Replication: When Do Citizens Consider Political Parties Legitimate?

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Applied Stats II

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Research Question

How do parties' characteristics shape their perceived legitimacy?

Coverage

Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the UK per 1,000 respondents; end-2021

Methods

multi-level models with random intercepts for parties and countries with weighted population means and a survey experiment

Hypotheses

1. Citizens consider parties with governing experience more legitimate than those without
2. Citizens consider old parties more legitimate than new parties
3. Citizens consider ideologically moderate parties more legitimate than ideologically extreme parties
4. Citizens consider parties endorsing democratic rules more legitimate than parties bending or breaking democratic rules
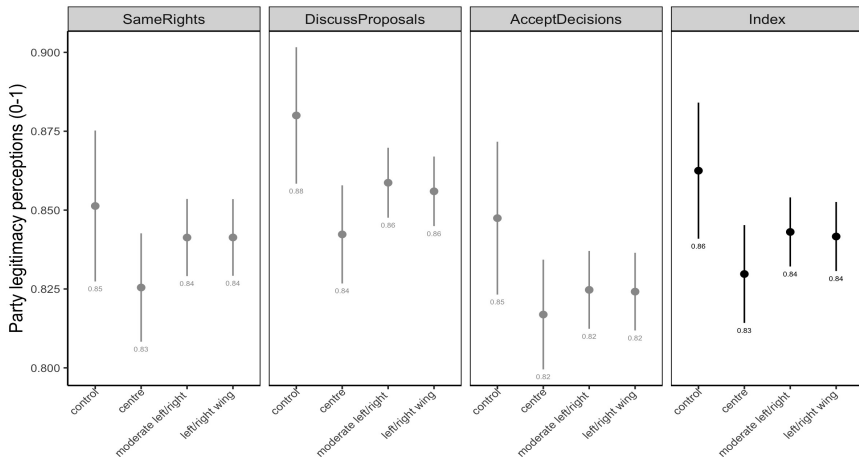
Main results: observational study

Table 1. Multilevel model results predicting legitimacy perceptions: random intercepts for parties and countries

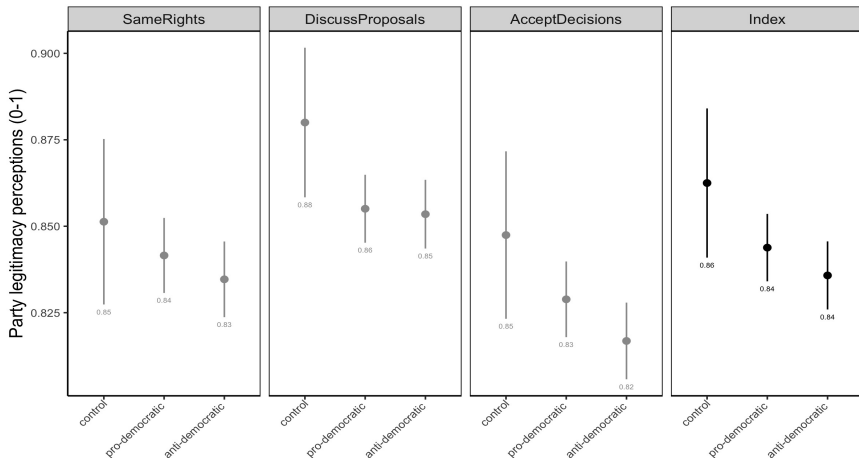|	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
Predictors	*Coef*	*se*	*p*	*Coef*	*se*	*p*	*Coef*	*se*	*p*	*Coef*	*se*	*p*	*Coef*	*se*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.61	0.02	<0.01	0.58	0.02	<0.01	0.58	0.02	<0.01	0.45	0.01	<0.01	0.45	0.02	<0.01
Female [yes]	-0.01	0.00	<0.01	-0.01	0.00	<0.01	-0.01	0.00	<0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.05	-0.00	0.00	0.05
Age	0.00	0.00	<0.01	0.00	0.00	<0.01	0.00	0.00	<0.01	0.00	0.00	<0.01	0.00	0.00	<0.01
Education, Ref. low [medium]	0.02	0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.01	<0.01
[high]	0.04	0.01	<0.01	0.04	0.01	<0.01	0.04	0.01	<0.01	0.03	0.01	<0.01	0.04	0.01	<0.01
Ideology self, Ref. centre [moderate left/right]	0.03	0.00	<0.01	0.03	0.00	<0.01	0.03	0.00	<0.01	0.03	0.00	<0.01	0.03	0.00	<0.01
[left/right wing]	0.02	0.00	<0.01	0.02	0.00	<0.01	0.02	0.00	<0.01	0.02	0.00	<0.01	0.02	0.00	<0.01
Governing experience [yes]	0.03	0.01	0.01										0.01	0.01	0.21
Old [yes]				0.04	0.01	<0.01							0.02	0.01	0.02
Ideological moderation							0.01	0.00	<0.01				-0.00	0.00	0.08
Democratic behaviour										0.30	0.00	<0.01	0.30	0.00	<0.01
Random Effects															
σ^2	0.06			0.06			0.06			0.05			0.05		
$\tau_{00\ Party/Country}$	0.00/0.00			0.00/0.00			0.00/0.00			0.00/0.00			0.00/0.00		
ICC	0.04			0.03			0.04			0.02			0.02		
N $_{Individual/party/country}$	44345/59/7			44345/59/7			44345/59/7			38967/59/7			38967/59/7		
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.036 / 0.076			0.040 / 0.072			0.038 / 0.074			0.149 / 0.170			0.151 / 0.171		

Main results: experimental study [1]

Figure 1. The informational effects of *ideological moderation* on party legitimacy perceptions based on linear regressions for the index and the individual items

Main results: experimental study [2]

Figure 2. The informational effects of *democratic attitudes* on party legitimacy perceptions based on linear regressions for the index and the individual items.

Extension 1: Logit model (positive outcome >0.8)

Table 2.

	Dependent variable:
	Party legitimacy
Female [yes]	−0.085***
	(0.022)
Age	0.032***
	(0.001)
Education, Ref. low [medium]	0.225***
	(0.063)
	high¿high
	0.423***
	(0.062)
Ideology self, Ref. centre [moderate left/right]	0.418***
	(0.027)
Left/right wing	0.389***
	(0.030)
Governing experience [yes]	−0.026
	(0.030)
Old [yes]	0.109***
	(0.030)
Ideological Moderation	−0.039***
	(0.011)
Democratic Behaviour_01	1.967***
	(0.042)
Constant	−2.726***
	(0.083)
Observations	38,967
Log Likelihood	−23,658.340
Akaike Inf. Crit.	47,338.680
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Hierarchical logit model

Table 3. Multilevel hierarchical model results predicting legitimacy perceptions: random intercepts for parties and countries

	Dependent variable:
	Party legitimacy
Female[yes]	−0.100***
	(0.022)
Age	0.032***
	(0.001)
Education, Ref. low [medium]	0.311***
	(0.062)
	high¿high
	0.426***
	(0.061)
Extremity_SelfLRNmoderate left/right	0.344***
	(0.028)
Extremity_SelfLRNleft/right wing	0.394***
	(0.032)
Left/right wing	0.056
	(0.041)
Old [yes]	0.045
	(0.044)
Ideological Moderation	−0.037**
	(0.015)
Democratic Behaviour	2.009***
	(0.043)
Constant	−2.723***
	(0.134)
Observations	38,967
Log Likelihood	−23,425.720
Akaike Inf. Crit.	46,877.450
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	46,988.870
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Outcome distribution across countries

Table 4. Average and median party legitimacy index scores across the sample

Country	Mean	Median
Denmark	0.840	1
France	0.778	0.833
Germany	0.746	0.833
Netherlands	0.773	0.833
Portugal	0.852	1
Spain	0.744	0.833
UK	0.771	0.833

Initial model set-up without highest achievers

Table 5. Multilevel model results predicting legitimacy perceptions: random intercepts for parties and countries, without Denmark and Portugal

Predictors	Party legitimacy		
	Odds Ratios	std. Error	p
(Intercept)	0.07	0.01	<0.01
Female [yes]	0.90	0.02	<0.01
Age	1.03	0.00	<0.01
Education, Ref. low [medium]	1.37	0.08	<0.01
[high]	1.53	0.09	<0.01
Ideology self, Ref. centre [moderate left/right]	1.41	0.04	<0.01
[left/right wing]	1.48	0.05	<0.01
Governing experience [yes]	1.06	0.04	0.18
Old [yes]	1.05	0.05	0.31
Ideological moderation	0.96	0.01	0.01
Democratic behaviour	7.45	0.32	<0.01
Random Effects			
σ^2	3.29		
$\tau_{00\ Party:COUNTRY}$	0.01		
$\tau_{00\ COUNTRY}$	0.07		
ICC	0.02		
N $_{Party}$	59		
N $_{COUNTRY}$	7		
Observations	38967		
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.163 / 0.183		

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