Universität Stuttgart

Course: *Wahlen, direkte und mitgestaltende (dialogische)*
Bürgerbeteiligung im Vergleich - WS 2017/18

Right-Wing Participation: who is attrackted by right populists?

Rebecca Litauer
Email: rebecca.litauer@t-online.de
Matr.: 2809173

Simon Roth
Email: nomis.roth@gmx.net
Matr.: 2805614

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Angelika Vetter
Date of Submission: March 13, 2018

Abstract: Is following ...

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

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 becasue 34.876 might be better actually. Or how about 4.4864×10^4.

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 (Levistky & 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. 3 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 propos- ition 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

3.2   Data Descriptions

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

- **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.
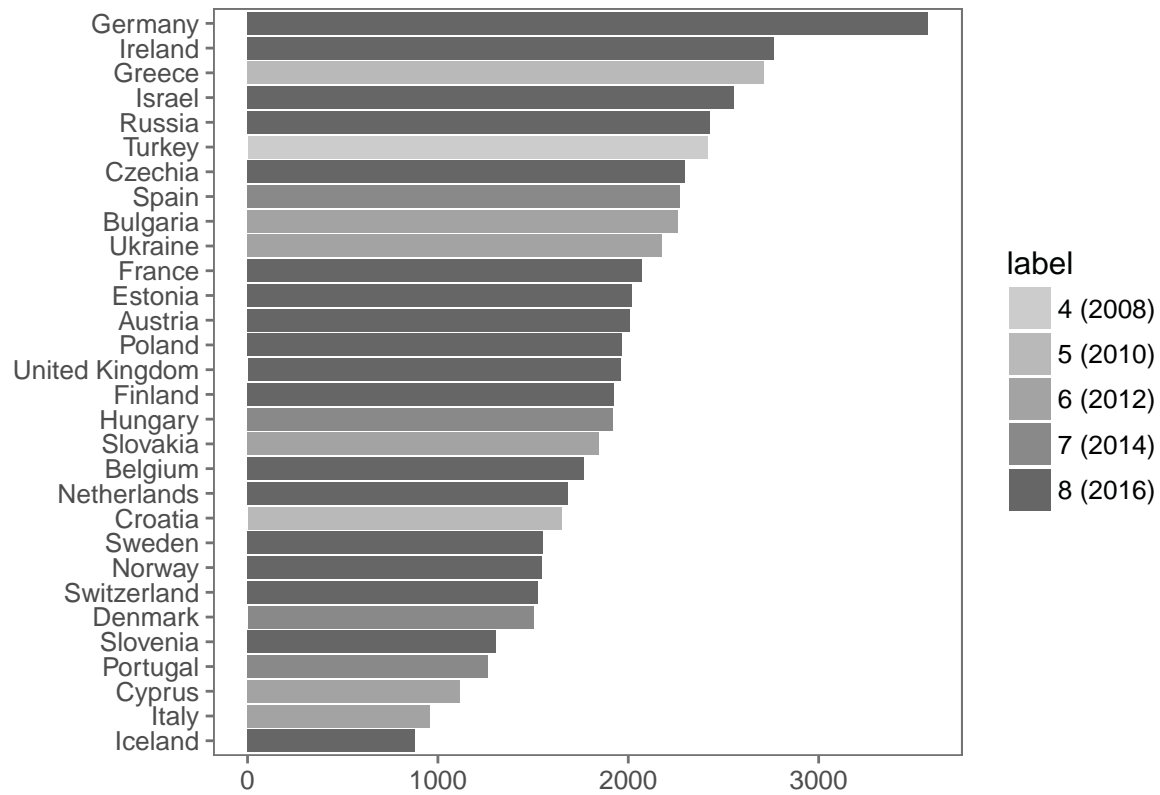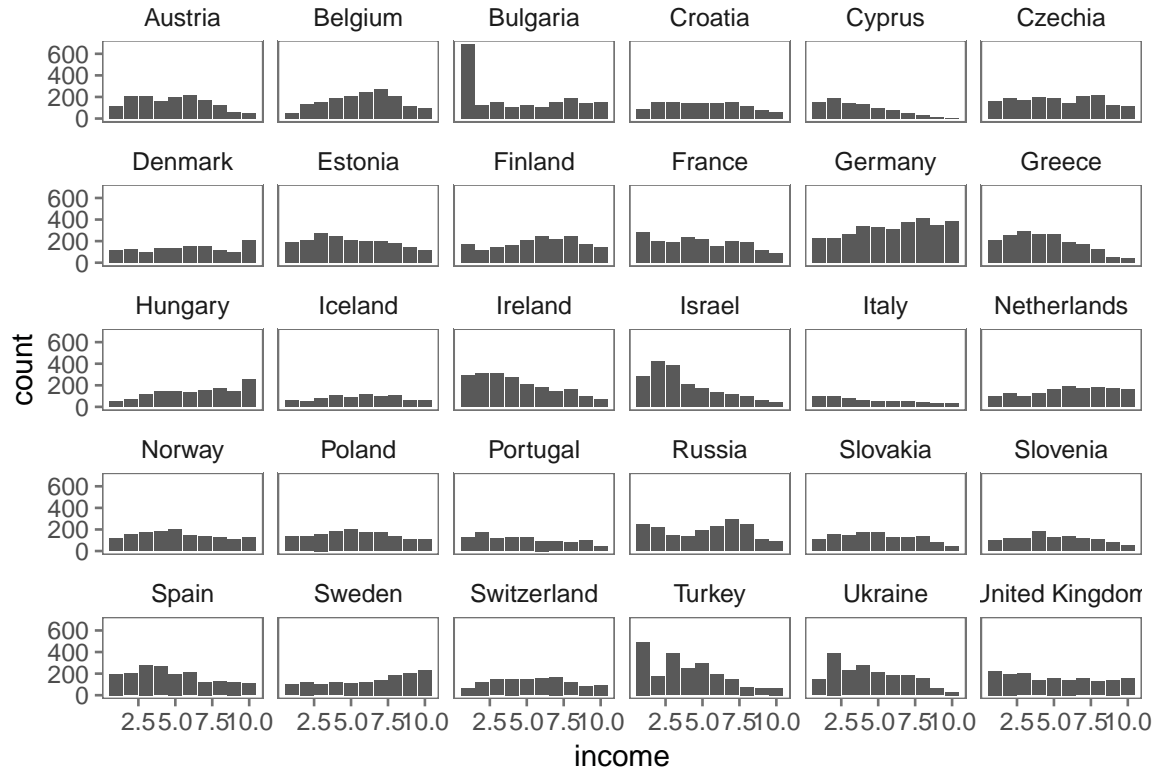
https://www.chesdata.eu/our-surveys/

. . . variables as well.

Figure 1: Number of Survey Responses by Country

3.3   Data Transformations

3.3.1   Ches Clustering

3.3.2   EFA Scores

4   Analysis

4.1   Results

4.2   Discussions

5   Conclusions

5.1   Limitations

5.2   Implications

References

Acemoglu, Daron, Egorov, Georgy & Sonin, Konstantin 2013: A political theory of populism, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128, pp. 771–805.

Arzheimer, Kai & Carter, Elisabeth 2009: Christian religiosity and voting for west european radical right parties, *West European Politics* 32, pp. 985–1011.

Barr, Robert R 2009: Populists, outsiders and anti-establishment politics, *Party Politics* 15, pp. 29–48.

Berezin, Mabel 2013: The normalization of the right in post-security europe, *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, pp. 239–61.

Blais, André 2010: Political participation, *Comparing democracies* 3, pp. 165–83.

Brady, Henry E, Verba, Sidney & Schlozman, Kay Lehman 1995: Beyond ses: A resource model of political participation, *American Political Science Review* 89, pp. 271–94.

Canovan, Margaret 2002: Taking politics to the people: Populism as the ideology of democracy, in *Democracies and the populist challenge*, Springer.

De Vries, Catherine E & Edwards, Erica E 2009: Taking europe to its extremes: Extremist parties and public euroscepticism, *Party Politics* 15, pp. 5–28.

ESS8 2016: European social survey round 8 data, *Data file edition 1.0.NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.*

Goodliffe, Gabriel 2012: *The resurgence of the radical right in france: From boulangisme to the front national.* Cambridge University Press.

Hawkins, Kirk A 2010: *Venezuela's chavismo and populism in comparative perspective.* Cambridge University Press.

Hooghe, Liesbet & Marks, Gary 2005: Calculation, community and cues: Public opinion on european integration, *European Union Politics* 6, pp. 419–43.

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth 2005: The vulnerable populist right parties: No economic realignment fuelling their electoral success, *European Journal of Political Research* 44, pp. 465–92.

Jansen, Robert S 2011: Populist mobilization: A new theoretical approach to populism, *Sociological Theory* 29, pp. 75–96.

Levistky, Steven & Loxton, James 2012: Populism and competitive authoritarianism: The case of fujimors's peru, *Populism in Europe and the Americas Threat or Corrective for Democracy, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge*, pp. 160–82.

Lubbers, Marcel 2008: Regarding the dutchnee'to the european constitution: A test of the identity, utilitarian and political approaches to votingno', *European Union Politics* 9, pp. 59–86.

Lubbers, Marcel & Scheepers, PLH 2007: Euro-scepticism and extreme voting patterns in europe: Social cleavages and socio-political attitudes determining voting for the far left, the far right and non-voting,

Mudde, Cas 2007: *Populist radical right parties in europe.* Cambridge University Press Cambridge.

Mudde, Cas 2004: The populist zeitgeist, *Government and opposition* 39, pp. 541–63.

Mudde, Cas & Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira 2017: *Populism: A very short introduction.* Oxford University Press.

Panizza, Francisco 2005: *Populism and the mirror of democracy.* Verso.

Pelinka, Anton 2013: Right-wing populism: Concept and typology, *Right-wing populism in*

Europe: politics and discourse, pp. 3–22.

Postel, Charles 2007: *The populist vision.* Oxford University Press.

Roberts, Kenneth M 2006: Populism, political conflict, and grass-roots organization in latin america, *Comparative Politics*, pp. 127–48.

Skocpol, Theda & Williamson, Vanessa 2016: *The tea party and the remaking of republican conservatism.* Oxford University Press.

Taggart, Paul 2000: Populism. concepts in the social sciences, *Philadelphia: Open.*

Van der Brug, Wouter, Fennema, Meindert & Tillie, Jean 2005: Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed: A two-step model of aggregate electoral support, *Comparative Political Studies* 38, pp. 537–73.

Werts, Han, Scheepers, Peer & Lubbers, Marcel 2013: Euro-scepticism and radical right-wing voting in europe, 2002–2008: Social cleavages, socio-political attitudes and contextual characteristics determining voting for the radical right, *European Union Politics* 14, pp. 183–205.