0.46	0.79
Britain Strong and Tough Foreign Policy	0.72	0.48
Negative Emotional Response to Immigration	0.70	0.51
Critical of Human Rights	0.67	0.55
Disapproval of European Union	0.57	0.67

Factor 1 eigenvalue=2.00; Factor 2 eigenvalue=-.05; chisq (10)=1539.84; p=.0000; N=1236. Alpha scale test on the same variables produces α =.74. For equivalent analyses from 1983 and 1997, see Annex 2.

Table 3: Cluster Analyses of UK Respondents based on the Five Components of Authoritarian Populism

Cluster	N in cluster	Left-Right	Britain	Negative	Critical of	Disapproval
Solution	(Percentage	Self	Strong and	Immigration	Human	of European
	in Cluster)	Placement	Tough	Emotions	Rights	Union
2-clusters						
Cluster A1	641 (52%)	6.65	0.43	2.09	3.82	3.81
Cluster A2	595 (48%)	3.44	0.16	0.74	2.55	2.34
3-clusters						
Cluster B1	471 (38%)	6.09	0.41	1.79	3.76	3.75
Cluster B2	170 (14%)	8.22	0.46	2.90	4.06	4.01
Cluster B3	595 (48%)	3.44	0.16	0.74	2.55	2.34
4-clusters						
Cluster C1	471 (38%)	6.09	0.41	1.79	3.76	3.75
Cluster C2	170 (14%)	8.22	0.46	2.90	4.06	4.01
Cluster C3	472 (38%)	3.99	0.18	0.84	2.69	2.40
Cluster C4	123 (10%)	3.67	0.10	0.36	1.99	2.09
5-clusters						
Cluster D1	471 (38%)	6.09	0.41	1.79	3.76	3.75
Cluster D2	170 (14%)	8.22	0.46	2.90	4.06	4.01
Cluster D3	427 (35%)	4.08	0.16	0.66	2.51	2.18
Cluster D4	45 (4%)	3.11	0.42	2.60	4.22	4.51
Cluster D5	123 (10%)	3.67	0.10	0.36	1.99	2.09

Cell entries, except where specified, are mean scores within the relevant cluster. Total N=1236; weighted by Weight_wave10

Table 4: The Demographic Profile of Authoritarian Populists in Britain^a

	Percentage		Percentage
	Authoritarian		Authoritarian
	Populist		Populist
All	52		
Male	51	Trade Unionist	28
Female	53	Not Trade Unionist	55
Aged over 65	64		
Aged 51-65	55	North East	57
Aged 31-50	45	North West	51
Aged 18-30	39	Yorkshire and Humber	56
White	53	East Midlands	54
Ethnic Minority	40	West Midlands	60
Non Graduate	57	East of England	55
Graduate	45	London	51
Middle Class ^b	46	South East	54
Working Class	55	South West	48
Public Sector	48	Wales	35
Not Public Sector	54	Scotland	46

^a Authoritarian Populists defined as Cluster A1 in Table 3. ^b Professional/Managerial. N=1236; weighted by Weight wave10.

Table 5: Bivariate Relationships between Authoritarian Populism and its Non Demographic Correlates

	Authoritarian	Not Authoritarian
	Populist	Populist
Traditional Social Values		
Values Patriotism	64	42
Does not value Patriotism	26	58
Believes children should respect authority	54	27
Does not believe children should respect authority	46	73
Believes in differentiated gender roles	59	38
Does not believe in differentiated gender roles	41	62
Populist Newspaper Readership		
Reads populist newspaper	74	41
Does not read populist newspaper	26	59

Cell entries are column percentages and sum to 100 within each cell. N=1236; weighted by Weight_wave10

Table 6: OLS Model of Authoritarian Populist Attitudes in Britain

Predictor Variable	Coefficient
Traditional Social Values	
Values Patriotism	.11**
Believes children should respect authority	.18**
Believes in differentiated gender roles	.13**
Reads Populist Newspaper/not	.50**
Male/not	.03
Age	.00*
White/not	.01
Graduate/not	13*
Middle Class/not	12*
Public Sector/not	05
Trade Unionist/not	36**
West Midlands	.24**
Scotland	05
Wales	23*
Constant	.63**
Adjusted R2	.37
Weighted N of cases	1059

Dependent variable is Authoritarian Populism scale. For full model details, see Annex 4. In this and subsequent tables, * denotes p<=.05; **p<=.01.

Table 7: Bivariate Relationship between Authoritarian Populism and Vote Intention, April 2015

	Not Authoritarian	Authoritarian	All
	Populist	Populist	
Conservative	11	55	35
Labour	58	13	34
UKIP	6	22	14
Liberal Democrat	9	5	7
Other	15	6	11

Column percentages reported. N=1039; weighted by Weight_wave10

Table 8: Multinomial Logit Model of Vote Intention

	A: Conservative Vote	B: UKIP Vote
	Intention versus Base	Intention versus Base
	Category	Category
	Coefficient	Coefficient
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.51**	03
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	14	24**
Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	02	.46**
Conservatives Best on MIP/not	1.00**	.13
Labour Best on MIP/not	94	91
UKIP Best on MIP/not	.35	.86
Respondent Proximity to Conservatives	.28**	17
Respondent Proximity to Labour	40**	25*
Respondent Proximity to UKIP	02	.32**
Authoritarian Populism Scale	1.12**	1.21**
Male/not	45	.52
Age	02	0.02
White/not	2.11*	1.05
Graduate/not	.27	1.04*
Middle Class/not	.47	29
Public Sector/not	88*	10
Trade Unionist/not	06	11
Scotland	-2.93**	-2.35**
Constant	-4.68**	-5.83**
Pseudo R2	.66	
Weighted N of cases	779	

Base Category is Vote Intention for Labour, Liberal Democrat, Green, SNP or Plaid Cymru; measured at wave 10. Most Important Problem (MIP) and leader affect terms measured at wave 7. Proximity terms measured at waves 1, 2 and 4 (self-placement) and wave 6 (party positions). For full details, see Annex 5.

Table 9: Ordered Logit Model of EU Referendum Vote Intention

	Coefficient
Conservative party identification/not	.95*
Labour party identification/not	.25
UKIP identification/not	.62
Liberal Democrat party identification/not	.40
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.13*
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	.08
Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	17**
Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale)	.06
EU exports much more to UK than we export to them	33**
EU bureaucrats and politicians paid more than in UK	21
UK pays disproportionately large contribution to EU budget	21
Reads Eurosceptic Press/not	.42
Authoritarian Populism Scale	-2.03**
Male/not	.41
Age	01
White/not	.44
Graduate/not	45
Middle Class/not	.82**
Public Sector/not	09
Trade Unionist/not	31
Scotland	.87*
Cut 1	-7.64
Cut 2	-6.73
Pseudo R2	.41
Weighted N of cases	779

Dependent variable is 1=Vote to Leave EU; 2=Undecided; 3=Vote to Stay in EU. For full model details, see Annex 8.

Table 10: Logit Model of Dissatisfaction with Democracy

	Coefficient
Internal Political Efficacy	.40**
External Political Efficacy	-1.36**
Personal Economic Expectations	47**
Authoritarian Populism Scale	.32**
Male/not	.11
Age	00
White/not	.02
Graduate/not	20
Middle Class/not	.19
Public Sector/not	06
Trade Unionist/not	.19
Scotland	39
Constant	.13
Pseudo R2	.17
Weighted N of cases	770

Dependent variable is Dissatisfied with Democracy=1; not=0; measured at wave 10. For full model details, see Annex 9.

Table 11: Logit Model of Over-weaning Judicial Influence

	Coefficient
Pro Supreme Court Scale	45*
Authoritarian Populism Scale	.65**
Male/not	.47**
Age	.02**
White/not	23
Graduate/not	.22
Middle Class/not	.14
Public Sector/not	.13
Trade Unionist/not	.17
Scotland	.11
Constant	-2.43**
Pseudo R2	.10
Weighted N of cases	1057

Dependent variable is Too Much Judicial Influence=1; not=0; measured at wave 10. For full model details, see Annex 10.

Annex 1: Question Wordings for Component Authoritarian Populism Measures

Ideological sympathy for market and rolling back of the state. Respondent's self-placement on 0-10 Left-Right scale. The measure is an average of the self-placements made by each respondent across waves 1, 2 and 4 of the survey. Other components all measured at Wave 10.

Britain Strong and Tough Foreign Policy. Question: From the list of foreign policy priorities, please select the one you think the United Kingdom should pursue in the 21st Century (figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of respondents choosing each category): Helping the rest of the world by providing foreign aid and protecting human rights (12%); Solving international problems by working with other nations and working through international organizations (44%); Protecting British interests by being strong and tough with other nations and maintaining a powerful military (33%); Avoiding involvement with other nations by simply minding our own business in international affairs (12%). The measure used is a dummy where 1=chose the 'strong and tough' option, 0=not.

Negative Emotional Response to Immigration. Question: Please indicate which of the following emotions you feel towards immigrants: Angry, Happy, Disgusted, Hopeful, Uneasy, Confident, Afraid, and Proud. The measure is the sum of negative emotions (angry, disgusted, uneasy, afraid) specified by the respondent.

Critical of Human Rights. Statement: People who talk about protecting human rights are mainly interested in protecting the rights of criminals, not those of their victims. Strongly agree (19%); Agree (26%); Neither agree nor disagree (22%); Disagree (16%); Strongly disagree (11%).

Disapproval of European Union. Question: Overall do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the European Union? Strongly approve (13%); Approve (32%); Neither/Don't Know (15%); Disapprove (22%); Strongly disapprove (19%).

Annex 2: Exploratory Factor Analyses of Comparable Components of Authoritarian Populism 1983 and 1997

The same set of signature variables of Authoritarian Populism that were included in our survey were not incorporated into earlier surveys, so direct testing of the applicability of our findings to earlier periods is not possible. However, loosely comparable questions to those in our study were asked in the 1983 and 1997 British Election Study surveys. Here we report the results of conducting exploratory factor analyses involving variables that seek to capture the same five components of AP identified in the paper: left-right ideological position, support for a strong foreign/defence policy, concern about immigration, opposition to human rights and anti-Europeanism.

Table A1 reports the factor analysis for 1983. The variables all load reasonably strongly on the first factor, with the obvious exception of the anti-EC variable, though the patterning is not as consistent as it had become by 2015. Clearly, in 1983, any nascent Authoritarian Populist sentiment in the UK was less coherent than it subsequently became.

Table A1: Factor Analysis of Authoritarian Populism Components in 1983

Authoritarian Populism Component	Operational Measure, 1983 BES	Factor	Factor
		1	2
Right-wing ideological self placement	Left-right self placement (0-10)	.37	.07
Britain Strong and Tough	Pro nuclear weapons/not	.60	16
	Pro defence spending/not	.57	18
Concern about Immigration	Immigration is MIP/not	.23	.19
Critical of Human Rights	Pro death penalty/not	.34	.32
	Pro stiffer prison sentences/not	.30	.24
Opposed to European project	Disapproves of EC/not	18	.27

Factor 1 eigenvalue=1.12; Factor 2 eigenvalue=.33; Factor 3 eigenvalue=-.01; chisq(21)=1670.52; p=.0000; N=3024

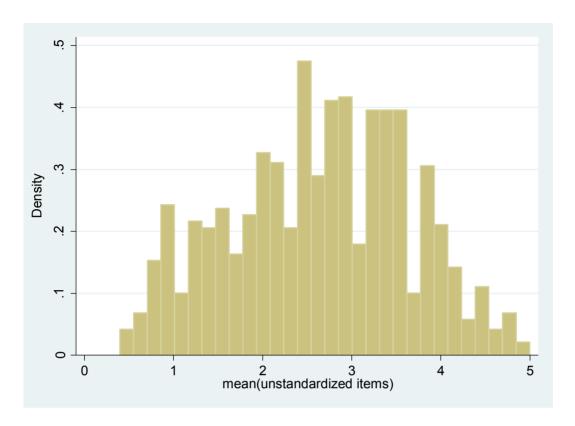
Table A2 performs an equivalent analysis for 1997. Again, the match between the measures in our survey and those available from 1997 is very loose. On this occasion, all the measures – including opposition to the EU – load on a single factor. The relatively weak loadings indicate, however, that the underlying coherence of the AP dimension was less marked in the late 1990s than it clearly is today.

Table A2: Factor Analysis of Authoritarian Populism Components in 1997

145.67.2114666774.44775.5677444.16116			
Authoritarian Populism Component	Operational Measure, 1997 BES	Factor	Factor
		1	2
Right-wing ideological self placement	Left-right self placement (0-10)	.33	.20
Britain Strong and Tough	Pro nuclear weapons/not	.26	.25
Concern about Immigration	Immigration is bad for UK/not	.46	.04
Critical of Human Rights	Pro death penalty/not	.62	09
	More prison sentences needed/not	.62	22
	Life sentences should mean life/not	.57	.27
Opposed to European project	Disapproves of EU/not	.44	.25
	Keep Sterling as UK currency	.45	.21

Factor 1 eigenvalue=1.89; Factor 2 eigenvalue=.31; Factor 3 eigenvalue=.12; chisq(28)=2826.24; p=.0000; N=2439





Annex 4: OLS Model of Authoritarian Populist Attitudes in Britain

Predictor Variable	Coeff	St error	Prob
Traditional Social Values			
Values Patriotism	.11	.02	.00
Believes children should respect authority	.18	.02	.00
Believes in differentiated gender roles	.13	.02	.00
Reads Populist Newspaper/not	.50	.05	.00
Male/not	.03	.05	.59
Age	.00	.00	.04
White/not	.01	.10	.92
Graduate/not	13	.06	.03
Middle Class/not	12	.06	.03
Public Sector/not	05	.05	.35
Trade Unionist/not	36	.08	.00
West Midlands	.24	.09	.01
Scotland	05	.09	.59
Wales	23	.11	.05
Constant	.63	.16	.00
Adjusted R2	.37		
Weighted N of cases	1059		

Dependent variable is Authoritarian Populism scale (mean=2.63; standard deviation=1.01; range= 0.4 to 5). Traditional Social Values measures (all wave 10) are all 6-point scales based on how important (somewhat, very, extremely) or unimportant (somewhat, very, extremely) the value is to the individual respondent. High values connote high importance. Weighted by Weight_wave10.

Annex 5: Multinomial Logit Model of Vote Intention

	Conservati	ve Vote In	tention	UKIP Vote	Intention	n versus
	versus Bas	versus Base Category		Base Category		
	Coeff	St err	Prob	Coeff	St err	Prob
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.51	.09	.00	03	.09	.72
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	14	.09	.11	24	.09	.01
Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	02	.08	.75	.46	.10	.00
Conservatives Best on MIP/not	1.00	.48	.04	.13	.70	.85
Labour Best on MIP/not	94	.81	.25	91	.84	.28
UKIP Best on MIP/not	.35	.54	.51	.86	.53	.10
Respondent Proximity to Conservatives	.28	.12	.02	17	.12	.13
Respondent Proximity to Labour	40	.11	.00	25	.12	.03
Respondent Proximity to UKIP	02	.11	.88	.32	.12	.01
Authoritarian Populism Scale	1.12	.32	.00	1.21	.35	.00
Male/not	45	.38	.23	.52	.44	.23
Age	02	.01	.14	0.02	.02	.20
White/not	2.11	.87	.02	1.05	.94	.26
Graduate/not	.27	.43	.53	1.04	.48	.03
Middle Class/not	.47	.42	.26	29	.49	.56
Public Sector/not	88	.39	.03	10	.43	.81
Trade Unionist/not	06	.66	.93	11	.70	.88
Scotland	-2.93	.64	.00	-2.35	.85	.01
Constant	-4.68	1.73	.01	-5.83	2.07	.01
Pseudo R2	.66					
Weighted N of cases	779					

Base Category is Vote Intention for Labour, Liberal Democrat, Green, SNP or Plaid Cymru; measured at wave 10. Most Important Problem (MIP) and leader affect terms measured at wave 7. Proximity terms measured at waves 1, 2 and 4 (self-placement) and wave 6 (party positions). Weighted by Weight_wave10.

Changes in probability of voting Conservative:

Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	+0.83
Conservatives Best on MIP/not (0/1)	+0.20
Respondent Proximity to Conservatives (0-10)	+0.44
Respondent Proximity to Labour (0-10)	-0.66
White/not (0-1)	+0.22
Public Sector/not (0-1)	-0.15
Scotland/not (0-1)	-0.29
Authoritarian Populism Scale (0.4-5.0)	+0.61

Changes in probability of voting UKIP:

Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	+0.48
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	-0.09
Respondent Proximity to UKIP (0-10)	+0.14
Respondent Proximity to Labour (0-10)	-0.04
Graduate/not (0-1)	+0.05
Scotland/not (0-1)	-0.06
Authoritarian Populism Scale (0.4-5.0)	+0.19

Annex 6: Multinomial Logit Model of Vote Intention, Conservative and UKIP with Labour as Base Category

	Conservative Vote Intention versus Labour as Base		UKIP Vote Intention Labour as Base Cate			
	Category					
	Coeff	St err	Prob	Coeff	St err	Prob
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.76	.13	.00	.16	.12	.20
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	25	.11	.02	34	.11	.00
Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	12	.10	.26	.41	.11	.00
Conservatives Best on MIP/not	2.36	.88	.01	1.24	.99	.21
Labour Best on MIP/not	-1.18	.88	.18	57	.86	.51
UKIP Best on MIP/not	.80	.69	.25	1.12	.62	.07
Respondent Proximity to Conservatives	.30	.15	.05	20	.13	.14
Respondent Proximity to Labour	57	.17	.00	42	.17	.01
Respondent Proximity to UKIP	.01	.14	.92	.33	.14	.02
Authoritarian Populism Scale	1.04	.47	.03	1.22	.45	.01
Male/not	65	.53	.21	.22	.52	.66
Age	03	.02	.17	03	.02	.19
White/not	3.49	1.43	.02	1.85	1.22	.13
Graduate/not	.29	.58	.62	1.02	.57	.07
Middle Class/not	.78	.58	.18	.08	.60	.90
Public Sector/not	-1.10	.56	.05	31	.53	.57
Trade Unionist/not	.53	.87	.54	.42	.81	.61
Scotland	-3.46	1.14	.00	-1.74	1.15	.13
Constant	-3.79	2.64	.15	-4.03	2.61	.12
Pseudo R2	.72					
Weighted N of cases	651					

Base Category is Vote Intention for Labour, measured at wave 10. Other details as in Annex 5

Annex 7: Multinomial Logit Model of Conservative; Labour, UKIP and Liberal Democrat Vote Intention with Other Party as Base Category

N=785 (weighted by Weight_wave10)	Conservativ			UKIP vers	us Rasa	
Pseudo r2=.59	Coeff	St err	Prob	Coeff	St err	Prob
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.75	.13	.00	.11	.13	.38
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	.06	.11	.58	.01	.11	.95
Liking of Williams (0-10 scale)	16	.10	.12	.37	.11	.00
Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale)	11	.12	.34	.01	.12	.95
Conservatives Best on MIP/not	1.32	.76	.08	.27	.92	.77
Labour Best on MIP/not	.66	.91	.47	.72	.95	.45
UKIP Best on MIP/not	.58	.74	.43	1.02	.72	.15
	1	1		.2.07		
Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not	-1.46	1.58	.36		3.63	.99
Respondent Proximity to Conservatives	2.24	.15	.12	21	.15	.15
Respondent Proximity to Labour	27	.13	.05	13	.14	.34
Respondent Proximity to UKIP	.04	.14	.76	.39	.15	.00
Authoritarian Populism Scale	1.34	.41	.00	1.49	.43	.00
Male/not	.03	.47	.94	.96	.51	.96
Age	00	.01	.67	01	.02	.55
White/not	2.21	1.09	.04	1.11	1.12	.32
Graduate/not	14	.52	.78	.70	.55	.20
Middle Class/not	.55	.52	.29	21	.57	.71
Public Sector/not	29	.50	.56	.55	.52	.29
Trade Unionist/not	.17	.84	.84	.20	.85	.81
Scotland	-4.38	.78	.00	-3.32	.90	.00
Constant	-6.66	2.07	.00	-8.06	2.82	.00
					l	L
	Labour vers			LibDem ve	ersus Base	
			Prob		l .	
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	Labour vers	sus Base		LibDem ve	ersus Base	2
	Labour vers	sus Base St err	Prob	LibDem ve Coeff	ersus Base St err	Prob
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	Labour vers Coeff .01	Sus Base St err .11	Prob	LibDem ve Coeff .24	ersus Base St err .14	Prob .10
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	Coeff .01 .36	Sus Base St err .11 .09	<i>Prob</i> .90 .00	Coeff .24 06	St err .14 .12	Prob .10 .63
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608	Sus Base St err .11 .09 .08	Prob .90 .00 .33	Coeff .24 06	St err .14 .12	Prob .10 .63
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale)	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .01	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08	Prob .90 .00 .33	Coeff .240617	St err .14 .12 .11 .11	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92	Coeff .240617 .44 .92	st err .14 .12 .11 .11	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63	Coeff .240617 .44 .92 1.37	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .17	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00	Coeff .240617 .44 .92 1.37	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .1757	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79	Coeff .240617 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45	Coeff .240617 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.1320 .22	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .11 .32	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59	Coeff .240617 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.1320 .22 .10 .98 .65	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19 .53 .02
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .11 .32 .37	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19 .53 .02 .20
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age White/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02 .42	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37 .02 .59	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19 .13	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51 .02 .83	.10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19 .53 .02 .20
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age White/not Graduate/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02 .4222	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37 .02 .59 .40	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19 .13 .20	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00	st err .14 .12 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51 .02 .83	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19 .53 .02 .20 .92
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age White/not Graduate/not Middle Class/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02 .422233	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37 .02 .59 .40	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19 .13 .20 .48	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00 .76 97	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51 .02 .83 .56	
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age White/not Graduate/not Middle Class/not Public Sector/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02 .422233 .64	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37 .02 .59 .40 .40 .38	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19 .13 .20 .48 .58 .41 .10	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00 .76 97	st err .14 .12 .11 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51 .02 .83 .56 .54	
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale) Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale) Liking of Farage (0-10 scale) Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale) Conservatives Best on MIP/not Labour Best on MIP/not UKIP Best on MIP/not Liberal Democrats best on MIP/not Respondent Proximity to Conservatives Respondent Proximity to Labour Respondent Proximity to UKIP Authoritarian Populism Scale Male/not Age White/not Graduate/not Middle Class/not Public Sector/not Trade Unionist/not	Labour vers Coeff .01 .3608 .0143 1.83 .175702 .14 .06 .42 .56 .02 .422233 .64 .28	sus Base St err .11 .09 .08 .08 .91 .46 .66 .76 .11 .11 .32 .37 .02 .59 .40 .40 .38 .57	Prob .90 .00 .33 .92 .63 .00 .79 .45 .84 .20 .59 .19 .13 .20 .48 .58 .41 .10 .62	LibDem ve Coeff .24 06 17 .44 .92 1.37 .24 1.13 20 .22 .10 .98 .65 00 .76 97 .31 .33	st err .14 .12 .11 .88 .69 .98 .87 .16 .17 .16 .42 .51 .02 .83 .56 .54 .52	Prob .10 .63 .11 .00 .30 .05 .81 .19 .21 .19 .53 .02 .20 .92 .36 .09 .57 .52

Base Category is Vote Intention for Other Party (Green, SNP or Plaid Cymru); measured at wave 10. Other details as in Annex 5.

Annex 8: Ordered Logit Model of EU Referendum Voting Intention

		Conservative Vote Intention		
	Coeff	St err	Prob	
Conservative party identification/not	.95	.49	.05	
Labour party identification/not	.25	.46	.59	
UKIP identification/not	.62	.61	.31	
Liberal Democrat party identification/not	.40	.56	.47	
Liking of Cameron (0-10 scale)	.13	.05	.02	
Liking of Miliband (0-10 scale)	.08	.05	.07	
Liking of Farage (0-10 scale)	17	.04	.00	
Liking of Clegg (0-10 scale)	.06	.05	.19	
EU exports much more to UK than we export to them	33	.12	.01	
EU bureaucrats and politicians paid more than in UK	21	.11	.07	
UK pays disproportionately large contribution to EU budget	21	.12	.08	
Reads Eurosceptic Press/not	.42	.22	.05	
Authoritarian Populism Scale	-2.03	.19	.00	
Male/not	.41	.20	.04	
Age	01	.01	.19	
White/not	.44	.42	.30	
Graduate/not	45	.24	.06	
Middle Class/not	.82	.23	.00	
Public Sector/not	09	.21	.68	
Trade Unionist/not	31	.35	.38	
Scotland	.87	.40	.03	
Cut 1	-7.64	.94		
Cut 2	-6.73	.92		
Pseudo R2		.41		
Weighted N of cases	779			

Dependent variable is 1=Vote to Leave EU; 2=Undecided; 3=Vote to Stay in EU; measured at wave 10. Party identification and leader affect terms measured at wave 7; EU predictors measured at wave 10. Weighted by Weight_wave10.

Changes in Probability of Voting to Stay in the EU:

0	
Conservative Identification/not (0-1)	+.15
Liking of Cameron (0-10)	+.29
Liking of Farage (0-10)	+.36
EU sells to us more than we sell them (1-5)	07
Reads Eurosceptic paper/not (0-1)	11
Male/not (0-1)	+.10
Middle class/not (0-1)	+.20
Scotland/not (0-1)	+.21
Authoritarian Populism Scale(0.4-5.0)	97

Annex 9: Logit Model of Dissatisfaction with Democracy

	Coeff	St err	Prob
Internal Political Efficacy	.40	.13	.00
External Political Efficacy	-1.36	.16	.00
Personal Economic Expectations	47	.11	.00
Authoritarian Populism Scale	.32	.10	.00
Male/not	.11	.18	.55
Age	00	.01	.55
White/not	.02	.38	.96
Graduate/not	20	.21	.34
Middle Class/not	.19	.21	.36
Public Sector/not	06	.18	.73
Trade Unionist/not	.19	.29	.52
Scotland	39	.30	.20
Constant	.13	.60	.82
Pseudo R2	.17		
Weighted N of cases	770		

Dependent variable is Dissatisfied with Democracy=1; not=0; measured at wave 10. Efficacy is measured in wave 2. Weighted by Weight_wave10.

Changes in probability of being Dissatisfied with Democracy:

Internal Political Efficacy	+.38
External Political Efficacy	77
Personal Economic Expectations	47
Authoritarian Populism Scale	+.37

Annex 10: Logit Model of Over-Weaning Judicial Influence

	Coeff	St err	Prob
Pro Supreme Court Scale	45	.20	.02
Authoritarian Populism Scale	.65	.09	.00
Male/not	.47	.14	.00
Age	.02	.01	.00
White/not	23	.29	.41
Graduate/not	.22	.16	.18
Middle Class/not	.14	.16	.38
Public Sector/not	.13	.15	.39
Trade Unionist/not	.17	.24	.47
Scotland	.11	.24	.66
Constant	-2.43	.64	.00
Pseudo R2	.10		
Weighted N of cases	1057		

Dependent variable is Too Much Judicial Influence=1; not=0; measured at wave 10. Pro Supreme Court scale is measured in waves 1, 2 and 4. Weighted by Weight_wave10.

Changes in probabilities of believing there is too much Judicial Influence:

Pro Supreme Court scale	20
Male/not	+.20
Age	+.71
Authoritarian Populism Scale	+.62

Annex 11: Exploratory Factor Analysis of Fourteen Efficacy Items

	Factor 1:	Factor 2:
	Internal	External
	Efficacy	Efficacy
I feel that I could do as good of a job in public office as most other	.43	35
people		
I think I am as well-informed about politics and government as most	.69	20
people		
I don't often feel sure of myself when talking with other people about	68	.22
politics		
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important	.70	23
political issues		
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	.74	22
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a	.65	.13
person like me can't understand what's going on		
Whatever its faults may be, the British form of government is still the	.18	.64
best for us		
There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what	.25	.53
the government does		
Under our form of government, the people have the final say about	.18	.51
how the country is run, no matter who is in office		
If public officials are not interested in hearing what the people think,	29	32
there is really no way to make them listen		
I would rather live under our system of government than any other	.17	.58
that I can think of		
It may be necessary to make some major changes in our form of	16	42
government in order to solve the problems faing the country		
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	33	49
Those we elect to public office usually try to keep the promises they	.19	.51
made during the election		
Financial Contact 1	L	

Eigenvalues: Factor 1 = 3.00; Factor 2 = 2.40; Factor 3 = 0.82; N= 2346