

# A Loyal Base: Support for Authoritarianism in Times of Crisis

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# Puzzle, Question, and Argument

- Puzzle:
  - Comparatively to democracy, we know less about the ideals, norms, and principles of non-democratic regimes
- Question:
  - Are voters who share the ideals of non-democracy more likely to abandon the incumbent during economic downturns?
- Argument:
  - In times of economic crises, *instrumental support* is more likely to decrease and will result in a decrease in electoral support. *Normative support* level decrease in support *is conditional on the incumbent's performance*. *Normative support* is more likely to condition the incumbent's performance rather than instrumental support (3b)

## Data

- Two surveys fielded in Turkey between May 9 and May 15, 2018
- Respondents were recruited via Facebook advertisement (randomized survey)
  - Slightly imbalanced samples (female and non-female respondents), so they use post-stratification to adjust for this
- Use CSES 2018 data collection in Turkey to cross-validate

# Research Design

- DV: They develop context-specific items
  - 10 items to measure general normative support
  - 4 items to measure normative support for treatment
  - 6 items to measure instrumental support for treatment
- Create three indices (scales) with these items
  - One with all of them
  - One only with normative items
  - One only with instrumental items
- The dimensionality was tested using EFA
- Estimate treatment effect using OLS without controls

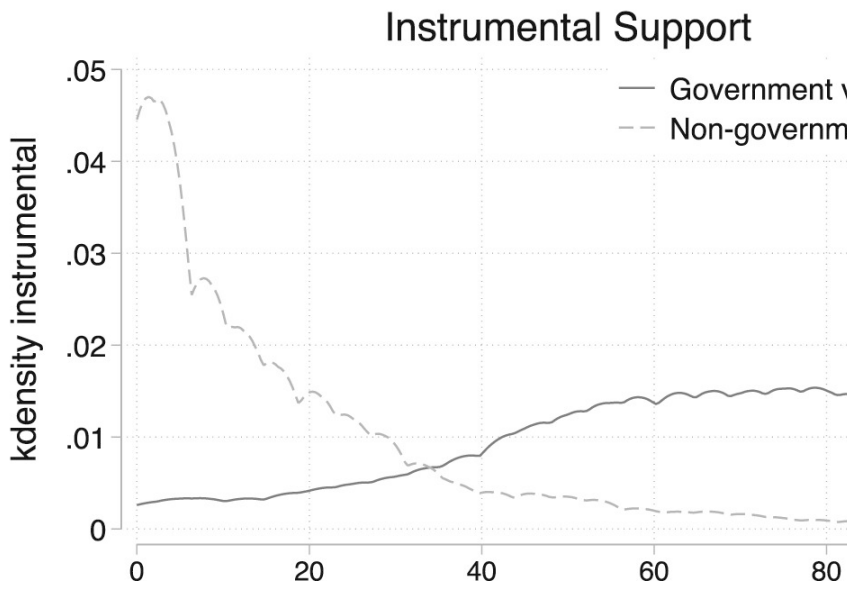
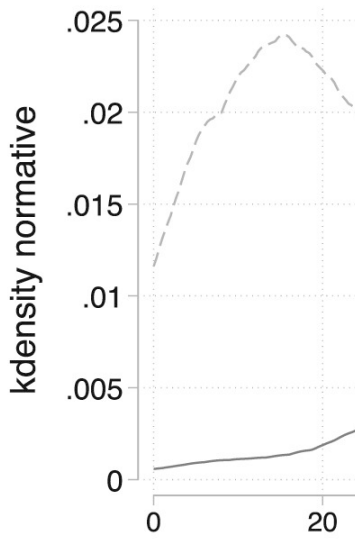
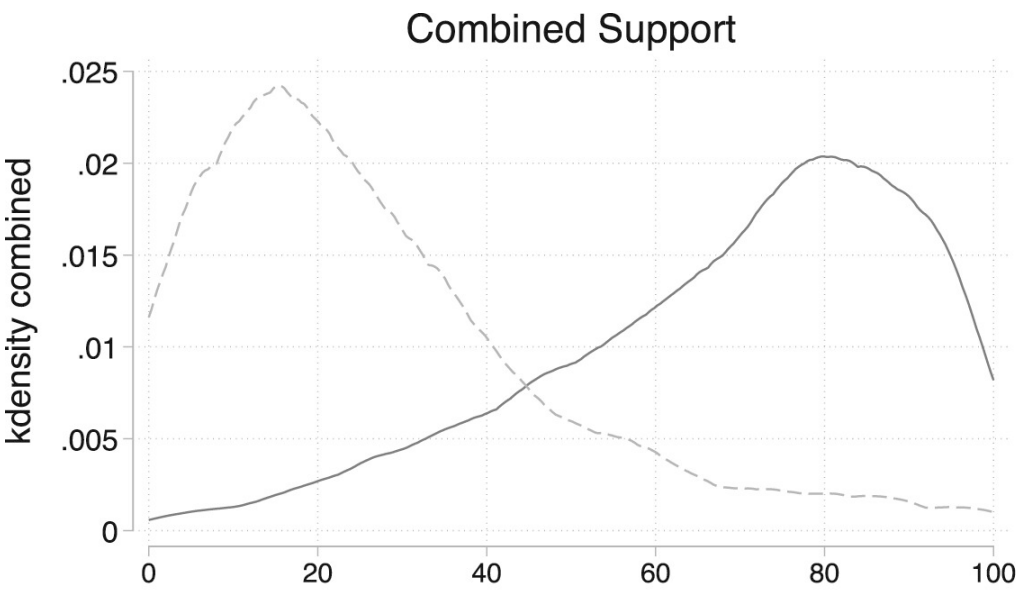
# Research Design

- Two surveys:
  1. Priming was administered *before* asking the  
→ Hypothesis 1
  2. Priming was administered *after* asking the su  
→ Hypotheses 2 and 3

# Empirical Results

## 1. Descriptive Analysis

- The unidimensional understanding of normative support in Turkey
- Average level of normative support greater than i
  - Important differences in the level of instrument support conditioning on the government vote



# Empirical Results

## 2. Experiment

- Hypothesis 1:
  - treated group, and government voters, have lower levels of normative support
  - Treatment “ineffective” for non-government voters (already have similar levels of normative support)
- Hypothesis 2:
  - Added income as a control given the imbalance in the sample
  - Stronger effect in government voters, where being promoted to government reduces the probability to vote and to mobilize for the government  
*control group*
- Hypothesis 3:
  - People with higher support for the government are less likely to defect
  - Replication with CSES still shows that people who strongly support the government are less likely to defect from it given the poor economic situation



# Replication

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# Limits

1. Potential heterogeneity for income levels and occupation given untested
2. The adaptation of the items in the context of Turkey leads to a but potentially low external validity.
3. Exploratory factor analysis (appendix)
  - Used the Kaiser criterion to retain the number of factors, criticized (**Timmerman, Lorenzo-Seva, and Ceulemans 2**)
  - No scree plot
4. Measurement invariance:
  - The too often sad reality of measurement and scale con
5. Bifactor model:
  - What is this unidimensional structure composed of both preferences?
  - Could they be two distinct components of a larger mean

## The Vignette

“Turkey is dealing with an economic crisis for several years. At the beginning of 2020, the value of the dollar has increased (1 US Dollar = 7.54 TL (Turkish Liras) to 8.3 TL as the Turkish lira’s value decreased. As a result of these economic problems, the Turkish economy has fallen 15 places in the ranking of the world’s biggest economies. These economic problems reveal themselves in daily life too. Many citizens are facing the continuous increase in prices. Another issue is unemployment, which is especially common among the youth.”

## Future Research

- The difficult task to recover “true” public preferences regimes
  - Bayesian IRT
- Predicting defection more accurately:
  - Machine learning approach to estimate the expected people to defect in elections using ridge fold cross-validation on larger samples
  - A descriptive approach might yield greater insight in a “real-world situation” where we can expect competition (Gerring 2012)

# References

- Gerring, John. 2012. "Mere Description." *British Journal of Political Science*.  
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- Timmerman, Marieke E., Urbano Lorenzo-Seva, and Eva Ceulemans. 2013. "The Problem." In *The Wiley Handbook of Psychometric Testing*, 305–24.  
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