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## **Right-Wing Participation: who is attracted by right populists?**

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**Abstract:** Is following ...

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Subcaption 1

## 1.2 Subcaption 2

This is a great way to test whether 1233.34 really works in the way it is intended to work. This is different though because 34.876 might be better actually. Or how about  $4.4864 \times 10^4$ .

### Some Citations

- brady1995beyond = brady1995beyond
- (Brady et al. 1995) = [@brady1995beyond]
- (Brady et al. 1995: 38) = [@brady1995beyond, p. 38]
- Brady et al. (1995: 33) = @brady1995beyond [p. 33]
- (1995) = [-@brady1995beyond]
- (Brady et al. 1995; Brady et al. 1995) = [@brady1995beyond; @brady1995beyond]
- (for example see Brady et al. 1995: 92-93) = [for example see @brady1995beyond: 92-93]

ALLE Zitierweisen von Zotero gibts HIER.

- Populism as we understand it
- Liberal Populism
- Illiberal Populism
- Cultural Backlash
- Economic Deprivation

# 2 Theory

## 2.1 State of Research

In recent years, populism has attracted considerable interest from social scientists and political commentators (Mudde 2004; Panizza 2005; Berezin 2013). Indeed, the term “populism” is both widely used and contested (Roberts 2006; Barr 2009). It has been defined based on political, economic, social, and discursive features and analyzed from countless theoretical perspectives -including democratic and modernization theory, social movement theory, party politics and political psychology (Canovan 2002; Postel 2007; Goodliffe 2012; Acemoglu et al. 2013). It is worthwhile to reassess hypotheses on populist politics as “[...] populism does leave an imprint on important political phenomena” (Hawkins 2010: 49). Populist politics can reshape repertoires of political mobilization, especially in the forms of mass social movements and socially engaged party organizations (Hawkins 2010; Jansen

2011). The ability of populist politics to galvanize new forms of political engagement is especially important in an era of decline in formal political participation such as turnout and party membership Skocpol & Williamson (2016). At the same time, in unconsolidated democracies populism may erode democratic institutions and usher competitive authoritarian regimes (Levitsky & Loxton 2012).

## 2.2 Explaining Right-Wing Participation

Zunächst Political participation beleuchten konzepte usw...literatur vetter

Voting is only one form of political participation. There are many other ways in which citizens can get involved in the political process. Once this is recognized, the challenge is to clarify what we mean by political participation, what activities are and are not covered by the concept. (Brady et al. 1995: 38) provide the standard definition of political participation. For them, it refers to *“activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action - either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.”* They also specify that they focus on voluntary activity that is, not obligatory and unpaid. <sup>3</sup> In practice, this amounts to, beyond electoral activity (voting and campaigning), contacting government officials, being active in groups that attempt to influence governments, and being involved in protests and demonstrations (Blais 2010).

Populists argue that they despise the political system of representative politics itself (Taggart 2000). Moreover, populists are characterised being against the political establishment, the economic, media and cultural elite. Each of them are portrayed as one homogeneous corrupt group acting against the “general will” of citizens (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2017). Therefore populism tends to develop an inner group working against the corrupt others. As Mudde and Kaltwasser elaborate furthermore, *“This anti-elitist impetus goes together with a critique of institutions such as political parties, big organizations, and bureaucracies, which are accused of distorting the ‘truthful’ links between populist leaders and ‘the common people’”* (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2017). It is emphasized that voters of populist parties do not trust the political system they live in, neither are they satisfied with representative democracy in their country. Populism may be broadly defined as *“a general protest against the checks and balances introduced to prevent ‘the people’s’ direct rule”* (Pelinka 2013). Summarizing, we can observe the great accordance of scholars, that populist electorate is not supporting the political system and wants to rebel against the established structures.

## 2.3 Voting Right-Wing Parties

Recent events showed that numerous citizens are hesitant to further European integration and in the political arena, numerous parties air euro-criticism (De Vries & Edwards 2009). On the radical right,

parties successfully mobilize national identity considerations against the European Union (Hooghe & Marks 2005), Lubbers (2008)]. In the 2009 European Parliamentary elections, especially radical right-wing parties mobilized anti-EU sentiment and gained seats in the European parliament. These parties see the foundation of a political European Union as a threat to the sovereignty of the nation state: nearly all radical right-wing parties agree that the EU is bad and should be either reformed fundamentally or abolished (Mudde 2007). Yet, the relationship between euro-scepticism and radical right-wing voting behaviour has received little empirical attention in previous studies. Ivarsflaten (2005) showed that euro-scepticism is an important determinant for radical right-wing support in France and Denmark. Van der Brug et al. (2005) also found a positive relationship between anti-EU sentiments and radical right-wing voting in France. Using data from 2002, Lubbers & Scheepers (2007) focused on the role of euro-scepticism for radical right-wing support in national elections in 13 countries. They found that voting for radical right-wing parties can partly be explained by euro-scepticism, over and beyond other relevant socio-political attitudes. Also, Arzheimer & Carter (2009) found evidence for the relevance of euro-scepticism, although he was not able to test its effect next to the major predictor of radical right-wing voting: the unfavourable attitudes towards migrants.

## 2.4 The Protest Vote

This approach builds on a widely accepted idea that radical right-wing parties gain from political protest. From this point of view, voters for these parties are not attracted by their anti-immigrant stances, but express predominantly political dissatisfaction (Mudde 2007). Although several studies emphasize that voters not only cast a radical right-wing vote based on political dissatisfaction, the protest proposition explains at least some of the variation in radical right-wing voting (Ivarsflaten 2005). We expect people who perceive their socio-economic situation as deprived to oppose established parties. They will be dissatisfied politically, feel more powerless, and are consequently more likely to cast a radical right-wing vote, since parties on the radical right claim to listen to the dissatisfied and oppose government decisions. People who perceive deprivation in their present socio-economic situation are more likely to vote for a radical right-wing party, as they are more dissatisfied politically (Werts et al. 2013).

## 2.5 Protest

## 2.6 Political Efficacy

# 3 Methods

## 3.1 Research Design

- summary stats

## 3.2 Data Descriptions

Different data sources were merged to get a more feature rich data set.

- **European Social Survey** (ESS8 2016). The ESS is a multi-country scientific survey conducted every two years since 2002 by scientists in several European countries. The objectives of the ESS are to understand the changing attitudes and values in Europe, to explain how European institutions are changing and to develop a range of European social indicators and values (ESS8 2016). The data for the present analysis were collected from different survey waves the latest for each country.
- **Chapel Hill Expert Survey**. Since 1999 CHES provides party positioning scores on European integration, ideology and policy issues for national parties in a variety of European countries. The more recent survey waves also comprise questions on non-EU policy issues, such as immigration, redistribution, decentralization, and environmental policy.

<https://www.chesdata.eu/our-surveys/>

... variables as well.

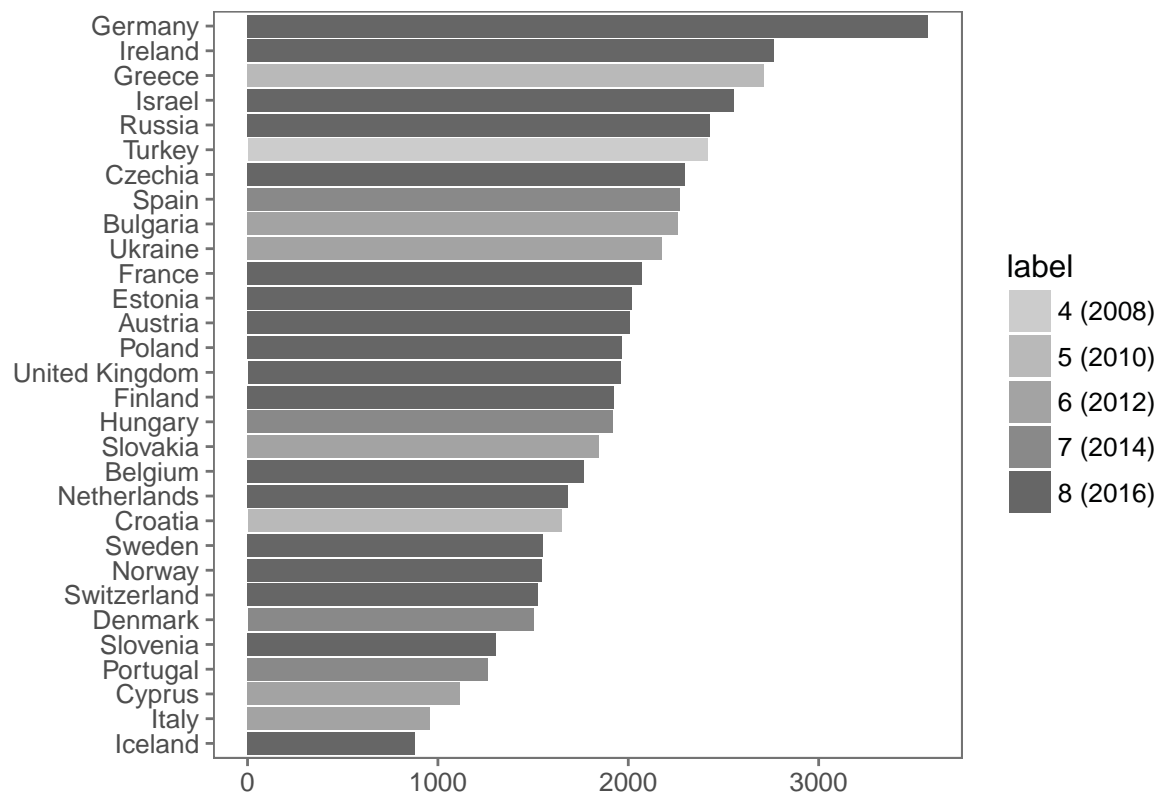


Figure 1: Number of Survey Responses by Country



### 3.3 Model Based Clustering

Voting for a right wing party is often approximated by left-right scales or is time-intensiv coded. This analysis adopts Cas Mudde’s clear minimalist definition of populism to identify core features that all sub types of populism have in common. In line with this definition, we suggest that populist parties are primarily shaped by their degree of anti-establishment attitudes as well as their opposition to globalization. Subsequently, we propose to classify European populist parties along a progressive and traditionalist left-right dimension.

This multidimensional classification problem is best approached by model-based hierarchical clustering (Scrucca et al. 2016). This tool set is already adopted in political science and praised for estimating meaningful clusters on high-dimensional data political science (Ahlquist & Breunig 2012; Jang & Hitchcock 2012). Model-based clustering assumes the data generating process to be driven by a mixture of underlying probability distributions in which each component represents a different cluster. Consequently each sub population is separately estimated and summarized by a mixture of these sub populations. Therefore the density tends to be centered at the multidimensional means ( $\mu_k$ ) and increased by geometric features (shape, volume, orientation) of the clusters being determined by the parameters of the covariance matrices  $\Sigma_k$ , which may also induce cross-cluster conditions (Ahlquist & Breunig 2012). In a nutshell the Gaussian Finite Normal Mixture model assumes a d-dimensional data set  $y_1, \dots, y_n$  to calculate G components with the likelihood

$$\ell_{MIX}(\theta_1, \dots, \theta_G | y) = \prod_{i=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^G \tau_k f_k(y_i | \theta_k)$$

where  $f_k$  is the density of the  $\theta_k$  mixture parameters, unlike traditional methods model-based clustering uses a soft assignment and calculates  $\tau_k$  that represents the probability of a given observation belonging to the k component (Ahlquist & Breunig 2012). Unsupervised machine learning algorithms are often criticized for introducing bias by hyper parameter settings. `mclust` addresses this by estimating a grid of different models and hyper parameter constellations. Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) is provided to pick the most useful model (Scrucca et al. 2016). The metric is penalized for the complexity of the model to ensure Osam Razor.

All CHES party data is part of the clustering even though it could not be present in the ESS micro data. Clustering involves two dimensions and four indicators:

- Political
  - Left-Right
  - Anti-Establishment
    - \* antielite\_salience
    - \* eu\_position

- Progressivism vs Traditionalism
  - \* civlib\_laworder
  - \* galtan
- Economic
  -
- Social
  -
- Cultural
  - Multiculturalism

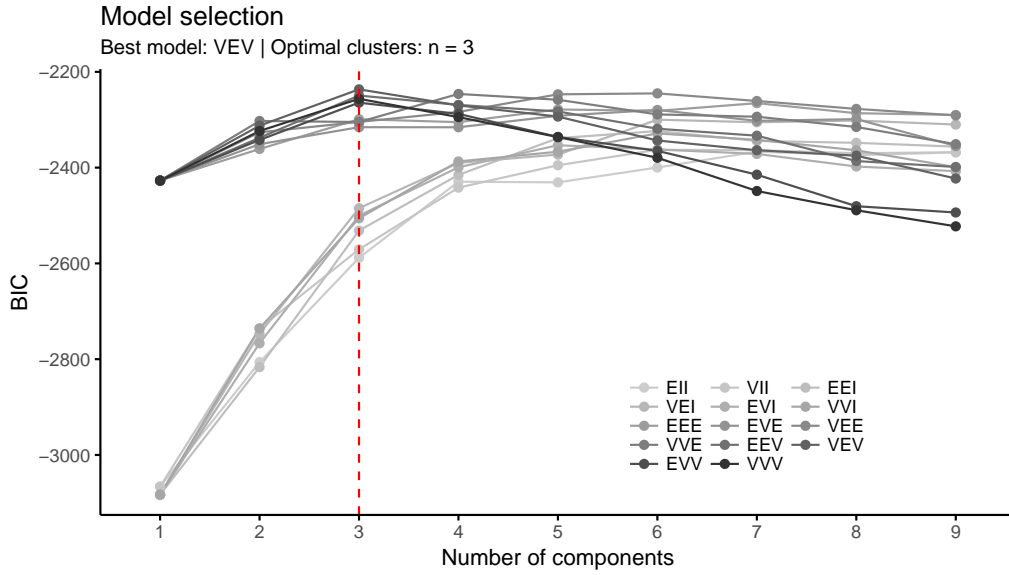


Figure 2: BIC Model Selection for mixture models on the CHES party positioning data set. Following Fraley and Raftery (2010), the grid component structures are labeled using: EII=spherical, equal volume; EEI=diagonal, equal volume and shape; EVI=diagonal, equal volume, varying shape; EEE=ellipsoidal, equal volume, shape, and orientation; VEV=ellipsoidal, equal shape; VII=spherical, unequal volume; VEI=diagonal, varying volume, equal shape; VVI=diagonal, varying volume and shape; EEV=ellipsoidal, equal volume and equal shape; VVV=ellipsoidal, varying volume, shape, and orientation.

The estimated grid models are represented by the following identifiers: EII, VII, EEI, VEI, EVI, VVI, EEE, EEV, VEV and VVV. The first Letter refers to volume, the second to shape and the third to orientation. E stands for “equal”, V for “variable” and I for “coordinate axes” (Kassambara 2017).

There is a clear indication of a four-component mixture with covariances having different shapes but the same volume and orientation (EVE) (VEV (ellipsoidal, equal shape)).

Following Milligan and Cooper’s (1988) finding that standardization by dividing each variable by its range gives consistently superior recovery of the underlying cluster structure, all the variables are standardized by dividing by each variable’s range. PCA ...

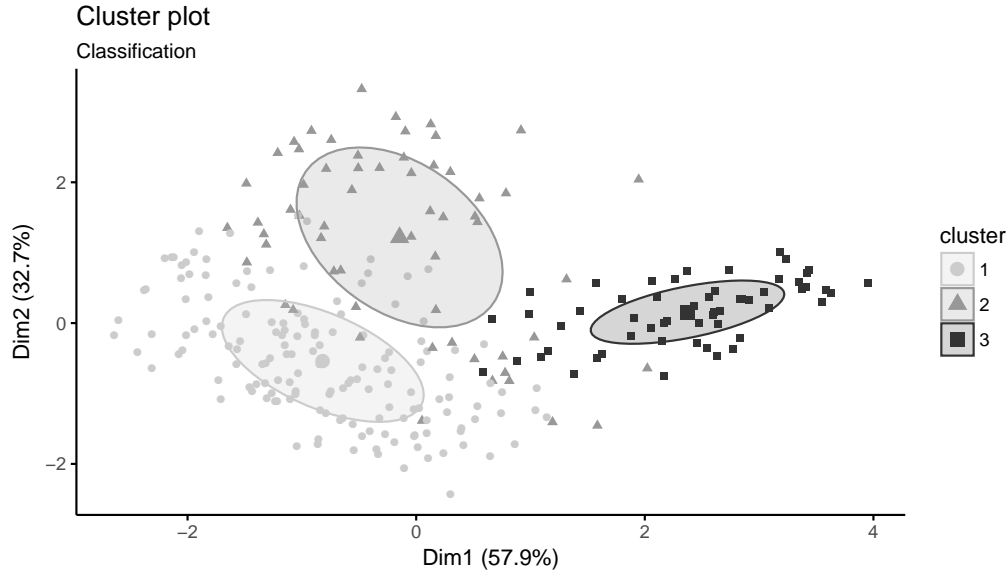


Figure 3: Classification and Cluster Boundaries

Table 1: Cluster means and standard deviations for populist indicators

Var	Establishment	Left Populist	Right Populist
<b>antielite_salience</b>	3.42 (1.78)	5.9 (2.44)	7.73 (1.5)
<b>civlib_laworder</b>	4.67 (1.75)	3.47 (1.97)	8.19 (1.07)
<b>eu_position</b>	6.16 (0.51)	3.28 (1.15)	2.81 (1.24)
<b>galtan</b>	4.52 (2.13)	3.58 (2.36)	8.35 (0.95)

<sup>1</sup> Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses

Table X displays the characteristics of each cluster through mean and standard deviation.

To validate the clusters lets inspect the party classification for three countries:

The final cluster vector is attached to the data with name **cluster**.

Table 2: Party Cluster Membership

Cluster	Parties
<b>Establishment</b>	CDU (ger); SPD (ger); FDP (ger); Grunen (ger); CSU (ger); PS (fra); PRG (fra); EELV (fra); UMP (fra); MODEM (fra); NC (fra); PRV (fra); AC (fra)
<b>Left Populist</b>	Linke (ger); Piraten (ger); DieTier (ger); PCF (fra); PG (fra); Ens (fra)
<b>Right Populist</b>	NPD (ger); AfD (ger); FN (fra); MPF (fra)

<sup>1</sup> Note: ...

### 3.4 Principal Component Analysis

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) another unsupervised machine learning approach is now used to reduced the dimensions of two item batteries to get a parsimonious model size. For both variables we are only interested in the first Dimension/Component that contributes most to the variability in the underlining data structure. The formal model for the first principal component of a data set is the linear combination its features

$$Z_i = \phi_{11}X_1 + \phi_{21}X_2 + \cdots + \phi_{p1}X_p$$

that has the largest variance and where is the first principal component loading vector, with elements  $\phi_{11}X_1 + \phi_{21}X_2 + \cdots + \phi_{p1}$  are normalized, which means that  $\sum_{j=1}^p \phi_{j1}^2 = 1$ . To calculate these loadings, we must find the vector that maximizes the variance. It can be shown using techniques from linear algebra that the eigenvector corresponding to the largest eigenvalue of the covariance matrix is the set of loadings that explains the greatest proportion of the variability. This method does not depend compared to Factor Analysis or SEM on model assumptions and error distributions.

#### 3.4.1 Trust Items

First we explore the diemnionality of the given trust items by applying standard pairwise scatter plots for each variable combination. The visual inspection confirms a strong linear association between all variables and the diagonal histograms approximate a normal distribution with a heavy tail on 0, as people are especially critical against political institutions and put more overall confidence in the police.

The next plot shows a two-dimensional representation of the data that captures most of the information in a lower-dimensional subspace. The First two components contribute together to nearly 80% of the total variance.

As each principal component vector defines a direction in the feature space and all arrows in Figure X point to the same direction we can be confident to approximate one trust dimension. This notion is supported by the scree plot capturing 66,7% of the total Variance by the first dimension. We can further see that the trust items for political institutions do somewhat differ in their contribution to the first PC due to different reasons. The European Parliament is often seen as disconnected from people and the police is always highly appreciated by everyone. The first PC scores are stored for later analysis as `pc_trust`.

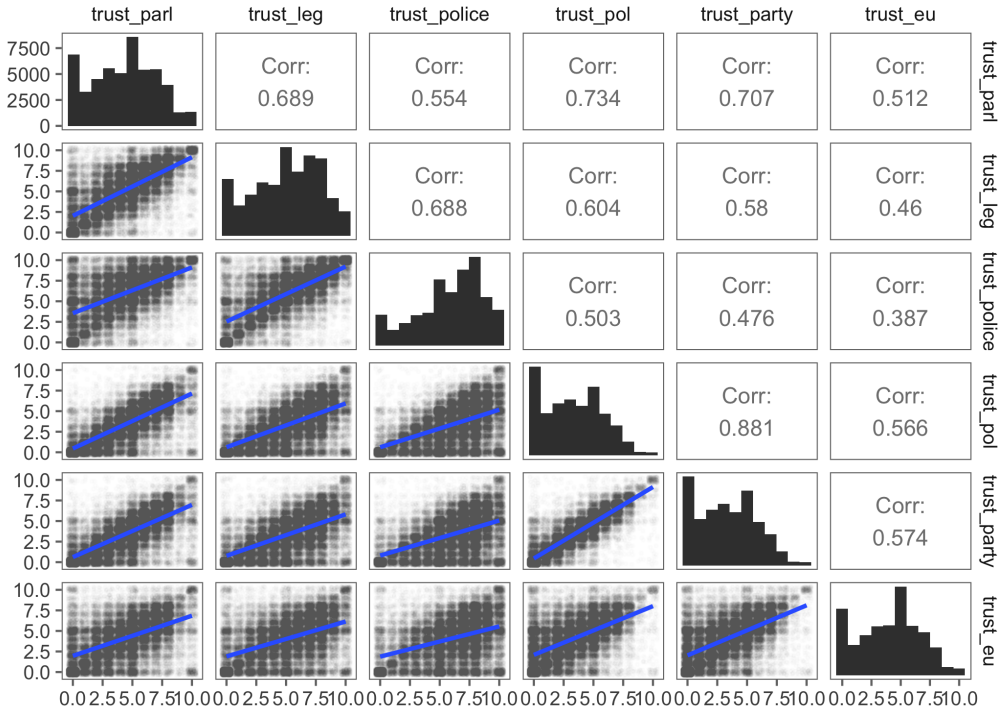


Figure 4: Bivariate Scatter plots for item battery public trust

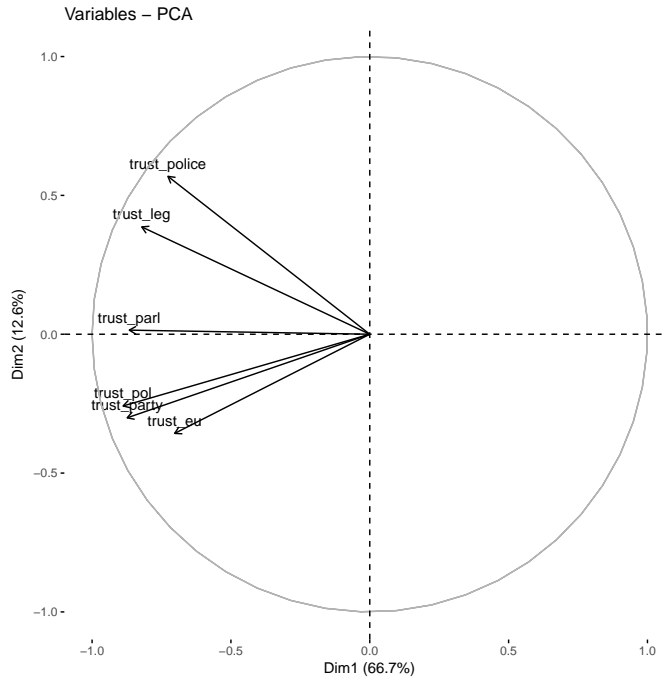


Figure 5: First and Second PC Dimensions for the Trust Items

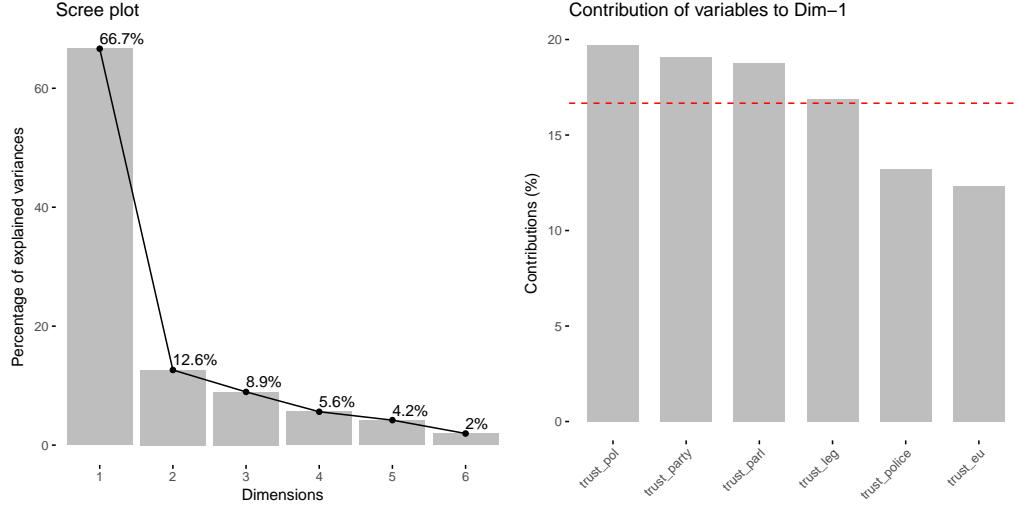


Figure 6: scree plot and Component Contribution by Variable

### 3.4.2 Immigration Items

Next we applied the same PCA for the Immigration Items. But first we explore again the nationality of the given data by standard pairwise scatter plots for each variable combination. The visual inspection again confirms a strong linear association between all variables but seem to be more noisy than the trust items before. The diagonal histograms approximate a normal distribution, despite the fact that three out of four variables have only 4 levels. This Likert scale is assumed to be equal-distant to be suitable for PCA.

The two-dimensional representation of the immigration items proposes again a strong one PC solution but points to a minor second dimension entirely rooted in `imm_econ`. We are only interested in the first PC that captures over 70% of the total variance. The scree plot and contribution plot support these findings. The final PC scores are stored for later analysis as `pc_imm`.

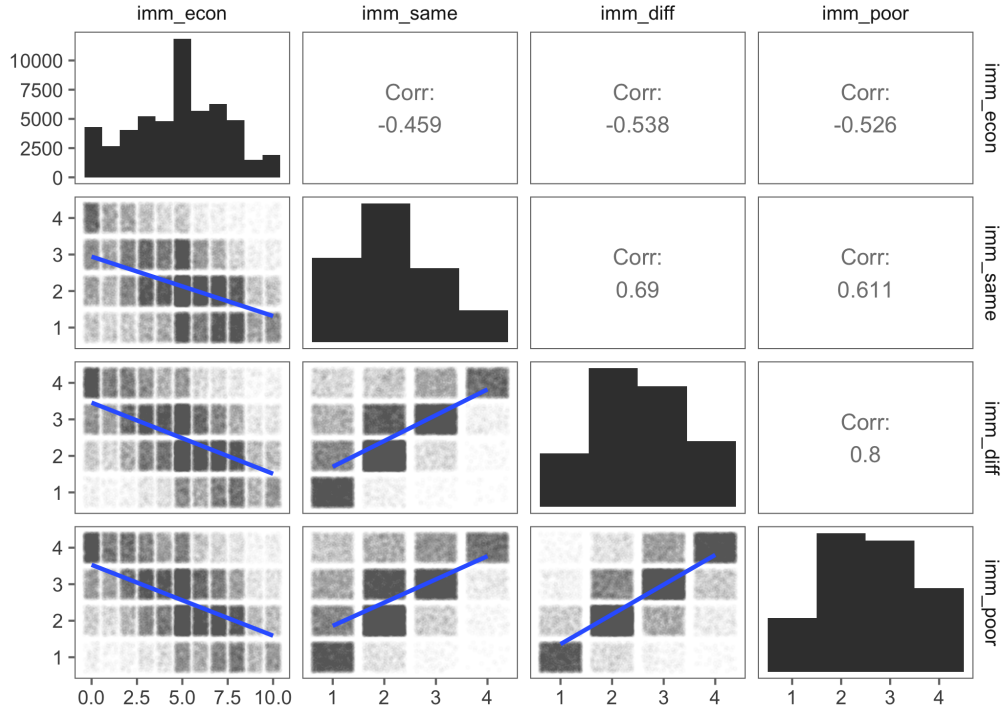


Figure 7: Bivariate Scatter Plots for item battery immigration

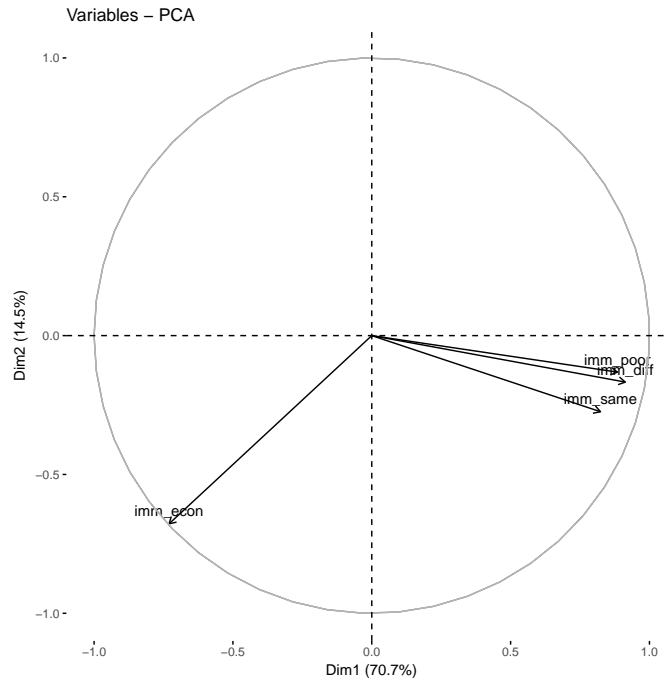


Figure 8: PCA Dimensionality for the Immigration Items



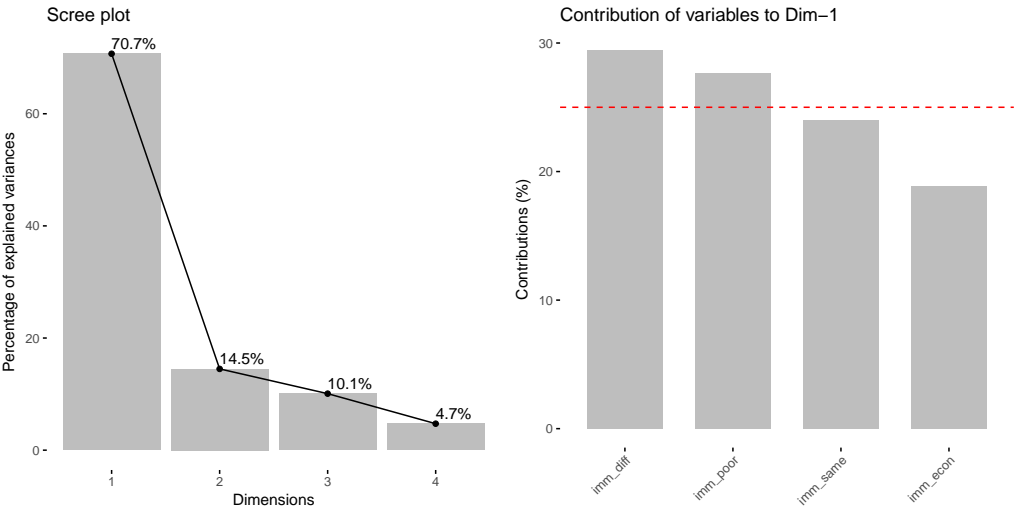


Figure 9: scree plot and Component Contribution by Variable

## 4 Analysis

### 4.1 Results

### 4.2 Discussions

## 5 Conclusions

### 5.1 Limitations

### 5.2 Implications

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