

Content analysis and expert surveys

Radicalization of politics in CEE

Outline

How to analyze populist content?

- a) Content analysis (various forms) – the logic, possibilities, the data
- b) Expert surveys – advantages and disadvantages, the data

Goal: to get the basics of selected methods of analysis of political contents, introduction of some data sources

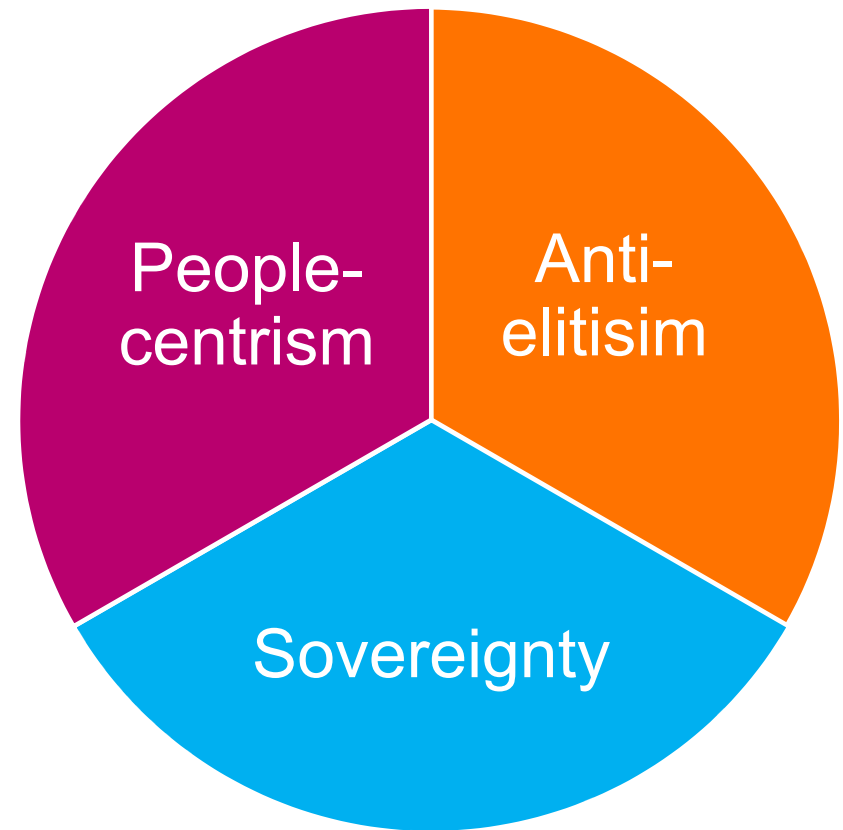
Based on the ideational approach to populism

*Populism is “a **thin-centered ideology** that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, “**the pure people**” versus “**the corrupt elite**”, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the **volonté générale** (general will) of the people.”*

(Mudde 2004: 543).

Ideational approach to populism

Three core components of populism



Content analysis

Content/ textual analysis:

- ideas of political actors are measured through texts that they produce (speeches, party manifestos, etc.)
- Texts as „true“ representatives of what politicians say are plan to do

Content analysis

Types of content analysis:

- Mancoded/handmade
- Computerised/automatized

Note: Classical content analysis can be combined with computerised content analysis (semi-automated content analysis).

- Usually follow the deductive, concept/theory rooted approach

Content analysis

Classical content analysis:

- a **codebook** is defined
- coders systematically analyse text by means of a codebook (human-coded approach)

Content analysis

Computerised content analysis:

- **dictionary** of populist terms defined (indicators of populism)
- computer counts the proportion of words that we consider to be indicators of populism
- Mostly doable in English (some tools in other languages, possibility to use Google Translate)

Content analysis: units of analysis



**UKIP's
PLEDGE TO BRITAIN:**

- ✓ Say NO to the EU
- ✓ Control our borders
- ✓ Extra £3 billion for the NHS
- ✓ Cut foreign aid spending
- ✓ No tax on the minimum wage

 
ukip.org



Content analysis: units of analysis



Donald J. Trump ✓

@realDonaldTrump

Following



A very big part of the Anger we see today in our society is caused by the purposely false and inaccurate reporting of the Mainstream Media that I refer to as Fake News. It has gotten so bad and hateful that it is beyond description. Mainstream Media must clean up its act, FAST!

6:18 AM - 25 Oct 2018

16,314 Retweets 54,550 Likes



Content analysis

units of analysis \neq units of measurement

Content analysis: units of measurement

Donald Trump inauguration speech transcript

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighbourhoods for their families and good jobs for themselves.

} 1

These are just and reasonable demands

} 2

Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation.

} 3

An education system flushed with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge. And the crime and the gangs and the drugs which deprive people of so much unrealised potential.

} 4

We are one nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, we share one nation, one home and one glorious destiny.

Today I take an oath of allegiance to all Americans. For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidised the armies of other countries, while allowing the sad depletion of our own military.

We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own.

Content analysis: units of measurement

Donald Trump inauguration speech transcript

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1

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn , M. & Pauwels, T. 2011. “Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis.” *West European Politics* 34(6), 1272–1283, online <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402382.2011.616665>

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

- authors use both **classical and computerised content analysis** to measure and compare the degree of **populism of political parties** in the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy
- units of analysis: **election manifestos**
- core components of populism: people-centrism, anti-elitism

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

Classical content analysis

- units of measurement: **paragraph**
 - → comparison of the degree of populism among parties based on % of populist paragraphs in their manifestos
 - paragraphs in which both people-centrism and anti-elitism were present selected as populist

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

Classical content analysis: operationalisation of the core components of populism

- **people-centrism**: “Do the authors of the manifesto refer to the people?”
 - examination of every possible **reference to the people** (citizens, our country, society, we the people, etc.)
 - list of words and combinations of words that could refer to the people: people, citizen(s), community, society, public, population, nation(al), all of us, each of us, everyone, our, we, voter(s), electorate, referenda, direct democracy, public opinion, country, specific country (depending of course on the country under analysis)
 - interpretation of the broader **context**

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

Classical content analysis: operationalisation of the core components of populism

- **anti-elitism**: “Do the authors of the manifesto criticise elites?”
 - focus on criticism concerning the **elite in general** (critique on a specific party/ politician not coded)
 - interpretation of the broader context

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

Computerised content analysis

- units of measurement: **words**
 - → comparison of the degree of populism among parties based on % of populist words (words considered populism)

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

Computerised content analysis: operationalisation of the core components of populism

- focus only on words that refer to **anti-elitism**
 - measurement of people-centrism by means of individual words in nearly impossible (words we and our often mentioned not in reference to the people, but to the political party)
- selection of words into **dictionary** based on both empirical and theoretical reasoning
 - election manifestos of populist parties not analysed in this study used to make list of words that such parties have used to express their negativity towards elites

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

DICTIONARY OF THE COMPUTER-BASED CONTENT ANALYSIS

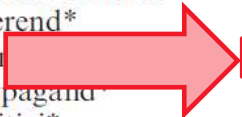
	NL	UK	GE	IT
Core	elit*	elit*	elit*	elit*
	consensus*	consensus*	konsens*	consens*
	ondemocratisch*	undemocratic*	undemokratisch*	antidemocratic*
	ondemokratisch*			
	referend*	referend*	referend*	referend*
	corrupt*	corrupt*	korrump*	corrot*
	propagand*	propagand*	propagand*	propagand*
	politici*	politici*	politiker*	politici*
	bedrog	*deceit*	täusch*	ingann*
	bedrieg	*deceiv*	betrüg*	
			betrug*	
	verraa	*betray*	*verrat*	tradi*
	verrad			
	schaam*	shame*	scham*	vergogn*
			schäm*	
	schand*	scandal*	skandal*	scandal*
	waarheid*	truth*	wahrheit*	verità
	oneerlijk*	dishonest*	unfair*	disonest*
			unehrlich*	

Content analysis in practise

Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011

DICTIONARY OF THE COMPUTER-BASED CONTENT ANALYSIS

	NL	UK	GE	IT
Core	elit*	elit*	elit*	elit*
	consensus*	consensus*	konsens*	consens*
	ondemocratisch*	undemocratic*	undemokratisch*	antidemocratic*
	ondemokratisch*			
	referend*	referend*	referend*	referend*
	corrupt*	corrupt*	korrupt*	corrot*
	propagand*	propagand*	propagand*	propagand*
	politici*	politici*	politiker*	politici*
	bedrog	*deceit*	täusch*	ingann*
	bedrieg	*deceiv*	betrüg*	
			betrug*	
	verraa	*betray*	*verrat*	tradi*
	verrad			
	schaam*	shame*	scham*	vergogn*
			schäm*	
	schand*	scandal*	skandal*	scandal*
	waarheid*	truth*	wahrheit*	verità
	oneerlijk*	dishonest*	unfair*	disonest*
			unehrlich*	



Content analysis

The Manifesto Project: <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>

- content analysis of parties' election manifestos in order to study parties' policy preferences
- for each dataset:
 - codebook
 - coding instructions
 - list of coded documents (titles of parties' election manifestos)
 - list of political parties

Jungar,

- Populist F
- Distinct P
- Comparin
- Rooted in
- Using CM

Table 1. Manifesto Data.

	Economy (right-left)	Authoritarian/ liberal	Document type
<i>Denmark</i>			
FrPd 1990	23.1	7.7	Electoral manifesto
FrPd 1994	43.7	5.3	Electoral manifesto
FrPd 1998	28.0	20.0	Electoral pamphlet
DF 1998	12.3	26.0	Electoral pamphlet
DF 2001	-5.0	45.0	Electoral pamphlet
DF 2005	-9.1	36.4	Electoral pamphlet
DF 2007	-12.8	31.9	Electoral pamphlet
DF 2011	-8.7	41.2	Party newspaper
<i>Norway</i>			
FrP 1989	23.3	10.3	Programme of action
FrP 1993	33.5	12.7	Programme of action
FrP 1997	18.1	15.6	Programme of action
FrP 2001	17.1	13.0	Programme of action
FrP 2005	10.8	16.3	Programme of action
FrP 2009	10.9	16.2	Programme of action
<i>Sweden</i>			
SD 1989*	-4.6	30.8	Party programme
SD 1994*	-2.3	28.3	Party programme
SD 1996*	-3.4	31.5	Party programme
SD 2002*	-0.2	36.3	Electoral manifesto
SD 2006*	-7.2	39.8	Electoral manifesto
SD 2010	-6.9	37.3	Electoral manifesto
<i>Finland</i>			
SMP 1991	-17.8	9.4	Electoral manifesto
PS 2003	-7.0	14.4	Electoral manifesto
PS 2007	-22.5	18.9	Electoral manifesto
PS 2011	-7.7	22.4	Electoral manifesto

/ and

Content analysis

Harvard Dataverse – Global Populism Database:

<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/LFTQEZ>

- measurement of the level of populist discourse in the speeches of 215 chief executives (presidents and prime ministers) from 66 countries across all continents, mostly between 2000 and 2018
- holistic grading

Advantages & Drawbacks of different types of content analysis

Property	Classical content analysis	Computerised content analysis
Reliability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ risk of low inter-coder reliability (the extent to which different coders code the same text in the same way) ▪ can be improved by several training sessions (explanation of codebook, coding examples discussed, take-home exercises) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a computer produces the exact same results no matter how many times one runs the analysis (when using the same dictionary)
Validity*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ higher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ lower (analysis of single words)
Costs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ higher (human-coded approach is slower and more expensive) ▪ training of coders needs to be taken into account 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ lower

*Extent to which operationalisations of a construct measure a construct as defined by a theory

Expert surveys

Who are respondents in expert surveys?

Expert surveys

Expert surveys

- respondents are experts with a high degree of specialized knowledge in their own national contexts
- experts are presented with predefined questions or scales and asked to use their best judgements when answering the questions/ placing given actors on given scales

Expert surveys in practise

Wiesehomeier, N. (2018). Expert Surveys In Hawkins, K., Carlin, R., Littvay, L. & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (eds.) *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. London: Routledge, pp. 90–111.

Expert surveys in practise

Wiesehomeier 2018

- expert survey used to measure populism in Latin America (two waves: 2011/2012 and 2015)
- location of parties and presidents along a 20-point scale of Political communication; 1 indicates the populist endpoint, 20 the pluralist endpoint
 - pluralism acknowledges diversity in society
 - pluralist actors consider different groups that constitute the social fabric of a country as legitimate, and favour the diffusion of power

Expert surveys in practise

Wiesehomeier 2018

Second wave (2015): Scale of Political communication

Dimension: People-centrism

- **1:** “Identifies with the common people and celebrates their authenticity.”
- **20:** “Refers more generally to citizens and their unique interests.”

Expert surveys in practise

Wiesehomeier 2018

Second wave (2015): Scale of Political communication

Dimension: Anti-elite: morality

- **1**: “Demonizes and vilifies opponents.”
- **20**: “Treats opponents with respect.”

Expert surveys

Useful datasets:

- 2017 Chapel Hill Expert FLASH Survey (CHES)
- Populism and Political Parties Expert Survey (POPPA)

Expert surveys

2017 CHES: <https://www.chesdata.eu/1999-2014-chapel-hill-expert-survey-ches-trend-file-1>

- carried out in January and February 2018, asked about party positions in 2017 in 14 EU member states: Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, UK
- questions on EU placement, economic and social party positioning, policy issues - EU economic coordination, populism, and migration
- data including sample questionnaire and codebook available

Expert surveys

2017 CHES: items on populism

PEOPLE_VS_ELITE: *“Some political parties take the position that ‘the people’ should have the final say on the most important issues, for example, by voting directly in referendums. At the opposite pole are political parties that believe that elected representatives should make the most important political decisions. Where do the parties fall on this dimension?”*

- **0**: “Elected office holders should make the most important decisions.”
- **10**: “Extremely important.”

Expert surveys

2017 CHES: items on populism

ANTIELITE_SALIENCE: “Salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric.”

- **0**: “Not important at all.”
- **10**: “Extremely important.”

Expert surveys

2017 CHES: items on populism

- mean scores on items used to compare how populist are the parties within a given country

Expert surveys

POPPA: <http://poppa-data.eu/>

- party positions and attitudes on key attributes related to party ideology, party attitudes toward political representation and party organisation
- carried out in Spring 2018
- data available in late 2019

GLOBAL PARTY SURVEY -

<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/WMGTNS>

Conclusion

- You can measure level of populism by collecting new data or by using existing data sources
- An economic way how to assess policy positions of parties or compare them across countries or time
- In some cases not necessary to know the language, although the numbers need to be explained