Authoritarianism and Populism in American Politics

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Previous research has demonstrated authoritarianism as a significant factor influencing polarization on a wide range of political issues. However, it fails to consider that adding a populism dimension to create a double variable offers greater insight and explanatory value. This article proposes that authoritarianism and populism are distinct political predispositions as applied to recent U.S. political and social history and that people can be segmented into five groups based on their level of both authoritarianism and populism. This hypothesis was tested by analyzing a range of variables from the 2016 American National Election Study, a national sample of 4,271 respondents interviewed in person and on the web in 2016. Using an established measure of authoritarianism and a newly created measure of populism, five distinct groups were created: Post-Modernists, Elites, Outsiders, Traditionalists, and Ambivalents. Based on analysis of demographic data and issue positions, these five groups are informative in understanding the current political climate across many issues and is particularly helpful in understanding support for 2016 presidential primary candidates. The results confirm the research hypothesis that populism and authoritarianism are conceptually and empirically distinct and that adding a populism dimension to authoritarianism is a superior measure with greater explanatory value.

Keywords: Authoritarianism, Populism, Politics, 2016 Election, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders.

I. Introduction

The election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States shocked the world (Gruber 2016; Martenelli 2016). A real estate developer and reality-television star with no political or military experience, Mr. Trump ran a campaign characterized by many commentators as divisive and gaffe-prone. Nearly every political professional, journalist, and forecaster thought it was nearly impossible he would find success with the American electorate (Gruber 2016; Martenelli 2016; Silver 2016). Yet every step of the way, he was able to appeal to an ever-larger segment of the population that appeared tired and even contemptuous of the "political establishment."

What explains Mr. Trump's longshot victory? Although political fundamentals point to the innate difficulty of the same party winning three presidential elections in a row and Hillary Clinton's unpopularity (Cook 2014; Gallup 2016), Trump's victory

seems to indicate something different. Mr. Trump focused on a set of issues that connected with the electorate's social and economic anxieties—particularly among the white working class—placing blame on the political establishment and the so-called "global elites."

Consider the parallel rise of Bernie Sanders on the Left and Donald Trump on the Right. Sanders, an Independent Senator from Vermont and self-professed socialist, called for a political revolution—decrying income inequality, corporate profiteering, student debt, and the loss of jobs to trade—and received a respectable 43% of Democratic primary votes (Real Clear Politics 2016). On the surface, the only substantive policy issue shared by Sanders and Trump was trade, while holding radically different views on immigration, taxes, regulations, climate change, and foreign policy (White, McCaskill, & Breland 2016). When comparing Sanders and Trump as "populists," pundits appear to disregard ideology and instead point to the anti-elite and anti-establishment messaging. While offering different solutions, both campaigns were devoted to telling the public that they were being taken advantage of by those at the top of society.

The 2016 election is not the first time populism has been at the forefront of American politics. George Wallace, Huey Long, William Jennings Bryan, and Andrew Jackson have all been described as some variation of populist leaders (Lehmann 2015). The Tea Party Movement that started within the Republican Party in 2009 is a more recent example of what many consider a populist uprising (Mead 2011; Williamson, Skocpol, Coggin 2011). Examining the historical rise of populism in the United States can help explain what is occurring today. The inherent confusion is that all of these movements and politicians represent radically different views.

While both Sanders and Trump are frequently referred to as populists, Trump is alone in his characterization as an authoritarian candidate—citing his strong-man posturing, demagoguery, and nationalist rhetoric (Inglehart and Norris 2016; Mather and Jefferson 2016; Norris 2016). Authoritarians are typically described as desiring greater order to combat a perceived threat, they are willing to exchange less freedom for more safety (Taub 2016). Trump started his campaign deriding illegal immigrants from Mexico as rapists and murderers and after terrorist attacks in Europe, he quickly called for a halt on Muslims entering the United States. He has described himself as the law and order candidate who can combat what he describes as out-of-control crime. If Sanders and Trump are both populists running against the elite, is authoritarianism what distinguishes their divergence on a host of issues?

The purpose of this article is to identify both the distinguishing characteristics of Americans with authoritarian and populist predispositions along with the creation of a unique double variable authoritarian-populist framework. In order to test the hypothesis, that crossing the distinct variables of authoritarianism and populism gives a more meaningful and predictive set of categories about the American voting public than either alone, five distinct groups of people based on their level of authoritarianism and populism were created. Using the 2016 American National Election Survey, two sets

of questions form separate authoritarian and populist scales. The five groups created from these scales are tested by building demographic profiles for each group along with regression models to distinguish support among eight key issues.

II. Previous Research

Before examining support for political candidates like Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, it is important to understand how people develop their political opinions in the first place. Political opinions must have some benefit to the people who hold them (Erikson and Tedin 2015). This benefit can come in the form of numerous positive psychological functions for which holding a given set of political opinions serves (Smith, Bruner, and White 1956). Conventional wisdom assigns personal benefit largely to economic self-interest. However, self-interest is far from the dominant factor that shapes political opinions (Erikson and Tedin 2015). Instead, opinions are often shaped by broader political predispositions (Alvarez and Brehm 2002; Feldman 1988; Goren 2004; Haidt 2012). Political predispositions can take the form of party identification, or more relevant to this research—authoritarianism and populism. These abstract principles are important because they cause people to have political opinions even when they have no direct stake in the particular issue (Bawn 1999; Stenner 2005; Gerber, Herbert et al 2011). With the understanding that political predispositions originate with early socialization and with the unique aspects of personalities along with evidence that these predispositions persist, there is clear value of exploring two of these predispositions—authoritarianism and populism—in depth.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism, at its most basic level is a desire for order—demonstrating a greater willingness to sacrifice freedoms and civil liberties in exchange for enforcing social conformity and security (Feldman and Stenner 1997; Feldman 2003; Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Stenner 2005). The problem for political scientists was trying to figure out who these authoritarians are. In 1990, Stanley Feldman developed what has become the definitive measurement of authoritarianism. Feldman created four simple questions that ask about parenting, but are in fact designed to reveal how the respondent values hierarchy, order, and conformity (Feldman and Stenner 1997).

Since 1992, Feldman's four questions have been included in the National Election Study conducted each national election year. Hetherington and Weiler in *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics* (2009) used Feldman's authoritarianism measurement strategy extensively to explain the increased polarization in American politics. They found that differences concerning many contemporary issues—race, gay marriage, illegal immigration, and the use of force to resolve security problems—are directly related to individuals' levels of authoritarianism. They trace the reinvention of the Republican Party in the 1960s as the party of law, order, and traditional values as

the result of authoritarians gravitating toward the GOP. As their concentration grew, authoritarians gained more influence in structuring Republican policy positions (Hetherington and Weiler 2009).

In *The Authoritarian Dynamic* (2005), Karen Stenner offered a similar exploration of authoritarianisms. Stenner found a subset of people who hold a latent authoritarian predisposition that is activated by the perception of physical threats, destabilizing social change and a general loss of confidence in political leaders.

Hetherington disagrees with Stenner that authoritarians are "activated," instead he argues preferences among those with high levels of perceived threat converge towards the authoritarian position (Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Hetherington and Suhay 2011; Stenner 2005). Rather than a latent predisposition being activated by greater perceived threat, Hetherington found that when non-authoritarians feel sufficiently scared, they start to behave like authoritarians (Hetherington 2011). An example of this is in the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks. The high level of perceived threat converged many non-authoritarians toward issue positions held by authoritarians, including high approval of President Bush and a preference for military strength over diplomacy (Hetherington 2009). An important distinction is made between physical threats and social threats—with only physical threats leading non-authoritarians to behave like authoritarians (Hetherington and Suhay 2011).

In *The Rise of American Authoritarianism* (2016), Amanda Taub offers a comprehensive review of key ideas within authoritarianism. Additionally, she worked with polling firm Morning Consult to put together five sets of questions to demonstrate a link between authoritarianism and support for Donald Trump along with other ways authoritarianism was playing out in American life (Taub 2016). The survey was conducted during the presidential primaries in February 2016.

Taub found that 44 percent of white respondents nationwide scored as "high" or "very high" authoritarians, a figure in line with previous research. The survey also found that authoritarians skew Republican, with more than 65 percent of "very high" authoritarians identifying as GOP voters. People who scored as the most non-authoritarian were almost 75 percent Democrats (Taub 2016). This may serve as confirmation of the political polarization Hetherington and Weiler found in their 2009 examination of authoritarianism.

Taub's survey also found that authoritarianism was the best predictor of support for Donald Trump, even after controlling for education level and gender. Trump has 52 percent support among very high authoritarians, above the 42 percent support among self-identified Republicans (Taub 2016). However, other research suggested authoritarians are no more likely to support Trump than they are other Republican candidates such as Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz (Rahn 2016). Taub's survey also found that authoritarians tend to have the greatest fear of threats from abroad—particularly terrorism. Non-authoritarians were much less scared of these threats—with 73 percent of very high authoritarians believing that terrorists pose a very high risk to them, compared to only 45 percent of low-scoring authoritarians (Taub 2016).

Hetherington, using Taub's (2016) survey, found a group of non-authoritarians who were very afraid of foreign threats like Iran or ISIS. The greater the fear of these threats, the more likely these non-authoritarians were to support Trump (Taub 2016). This appears to support the theory developed by Hetherington and Suhay (2011) that non-authoritarians who are sufficiently scared of physical threats start to behave like authoritarians. Taub points out that high media coverage of foreign threats—both real and perceived—along with certain demographic and economic pressures can trigger a groundswell of support for authoritarianism.

Taub goes on to surmise that what is commonly identified as right-wing populism—the rise of Donald Trump—aligns almost perfectly with authoritarianism (Taub 2016). If this alignment between right-wing populism and authoritarianism is true, Taub's data on authoritarianism reveals some notable exceptions for what many consider populist policy preferences. For example, there was no distinction across the degrees of authoritarianism for support for tax cuts or trade agreements, two policy preferences believed to be highly correlated with Populism (Taub 2016).

POPULISM

The term populism has often been used any time a candidate or movement surprises the political establishment (Lehmann, 2015). At its most basic level, political pundits agree that populism appeals directly to the "ordinary people." When referring to politicians, populism is said to be a style of rhetoric more than an ideology, "it speaks of a battle of good against evil, demanding simple answers to difficult problems" (Packer 2015). There is consensus that populist rhetoric champions people against the political establishment and economic elites (Mueller 2016; Norris 2016; Judis 2016).

Most scholars leave the definition of populism at this broad, anti-establishment level (Mueller 2016; Packer 2015; Judis 2016). However, others argue for a more detailed definition (Mueller 2016; Packer 2015). In this view, a populist's view of the forces oppressing the ordinary people includes a wide range of possibilities, "a particular group of malefactors (Mexicans, billionaires, Jews, politicians)" along with a belief that only "authentic" people are willing to talk about it (Packer 2015). The main controversy within the literature is whether populism goes beyond an opposition to the political establishment to include opposition to these different minority groups.

It is also important to distinguish a populist leader or candidate from an ordinary citizen who may be classified as a populist or who supports a populist candidate. In a more refined definition of a populist leader, in addition to being anti-elitist, populist leaders are said to be anti-pluralists, claiming "that they, and they alone, represent the people" and frame political opponents as part of the corrupt elites (Mueller 2016).

Mueller goes further and says that populism requires a "*pars pro toto* argument," a claim to exclusive moral representation of the people as a whole. Opposition is viewed as illegitimate, in conflict with the populists' view that they have an unambiguous mandate to represent the singular will of the people (Mueller 2016). In order for this to

be true, populists must claim that "only some of the people are really the people," and thus they represent the so-called "real America" (Mueller 2016).

This definition means that some commonly held movements and politicians do not qualify as populist. Donald Trump perfectly exemplified this pars pro to argument when he stated, "the only important thing is the unification of the people—because the other people don't mean anything" (Mueller 2016). However, those with similar policy ideas or anti-elite rhetoric who fail to make the moral claim to exclusive representation are not considered populists. According to Mueller (2016), this means that Bernie Sanders is not a populist, as he has never made any such moral claim. This claim goes against conventional wisdom and applies a rather narrow definition of populism.

To provide some historical context, the rise of populism appears to track the decline in power of political parties. According to Hans Kelsen (1955), democracy under modern conditions can only mean party democracy. Parties and the political establishment function as the key intermediaries between a pluralist society and the authoritative decisions required for a functioning political system (Mueller 2016).

These parties, which can easily be classified as political elites, used to solve problems and resolve conflicts behind closed doors. This informal system of political intermediation has slowly disappeared, replaced with more direct democracy, as a greater emphasis was placed on appealing directly to the people. Beginning in the nineteenth century, political reformers attacked these intermediaries as corrupt, undemocratic, and unnecessary, as a result, virtually every institution of government devised by the framers has turned toward popular control (White 2016). Examples include the US Senate, where direct elections have replaced selection by state legislatures; the Electoral College, where electors are now bound to cast votes based on the popular vote in their state; and primaries and caucuses replacing party bosses in determining political candidates. Even the selection of Supreme Court Justices appears to have moved in the direction of direct democracy after Republicans in the Senate refused to consider nominees until after the 2016 Presidential election, making the election in part a referendum on the Supreme Court. The increased popular control that led to the decline in political intermediation is paradoxically believed to have resulted in the widely-held view that government is ineffective and not working to solve the problems facing the country. The result is a vicious cycle of disempowering political professionals and then complaining that elected officials are ineffective (White 2016).

In addition to the democratization of the political system over the past two centuries, modern-day populism is frequently distinguished based on issues for which there has been a strong consensus among the elites—globalization, free trade, and immigration (Judis 2016). Globalization is frequently cited as a major contributor to the resurgence of populism around the western world. In effect, globalization has made the world more equal by closing the divide between rich and poor countries, but at the same time, has increased inequality within western countries. Income gains from 1998 to 2008 have greatly benefited the middle classes in emerging economies like China and India along with the richest 5% in western countries, while the majority of western

citizens have experienced declines in real income (Milanovic 2016). This results in an obvious conflict of interest between the "western elites" who greatly benefit from globalization and the rest of the population.

Economic discontent and inequality have been demonstrated as a political mobilizer and source of regime change. First, higher unemployment rates stimulate people to vote (Burden 2014). Second, higher levels of economic inequality reduce support for democracy amongst all social classes (Krieckhaus 2014). Perhaps this helps explain why insurgent populist candidates who appear to disregard some aspects of traditional democratic values and political movements like Brexit have found recent success with electorates in western democracies facing increasing inequality and economic discontent.

Globalization is not just an economic phenomenon, but also a cultural phenomenon in which a particular "cosmopolitan identity" is being actively promoted (Spruyt 2016). Spruyt et al. used survey data from Belgium to show that the losers of globalization, who feel deeply discontent, not only with politics but also with societal life, tend to have the strongest support for populist candidates. The cultural elements of globalization include a general open-mindedness and a fascination for new and different experiences (Spruyt 2016). Many working class and less educated people who have been left behind economically by globalization feel stigmatized as closed-minded for not sharing these cultural values (Spruyt 2016).

Like globalization, populism is often characterized as both an economic and cultural phenomenon (Spruyt 2016; Lehmann 2015; Judis 2016). The confluence between these two distinct characteristics of populism often clouds comparisons between populist movements. The populist movement of the late 19th century led by William Jennings Bryan was largely economic, seeking to unite the nation's producing classes (Lehmann 2015). On the other hand, southern segregationists like George Wallace engaged in "culture-first populism." Using this framework, Bernie Sanders is considered an economic populist whereas Donald Trump is a cultural populist. The "empty signifiers" of populism allow cultural populists to override the internal differences between the members of "the people" and unite different grievances (Spruyt 2016). In this view, populists can successfully unite people with different ideologies by focusing on opposition to the elites.

Mueller (2016) takes a different approach, distinguishing right-wing populism from left-wing populism. Whereas left-wing populists are only against the elites of society, right-wing populists are also against the very bottom of society. Right-wing populists portray both the top and bottom of society as parasitic to the working class. Right-wing populists often believe there is some form of collusion between the elites and the bottom of society, as in the right-wing view of the relationship between the coastal liberal elite and minorities in the United States.

While the research suggests some links between authoritarianism and populism, there are also notable distinctions. The "culture-first" and "right-wing" populism appear to have similarities to authoritarianism, particularly on attitudes toward minority

groups and cultural issues like abortion, gay marriage, and gender roles. This makes sense given the research indicating a strong relationship between authoritarianism and polarization on issues that can be described as going against traditional societal norms (Hetherington 2009). However, while Taub (2016) suggests right-wing populism may be the same as authoritarianism, her research demonstrates that authoritarianism and support for international trade agreements and tax cuts for the wealthy have no clear correlation. Research on populism points to anti-elite attitudes as a major force behind populism, pointing to a clear conflict in directly linking authoritarianism and populism. This paper proposes that crossing the variables of authoritarianism and populism gives a more meaningful and predictive set of categories about the American voting public than either alone. Additionally, this authoritarian-populist framework will illuminate voters' positions on a range of issues from gay rights and abortion to free trade and immigration in ways that more simplistic categorization does not.

III. Methodology

To test my hypothesis, this paper analyzes data from the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES). The 2016 ANES is a national survey of 4,271 U.S. eligible voters conducted between September 2016 and January 2017. The study included both in person interviews along with an internet sample. Both groups were interviewed in two waves, both before and after the November 9th national election. Using the 2016 ANES this paper identifies two sets of questions that result in separate authoritarian and populist scales. The distinctions between the five groups ultimately created from these scales are tested by building demographic profiles for each group along with regression models to distinguish support among eight key issues.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism, which defined at its most basic level is a desire for order, as noted above, has received a great deal of research into optimal measurement procedures. The Feldman scale (Feldman and Stenner 1997), a set of four questions that ask respondents to judge attractive attributes in children has been used in previous examinations of Authoritarianism, notably by Hetherington (2009, 2011), Stenner (2005), and Taub (2016). This measure of authoritarianism eliminates the problem other authoritarian scales have faced by having to ask questions that explicitly taps intolerance. Another popular measure of authoritarianism is the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale (Hetherington 2009). However, because it included question like "gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else," Feldman argued that the RWA scale fails to distinguish between social conservatism and authoritarianism and was of little value as an explanatory variable to explain things like intolerance toward specific out-groups if the questions themselves asked about those groups (Feldman 2003; Hetherington 2009).

The advantage of Feldman's set of questions is that people are only asked to consider questions about ideal attributes in children rather than specific ideological or policy positions. According to Martin (1964), exploring child-rearing attitudes is an appropriate measure of authoritarianism:

The subject of child-rearing techniques pinpoints a fundamental proposition in human relations: how should people (superordinate parents in this case) treat other people (subordinate children, in this case)? Should parent off-spring relations be based on mutual trust, genuine affection, and cooperation—democratic, in a word—or is the ideal relationship an "authoritarian" one, based upon power, fear, obedience to a power figure, and mutual distrust, or some compromise between these "polar" positions? (Martin 1964)

Hetherington also found the set of questions to be valid due to the high correlation to Feldman's (2003) Social Conformity-Autonomy Scale and the previously mentioned RWA scale. The four questions are introduced in the ANES as follows:

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. I am going to read you pairs of desirable qualities. Followed by four pairs of questions:

1. "Independence" or "Respect for elders"
2. "Curiosity" or "Good manners"
3. "Obedience" or "Self-reliance"
4. "Being considerate" or "Well behaved"

"Respect for elders," "good manners," "obedience," and "well behaved" are the authoritarian response.

This project utilizes the Feldman scale to measure authoritarianism. The four Feldman questions were entered into a rotated factor analysis, which combined the responses to the four questions into a single score for each individual. In person interviews include the voluntary response category of "both" and "neither." Since very few cases fell in these two responses and online interviews did not allow for them, they were excluded for the purposes of creating the authoritarian scale in this paper.

In the below varimax rotated component matrix from the 2016 ANES (Table 1), all four of Feldman's questions were found to be statistically significant, producing correlations above 0.5 (Field 2005). For this reason, all four questions were utilized in the creation of the authoritarian factor.

Table 1

Authoritarian Scale

Component Matrix	
Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:	
Curiosity or good manners	0.768
Obedience or self-reliance	0.727
Independence or respect for elders	0.692
Being considerate or well-behaved	0.590
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.	

Populism

The literature on populism is less conclusive on how best to measure populism. While there is contention on many aspects of populism, there is consensus that populism includes heavy amounts of anti-establishment and anti-elite beliefs and rhetoric. There is no established populism factor, so this paper created one based on the research covered earlier.

The following seven questions from the 2016 ANES fit the description of populists, namely an aversion and disdain for the political establishment. The cultural aspects frequently described as an attribute of populism, specifically questions that involve moral tolerance towards minorities was intentionally excluded from this list for the same reason Feldman (2003) cited as a weakness on RWA. Additionally, the attribution of these characteristics to populism is a main contention of this paper, which seeks to distinguish populism from authoritarianism. The following questions and statements address anti-establishment and anti-elite attitudes, but are believed not to measure authoritarian predispositions:

1. Most politicians only care about interests of rich and powerful.
2. Electoral integrity: do the rich buy elections?
3. Electoral integrity: are votes counted fairly?
4. Public officials don't care what people think.
5. Most politicians do not care about the people.
6. Most politicians are trustworthy.
7. People, not politicians should make most important policy decisions.

These seven questions were entered into the rotated factor analysis as used for the authoritarian scale. Five questions, with correlations above 0.5 were included in the final populism scale (Table 2).

Table 2

Populist Scale

Component Matrix	
Most politicians do not care about the people	0.781
Most politicians only care about interests of rich and powerful	0.774
Public officials don't care what people think	0.665
Most politicians are trustworthy	-0.582
Electoral integrity: do the rich buy elections	0.559
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.	

The authoritarian and populist factor scores were each segmented into one-third percentiles based on their factor scores. Combined, the two percentiles create a three by three matrix (Table 3). We can tell that these two scores are not measuring the same thing as each of the nine tiles have a similar number of cases. Additionally, the Pearson correlation is a low (-0.063).

Table 3

Populist Percentile * Authoritarian Percentile Cross-tabulation

			Authoritarian Percentile		
			1 (Low)	**2**	**3 (High)**
Populist Percentile	**1 (High)**	Count	362	341	425
		%	30.9%	33.6%	34.3%
	2	Count	389	343	417
		%	33.2%	33.8%	33.7%
	3 (Low)	Count	419	330	397
		%	35.8%	32.5%	32.0%

Each of the corner tiles in the matrix are set as four unique groups which will be examined in this paper. The upper right tile (1, 3) is the "High Authoritarian High Populist" group. The lower right tile (3, 3) is the "High Authoritarian Low Populist" group. The upper left tile (1, 1) is the "Low Authoritarian Low Populist" group. The lower left tile (1, 3) is the "Low Authoritarian Low Populist" group. The remaining five tiles were grouped into a single "Ambivalents" group. Utilizing a three by three matrix and examining the outermost tiles should produce more distinctive differences

between these two groups. A preliminary examination of the four groups using a two by two matrix produced similar results, just less distinctive.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

The first demographic measure examined was self-identified race (Table 4). Non-white increases as you move from low to high levels of both populism and authoritarianism. While this is noteworthy, it is also likely to alter the ultimate results of this study as minority groups have been demonstrated to identify and vote overwhelmingly for Democratic groups. Previous research has demonstrated that African Americans hold more authoritarian parenting positions, but that it does not necessarily influence other policy or ideological positions (Hetherington 2009). For this reason, all self-identified non-white cases are excluded from the groups for the purposes of producing demographic profiles and controlled for when policy issues are examined.

To understand the demographic profile of these four groups, this paper examined age, income, education, marital status, religion, political participation, and ideological self-placement. Table 4 summarizes the percentage of each group falling in the given demographic categories. Across the vast majority of these demographic categories, the four groups are demonstrated to be distinct from each other.

TABLE 4
SELECTED DEMOGRAPHICS AUTHORITARIAN-POPULIST SCALE

	High Authoritarian High Populist	High Authoritarian Low Populist	Low Authoritarian High Populist	Low Authoritarian Low Populist	Ambivalents
Self-Identified Race					
Non-White	24.0%	17.6%	12.2%	8.8%	20.1%
White	74.4%	80.9%	87.0%	90.2%	79.0%
Age Group					
18 - 34	19.0%	23.3%	32.3%	21.8%	24.8%
35 - 59	40.7%	36.9%	42.3%	43.0%	43.0%
60 or older	40.3%	39.7%	25.5%	35.2%	32.2%

Chi-Square = 30.16, p<.001

Income

Under $35,000	42.7%	30.0%	26.9%	18.1%	27.7%
$35,00 to $74,999	31.9%	32.5%	27.3%	25.3%	32.4%
$75,000 to 149,999	21.7%	26.8%	31.8%	32.4%	28.9%
$150,000 or more	3.7%	10.7%	14.0%	24.2%	11.0%

Chi-Square = 3112.78, p<.001

Highest Level of Education

Some College and Less	60.5%	55.2%	31.6%	23.9%	45.6%
Undergraduate Degree	32.5%	34.2%	46.3%	39.4%	39.5%
Graduate Degree and Higher	7.0%	10.7%	22.0%	36.7%	14.9%

Chi-Square = 312.78, p<.001

Marital Status

Never married	19.3%	20.6%	33.7%	23.3%	33.7%

Chi-Square = 65.47, p<.001

Church Attendance

Weekly or More	24.1%	33.8%	8.3%	11.6%	16.1%

Chi-Square = 169.43, p<.001

Religious Identification

Agnostic or Atheist	5.7%	2.5%	28.3%	18.0%	10.3%

Chi-Square = 59.037 for Agnostic, 87.96 for Atheist, p<.001 for both

Does Christian Respondent Consider self born again?

Yes	46.5%	52.1%	13.9%	17.0%	30.7%

Chi-Square = 238.51, p<.001

Registered to Vote

Yes	84.2%	86.0%	88.9%	91.3%	86.0%

Chi-Square = 10.48, p=.033

Close to any Political Party

Yes	48.7%	59.8%	54.3%	67.2%	54.3%

Chi-Square = 30.81, p<.001

Voted in 2016 Presidential Primary

Yes	38.0%	45.8%	52.4%	50.5%	43.7%

Chi-Square = 18.84, p=.001

A. Age

The High Authoritarian High Populist group is the oldest, while the Low Authoritarian High Populist group is the youngest. For the High Authoritarian High Populist group, 40.3% fall within the 60 or older category compared to only 25.5% for the Low Authoritarian High Populist group. Additionally, in the Low Authoritarian High Populist group 32.3% are in the 18 to 34 category, compared to only 19% in the High Authoritarian High Populist group. Interestingly, the two Low Populist groups are very similar in their age profile, with the Low Authoritarian Low Populist group having slightly more in the middle-aged category.

B. Income

For income, it appears that moving towards low authoritarianism and low populism corresponds to higher incomes. The differences here are stark, with only 3.7% of those in the High Authoritarian High Populist group falling in the $150,000 or more income category, compared to a remarkable 24.2% of those in the Low Authoritarian Low Populist group. The two middle groups, High Authoritarian Low Populist and Low Authoritarian High Populist are closer to each other, with the Low Authoritarian High Populist group showing slightly higher incomes.

C. Education

Education, unsurprisingly follows in the same direction as income. With the High Authoritarian High Populist group reporting the lowest education attainment and the Low Authoritarian Low Populist group the highest. Again, the differences are large, with only 7% of the High Authoritarian High Populist group attaining graduate degrees compared to 36.7% in the Low Authoritarian Low Populist group. The middle groups are again closer to each other, with the Low Authoritarian High Populist group having slightly higher levels of educational attainment.

D. Marital Status

The High Authoritarian High Populist group contains the smallest number of people who have never married, whereas the Low Authoritarian High Populist group has the most. This is most likely a result of the divergent age profiles.

E. Religion

The High Authoritarian Low Populist group is the most religious, with the fewest number of atheists or agnostics, the highest weekly church attendance rate and they are the most likely to consider themselves "born again." Authoritarianism appears to have

the higher correlation with religious devotion as the High Authoritarian High Populist group is a close second. The Low Authoritarian High Populist group is the least religious. The difference is religious devotion is again quite stark, with 28.3% of the Low Authoritarian High Populist group identifying as the agnostic or atheist compared to just 2.5% for the High Authoritarian Low Populist group.

F. Political Participation

All four groups report similar levels of voter registration, with slightly higher levels as you move toward low authoritarianism and low populism. However, connection to a political party and participation in the 2016 primaries is more distinct. The High Authoritarian High Populist group is least likely to identify with any political party, at 48.7% while the Low Authoritarian Low Populist group is most likely at 67.2%. The middle groups are again closer to each other, with the Low Authoritarian High Populist group having slightly higher levels of identification with a political party. Participation in the 2016 primaries follows this same pattern, with only 38% of those in the High Authoritarian High Populist group participating compared to 52.4% in the Low Authoritarian High Populist group.

G. Political Ideology

As displayed in Figure 1, ideological self-placement strongly correlates with authoritarianism. The Low Authoritarian High Populist group is the most liberal, with nearly 60% identifying as extremely to slightly liberal. The Low Authoritarian Low Populist group is not far behind, with nearly 50% identifying as liberal. The High Authoritarian Low Populist group is the most conservative, with nearly 67% identifying as extremely to slightly conservative. The High Authoritarian High Populist group is slightly less conservative overall, with 53% identifying as conservative, however, this group has the highest number of people self-identifying as extremely conservative, at 12%. What is particularly interesting is how few in the high authoritarian groups identify as liberal. In the High Authoritarian Low Populist group, not a single person identified as extremely liberal. The bottom line here is that as you move towards high authoritarian conservatism increases, whereas as you move towards high populism, liberalism increase, although to a lesser extent.

Figure 1
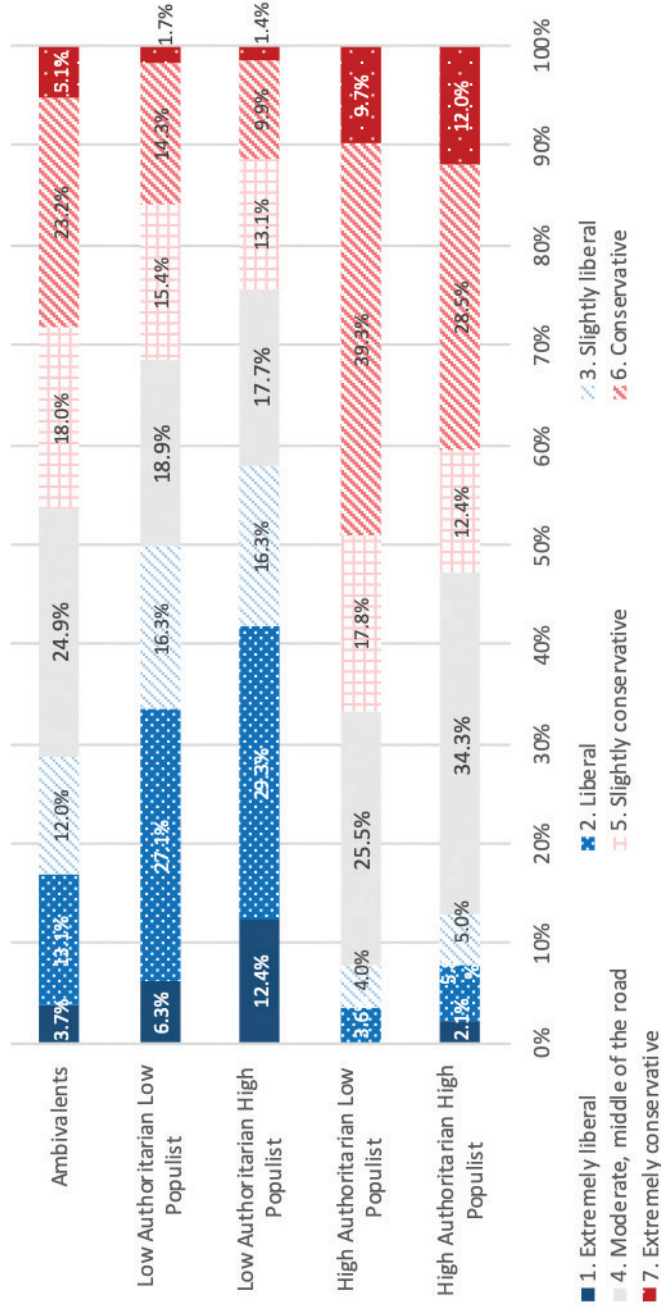Liberal-Conservative Self-Placement

Table 5 was created to summarize the five groups' demographic profiles. Based on these profiles, each group was assigned a substantive designator that captures their distinctive demographic profiles.

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Table 5

Demographic Profile

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Low Authoritarian **High Populist - "Post-Modernists"**	High Authoritarian **High Populist - "Outsiders"**
• Most Liberal • Young • High Income • High Level of Education • Most Likely to be unmarried • Least Religious • High levels registered to vote • Less likely to identify with a party • Most likely to participate in 2016 Presidential Primaries	• Conservative • Old • Lowest Income • Lowest Level of Education • Average likelihood to be unmarried • Highly Religious • Least likely to be registered to vote • Least likely to identify with a party • Least likely to participate in 2016 Presidential Primaries
Low Authoritarian **Low Populist - "Elites"**	High Authoritarian **Low Populist - "Traditionalists"**
• Liberal • Middle Aged • Highest Income • Highest Level of Education • Average likelihood to be unmarried • Less Religious • Most likely to be registered to vote • Most likely to identify with a party • More likely to participate in 2016 Presidential Primaries	• Most Conservative • Middle Aged to Old • Middle Income • Low Level of Education • Least likely to be unmarried • Most Religious • Average likelihood to be registered • Average likelihood to identify with a party • Less likely to participate in 2016 Presidential Primaries

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"Ambivalents"

• Moderate to Conservative
• Middle Aged
• Average Income
• Average Education
• Average Religious participation
• Average level of party identification
• Average political activity

</div>

The "Post-Modernists" are young, very liberal, highly educated, not very religious and politically active but less likely to identify with a political party. The "Elites" are middle aged, liberal, very highly educated with very high incomes, they are less religious, politically active, and most likely to identify with a political party. "Traditionalists" are middle aged to old, they are the most conservative group, tend to be middle-income with relatively low levels of educational attainment, they are also very religious and about average in political participation. The "Outsiders" tend to be older, conservative, they have the lowest educational attainment and lowest income, are highly religious, and least likely to be politically active or identify with a political party.

The fifth group, comprised of people who do not fall in the top or bottom third of either the authoritarian and populist factors are nearly indistinguishable from the aggregate demographics and ideology—falling near the average on every measure. For this reason, this group is referred to as the "Ambivalents."

A test of validity of this categorization is whom these groups supported in the 2016 Presidential primaries. As mentioned earlier, the 2016 election cycle saw the rise of unusual candidates on both sides of the political spectrum. On the left was Bernie Sanders, a self-professed socialist who ran against the political establishment—with many proclaiming him a populist candidate. On the right was Donald Trump, a billionaire political neophyte whose aggressive anti-establishment rhetoric had many calling him both populist and to a lesser extent an authoritarian candidate. Based on this we would expect the High Authoritarian High Populist group, the "Outsiders" to support Donald Trump; the High Authoritarian Low Populist group of "Traditionalists" to support Republicans other than Donald Trump; the Low Authoritarian High Populist "Post-Modernists" to support Bernie Sanders; and the Low Authoritarian Low Populist "Elites" to support Hillary Clinton.

TABLE 6
2016 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY SUPPORT

	Elites	Post-Modernists	Traditionalists	Outsiders	Ambivalents
	High Authoritarian High Populist	High Authoritarian Low Populist	Low Authoritarian High Populist	Low Authoritarian Low Populist	Moderates
Hillary Clinton	45.5%	25.5%	13.0%	16.0%	22.0%
Bernie Sanders	21.2%	44.8%	8.2%	13.4%	18.5%
Another Democrat	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.4%
Donald Trump	9.0%	17.6%	37.0%	42.9%	29.8%
Another Republican	22.8%	11.5%	41.1%	26.1%	26.8%
Other	1.6%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.4%

As displayed in Table 6, primary support by each group corresponds to these expectations. In each of the four groups, the plurality of votes went to the "predicted candidate." It is noteworthy that no candidate received majority support from any of the four groups, implying that there is more to candidate preference than is covered in this authoritarian and populist framework. However, the divergence in candidate support in each group is still quite clear and does validate this framework.

The relationship between the primary candidates and the four groups also provides some confirmation of the popular notion of the types of people who supported each candidate. We see that among the two low authoritarian groups, populism clearly distinguished support for Bernie Sanders. The high authoritarian groups are more closely aligned in their support for Donald Trump, suggesting support for Donald Trump is more closely related to authoritarianism than populism. However, there is evidence that higher levels of populism do correspond to greater support for Donald Trump. This is evident within the low authoritarian group, where support for Donald Trump increases from 9% to 17.6% as one moves from low to high populist. This is particularly interesting given that the Low Authoritarian High Populist group or "Post-Modernists" self-identified as the most liberal of the four groups, suggesting Donald Trump's anti-establishment (populist) rhetoric was somewhat appealing to them.

Perhaps the most interesting data point from Table 6 is that support for the category "Another Republican" was remarkably close for the two polar opposite groups, with 26.1% of Outsiders supporting these Republicans while nearly 23% of Elites supported the same group of Republicans. At the same time, these two groups were the furthest apart in their support for Donald Trump (42.9% vs 9%). This highlights the dissatisfaction Outsiders felt towards their own Republican establishment, helping to explain the surprising level of support Donald Trump received on his path to the Presidency.

IV. Issues

In order to evaluate if the five distinct groups created by the authoritarian-populist framework can be distinguished on a range of political issues, a linear regression model that controls for a number of potentially explanatory variables is utilized. The issues examined in this section are among the common issues that have been used when describing authoritarianism and populism (Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Hochscild 2016; Judis 2016). The following are eight issues, categorized into three distinct groups:

Social Issues
 1. Gay Rights
 2. Abortion
 3. Women's Rights
Security/Civil Liberty Issues
 4. Need for a Strong Leader
 5. Torture
Global/Financial Issues
 6. Immigration
 7. Trade
 8. Financial Insecurity

V. Data and Methodology

The data for this section utilizes the same 2016 American National Election Study (ANES) noted earlier. The regression results indicate the effect of moving from the Ambivalents, a group closest to the average of the American voting public, to one of the four distinct groups, after controlling for the potentially explanatory variables. Each group of issues have slightly different control variables, which are based on an attempt to maximize comparability to Hetherington and Weiler (2009). The full regression model for each issue is displayed in Table 7a and 7b.

Social Issues

Support for gay rights has traditionally been a highly polarized issue among the American electorate. Hetherington (2009) provided an extensive examination of support for Gay rights, finding that the relationship to authoritarianism holds up after controlling for a wide range of other potential explanatory factors. In fact, he finds the effect of authoritarianism on support for gay rights is large, consistently stronger than partisanship and ideological self-identification. However, feeling threat from "newer lifestyles" and moral traditionalism were found to usually display even stronger relationships (Hetherington 2009).

In an attempt to distinguish support for gay rights among the five authoritarian-populist groups, this section attempts to replicate Hetherington's model.

Hetherington used four variables from the 2004 ANES to examine support for Gay rights (Hetherington 2009).

1. Gay Adoption
2. Gays in the Military
3. Gay Employment Protections
4. Gay Marriage

All of these variables, with the exception Gays in the Military, were available in the 2016 ANES. Additionally, two related variables were added:

1. Services to Gay Couples
2. Transgender Bathroom Policy

In order to form more rigorous test of the relationship between authoritarianism and gay rights issues, Hetherington created a regression model. The model, which is replicated here, takes into account a range of social characteristics (race, age, education, income, and gender). Hetherington (2009) theorized that African Americans, older people, the less well educated, those with lower incomes, and men are less likely to be supportive of gay rights. Controls for church attendance and denomination are added, on the theory that evangelicals and Catholics will be less supportive of gay rights. In addition to party identification and ideological self-placement, a measure of moral traditionalism was added to account for that particular part of conservatism. The

final control in the model is a measure of perceived threat, specifically the response to the statement "newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society" (Hetherington and Weiler 2009).

Hetherington's model is segmented by the variables: Gay Adoption, Gays in the Military, Gay Employment Protections, and Gay Marriage, finding a statistically significant negative relationship between authoritarianism and support for all gay rights issues. Since the ANES for 2016 does not cover the same exact group of gay rights issues, a single factor encompassing the five issues noted above was utilized to make comparisons easier.

Abortion is another polarizing issue that is typically explained largely along ideological lines. One would expect the typical liberal to be much more supportive of a woman's right to choose compared to the average conservative. Additionally, abortion is believed to be highly influenced by religious affiliation, with evangelical Christians and Catholics more likely to be opposed to abortion. Again, a more rigorous test of the relationship between the authoritarian-populist groups and support for abortion is needed. Abortion is a similar issue as gay rights and for this reason, Hetherington's regression model is appropriate. However, the control for perceived threat from new lifestyles is not relevant in this case, as unlike gay marriage, abortion is not viewed as a lifestyle and those in opposition to abortion are most likely not fearful that abortion may be imposed on them. Particularly important controls include race, moral traditionalism, party identification, ideological self-placement, age, and the measures of religion. Additionally, no factor was created because abortion can be fully represented by a single question on the 2016 ANES.

Women's rights is the idea that women should have equal rights with men—it has historically been shaped by issues like property rights, voting rights, reproductive rights, and more recently the right to work for equal pay. Based on Hetherington's (2009) description of authoritarians as being averse to change from established norms, we would expect authoritarians to be less supportive of women's rights. It is not clear how support for women's rights would be shaped by populism, so the assumption here is that authoritarianism is the main point of distinction. The same control variables for abortion were utilized.

However, like Gay rights, a factor scale had to be created in order to capture responses from multiple question. To measure support for women's rights, four questions from the 2016 ANES were utilized:

1. How important is it that more women get elected?
2. Is it better if the man works and the woman takes care of home?
3. Do women demanding equality seek special favors?
4. Do women complaining about discrimination cause more problems?

Security/Civil Liberty Issues

Hetherington found that support for a wide range of civil liberties related issues were structured by authoritarianism. The two factors here—need for a strong leaders and support for torture—are expected to be structured by authoritarianism, with

little impact from populism. The controls in the model for Security/Civil Liberties is an attempt to replicate Hetherington's (2009) models on civil liberties—controlling for race, party identification, ideological self-placement, income and education. Additionally, Hetherington found that perceived threat of terrorism had a large impact on converging all views toward the authoritarian one. This was particularly true in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This perceived threat may also be important in explaining the support for a strong leader as well, as those with higher fears of terrorism may want a strong leader to offer protection and support for torture of terror suspects.

The question from the 2016 ANES: "The Country needs a strong leader to take us back to true path" is ideal because it does not impose an ideological framework of who that leader would be. A liberal responding to the question can assume that the "true path" is a more liberal one and a conservative can assume a more conservative one. Thus, the question gets to the heart of desiring a strong leader. The question of torture is simple, asking respondents "Do you favor or oppose torture for suspected terrorists?"

GLOBAL/FINANCIAL ISSUES

Immigration, trade and financial insecurity were topics of frequent discussion during the 2016 Presidential election. Donald Trump ran a campaign that was vocally opposed to many forms of immigration, with signature message of building a wall along the southern border. Support for immigration is expected to be influenced primarily by authoritarianism given the cultural aspect and the understanding of the authoritarian polarization in preferences for out-groups that alter societal norms.

Among republicans, Donald Trump ran against free-trade agreements like NAFTA, promising to either re-negotiate better trade deals or pull out of them (OnThe-Issues I). This was a big departure from recent Republican presidential candidates, who were generally pro-trade. Among democrats, Bernie Sanders campaign was also heavily focused on opposition to trade (OnTheIssues II). During his long tenure in the Senate, he never voted for a trade agreement and believed trade cost the United States millions of jobs. Previous research and popular convention has associated opposition to trade with populism.

Hochschild's (2016) assertion that the "the scene had been set for Trump's rise" was in part based on high levels of financial insecurity for the group of white working class voters she profiled. Similar arguments have been made for the strong support Bernie Sanders received in the democratic primary. Additionally, explanations of populism frequently includes economic discontent and financial insecurity. For this reason, two measures of financial security were analyzed:
1. How worried are you about your financial situation?
2. How much opportunity in America to get ahead?

The controls used for these three issues are replicated from the more simplified Hetherington model (2009)—controlling for race, party identification, ideological self-placement, income and education.

Model Results and Analysis

Table 7a and 7b presents a summary of the statistically significant relationships for the eight issues after controlling for the symbolic attitudes and social characteristics detailed earlier.

1. Gay Rights

To start, we look at support for these five policies, distinguished by the five author-itarian-populist groups in Table 8. It appears that support for gay and transgender rights is primarily distinguished by authoritarianism. For the two high authoritarian groups, the support for each issue is typically significantly below the support from the two low authoritarian groups. Additionally, across the five issues, the two high authoritarian groups are within seven points of each other and the two low authoritarian groups are within three points. In comparison to Hetherington's data from 2004, support for gay rights has increased significantly. Overall support for adoption by gays has increased from 50% to 76%, support for gay marriage has increased from 35% to 60% and support for job protection has increased from 75% to 83%. What is particularly interesting is that increase in support has come almost exclusively from the high authoritarian groups. For example, support for adoption by gays was 28% for authoritarians in 2004, compared to 57% and 58% for the two high authoritarian groups in 2016.

TABLE 7A
FULL REGRESSION MODEL

Variable	1. Gay Rights Factor Param. Est (Std. Err.)	2. Support for Abortion Param. Est (Std. Err.)	3. Women's Rights Factor Param. Est (Std. Err.)	4. Need for a Strong Leader Param. Est (Std. Err.)
Intercept	1.073 (0.693)	2.695*** (0.733)	-1.137 (0.662)	2.818*** (0.150)
High Auth. - High Pop.	-0.346 (0.461)	0.117 (0.428)	-1.448*** (0.383)	0.394*** (0.074)
High Auth. - Low Pop.	-0.595* (0.253)	-0.791** (0.275)	-0.216 (0.025)	0.223** (0.074)
Low Auth. - High Pop.	-0.090 (0.239)	0.529* (0.259)	-0.038 (0.233)	-0.439*** (0.072)
Low Auth. - Low Pop.	-0.304 (0.314)	0.414 (0.308)	-0.052 (0.292)	-0.523*** (0.068)
Race (African American)	-0.369 (0.307)	0.304 (0.305)	0.533 (0.271)	-0.118 (0.081)
Moral Traditionalism	-0.272** (0.086)	0.042 (0.086)	-0.156* (0.077)	- -
Perceived Threat from "Newer Lifestyles"	-0.242** -0.077	- -	- -	- -
Perceived Threat from Terrorism	- -	- -	- -	0.123*** -0.021
Party Identification	-0.003 (0.062)	-0.14* (0.064)	-0.049 (0.060)	0.148*** (0.015)
Ideological Self-Placement	-0.082 (0.085)	-0.179* (0.085)	-0.067 (0.082)	0.216*** (0.020)
Gender (Female)	0.244 (0.172)	0.206 (0.179)	0.487** (0.167)	- -
Income	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.015*** (0.003)
Education	-0.023 (0.047)	0.035 (0.048)	0.116** (0.430)	-0.098*** (0.011)
Age	0.010 (0.006)	0.016** (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)	- -
Attend Church at Least Weekly	0.047 (0.052)	0.022 (0.674)	0.085 (0.047)	- -
Evangelical Protestant	-0.373 (0.253)	-0.430 (0.263)	-0.057 (0.249)	- -
Mainline Protestant	0.442 (0.627)	0.295 (0.672)	0.973 (0.603)	- -
Catholic	0.160 (0.242)	-0.109 (0.245)	-0.001 (0.219)	- -

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***<.001
Param. Est. = parameter estimate; Std. Err. = standard error
Source: American National Election Study, 2016

TABLE **7**B
F**ULL** R**EGRESSION** M**ODEL** P**ART** II

Variable	5. Favor Torture of Terror Suspects	6. Favor Decreasing Immigration	7. Trade is Good for the US	8. Financial Insecurity Factor
	Param. Est (Std. Err.)	Param. Est (Std. Err.)	Param. Est (Std. Err.)	Param. Est (Std. Err.)
Intercept	1.206*** (0.097)	2.866*** (0.124)	2.179*** (0.092)	0.971*** (0.115)
High Auth. - High Pop.	0.111* (0.048)	0.329*** (0.066)	-0.213*** (0.049)	0.327*** (0.062)
High Auth. - Low Pop.	-0.027 (0.048)	0.076 (0.066)	0.049 (0.049)	-0.218*** (0.061)
Low Auth. - High Pop.	-0.138** (0.046)	-0.166** (0.064)	-0.032 (0.048)	0.195** (0.060)
Low Auth. - Low Pop.	-0.251*** (0.044)	-0.303*** (0.061)	0.242*** (0.045)	-0.242*** (0.057)
Race (African American)	0.158** (0.052)	-0.018 (0.072)	-0.129* (0.054)	0.080 (0.067)
Moral Traditionalism	- -	- -	- -	- -
Perceived Threat from "Newer Lifestyles"	- -	- -	- -	- -
Perceived Threat from Terrorism	0.064*** -0.013	- -	- -	- -
Party Identification	0.084*** (0.009)	0.096*** (0.013)	-0.055*** (0.010)	-0.005 (0.012)
Ideological Self-Placement	0.090*** (0.013)	0.186*** (0.018)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.041* (0.016)
Gender (Female)	- -	- -	- -	- -
Income	0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.004* (0.002)	-0.036*** (0.009)
Education	-0.029*** (0.007)	-0.047*** (0.010)	0.031*** (0.007)	-0.027*** (0.003)
Age	- -	- -	- -	- -
Attend Church at Least Weekly	- -	- -	- -	- -
Evangelical Protestant	- -	- -	- -	- -
Mainline Protestant	- -	- -	- -	- -
Catholic	- -	- -	- -	- -

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***<.001
Param. Est. = parameter estimate; Std. Err. = standard error
Source: American National Election Study, 2016

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Table 8

Support for Gay Rights

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Item	Support	Item	Support
Adoption by Gays		**Required to Provide Services to Gay Couples**	
High Authoritarian High Populist	57%	High Authoritarian High Populist	35%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	58%	High Authoritarian Low Populist	29%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	91%	Low Authoritarian High Populist	59%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	92%	Low Authoritarian Low Populist	61%
Remaining	76%	Remaining	45%
All	76%	All	46%
Gay Marriage		**Transgender: Use Bathrooms of Identified Gender**	
High Authoritarian High Populist	43%	High Authoritarian High Populist	28%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	39%	High Authoritarian Low Populist	33%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	80%	Low Authoritarian High Populist	72%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	78%	Low Authoritarian Low Populist	70%
Remaining	59%	Remaining	47%
All	60%	All	49%
Protect Gays from Job Discrimination			
High Authoritarian High Populist	75%		
High Authoritarian Low Populist	68%		
Low Authoritarian High Populist	92%		
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	94%		
Remaining	84%		
All	83%		

However, the two most recent variables—support for required services for gays and transgender bathroom policy—have considerably lower support, particularly from the high authoritarian groups. Taken together, this makes sense, as both of these are more recent issues to play out among the American public. Research suggests authoritarianism structures preferences when the issue challenges established norms or goes against tradition (Hetherington 2009). The issues of adoption, marriage, and employment protection for gays are largely settled issues, especially since gay marriage was

legalized across the United States in 2015. The newer issues, like transgender bath-room policies, are more likely to elicit widespread authoritarian opposition because they present a greater challenge to established norms. Hetherington made a similar observation about the public opinion of gays in the military, which saw widespread support by 2004, when only a few years earlier it was much more controversial—find-ing that "once an issue becomes a relatively established practice, even those with the greatest concerns about differences will come around to accept that change" (Hether-ington 2009).

As Hetherington's more rigorous model is implemented, the statistical significance of the relationships between the authoritarian-populist groups diminishes (Table 7a). The two controls that show the strongest relationship between support for gay rights are moral traditionalism and the perceived threat from newer lifestyles. The strength of these two variables is not surprising as they were highlighted by Hetherington as the strongest in his model. What is interesting, is that Traditionalists maintain a statisti-cally significant and negative relationship (-0.595) in support for gay rights even after accounting for all of the control variables. This means that moving from the moderate group to the traditional conservative group reduces support for gay rights by more than can be explained by demographic and social characteristics. This makes sense when considering the demographic profile (Table 5) of Traditionalists. This group, when compared to the Outsiders, are more educated, younger, and have higher incomes. All of this would indicate more support for gay rights, yet they were found to have the lowest support for gay marriage, protections from job discrimination, and providing services to gay couples.

After accounting for a wide range of explanatory variables, the relationship be-tween the authoritarian-populist groups and support for gay rights is only strong among a single group (Table 7a). While there are some interesting implications of Traditional-ists demonstrating the least support, gay rights does not appear to be a major point of distinction between the five groups. The overall results of this model appear closest to Hetherington's examination of support for gays in the military. This makes sense when you consider that the widespread support for gays in the military in 2004 is roughly equivalent to the widespread support for most gay rights issues in 2016.

2. Abortion

Relating to authoritarianism, Hetherington (2009) described authoritarians as viewing issues as black and white whereas non-authoritarians view more of the shades of grey, willing to consider carefully the intricacies of particular situations. For that reason, and the fact that high authoritarians are more religious and conservative, one would expect those in the high authoritarian groups to view abortion as a black and white issue and oppose it, whereas, non-authoritarians, would be more willing to un-derstand that people face different circumstances and may need more options available to them. For this reason, one would expect the average non-authoritarian to be more supportive of abortion.

Thus, it is no surprise that support for abortion (Table 9) appears to be largely distinguished by authoritarianism. On a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being full access to abortion, the two high authoritarian groups are clustered near 2.5, whereas the two low authoritarian groups are clustered near 3.5. There does appear to be a slight increase in support for abortion as one moves from low to high populism.

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TABLE 9

SUPPORT FOR ABORTION

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Abortion Self-Placement	
	Scale
High Authoritarian High Populist	2.49
High Authoritarian Low Populist	2.36
Low Authoritarian High Populist	3.53
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	3.40
Remaining	2.91
Total	2.94
Scale	
1-never permitted by law	
2-only in cases of rape, incest, or woman's life in danger	
3-by law, if need established	
4-by law, matter of personal choice	

In Table 7a, there are some interesting results. After controlling for all of the above factors, support for abortion between the two high authoritarian groups is very different. The Traditionalists are much less likely to support abortion when compared to the Ambivalents, whereas the Outsiders are much closer to the same level of support as the Ambivalents. This distinction implies that authoritarianism and populism are moving in opposite directions in effecting support for abortion. A possible explanation for this is the anti-establishment mentality of populists influencing their preference for the government (a group of establishment politicians) to impose orders on their lives. The Traditionalists are more willing to have an activist government put legal restrictions on abortion, which would seem to be related to a more favorable view of government officials.

3. Women's Rights

In Table 10, we see the net agreement to these four questions distinguished by the five groups. The results suggest that both authoritarianism and populism are impacting support for women's rights. The high authoritarian groups are least supportive of women's rights, but after segmenting by authoritarianism, the high populist groups demonstrate even less support for women's rights.

TABLE 10

SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Item	
Important that more women get elected	**Net Important**
High Authoritarian High Populist	19%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	4%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	47%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	55%
Remaining	28%
All	30%
Better if man works and woman takes care of home	**Net Better**
High Authoritarian High Populist	51%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	43%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	14%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	16%
Remaining	34%
All	32%
Do women demanding equality seek special favors	**Net Agree**
High Authoritarian High Populist	-13%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	-35%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	-66%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-81%
Remaining	-40%
All	-45%
Do women complaining about discrimination cause more problems	**Net Agree**
High Authoritarian High Populist	14%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	-25%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	-62%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-78%
Remaining	-37%
All	-38%

In Table 7a, the only group that maintains a statistically significant impact on support for women's rights after the control variables are the Outsiders. The Traditionalists, Post-Modernists and Elites are indistinguishable from the Ambivalents after the controls. A key question is why populism is impacting support for women's rights? Hochschild's (2016) description of the white working class conservatives she profiled

included the assertion that their position on gender roles was a unique point of distinction. Assuming the Outsiders group is representative of the people she profiled, this assertion is correct, as they are the only group to demonstrate a negative relationship after controlling for other variables.

4. Need for a Strong Leader

The preference for a strong leader is an attempt to address Mueller's (2016) claim that the link between populism and authoritarianism is that if populists have enough power, they will end up creating an authoritarian sate that excludes all those not considered part of the proper "people" (Mueller 2016, 4). An authoritarian state is associated with a strong leader, who exerts tremendous power over the government. This is not typically thought of as an American quality, where the federal government has an intricate system of checks and balances that leaves the President with relatively limited powers.

In Table 11, it is evident that support for a strong leader is heavily polarized by authoritarianism. The two high authoritarian groups are net 69% and 61% agree, while the two low authoritarian groups are net 19% and 28% disagree that the country needs a strong leader.

Table 11
Need for a Strong Leader

Country needs a strong leader to take us back to true path	
	Net Agree
High Authoritarian High Populist	69%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	61%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	-19%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-28%
Remaining	31%
Total	25%

This polarization is extreme, but makes sense when considering Hetherington's (2009) definition of authoritarianism as a need and desire for order. In an authoritarian's view, a strong leader is most likely to provide that order, whereas, the non-authoritarian is more worried about a strong leader's encroachment on their freedom, and personal liberties. Hetherington found authoritarianism had a consistently large effect on a number of civil liberties questions—including support for warrantless wiretaps and opposition to opposing the President on terrorism. Hetherington also found that perceived threat of terrorism had a large impact on converging all views toward the authoritarian one. This was particularly true in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist

attacks. This perceived threat may also be important in explaining the support for a strong leader as well, as those with higher fears of terrorism may want a strong leader to offer protection.

In the regression model, the perceived threat from terrorism is measured by the question: "How worried are you about a terrorist attack in the next 12 months." Those who say they are more worried about a terrorist attack have a higher level of perceived threat. Using the same control variables as Hetherington, the regression model is shown in Table 7a.

All four of the groups have very strong correlation in their support for a strong leader. The two high authoritarian groups have a positive effect on the need for a strong leader as you move from the moderate group and the two low authoritarian groups have a negative effect. However, there is evidence that high populism has a positive effect on the need for a strong leader, as moving from low to high populism within both sets increases the effect in a positive direction. This appears to provide some confirmation of Mueller's claim, but the effect is not large enough to say all populists with enough power will govern in an authoritarian style.

It is particularly interesting to consider the contradictions of a positive relationship between populism and support for a strong leader. The measure used to define populism was distrust in establishment politicians and the elites in society. One would think a negative view of this group would result in lower support for a strong leader. Perhaps the best explanation is that these populists think that strong leader would be more representative of what they view as the people. Maybe that strong leader would disrupt the current political establishment and social elites, an appealing proposition to the populists.

5. Torture

Support for torture of suspected terrorists appears to be a similar issue to the need for a strong leader as it relates to the tradeoff between safety and freedom. Along with being highly polarized by authoritarianism, support for torture is most likely heavily influenced by perceived fear of terrorism. In Table 12, the large polarization by authoritarianism is evident. The two authoritarian groups have a net favorable opinion of torturing suspected terrorists of 8% and 3%, while the two low authoritarian groups have large negative favorability of -47% and -55%.

TABLE 12
FAVOR TORTURE OF SUSPECTED TERRORISTS

	Net Favor
High Authoritarian High Populist	8%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	3%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	-47%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-55%
Remaining	-13%
Total	-18%

However, when we use the same regression model as used for support of a strong leader, the results become more interesting. In Table 7b, after controlling for the other variables, the only group with a positive relationship for supporting torture (when compared to the Ambivalents) are the Outsiders.

This seems to correspond to support for a strong leader, which also had the highest support among Outsiders. There is clearly something unique about Outsiders that is not explained by demographic and social characteristics or even perceived threat from terrorism. They have demonstrably higher favorability for torture and the need for a strong leader, yet on issues like abortion and gay rights they have a more liberal position than Traditionalists.

6. Immigration

Immigration is another issue that was prominent during the 2016 elections. The expectation that authoritarianism is the primary driver of views on immigration appears to be true. In Table 13, the polarization in support for decreasing immigration levels is high structured by authoritarianism. The two high authoritarian groups have a net 61% and 57% favorable view of decreasing immigration, whereas the two low authoritarian groups have a net 1% and -6% favorable view of decreasing immigration.

TABLE 13
FAVOR DECREASED IMMIGRATION LEVELS

	Net Favor
High Authoritarian High Populist	61%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	57%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	1%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-6%
Remaining	35%
Total	31%

However, once the control variables (race, party ID, ideology, income, and education) are factored in, the results change. In Table 7b, the only group that is associated with a statistically significant preference for decreasing immigration are the Outsiders. In this regression model, the Traditionalists appear indistinguishable from the Ambivalents, while both the Elites and to a lesser extent, Post-Modernists are more supportive of immigration. These results indicate both authoritarianism and populism, particularly when both are at the same extremes have a unique impact on preference for immigrants.

A possible explanation for this is the distinction between the economic and cultural impact of immigration. The authoritarians are more concerned with the cultural impact of new people with different people entering their communities. The populists are likely more concerned with the economic impact of immigration. They may be fearful that immigrants may take their job or even suspicious that the political establishment and economic elites in society are bringing immigrants into the country in order to lower wages and reduce dependence on American labor. When these views are combined in the Outsiders, the aversion to immigration is amplified.

7. Trade

Previous research and popular convention has associated opposition to trade with populism. To evaluate this, the same methods applied to gay rights will be used. However, in Table 14, there appears to be a significant relationship between both authoritarianism and populism as it comes to net support for increasing trade with other countries.

Table 14
Support for Trade

Is increasing trade with other countries good for the U.S.?	
	Net Good
High Authoritarian High Populist	0%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	20%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	36%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	61%
Remaining	25%
Total	28%

As you move towards high authoritarianism and high populism, support for trade decreases. This is different from gay rights, where support was clustered by level of authoritarianism. There is a dramatic range in net support, going from net 61% support for the Elites to net 0% support for the Outsiders. A possible explanation for this is that trade and the globalization associated with it is both a cultural and economic phenomenon. Hetherington (2009) demonstrated that authoritarians and non-authoritarians can

be distinguished by ethnocentrism and out-group preference. If trade and globalization are considered cultural, authoritarians would be expected to have much less support for interactions with "new" people from around the world than non-authoritarians. For populism, the concern is most likely economic, with recent research (Milanovic) connecting increased trade with greater economic inequality and discontent in western countries. An anti-establishment, anti-elite populist is likely to believe that trade agreements over the past few decades have largely benefitted the wealthy. They would understand decisions to outsource US jobs as a way of increasing profits, benefitting the management and shareholders at the expense of the employees who are now without a job.

In Table 7b, even after the control variables are factored in, it is evident that the groups are distinct. Support for trade decreases as you move from the ambivalent group to the Outsiders, and increases as you move to the Elites. These two groups demonstrate very strong relationships with support for trade, and provide significantly more explanation than the control variables like income and education (See Table 7b).

Perhaps most interesting is that the two mixed groups, Traditionalists and Post-Modernists are close to the Ambivalents in support for trade, with Post-Modernists displaying a slightly negative relationship. This makes it clear that trade is not distinguished solely by authoritarianism or populism, and explains why opposition to trade resonates with large segments of both parties. It is particularly important for Republicans, who had previously run essentially as the free-trade party, meanwhile a large segment of conservatives are opposed to trade, a potential explanation for Donald Trump's strength in the primaries.

8. Financial Insecurity

The results in Table 15 are organized for the first item by netting those who are "moderately" to "extremely worried" against those who are "a little" to "not at all worried." The second item is organized by netting those who think there is "a moderate amount" to "a great deal" of opportunity in America to get ahead against those who think there is "little" to "none." The results indicate that financial insecurity is strongly related to populism, with the high populist groups reporting net 30% and 12% worry about their financial situation, compared to -6% and -17% for the low populist groups. Views of opportunity are similarly shaped by populism, with only 4% and 7% of the high populism groups saying there is opportunity in America to get ahead compared 50% and 60% for the low populism groups.

TABLE 15
FINANCIAL INSECURITY

Item	Net Agree
Worry about financial situation	
High Authoritarian High Populist	30%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	-6%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	12%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	-17%
Remaining	5%
All	4%
See opportunity in America to get ahead	
High Authoritarian High Populist	4%
High Authoritarian Low Populist	50%
Low Authoritarian High Populist	7%
Low Authoritarian Low Populist	60%
Remaining	31%
All	31%

This is particularly interesting when you consider the demographic profiles of these groups. It makes sense that the Elites, with high education attainment and high incomes would be less worried about their finances and see more opportunity in America and that the Outsiders with less education and low incomes would feel the opposite way. However, one would not anticipate that the Post-Modernists would feel significantly more financially insecure than Traditionalists. The Post-Modernists have more education and earn more money than Traditionalists, yet they are more worried about their financial situation and see much less opportunity to get ahead.

In the regression model (Table 7b), the two measures of financial insecurity were combined into a single factor and controlled for race, party ID, ideology, income, and education. One would expect these variables to explain the vast majority of financial insecurity. However, that is not the case. All four groups demonstrate a statistically significant effect on financial insecurity when compared to the group of Ambivalents. The Outsiders and Post-Modernists have a positive effect on financial insecurity while the Traditionalists and Elites have a negative effect.

This proves that populism is the dominant factor corresponding to financial insecurity. A possible explanation for this is that a populist's anti-establishment and anti-elite attitudes make them feel as if the deck is stacked against them, regardless of their actual financial position.

Another possible explanation is the difference in peer comparison groups. Charles Murray, in his 2013 book, *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010*, details the emergence of two distinct classes in American society—the new upper class

or "the cognitive elites" and the new lower class. He chronicles increasing segregation of "the cognitive elites" in locations he calls "SuperZips" around the country where nearly everyone has at least an undergraduate degree. Murray's work offers a potential explanation of the divergence in financial insecurity among the groups. With the two low authoritarian groups having by far the highest levels of education and income, they are likely to be concentrated in these "SuperZips." Meanwhile the two high authoritarian groups, with lower levels of education and incomes are living largely with each other. Among the two high authoritarian groups, Traditionalists likely feel more secure financially when they compare themselves to their peer group, which contains more Outsiders than Elites. The opposite is true for Post-Modernists, who feel greater insecurity when they compare themselves to their peer group filled with Elites.

VI. Conclusions and Implications

Table 16 presents a summary of the statistically significant relationships obtained after controlling for symbolic attitudes and social characteristics. These results are the effect being a member of a particular authoritarian-populist group has on support for that issue (compared to the group of Ambivalents) that cannot be explained by factors like race, age, ideology, education, and income.

TABLE 16
SUMMARY OF MODEL RESULTS

	1. Gay Rights	2. Abortion	3. Women's Rights	4. Need for a Strong Leader	5. Torture	6. Immigration	7. Trade	8. Financial Insecurity
1. Elites				NEG***	NEG***	POS***	POS***	NEG***
2. Post Modernists		POS*		NEG***	NEG**	POS**		POS**
3. Traditionalists	NEG*	NEG**		POS**				NEG***
4. Outsiders			NEG***	POS***	POS*	NEG***	NEG***	POS***

Blank = not statistically significant; bold = stronger relationship; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***<.001, one-tailed tests. POS = Positive; NEG = Negative

It is clear that the issue preferences of the four groups are distinct with minimal overlap. This validates the hypothesis that populism and authoritarianism are not the same thing and validates this authoritarian-populist framework. Among the eight issues covered, the two high authoritarian groups—Outsiders and Traditionalists—only overlap on a single issue (desire for a strong leader). This is a clear indication that one factor, in this case authoritarianism, does not properly distinguish issue preference. The literature on authoritarianism, particularly Hetherington and Weilor's (2009)

exploration of polarization in American Politics, argues that many of the eight issues covered here should primarily be structured by authoritarianism. However, the results presented here suggest that adding the populist dimension results in significant differences between the two high authoritarian groups. The Outsiders produce more significant distinctions from the Ambivalents than the Traditionalists and appear to align more closely with what previous research has indicated are the issue positions of authoritarians.

Outsiders are against trade, desire a strong leader, favor torture of terror suspects, oppose women's rights, and are financially insecure. Combined with their demographic profile—as older, low education levels and low incomes, highly religious and the least likely to identify with a political party—this group seems to correspond well to previous descriptions of the white working class and right wing populism. This group also appears to be the major source of confusion in describing populism and authoritarianism. Previous research has conflated the political orientation of this group as representative of all populists and all authoritarianism, when in fact it is the unique result of the iteration between two distinct phenomena.

Traditionalists are against gay rights, against abortion, desire a strong leader, and are financially secure. This clearly aligns more closely with the issues that has defined the Republican Party in the recent past. Given their significant differences from Outsiders, it is no surprise they supported different candidates in the Republican primaries. The Traditionalists preferred Republican candidates other than Donald Trump in the 2016 primaries, while the Outsiders overwhelmingly supported Donald Trump. Trump's surprising success was likely the result of tapping into the issues that resonate with the Outsiders, who had not been satisfied with the Republican establishment on issues like trade and immigration. This group was less politically engaged because past candidates did not directly appeal to their particular issue set, but Donald Trump placed tremendous emphasis on nearly every one of the issues they care about.

The Elites and Post-Modernists are more closely aligned, agreeing on three out of eight issues (against a strong leader, against torture, and for immigration). However there are unique aspects of each group that are important. First, the Elites are unique in their support for trade and their financial security. While the Next Generation liberal are unique in their support for abortion rights and financial insecurity. With similar demographic backgrounds, these distinctions make it easier to understand the split support for Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton in the Democratic primary. The two issues of relevance are trade and financial insecurity. Sander's was explicitly against trade and decried income inequality and the lack of upward mobility. This appealed to Post-Modernists who were concerned about their financial situation and saw little opportunity to succeed in America. They were willing to support Sander's relatively radical economic agenda because of this financial insecurity and because they had no affinity towards trade. On the other hand, the Elites saw plenty of opportunity to succeed and were not worried about their financial situation. This, coupled with their unique support for trade, led to their support for Hillary Clinton, the establishment candidate.

They were probably turned off by Sander's economic plans because they have found success under the current economic system.

When all of this is combined, a clear demographic and issue profiles of these distinct groups is created. Given Trump's support by the high authoritarian-high populist group and Sander's support from the low authoritarian-high populist group we can classify both candidates as populist and Trump as uniquely authoritarian, which corresponds to some of the literature and explains the source of confusion. Additionally, issues themselves can be distinguished as primarily shaped by authoritarianism or populism. Desire for a strong leader, approval of torture, and immigration are primarily influenced by authoritarianism. Financial security, and to a lesser extent trade are heavily influenced by populism. The other issues—gay rights, abortion, and women's rights—are influenced by both.

In general, authoritarianism aligns more closely with cultural issues, while populism has a greater correlation to economic issues. This provides some clarity to the idea of "economic-populism" versus "cultural-populism" expressed in the current literature (Spruyt 2016; Lehman 2015; Judis 2016). Based on the results here, economic-populism appears to closely align with populism while cultural populism aligns more with authoritarianism.

The advantage of the authoritarian-populist framework is that these two phenomena do not need to be mutually exclusive, with the distinctions and areas of overlap becoming clear. A similar parallel exists between Mueller's (2016) distinction between left-wing populists and right-wing populists. The results in this paper show that adding authoritarianism to populism (Outsiders) results in a demographic profile that largely conforms with Mueller's right-wing populism, whereas populism with low authoritarianism (Post-Modernists) more closely resembles left-wing populism. However, the authoritarian-populist framework demonstrates that the having five distinct groups is superior to Mueller's two. For example, the main attribute of Mueller's right-wing populists—opposition to "the bottom of society"—are dispersed among both high authoritarian groups. The Outsiders have negative views of both immigration and women's rights, whereas the Traditionalists, while not opposed to societal elites, are opposed to gay rights.

This framework is particularly helpful in understanding the current state of American politics. The groups created through the interactions between authoritarianism and populism suggest that five unique political predispositions were present within the electorate before the rise of unusual candidates like Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. These candidates found surprising success because the base of their support came from the two groups—the Post-Modernists and the Outsiders—who were not traditionally targeted by political candidates and tended to be less politically active. Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump successfully appealed to these groups, awakening a sizable base of support that caught many off guard. While Taub (2016) found authoritarianism was the best predictor of support for Donald Trump in the 2016 primaries, the results presented here show little distinction in support for Trump among the two high authoritarian groups

(Outsiders and Traditionalists), similar to results found in Rahn (2016). However, primary support for the other 2016 Republican Presidential candidates among these two groups is highly divergent—with the Traditionalists more likely to support the non-Trump Republican candidates. Along with the clearly distinguished primary support among the two low authoritarian groups, this demonstrates a clear advantage of looking at authoritarianism and populism in a combined framework.

Moving forward, this framework demonstrates that candidates that can appeal directly to any one of these groups has the ability to activate a significant political base, potentially enough to take them to the White House. President Trump's base of support and strongest supporters are the Outsiders, who score high on authoritarianism and populism. Support among the other authoritarian group was high and will likely remain secure, although their loyalty to the Republican Party may present some problems should conflict between the more traditional Republican and the Trump administration develop. However, Trump's appeal to the other populist group, the Post-Modernists, likely presents the greatest potential weakness in his political coalition. Despite being overwhelmingly liberal, 17.6% of this group supported Trump in the primaries, not far below the 25.5% who supported Clinton. Their support, likely driven by Trump's populist rhetoric was likely critical to his narrow victory in the key swing states that delivered his victory in the Electoral College. If the first few months of the Trump administration are any indication, support among Post-Modernists is likely to decline. It appears that President Trump has embraced more pro-business policies than his populist and anti-elite campaign rhetoric indicated while at the same time more fully embracing positions that align more closely with authoritarian positions. For the Post-Modernists, who are very supportive of abortion rights and have a favorable view of immigration but view political and economic elites with suspicion, this shift may go too far. Future research would be useful in identifying how support for Donald Trump evolves among these five groups.

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