Value Change and Nationalist Attitudes in Western Europe. Part I

Values and Extreme Right Voting

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Nationalism, Xenophobia and Modernization

- Various theories of modernization predict decrease of nationalism, xenophobia and intolerance along with the economic and technological development and cultural evolution (Inglehart 1990, 1997; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Beck, 1998; Beck, and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002)

- However, there is a number of evidences that there is at least temporal rise of nationalism and xenophobia even among citizens of the most prosperous countries

Extreme Right Voting in Europe 1990-2012
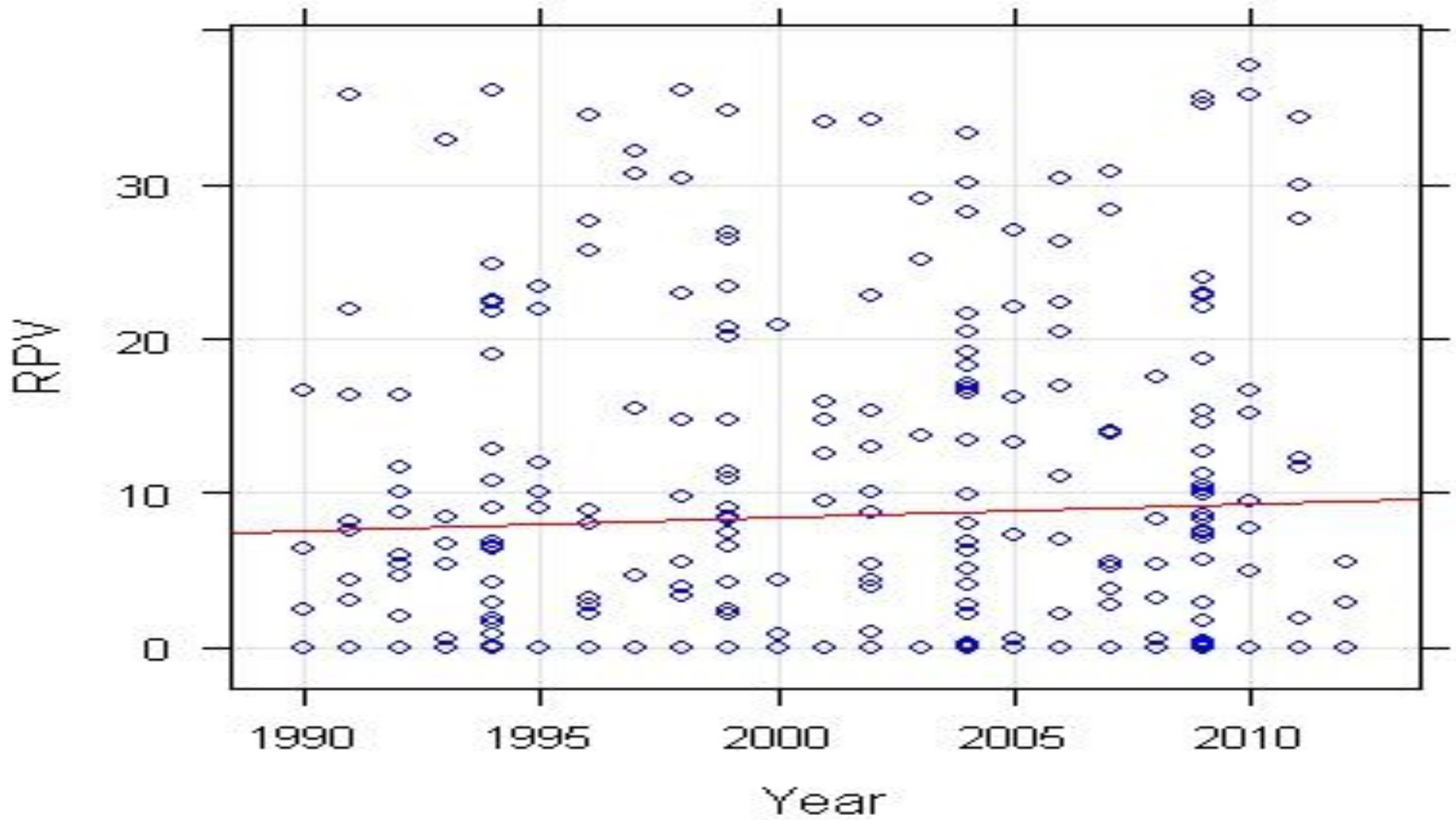
Left-Right Ideology Scale trends (WVS)
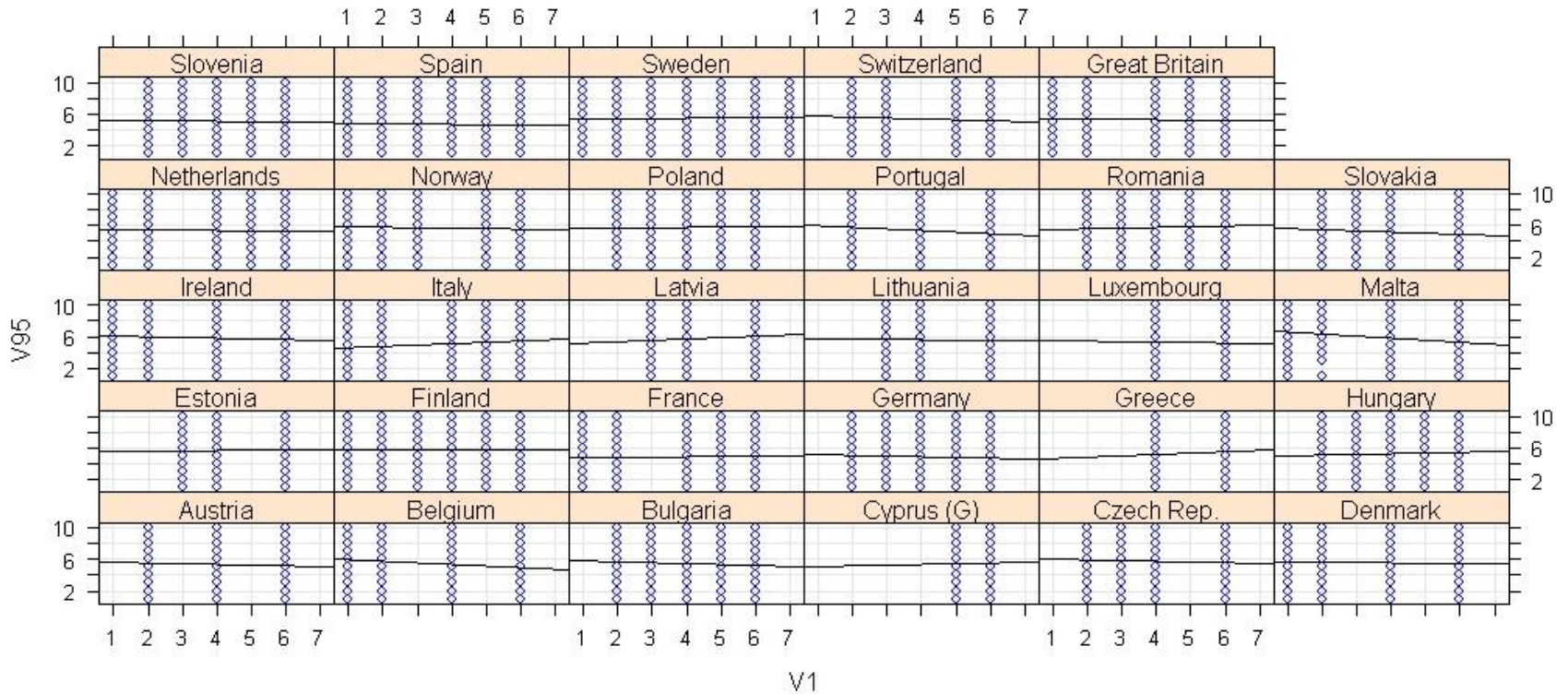
Why people adopt nationalistic views?

- Inglehart's theory of modernization – back to survival values in times of economic recessions (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005).

- Ethnic competition: Impact of unemployment (Olzak 1992; Fennema 2005; Koopmans et al. 2005; Kriesi 1999)

- Decrease of trust results from growth of immigrant population provoke negative attitudes toward out-groups (Putnam, 2007)

Extreme Right Voting
When economic models fail?

- Far right parties are more successful in times of economic prosperity than in periods of recession (Knigge1998; Coenders & Scheepers 1998; Lubbers et al. 2002, Arzheimer & Carter, 2006).

- Not only workers vote for Extreme Right [Oesh, 2008]

- Effects of electoral system (Kriesi at al., 1992; Tarrow, 1996; Arzheimer and Carter, 2006)

Research Question

Whether economic conditions are the main determinants of negative out-group attitudes like xenophobia and nationalism or some cultural factors also do matter?

Hypotheses

- (H1) Unemployment increases RPV

  (H1a) GDP per capita affects RPV negatively

- (H2) Postmaterialism affects RPV negatively

- (H3) Trust affect RVP negatively depending on immigrants stock

- (H4) Unemployment increases RPV depending on immigrant stock

- (H5) Majoritarian electoral system restrict success of right-wing parties

Sample

- 29 countries: 27 EU-members, Switzerland and Norway
- All parliamentary and Europarlament elections (1990 to 2011)

Variables

- **RPV** – share of votes achieved by all right parties in a country on a given election
- **Postmaterialism** – WVS 4-items materialism/postmaterialism index mean aggregated by countries and waves
  It is used as proxy for time period $(T_{w0} - 1; T_{w1} - 1)$
- **Distrust** – WVS V24 mean by countries and waves
- **Unemployment** - unemployment rate for a given country in an year of election
- **PPP** – GDP per capita PPP in an year of election (in 2005 constant prices)
- **Immigrants** – immigrant stock In an year of election
- **ES** – electoral system (majoritarian, mixed, proportional)
- **Delta Emp** – difference between unemployment rate in an year of election and previous year
- **Delta PPP** – difference between GDP PPP rate in an year of election and previous year

Selection of Right Parties

- Van Spanje (2011) based on previous expert surveys (Mair and Castels, 1984, Laver and Hunt, 1992; Huber and Inglehart, 1995; Lubbers, 2000; Benoit and Laver, 2004(2006)) provide a meta-analysis of trends in ideological positions of right wing parties and selected 30 ERP in 17 European countries

- All parties at least one scored as extreme right (>8.0 on left-right scale)

  Conservative (GB), and People Party (Spain) were excluded.
  Party for Freedom (Netherlands) were included

- For Eastern Europe typology provided by CMP team were used.

Voting for Right Parties 1

Voting for Far Rights ~ Postmaterialism

(Intercept) -15.227 (0.01) **
PostMat2   12.300 (0.000) ***

Multiple R-squared: **0.064**
Adjusted R-squared: **0.059**
227 observations

Simulation
Effect of aggregated postmaterialism on far right voting

Expected Values: RPV|PostMat = max

	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%
PostMat = Max	**12.73**	1.44	9.83	15.34
PostMat= Mean	**7.59**	0.61	6.43	8.80
PostMat =Min	**2.27**	1.48	-0.45	5.28

PostMat(Max) – PostMat(Mean)

mean	Stand.Dev	2.5%	97.5%
-5.19	1.27	-7.69	-2.78

Robustness check

** The more GDP the more positive effect of postmaterialism on right party voting

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	-9.15(0.17)	7.29(0.067)	5.52 (0.018) *
PostMat	7.29(0.067)	30.61(0.000)***	-4.88 (0.000) ***
GDP/PPP	0.00(0.034)*	-0.003(0.000)***	-0.04 (0.000) ***
Distrust			2.10 (0.004) **
Immigrants			0.82 (0.000) ***
ESMajor			-8.81 (0.000) ***
ESMixed			-5.74 (0.009) **
PostMat*GDPP		0.02(0.000)***	.002 (0.000) ***
TRUST*Immigrants			-4.97 (0.000) ***
Multiple R-squared:	0.085	0.1679	0.4702
Adjusted R-squared:	0.077	0.1566	0.4363

Signif. Codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Some Findings

- Postmaterialism effect disappears while controlling on GDP. However, in interaction with GDP it is still highly significant
- GDP appears to be a slightly stronger predictor of voting for far rights then unemployment rate
- Delta PPP or Delta Unemployment are insignificant – only absolute level of GDP and unemployment affects far right voting. Current trends seem to be insignificant.
- Majoritarian electoral system significantly reduce electoral support for extreme right

Whether effect of values is reliable? Possible sources of bias

1. Selection of Right Parties
2. Using of Aggregated Indices for Postmaterialism and Trust
3. Missing Data

Discussion

- RPV as a function of dissatisfaction with life not unfavourable economic status
- Possible Impact of nationalistic attitudes as predictor of ideological position (Coenders, 2001)

Future Steps

- Index of Nationalistic Attitudes (WVS: v37, v39, v46)

- Aggregated models on RPV including Satisfaction with Life and Nationalistic Attitudes indicators

- WVS multi-level pooled regressions

Thank you for your attention!

Appendix A

Nationalist Attitudes

WVS data analysis

Nationalistic Attitudes Indicators WVS

- Nationalistic attitude is a psychological evaluative judgment about members of other group which diminish their social status in different way [Coenders, 2001]
- (!) However, it is difficult to separate this concept from the broadest notion of xenophobia

Nationalistic attitudes:

V37 Neighbours: People of a different race

V39 Neighbours: Immigrants/foreign workers

V46 Jobs scarce: Employers should give priority to (nation) people than immigrants

Constructive Nationalism (two additional items):

V66 Willingness to fight for country

V211 How proud of nationality
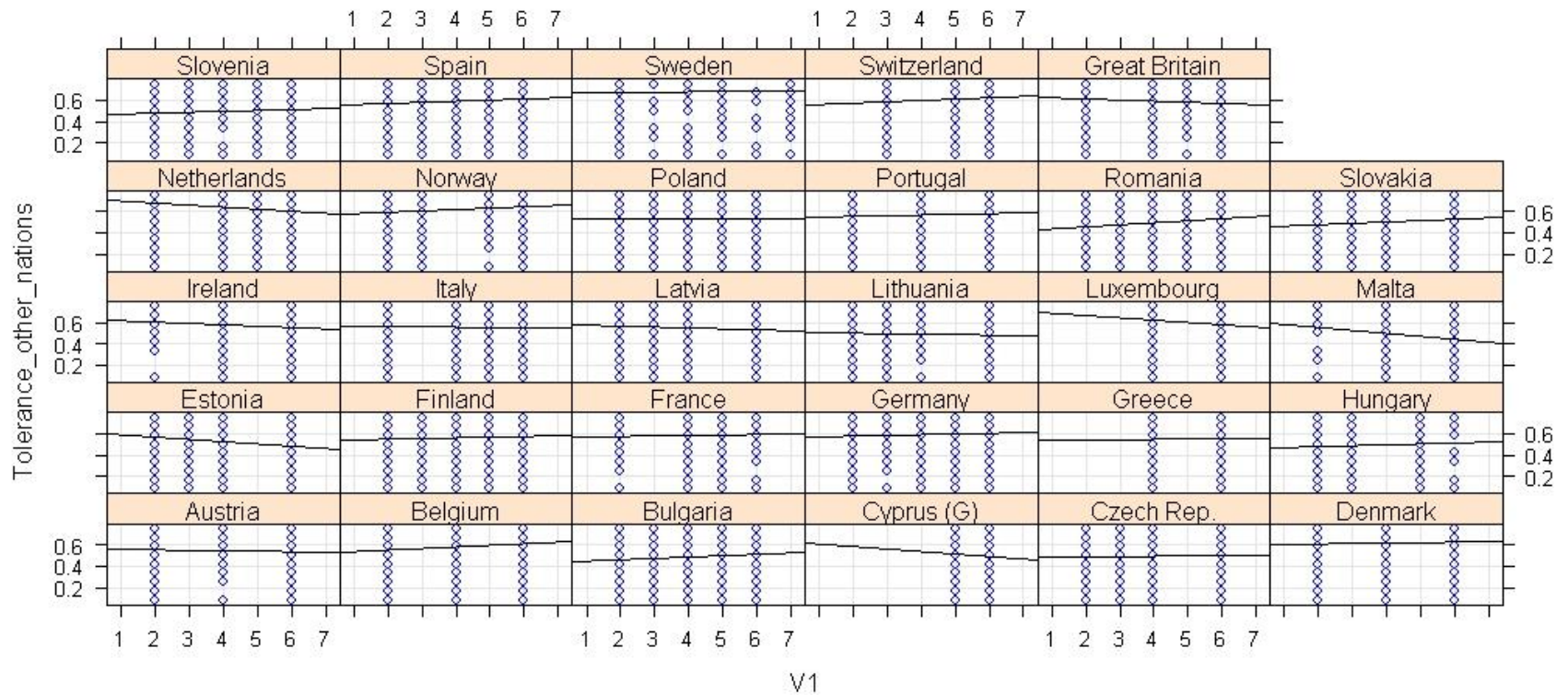
Factor Analysis: Results

- Model should includes not only nationalist attitudes but **also homosexuality** (v40)

- I also found an evidence in favour of ***theory of constructive patriotism*** cause national pride and willingness to fight are explained by latent variable.

Tolerance
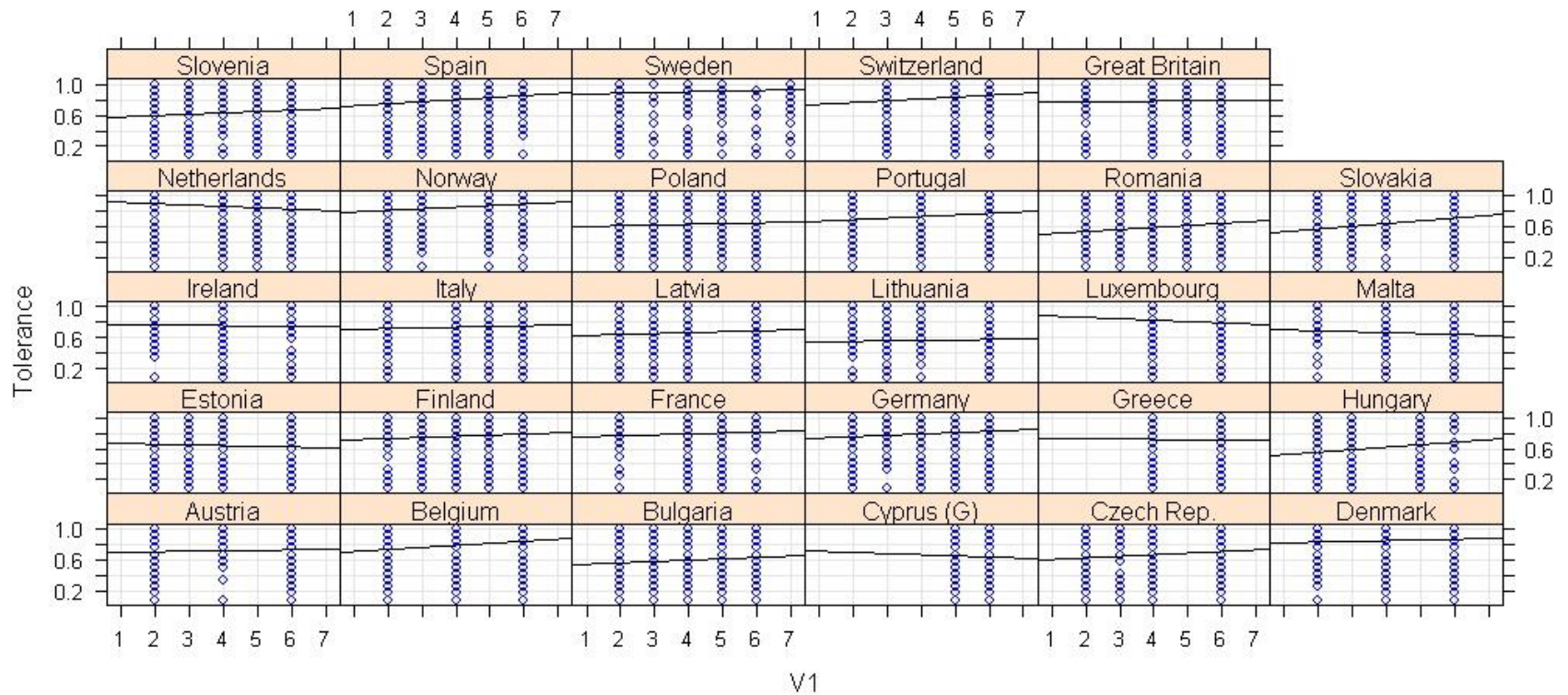
Tolerance(ethnic)

Tolerance/Xenophobia Indices

- Index of Intolerance (*In*)

Xen = (V37 + V39 + V40 + (V46/3)/4

- Weighted Inex of Intolerance (*WeightIn*)

WeightXen = (0.880*V37 + 0.860*V39 + 0.630*V40 + 0.462*(V46/3))/4

(!) Both indices are 0 to 1, The highest level mean prefectly tolerant person.

Variables

Dependent
- V95 - Self-positioning in Left-Right Scale

Individual
- Pmat –materialism/postmaterialism index (four items)
- IndXen/WeightXen (weighted by factor loadings)
- V23 – Satisfaction with life (0 to 1 recoded)
- V24 – Most people can be trusted
- V59 –Satisfaction with financial situation of household

Socio-Demographic
- Sex
- Age
- Migrant or Not
- *Education: binary (University alumni/other)*
- Employment status: 8 categories /binary (full time/other)
- Subjective social class

Aggregate Level
- Log(GDP) – in time of survey
- Gini – In time of Survey
- Unemployment – In time of Survey

Hypotheses

- (H1) Xenophobia Index increase individual point on the left-right scale
- (H2) Postmaterialism diminish one's point on the LR scale
- (H3) Employment status affects ideology position

Model1

LR position ~ Xenophobia/Tolerance

Coefficients:

Estimate (Pr(>|t|))
(Intercept) **0.60**   (<2e-16 ***)
Xen2   **-0.12** (<2e-16 ***)
(Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1)

(*55629 observations deleted due to missingness*)
Multiple R-squared: **0.012**,   Adjusted R-squared: **0.012**

Xenophobia index is a significant predictor of LR position; nevertheless, R-square is extremely low

Model 2
Socio-demographic variables

- **LR position ~ Class + Sex + Age + Employment(8 cat.) + Education**

(Intercept) 0.63 (< 2e-16) ***
Class2   -0.06 (4.17e-06) ***
Class3   -0.10 (8.49e-15) ***
Class4   -0.13 (< 2e-16) ***
Class5   -0.13 (< 2e-16) ***
Sex(Fem)   -0.01 (1.36e-05) ***
Part-time   -0.02 (0.0005) ***
Self-Emp   0.02 (0.0003) ***
Retired   -0.00 (0.43)
House   0.02 (1.63e-05) ***
Student   -0.02 (0.0014) **
Unemp.   -0.01 (0.03) *
Other   0.01 (0.25)
EduOther   -0.02 (2.36e-06) ***
V240   0.00 (0.048) *
Multiple R-squared: **0.02191**,   Adjusted R-squared: **0.02141**

Model 3

Pmat/Mixed   0.006   (0.04) *
Postmaterialist   -0.05   (< 2e-16) ***
Xen   -0.10   (< 2e-16) ***
V23   0.0008 (2.88e-06) ***
Upper/middle   -0.047   (0.0002) ***
Lower/middle   -0.089   (3.92e-13) ***
Working   -0.126   (< 2e-16) ***
Lower   -0.133   (< 2e-16) ***

(143088 observations deleted due to missingness)
Multiple R-squared: **0.04159**,   Adjusted R-squared: **0.04131**

(!) Number of observation in models vary due to reasonable number of missings, so that models are uncomparable

Multilevel model

- Random Intercept by Country by Wave
- Y ~
- I = $a_{00} + a_{10}Country + a_{20}Year + u_{0j}$

Model	df	AIC	BIC	logLik	Test	L.Ratio	p-value
1	2	-40219.14	-40199.57	20111.57			
2	3	-43528.66	-43499.30	21767.33	1 vs 2	3311.522	<.0001
3	4	-44558.29	-44519.14	22283.15	2 vs 3	1031.628	<.0001

- Thus, a model that allows for random variation in ideology among countries is worse than a model that does not allow for this random variation.

Multilevel Model 2(Xen)

Tolerance/xenophobia by Waves

	Value	SdEr	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	0.664	0.017	142310	38.56	0.000
V1	0.014	0.000	142310	34.77	8.11e-264

Ideology position by Waves

Intercept	0.557	0.006	131681	95.71	0.000
V1	-0.003	0.000	131681	-9.91	3.97e-23

Discussions

- There are some evidences that postmaterialism affect LR scale negatively and Intolerance drives it to right pole.

- Cause predictive power of individual level models is extremely low (low R-square) we cannot conclude that various value dimensions such as postmaterialism or nationalistic attitudes highly determinate LR dimension

Further Steps

- To test index of nationalistic attitudes on cross-national invariance (Davidov et al., manuscript)
- Multiple Imputation for sample chosen
- Voting on right parties in Europe: post-materialism and nationalistic attitudes aggregated indices as predictors
- Multi-level structural modelling to reveal predictors of xenophobia attitudes shift
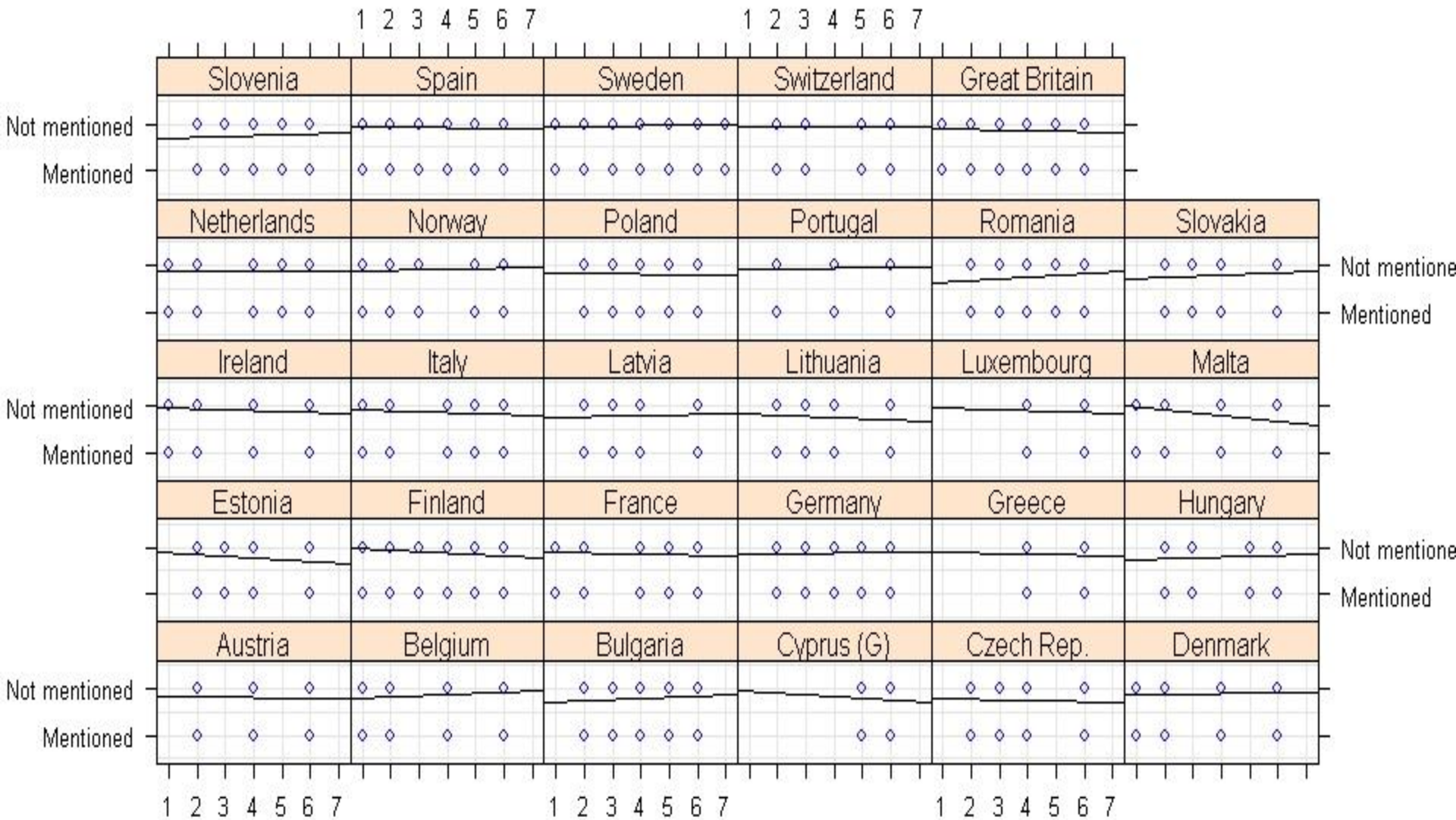
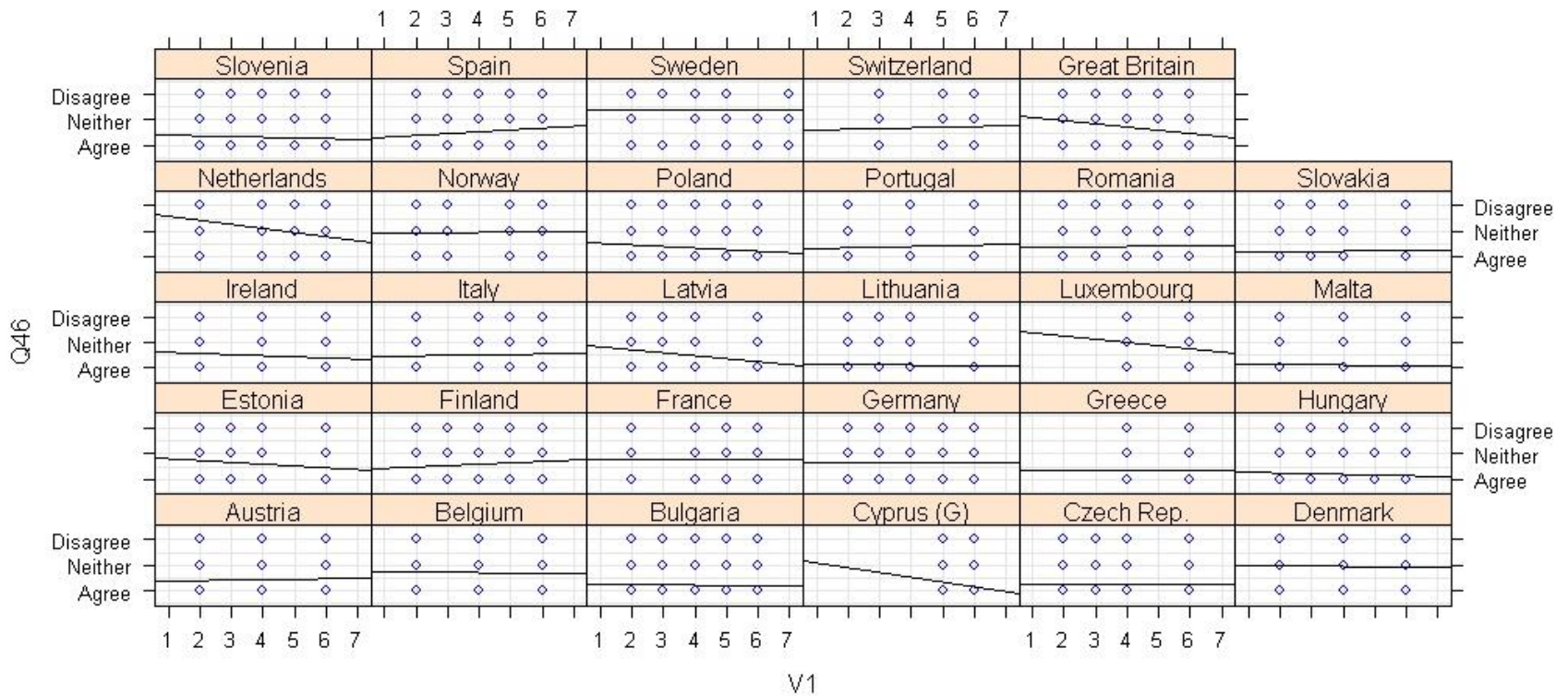# Thank you for your attention!

Appendix B

Trends

Neighbors: People of different Races
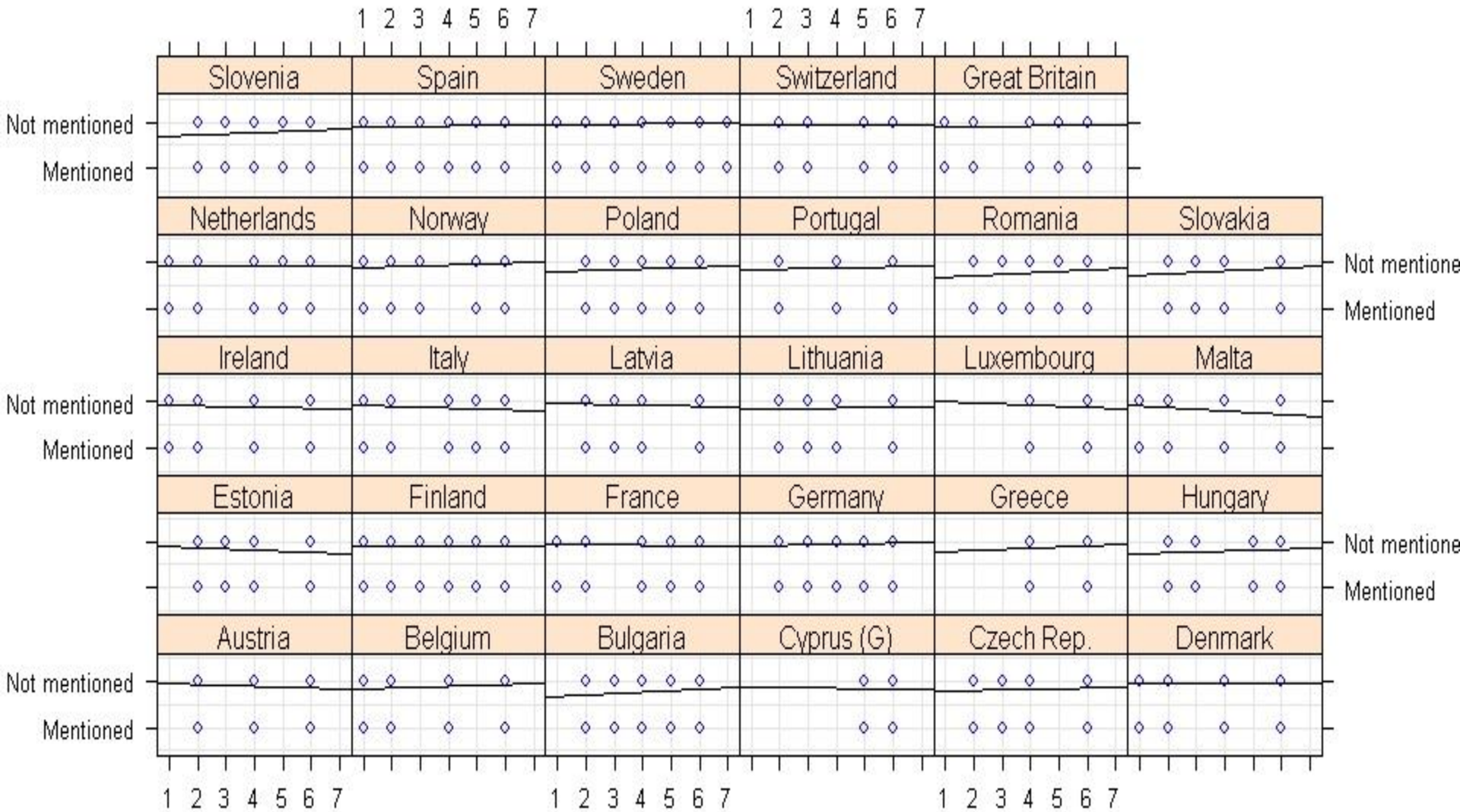
Neighbors: Foreign Workers

V46 Labour priority

Appendix C

Factor Analysis

CFA: NA by four items
Model fit

- Number of observations: 53853

- Weighted Least Square (WLSMV)

- RMSEA : 0.030 (Pr < .05 = 1.000)

- CF: 0.997

- TLI : 0.992

CFA: four items
Standardized model results

- V37: **0.880** (0.000)
- V39: **0.860** (0.000)
- V40: **0.630** (0.000)
- V46: **0.462** (0.000)
- R-square
- V37: 0.775 (0.000)
- V39: 0.740 (0.000)
- V40: 0.397 (0.000)
- V46: 0.213 (0.000)

CFA: three items
Model fit

- RMSEA: 0.276 (Pr < .05 = 0.000)
- CFI: 0.640
- TLI: 0.281

CFA: three items

STDYX:

- V37: **0.833** (0.000)
- V39: **0.919** (0.000)
- V46: **0.434** (0.000)

R-square

- V37: **0.694** (0.000)
- V39: **0.844** (0.000)
- V46: **0.189** (0.000)