Reproduction of 'Sexism and the far-right vote: The Individual dynamics of gender backlash by Eva Anduiza & Guillem Rico

Jenna Brooks

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Loading required package: ggplot2


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 Hlavac, Marek (2022). stargazer: Well-Formatted Regression and Summary Statistics Tables.

 R package version 5.2.3. https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=stargazer

Loading required package: grid

Loading required package: Matrix

Loading required package: survival


Attaching package: 'survey'

The following object is masked from 'package:graphics':

    dotchart


Attaching package: 'dplyr'
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The following objects are masked from 'package:stats':

    filter, lag

The following objects are masked from 'package:base':

    intersect, setdiff, setequal, union

corrplot 0.95 loaded
```

Reproduction of "Sexism and the far-right vote: The individual dynamics of gender backlash"

Authors: Eva Anduiza & Guillem Rico

This paper examines how sexism has played a role the electoral rise of the far-right party, Vox, in Spain. Anduiza and Rico () argue that having sexist beliefs is one of the most influential attitudinal predictors of voting for the far-right party Vox.

Original Study

Data

Using panel data from Spain, collected before, during and after prominent feminist protests in 2018 and 2019, the authors assess individual changes in measures of sexism occurring in various contexts of feminist movement and the surge of far right support.

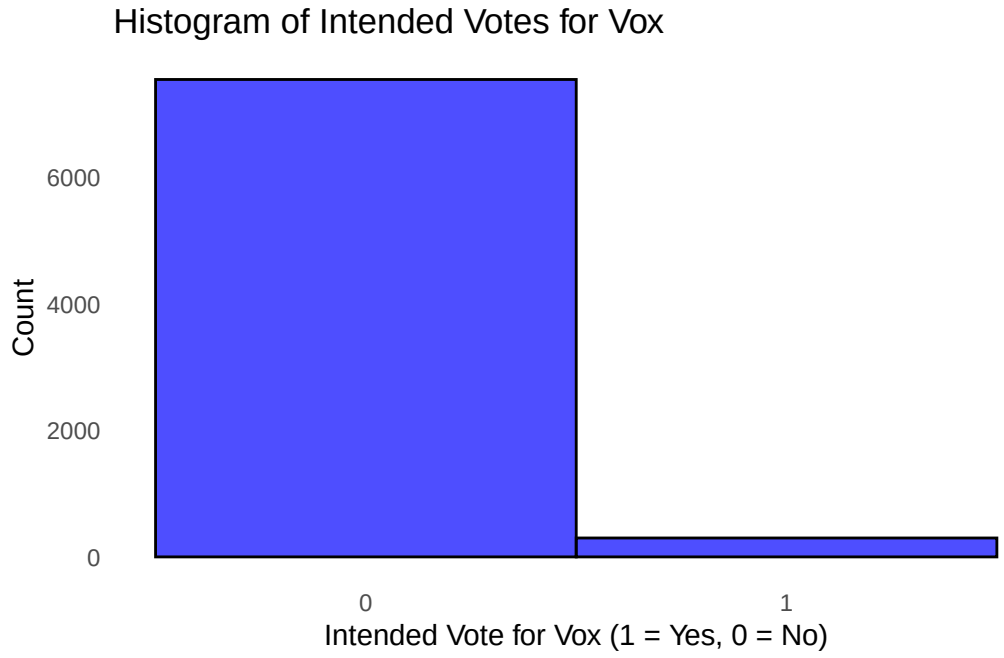
The data utilized in this study is drawn from the Spanish Political Attitudes dataset (Hernández Pérez et al., 2021), a longitudinal online panel survey conducted annually. The survey uses a quota sampling method to ensure a representative sample of the Spanish adult population aged 18 to 56, with quotas based on gender, age, educational background, geographic region, and municipality size. The unit of analysis is individual voters in Spain.

Observational independence could be questioned in this data set due to the longitudinal design (repeated observations) and the geographic clustering of like-minded voters in specific regions, as well as demographic factors such as age, gender, and education.

This study specifically examines the four survey waves conducted between 2017 and 2020, as these waves include the modern sexism battery, which is central to the analysis. Key to the analysis was the collection of the first wave of data before the first massive feminist movement and the second wave before the rise of the far-right party Vox.

Dependent Variable: Vote for Vox

The dependent variable in this study is binary – the intention to vote for Vox, coded as 1, with all other responses, including non-responses and nonvoters, coded as 0. This measure is based on respondents' answers to the question, "Which party would you vote for if the general elections were tomorrow?" The authors chose to analyze voting intention rather than past voting behavior to capture respondents' support for Vox at the exact moment of their interview. Given that Vox did not gain significant traction until late 2018, the analysis of voter intention is restricted to the 2019 and 2020 waves of the survey. This approach allows for a more accurate assessment of the party's appeal during its rise in popularity.




```
   0    1
7551  299
```

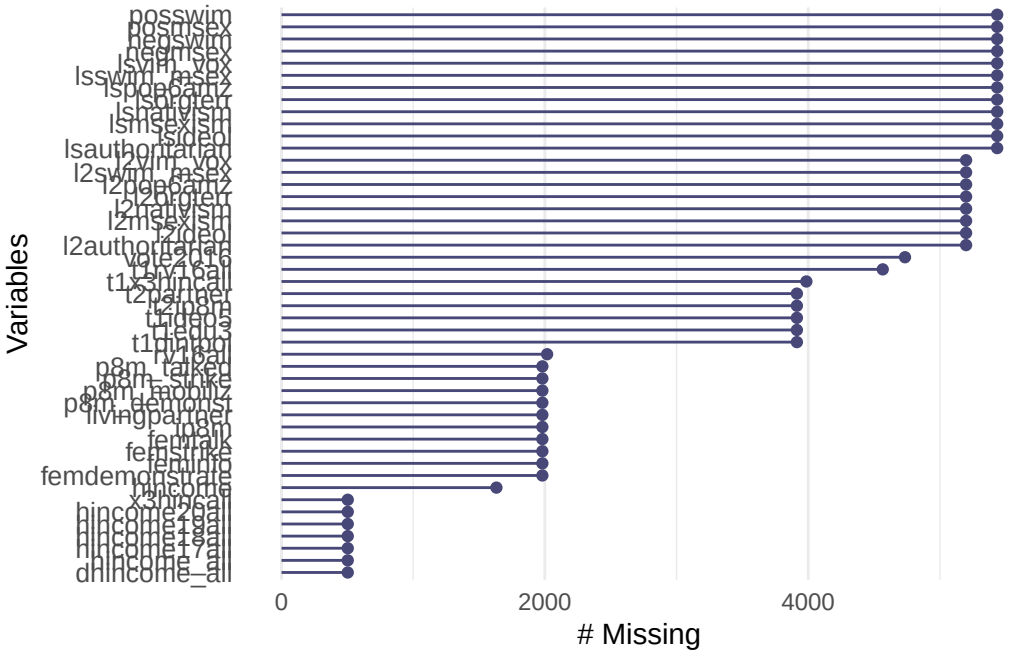
Plot and Distribution:

The dataset comprises a total of 7,850 observations for vote intentions, of which 299 instances (approximately 3.81%) correspond to votes for Vox, the dependent variable of interest, while the remaining 7,551 observations (approximately 96.19%) represent votes for other political parties in Spain. The histogram above, which represents the intended vote for Vox (coded 1 for Yes, 0 for No), shows a binary distribution, with a higher frequency of 0s (non-Vox voters) compared to 1s (Vox voters).

Data Cleaning and Missing Data

- Income (missing values imputed from other waves)
- na.rm = True a lot for NAs
- The (.=.) part ensures that missing values (.) in the original variables are preserved in the new variables. (under modern sexism scale)

```
[1] TRUE
```



Other Attitudinal Factors

Anduiza and Rico include a set of control variables to account for potential confounding factors leading to a vote for the far right. These factors included **General ideological identification**, measured on an 11-point left–right scale; **Authoritarianism**, assessed using a 4-item battery based on childrearing values (Feldman and Stenner 1997); **Nativism**, which evaluates attitudes toward the economic and cultural impacts of migration; **Populist attitudes**, operationalized using the framework developed by Akkerman, Mudde, and Zaslove (2014); and **Territorial preferences**, where higher values indicate stronger support for decentralization. Additionally, the model controlled for sex, age, education (middle school or less, high school/vocational training, college), whether the respondent lives with a partner, household income (a scale with

12 intervals), and a 4-point measure of interest in politics. With the exception of age (in years), all variables were recoded to run from zero to one.

Model: Table 1

My analysis will be replicating Table 1 "Predictors of Intention to Vote for Vox in 2019 and 2020" (pg.487). The authors hope to achieve a descriptive analysis in this paper, assessing how sexist attitudes, alongside other factors typically associated with voting for the far-right, are associated with support for Vox.

Table 1 displays the the estimates of **two cross-sectional logit models** of intended vote for the 2019 and 2020 waves, respectively:

$$vox_{it} = sexism_{it} + other\_attitudes_{it} + controls_{it}$$

where i indexes individuals and t as time (wave); $other\_attitudes_{it}$ encompasses measures of ideology, authoritarianism, nativism, territorial preferences, and populism; and the controls include sex, age, education, income, living with a partner, and interest in politics.

Reproduction of Predictors of Intention to Vote for Vox in 2019 and 2020

	Dependent variable:	
	vim	
	2019	2020
	(1)	(2)
female	0.118	-0.145
	(0.277)	(0.220)
age	0.004	-0.009
	(0.016)	(0.010)
factor(edu3)2	-0.716	0.198
	(0.442)	(0.286)
factor(edu3)3	-0.075	0.080
	(0.300)	(0.256)
dhincome_all	-0.529	-0.061
	(0.575)	(0.446)