



Ακρωνύμιο πρότασης:

DataPopEU

Τίτλος πρότασης:

**Καινοτόμες μέθοδοι και δεδομένα υψηλής ποιότητας για τη μελέτη του
λαϊκισμού και του Ευρωσκεπτικισμού**

**Π2.2 Έκθεση και δεδομένα της Πυξίδας Λαϊκισμού και
Ευρωσκεπτικισμού**

D2.2 PopEUCompass Data and Report

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PopEUCompass Data and Report

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Abstract

PopEUCompass relies on Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) and more specifically on HelpMeVote. VAAs are web applications that enable voters to compare their political views with the views of the political parties. PopEUCompass, unlike VAAs, is not linked to a specific pre-election period, but it is available to the public on a continuous basis. Despite this difference, we can use the same steps that are used to create a VAA: i) selection of issues ii) selection of parties and coding of parties on the selected issues, iii) calculation of distance or similarity between parties and voters and iv) presentation of the results.

Introduction

When voters are well informed about party positions in a broad set of policies, they can choose the party or the candidate whose stances fit better their own. Nowadays, there are several ways for parties and candidates to make their stances known and to conduct a political campaign such as social media, printed press, mass media, party manifestos, public speeches etc. The aforementioned multidimensional process produces an enormous amount of information bearing prohibitive cost for the voters to gather and process (Alvarez et al., 2014)

We have used the new knowledge attained by the DataPopEU project to create a political compass about populism and euroscepticism named after the acronym of the proposed project (PopEUCompass). In this compass, citizens can find out where they stand when it comes to populism and to euroscepticism, observe their proximity or remoteness to populist and eurosceptic parties and they are encouraged to visit the website of the project to learn more about the most important aspects of populism and euroscepticism.

PopEUCompass relies on Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) and more specifically on HelpMeVote. VAAs are web applications that enable voters to compare their political views with the views of the political parties. Voting Advice Applications have been used in many countries for presidential, parliamentary, regional or municipal elections. In Greece, the Voting Advice Application HelpMeVote (<http://helpmevote.gr>) was first tested for the regional elections of 2010 and since then it has been used for all general elections until today.

PopEUCompass, unlike VAAs, is not linked to a specific pre-election period, but it is available to the public on a continuous basis. Despite this difference, we can use the same steps that are used to create a VAA. Therefore, the following steps should be followed: i) selection of issues ii) selection of parties and coding of parties on the selected issues, iii) calculation of distance or similarity between parties and voters and iv) presentation of the results.

Issue/Statement selection

PopEUCompass was developed during the timeframe of the project and it includes a series of statements related to populist and eurosceptic issues. For the statements included in PopEUCompass we have relied on previous efforts regarding populism and euroscepticism (e.g. Chapel Hill, Team Populism and the Populismus project). In addition, we have relied on some CSES and CCS items and other surveys regarding populism and euroscepticism as well as on information collected from our project. This process resulted in a total of 23 statements/issues.

Coding of parties

Scholars use different methods of estimating the party positions such as literature review and analysis of party manifestos as well as public opinion surveys, elite studies and, more recently, expert surveys. Expert surveys are widely used by scholars for decades to estimate party positions in a multitude of political dimensions, such as party placement in a left-right scale (Castles & Mair, 1984; Huber & Inglehart, 1995), European integration (Ray, 1999) or economic and social-ethical dimensions (Benoit & Laver, 2006).

More recently, several expert surveys about populism and euroscepticism have appeared like Chapel Hill Surveys (Polk et al., 2017). The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) uses the opinion of experts on the positioning of political parties in many countries in Europe. The 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Survey, in addition to two items designed to measure populism already present in CHES since 2014 (anti-elite and anti-corruption), also includes a new item on people-centrism. In the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Survey, 228 experts estimated the positions of 132 parties in 14 countries in Europe. Each national expert was asked to reflect on the position of the leadership of the parties presented to the experts with their abbreviations and full names, in the country language and in English. The introduction of the questionnaire, in fact, clarifies what the Chapel Hill researchers mean when they refer to the leadership of the parties (party's chair, the party presidium, and the parliamentary party, as distinct from the party base or local and regional party officials). Then for a series of dimensions the questionnaire includes three items: i) position, ii) clarity and iii) salience. In addition to euroscepticism and populism, the 2017 CHES questionnaire incorporates items that can be used to estimate the position of political

parties on the following dimensions: i) economic left/right and ii) libertarian vs authoritarian (socio-cultural issues).

Other expert surveys on populism have been conducted by members of the Team Populism project (Andreadis, 2018; Wiesehomeier, 2019). The expert survey conducted by Wiesehomeier in addition to a CHES item on anti-elite salience, includes more “populist” items (Wiesehomeier, 2019). This study includes measurements fielded in two phases: the first phase was fielded in 2011 / 2012 in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and Chile and conceives of populism as a bundle of attributes combined in a single metric. The substantive definitions of the scale endpoints asked country experts to locate political parties and presidents along a 20-point scale, where 1 indicated the populist end defined as: “Highlights the interest of the people, with reference to the sovereign will of the majority. Condemns the ruling class and interest groups. Emphasizes personal authority, capable of leadership and a decisive resolution of problems. Uses an informal style and slang.” (1). At the other side of the spectrum, 20 indicated the pluralist endpoint as: “Highlights the interests of citizens, with references to civic or republican values. Recognizes the ruling class and interest groups as legitimate. Emphasizes impersonal authority, the formality of procedures and separation of powers. Uses a “well-educated” style and more formal language.” (20). The second expert survey disaggregated the bundle into separate dimensions with concise and straightforward wordings of the endpoints. This survey was implemented in a survey fielded in 2015 in 18 Latin American countries and tries to measure populism with the utilisation of several items: People-centrism, Anti-elite: morality, Anti-elite: rhetoric (copied by CHES), and Informal style. The main disadvantage of the study conducted by Wiesehomeier is that it covers Latin American countries only.

For PopEUCompass, we included the parties that are represented in the Greek Parliament. In DataPopEU, we have conducted two expert surveys to estimate the ideological positions of the main Greek political parties with respect to populist and eurosceptic issues. The data of the first expert survey have been used in order to build the initial version of PopEUCompass and the data of the second expert survey have been used to build the final version of PopEUCompass. Table 1, shows the position of each political party on each statement.

Table 1 Position of parties

name	ND	SYRIZA	PASOK	KKE	GRSO	MERA25
q1	2	4	2	5	4	5
q2	2	4	3	5	5	5
q3	2	4	3	5	5	5
q4	2	4	3	5	5	5
q5	4	1	2	2	5	1
q6	5	2	3	2	5	2
q7	3	4	4	4	1	4
q8	4	2	4	1	1	1
q9	5	3	5	1	1	3
q10	1	2	1	4	5	2
q11	5	4	5	1	1	2
q12	1	3	2	5	5	5
q13	5	4	5	1	2	2
q14	2	4	2	4	4	4
q15	4	1	2	2	5	1
q16	2	4	3	5	5	5
q17	2	4	3	5	5	4
q18	4	1	2	3	5	1
q19	4	5	5	5	2	5
q20	4	2	3	3	5	2
q21	2	4	3	5	4	4
q22	4	2	4	1	1	1

Calculating the distance

When the application is available to users, they express their political views by completing the same questionnaire that was used for the parties. For every user who completes the

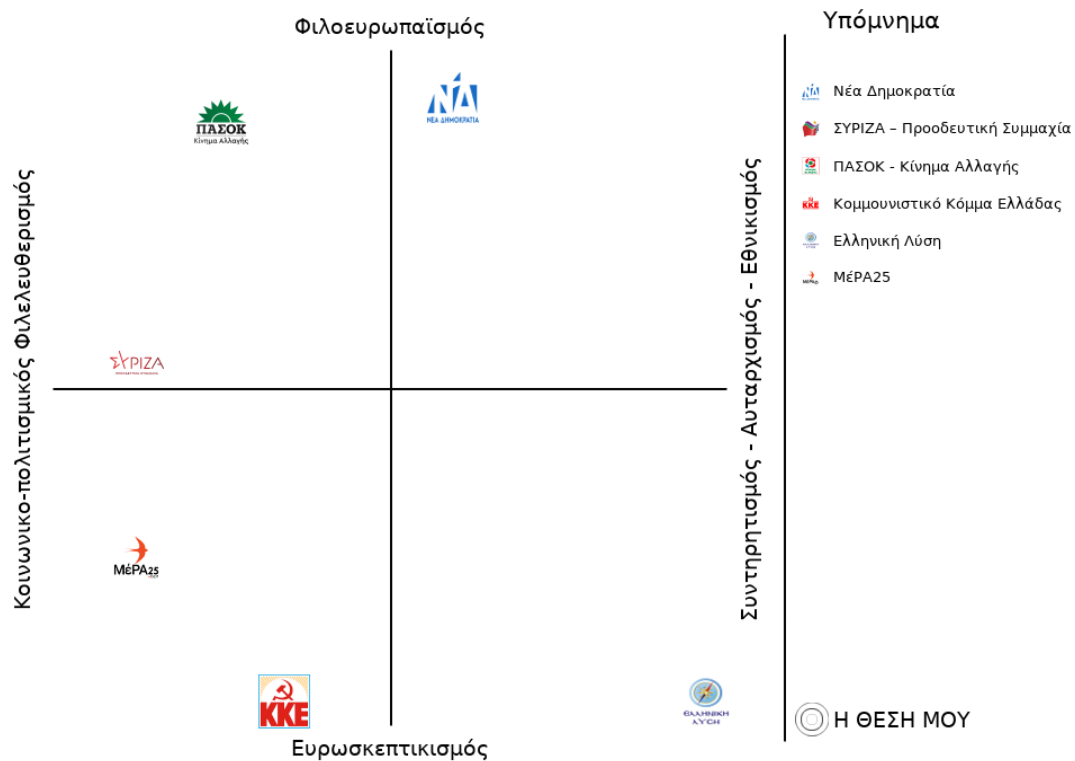
questionnaire, the compass provides an estimated coefficient of proximity with each of the parties. DataPopEU research team used a coefficient of proximity (or similarity/dissimilarity), which is formed by the following logic for each voter-party pair:

When the voter and a party have a common position on an issue the numerator of the coefficient is increased by one and when the voter and a party have different positions on an issue the numerator of the coefficient is decreased. Finally, as denominator of the coefficient we use the number of questions answered by the voter. With the above procedure we get a coefficient of similarity/dissimilarity with values ranging from -1 (when voter and party have absolutely opposite positions on all issues) to +1 (when voters and parties agree on all issues).

Presentation of the results

Many voting advice applications present the results as a list of parties ranked according to their proximity with the voter, other VAAs provide both a ranked list and a diagram, and some offer only a diagram (Louwerse & Rosema, 2014). Both outputs are useful: the ranked list displays the party that according to the theory of issue voting should be voter's first choice at the top of the list and the parties that promote policies that are against the political views of the voter at the bottom of the list. The diagram usually displays the voter's position and the position of the parties on a political map and users are able to observe their distance from the parties on each dimension of the map.

PopEUCompass displays the results both with a ranked list of parties and with three political maps: i) Sociocultural issues – Euroscepticism (Figure 1), ii) Sociocultural issues –Populism (Figure 2), and iii) Populism - Euroscepticism (Figure 3)



Η θέση σας στο διάγραμμα βασίζεται μόνο στις απαντήσεις σας σε ερωτήσεις που ανήκουν στους δύο άξονες του διαγράμματος. Το αποτέλεσμα στην προηγούμενη σελίδα βασίζεται σε όλες τις απαντήσεις σας και είναι πιο ακριβές.

Figure 1 Map of Sociocultural issues and Euroscepticism

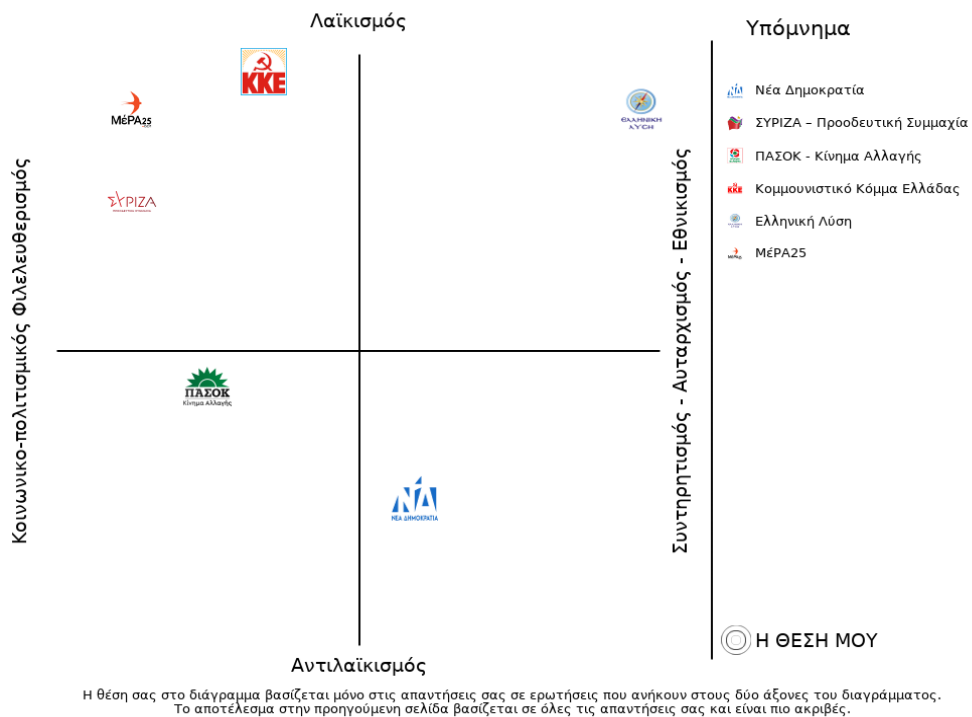


Figure 2 Map of Sociocultural issues – Populism

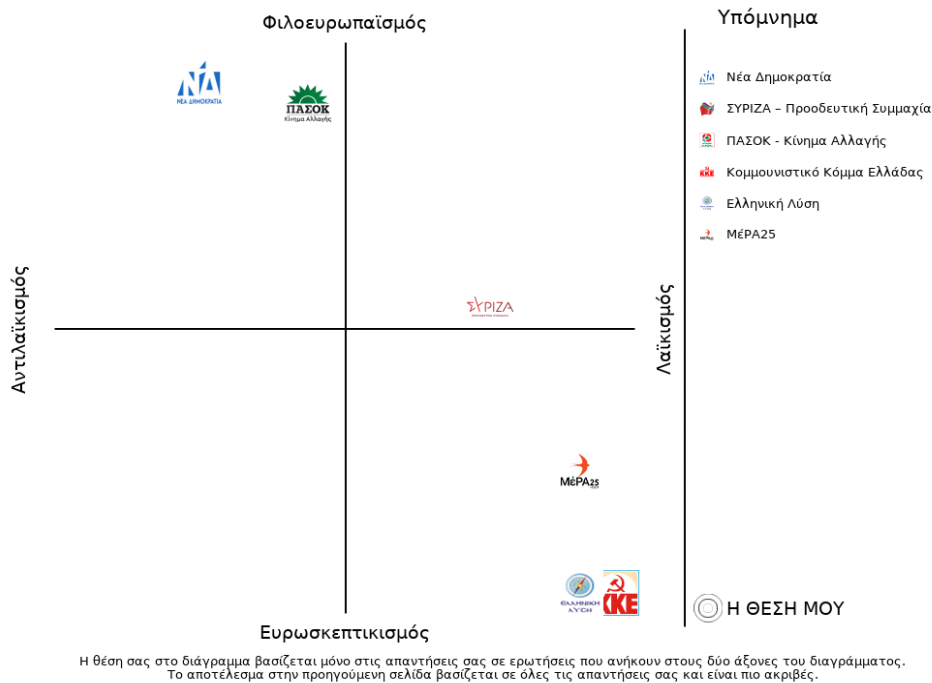


Figure 3 Map of Populism - Euroscepticism

All of the statements used in PopEUCompass have been classified according to their political orientation: if a statement expresses a sociocultural left position (i.e. a position with which a left party would probably agree) is classified as left-oriented (value of -1 on the x axis). With the same method, other statements have been classified as right-oriented (value of 1 on the x axis). We have followed the same method for all three axes (Table 2)

Table 2 Coding of questions

id	question	x	y	z
1	Ο λαός, και όχι οι πολιτικοί, θα πρέπει να λαμβάνει τις σημαντικότερες πολιτικές αποφάσεις.	0	0	1
2	Οι περισσότεροι πολιτικοί νοιάζονται μόνο για τα συμφέροντα των πλουσίων και των ισχυρών.	0	0	1
3	Οι εκλεγμένοι αξιωματούχοι μιλούν πάρα πολύ και κάνουν πολύ λίγα πράγματα.	0	0	1
4	Τα λαϊκά αιτήματα αγνοούνται σήμερα προς όφελος των συμφερόντων του κατεστημένου.	0	0	1
5	Οι μετανάστες αυξάνουν τα ποσοστά εγκληματικότητας στην Ελλάδα.	1	0	0
6	Οι μετανάστες που έρχονται στην Ελλάδα οφείλουν να υιοθετούν τα ήθη και έθιμα της χώρας.	1	0	0
7	Οι μετανάστες βοηθούν την οικονομία της Ελλάδας.	-	0	0
		1		
9	Νιώθω περήφανος/η που είμαι Ευρωπαίος/α.	0	1	0
10	Η ευρωπαϊκή ενότητα απειλεί την πολιτιστική ταυτότητα της χώρας.	1	-	0
			1	
11	Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει ενισχύσει τη δημοκρατία στην Ελλάδα.	0	1	0
12	Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει σε μεγάλο βαθμό βλάψει την οικονομία της Ελλάδας.	0	-	0
			1	
13	Είναι προτιμότερο να παραμείνει η χώρα στο ευρώ από το να αποχωρήσει.	0	1	0
14	Ο λαός μπορεί να εκπροσωπείται καλύτερα από έναν απλό πολίτη παρά από έναν έμπειρο πολιτικό.	0	0	1
15	Ο ελληνικός πολιτισμός γενικά υποβαθμίζεται από την ύπαρξη μεταναστών.	1	0	0
16	Οι περισσότεροι πολιτικοί δεν νοιάζονται για τον λαό.	0	0	1
17	Αυτό που οι άνθρωποι αποκαλούν "συμβιβασμό" στην πολιτική, στην πραγματικότητα είναι απλώς ξεπούλημα των αρχών εκείνου που συμβιβάζεται.	0	0	1
18	Οι γάμοι μεταξύ ατόμων του ίδιου φύλου θα έπρεπε να απαγορεύονται δια νόμου	1	0	0
19	Οι γυναίκες πρέπει να είναι ελεύθερες να αποφασίζουν στο θέμα της έκτρωσης.	-	0	0
		1		
20	Όσοι παραβιάζουν τους νόμους πρέπει να τιμωρούνται αυστηρότερα.	1	0	0
21	Οι πολιτικές διαφορές μεταξύ της ελίτ και του λαού είναι μεγαλύτερες από τις διαφορές μεταξύ των επιμέρους ομάδων του λαού.	0	0	1
22	Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση πρέπει να έχει μεγαλύτερο λόγο όσον αφορά στις οικονομικές και δημοσιονομικές πολιτικές των κρατών-μελών.	0	1	0

The position of a voter (as well as the position of the parties) on the diagram is determined by the following procedure: First, since voters have the option of not answering some questions and because the position in the diagram is meaningful only if they have answered most of the questions, the number of questions that have been answered by the voter is checked and the chart is displayed only if the user has given many answers. The answers are coded as follows: -1: Strongly disagree, -0.5: Disagree, 0: Neither agree nor disagree, 0.5: Agree and 1: Strongly agree. Then, to determine the position of the voter on the Left - Right axis, we sum the codes of all the answers to questions that are right-oriented and subtract the codes of all responses to questions that are left oriented. Then, the result is divided by the number of responses given to all left or right oriented questions. The result is a number with values ranging from -1 (extreme left) to +1 (extreme right) and used as the abscissa of the voter. In a similar way we find the position of the voter/parties on the other two axes.

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