

**PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY: EXPLORATION
OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RIGHT-WING CIVIL
SOCIETY PARTICIPANTS IN EUROPE**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, the undersigned Petra Škokić, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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ABSTRACT

Parallel to the rise in the popularity of far-right political actors, we can observe the recent emergence of the right-wing civil society associations and movements in Europe. Such trend calls for a better understanding of the nature and characteristics of the civil society and its participants, especially since the outdated theory fails to do so. Thus, the thesis offers an explorative empirical analysis of the right-wing participation in civil society organizations. After using the exploratory factor analysis to create 20 explanatory indicators of social and political attributes, robust probit regressions are used to test for the relationship between the participation of right-wing oriented individuals in 10 different types of voluntary formal organizations and different attributes. Results confirm limited application of the existing theory and indicate several generalizable relationships.

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Introduction

The term ‘civil society’ regularly provokes associations to democracy, protection of rights or humanitarian aid. Indeed, as it will be shown in the theoretical discussion, the civil society is traditionally presented as an inherent part of liberal democracy, a crucial builder of democratic political culture and social capital. Providing a space of everyday interaction with individuals of different interests and values, it is often given a characteristic of strengthening tolerance and cooperation between groups of different interests.

In contrast, in 2018, the European Parliament passed the Resolution on the rise of neo-fascist violence in Europe demanding ban on neo-fascist and neo-Nazi groups. Concerned about the “current xenophobic surge in Europe”, MEPs demanded actions against far-right civil associations describing them as one of the main motivators of violent hate-attacks in EU (European Parliament 2018).

The discrepancy between the traditional image of the civil society and the presented resolution is immediately apparent, thus proving a more complex and diverse nature of the civil society than initially presented. As the thesis will show, the traditional perception of the civil society’s democratic nature, until today, remained vastly uncontested, gaining its strongest academic opponents in the beginning of the 21st century. Today, increasing attention is put to the question of the nature of the civil society and its political and social role as a response to the emergence of right-wing civil society organizations and movements.

Many examples of such associations and their impact can be seen in Europe including Austrian citizen’s initiative mobilizing thousands in protests against building mosques and Islamic cultural centers in 2007 (Sauer and Ajanovic 2016), anti-Roma paramilitary groups marching and expressing hate speech and threats to Roma community in Hungary in 2012 (Cain 2012),

Croatian In the Name of Family initiative initiating the 2013 constitutional change to ban gay marriage (BBC 2013), or German PEGIDA movement gathering 20 000 Islamophobic protesters in 2016 movement's anniversary (The Guardian 2015).

With the emergence of such organizations and movements, it is unavoidable to notice the limitations of the democratic theory unable to explain the nature of such events. Furthermore, quantitative empirical interrogation of the characteristics of the civil society participants, especially of a specific political orientation has been scarce, most often focusing on the voluntary and humanitarian organizations and the attribute of social trust. The thesis aims to fill such gap and contribute towards a better understanding of the nature of the right-wing civil society while examining common characteristics of its participants.

In order to answer the question on the characteristics of the participants in the numerous right-wing associations, the research used the survey data conducted in sixteen countries in 2017 gathering information on many sociopolitical values and characteristics of the respondents. To preserve its explorative nature, most tested characteristics were generated by the Explorative Factor Analysis resulting in 14 factors included into the analysis. Characteristics of the right-wing participation were analyzed using robust probit regression models in order to inspect a relationship between different attributes and right-wing participation. Relationships were tested for 10 different types of civil society organizations.

The following chapter provides a further discussion on the nature and importance of the civil society in order to clarify its main characteristics and present main theoretical and empirical works related to the civil society participation. Second chapter moves towards the analysis elaborating on the research design, operationalization of the main variables and the results of the Exploratory Factor Analysis. Third chapter present the results for each of the 10 different

types of organizations. Finally, fourth chapter summarizes the results and applies them to the theoretical discussion.

Chapter 1 - Theoretical conceptualization of the civil society

The first chapter presents the main theoretical frameworks and conceptualizations of the civil society leading to a summarized discussion on the theoretical assumptions and empirical explorations of the characteristics of civil society participants. It aims to answer the questions on what the civil society is, why is it important, and who participates in it. The meaning of civil society has been theorized rather differently through history, according to political context, to crucial sociopolitical and cultural ideas contested at the time, as well as to disciplines engaging with it. The formulation and meaning of civil society throughout centuries had differing paths and its description and understanding would require space and time too extensive for the purposes of this thesis. Therefore, its definition will begin with foundational works of its conceptualization in the second part of the 20th century. These framings set the basics of how CS is seen and defined today.

1.1 - Civil society: What it is and what it is not

Traditional definitions of civil society often describe it as “self-organization of strong and autonomous groups that balance the state” showing lack of precision and content (Hall 1995, 15). The questions of the characteristics and goals of such groups, conditions of membership, as well as nature of their relationship with other entities had to be defined. If we focus on the authors in the second half of 20th century, when most of the fundamental framings and definitions of civil society we use today are formed, we can observe that one of the main

debates regarded the question of which domains and spheres are considered a part of civil society, and which are not.

Authors significantly differed regarding how ‘public’ and political the group has to be in order to be considered a part of civil society. While it was generally agreed that the influence on the public space was a desirable characteristic, agreeing on the specificities of it was not as easy. While some authors insisted on the institutional and public character of such groups, other allowed it more flexibility. For instance, seeking “realistic conceptualization”, Diamond excludes family life, private enterprises as well as “inward-looking group activity” such as recreation, entertainment or spiritual groups in order to emphasize civil society’s public nature and its influence on the state (Diamond 1994, 5). Similarly, Keane emphasizes its political component in the following way:

“In the most abstract sense, civil society can be conceived as an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities – economic and cultural production, household life and voluntary associations – and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions” (Keane 1988, 14).

In contrast, some authors include communicational, cultural and symbolic elements in their conceptualization. They often put more focus on the impact of social interactions on the public sphere civil society associations cause than on direct political pressure they impose on the state. These interpretations draw from the works of Gramsci who saw civil society as a place of social interaction that forms general public attitudes, and thus often contributes towards the replication of hegemony of the dominant groups (Gramsci 1975). Understood this way, Gramsci includes in the concept of civil society places as schools, churches, spontaneous social movements, political parties, as well as family (Katz 2006, 344). This approach recognizes that

values, norms and identities have a noticeable impact on the political and public sphere. Similarly, in their well-known extensive volume on the concept of “*Civil society and political theory*”, Cohen and Arato defined civil society, a place between the state and economy, as “sphere of social interaction” that includes the “intimate sphere” with family, “the sphere of associations”, social movements and public communication (Cohen and Arato 1992).

At the same time, understanding the importance of social interaction and communication for the formation of the public discourse, Habermas further develops this approach to civil society. He limits its overlapping with the private sphere when he introduces the notion of “public space” which encompasses these, less organized and more personal, places of interaction. This way, he primarily sees civil society as nongovernmental and noneconomic communication structures, and thus defines it in a following way:

“Civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere. The core of civil society comprises a network of associations that institutionalizes problem-solving discourses on questions of general interest inside the framework of organized public spheres” (Habermas 1996, 366-367).

Today, authors often draw upon both approaches. On one hand, they acknowledge the importance of social interaction, norms and public discourse on the day-to-day policy formation. However, more precise definitions are used limiting the ‘intrusion’ into the private sphere. Thus, the civil society today encompasses formal organizations with clear rules and objectives, as well as more spontaneous associations and groups functioning as social networks (Wright 2010). Presented discussion on the definition of the civil society shows the importance of the consideration of its different forms. In order to truly understand its nature, we must explore both formal organizations as well as more spontaneous movements and group that participate in the construction of public narratives and social networks.

The following section describes the civil society in the perception of the democratic theory, which creates a basis for the assumptions on its nature and on the characteristics of its participants. As described below, the democratic theory defines the civil society as an integral part of democracy and its impact is associated with the consolidation of democracy and protection of individual rights. It is possible to identify two main aspects of the of the civil society within democratic framework: its relationship with the state and its influence on the political culture.

1.2 - Civil society in democratic theory: The State

The first aspect, the relationship between civil society and the state, focuses on its connection to the rule of law and democratic government. As previously shown, civil society is, today, mostly seen as a sphere between the state, private sphere and economic sphere. In contrast to the presented discussion on its interaction with the private sphere, the nature of its relationship with the state has not been contested as much. It is generally accepted that the crucial feature of this relationship is the autonomy of civil society and non-disturbance by the state.

It is argued that only unhindered civil society can provide space in which citizens are “free from government control and interference”, can openly promote their interests, and carry out their activities and communication (Chambers 2002, 94). In such environment, civil society becomes one of the main channels of direct political participation in which citizens freely voice their opinions and critiques of the state or influence the public discussion and decision-making process. Then, civil society undertakes an “intermediary role” between the society and the state and becomes a nest of aggregated interests and critical discourse thus influencing the political agenda and amplifying the citizens’ voices (Diamond 1994, 5; Merkel 2004, 47; Habermas 1996, 359).

As such, civil society is expected to play both restricting and reinforcing role towards the state. On one hand, it is attributed the power and responsibility to monitor and enhance the rule of law with its public demands for transparent, accountable and responsive government (Keane

1988; Diamond 1994; Merkel 2004). On the other hand, it is expected to *self-limit* its claims and restrain from opposing the legitimate authority, propagating anti-systemic interests or illegitimately seizing power (Cohen and Arato 1992, 73; Hall 1995, 15).

Furthermore, civil society is nowadays often attributed positive influence on inclusiveness and representability of the public sphere through its characteristic of plurality. Presenting diverse and partial interests, civil society provides a space for different, often opposing, views thus promoting public deliberation, as well as visibility to marginalized and/or disadvantaged groups (Merkel 2004, 47; Diamond 1994, 8). Therefore, critical theorists conclude:

“A world in which there are many options, many contrasts to one’s chosen way of life, many moral differences, many conflicting identities to choose from, and many different associations to join is a world that has a built-in critical component. Diversity is the watchdog of democracy, ensuring that outcomes are viewed and tested from many different perspectives”(Chambers 2002, 100).

1.3 - Civil society in democratic theory: The political culture

Finally, the second aspect of the civil society’s relation to democracy directly touches upon the main question of this thesis. It mostly draws from the writings of de Tocqueville and centers around the civil society’s implications for the political culture and social capital thus creating direct assumptions on the characteristics of its participants. It presents diverse and active civil society as one that develops citizens’ social and psychological competences crucial for the consolidation and functioning of democracy: social trust, tolerance, involvement, empowerment etc.

Hall connects such democratizing influence of the civil society to its ‘emergence’ in the 18th century as a result of the need for tolerance in time of religious wars and suppression of religious diversity in Europe. He describes “an extraordinary switch in attitudes” that made tolerance of religious diversity, consensus and mutual cooperation a viable and desirable

alternative that enabled political stability and economic prosperity: “civil society was seen, in a nutshell, as a lively sphere marked by the spread of new codes of manners” (Hall 1995, 5-7).

Nevertheless, de Tocqueville’s notion on the importance of voluntary associations for the democracy in America in the 19th century is the most often described as a main source of these assumptions due to his famous claim that voluntary associations are one of the major contributors to the stability and development of American democracy. He sees them as schools of democracy in which “citizens practice democratic thinking and civil behavior and become used to it on a daily basis” thus improving their capacities for active democratic participation (Merkel 2004, 46). De Tocqueville sees a plural society with intense and regular interactions between people of different interests as one that results in aware and active citizens understanding the necessity of compromise and exercising values of trust, cooperation and tolerance (de Tocqueville 2000). His notion is rather simple: with constant interaction and deliberation with others of similar or opposing views, citizens feel like an active part of society, learn to collaborate and compromise in order to promote their interest as well as to tolerate and trust those they disagree with.

Following the same logic, contemporary civil society in today’s democracies is expected to strengthen democratic political culture. Authors regularly attribute it the power to stimulate political participation and acceptance of democratic values, to reduce intensity of political cleavages, and to protect minority interests (Cohen and Arato 1992, 20; Keane 1988, 51; Merkel 2004, 46; Diamond 1994, 7-11). Similarly, citizens actively participating in civil society are often expected to embody democratic attributes as tolerance, honesty, moderation, compromise, and respect for opposing views and trust (Diamond 1994; Merkel 2004).

“[Voluntary associations] thereby accumulate social capital (...), without which democracies can neither emerge nor consolidate in the long term. Seen from a Tocquevillian point of view, civil society puts normative and participatory potential at a democracy’s disposal” (Merkel 2004, 46)

If seeking empirical conformation of these assumptions, one of the most comprehensive and influential analysis is Robert Putnam’s study *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Relying on both qualitative and quantitative methodology, Putnam manages to show that regional governments in 1970s Italy perform better in areas of high civic engagement and social capital. This enables him to show that strong civic community of active political participation in democratic framework enhances the quality of democracy and has “internal effects” on participants of voluntary associations that are characterized by increased social trust, political participation, cooperation, shared responsibility, solidarity, political sophistication and subjective civic competence (Putnam 1993, 89-90). In other words, he is suggesting a causal relationship between the participation in the civil society and democratic attributes of participants.

Contemporary attempts to empirically prove such relationship have mostly focused on social capital operationalizing it as social trust, often ignoring exploration of other participants’ characteristics. Bekkers and Ingen indicate some of the significant empirical analyses in contemporary Europe and effectively summarize more than a dozen of such studies illuminating the relationship between civic engagement and social trust, and proving their correlation, however leaving the causality of it contested (van Ingen and Bekkers 2015).

However, if inspecting the literature, the lack of research on the other characteristics of civil society participants is apparent. Traditional assumptions of characteristics such as tolerance towards different views and support for democratic political culture lack empirical validation. One of such examples is Bekkers’ investigation of the attributes of voluntary association

participants in 2000 Netherlands. He shows that citizens active in such organizations are characterized by: access to human-social capital, interest in politics, post-materialistic values, support for leftist or Christian parties, and empathy (Bekkers 2005).

On the other hand, there seems to be theoretical critique of the assumptions that participation in civil society generates democratic values and attributes. In the last decade, there has been an increased focus on, mostly right-wing, civil society actors that seem to directly oppose these assumptions, often publicly advocating for anti-democratic and intolerant policies. Calling them a bad civil society, Chambers describes them as characterized by intolerance, exclusion, distrust, xenophobia, and provides examples ranging from the birth of Nazi-movement to pro-life associations (Chambers 2002; Chambers and Kopstein 2001). She argues:

“Robert Putnam’s embrace of Tocqueville, for example, has until now been uncritical of the ways group solidarity and participation can cut both ways in democracy – reinforcing it in such groups like the Boy Scouts but undermining it in racist hate groups like the World Church of the Creator. In this tradition, associational involvement is thought almost always to weigh in on the side of good citizenship” (Chambers 2002, 102).

Such critical approach towards the traditional assumption of participants’ characteristics became increasingly important in the past decade, with an increase in popularity of right-wing civil society actors propagating illiberal values or aiming to limit rights of different social groups. Thus, better understanding of the main characteristics of the overall right-wing participation, is a first step towards better understanding of the observed political and social trends.

Chapter 2 – Methodology design

As a first step to conduct the statistical analysis and quantitatively answer the question of the participants' characteristics in the right-wing civil society, this chapter presents the methodology design, thus setting the ground for the robust probit regression model. First, the chapter provides a brief description of the European Values Study, a survey conducted in sixteen European countries in 2017, and a source of the data used in the analysis. Then, the process of the operationalization of questioned concepts and creation of variables used in the analysis are explained starting with a description and understanding of right-wing participation in civil society organizations. Operationalization of the exploratory variables is shown in the report on the conducted explorative factor analysis and creation of fourteen composite variables inspecting different social and political attitudes.

2.1 - European Values Study (EVS), 2017

The dataset used for the analysis comes from the pre-released 2017 European Values Study (EVS) conducted between June 2017 and April 2018 in sixteen European countries.¹ This is the latest survey continuing the longitudinal data gathering every 9 years since 1981. The survey consists of 22,414 face-to-face closed interviews on 358 different questions regarding general attitudes towards family, work and fellow citizens, political and social values, as well as extensive sociodemographic characteristics of respondents.

¹ These countries include Armenia, Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Georgia, Germany, Iceland, The Netherlands, Poland, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland.

The data is gathered through representative random sampling, with an effective sample size of 1000 respondents in countries with less than 2 million citizens, and 1200 respondents otherwise. Therefore, the unit of analysis consists of individuals from 16 different countries, over the age of 18. The researchers aimed to cover the whole country territory, as well as diverse ethnic and social groups. Furthermore, interviews were conducted by experienced or trained interviewers, and were checked for quality, inconsistency, contradictions, code errors and outliers (EVS and GESIS 2018). The survey dataset and complementing documents are publicly available.

2.2 - Measuring right-wing participation in CSOs

Unfortunately, the ideology classification of civil society organizations is rather difficult to find, especially for the purpose of large quantitative analyses. Even though government records that contain the list of registered and/or funded civic organizations, associations and initiatives exist and are publicly available, they rarely provide information on their ideology. Numerous organizations purposely refrain from publicly expressing their political stances for numerous reasons, from avoiding prejudices, gaining more members or obscuring their partnerships. Furthermore, organizations and associations differ on the exclusivity of their membership and protect the privacy of their members. This makes it hard for a systematic data gathering on the participants of the right-wing civil society and results in a lack of such data. Not only is there little research on this topic, there is a strong limitation for research due to low availability of data.

As a result of such limitations, this research relies on the assumption that right-wing individuals participate in right-wing civil society groups. Instead of taking the approach of identifying

ideology of the civil society organization and then analyzing the characteristics of its participants, the analysis focuses on the right-wing individuals that participate in the civil society and explores their characteristics.

The dependent variables indicating right-wing participation in civil society are, therefore, based on the participation in each of 10 different types of voluntary organizations by individuals with right-wing ideology. Due to the high number of missing observations regarding respondent's voting behavior, which hindered the possibility to create a strong composite variable, political ideology was determined solely based on self-identification on traditional left-right scale consisting of 10 intervals. Finally, in order to consider individuals as politically right-wing, they had to score higher than 6. This led to an identification of 28% of right-wing individuals in the sample.

Due to the nature of the survey, participation is operationalized exclusively as 'belonging to a voluntary organization' of a certain type. Focusing exclusively on formal organizations, such operationalization must be considered with its theoretical implications. Drawing from the theoretical discussion on the distinction between the civil society and the private sphere shown in the previous chapter, focusing solely on formal organizations carries certain limitation after eliminating movements and mores spontaneous groups where much of social interaction and political action occur. Nevertheless, the mere exploration of formal organization members may also generate meaningful results and, thus, bring us closer to understanding the nature of overall participation. Finally, our measures take a binary form indicating '1' if the individual is both right-wing and active in a certain CSO, and '0' otherwise. The following table shows all types of organizations considered, as described in the survey.

Type of a voluntary organization	Percentage of all participants	Percentage of participants that are right-wing	Percentage of individuals that are both right wing and participate	Number of right-wing individuals that participate
Religious or church organisations	18%	30%	5%	850
Education, arts, music or cultural activities	12%	26%	3%	506
Trade unions	13%	25%	3%	498
Political parties or groups	5%	39%	2%	324
Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights	6%	22%	1%	219
Professional associations	8%	28%	2%	345
Sports or recreation	20%	26%	5%	841
Humanitarian or charitable organizations	9%	25%	2%	363
Consumer organizations	2%	26%	1%	93
Self-help and mutual aid groups	4%	25%	0.4%	156

Table 1: Participation in different types of civil society organizations

First conclusions we can draw after inspecting Table 1 is that sport, religious, educative/cultural organizations and trade unions seem to be the organizations with most participants. Following the general trend, right-wing individuals mostly participate in religious (850), sport (841), educative/cultural (506) organizations and trade unions (498). When their proportional participation is inspected, they regularly constitute 25-30% of the participants in each organization type, just around their proportion in the overall sample (28%). Interestingly, this is true for all but one organization type. They seem to form the highest proportion of political parties and groups (39%), which corresponds to the observation of the emergence and strengthening of such organizations and initiatives at a European level in the past decade. However, such conclusion calls for a more detailed inspection and longitudinal analysis.

Nevertheless, data shows that right-wing individuals seem to participate in political organizations and groups 11% more than expected.

2.3 - Operationalization of participants' characteristics and attributes

As shown in the EVS survey description, the data at hand conveys numerous opinions on topics such as family, work, political and societal values, and more. Due to its exploratory nature, the analysis aims to inspect as many characteristics of participants as the data enables; however, due to a high number of variables, there was a need to summarize the data and simplify the model. Detailed inspection of the questionnaire indicated the existence of numerous variables that seemed to measure the same phenomena. For instance, questions on the participant's agreement with the following statements: "child suffers with a working mother", "family life suffers when woman has full-time job" or "men make better business executives than women"; all seemed to measure the same underlying concept of opinion on gender roles. This provided a fertile ground for the use of the exploratory factor analysis (EFA) which enabled a reliable reduction of variables through the creation of composite measures, thus adding simplicity and focus. As it will be shown, factor analysis identified fourteen such unobserved concepts.

Simply put, factor analysis aims to investigate the interrelationship between variables in order to identify which variables measure the same underlying concepts, or so-called factors. In other words, it "refers to a variety of statistical techniques whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of a smaller number of hypothetical variables" (Kim and Mueller 1978, 9). Factors represent 'areas of generalization' such as ideas and concepts, they are always

qualitatively distinct from each other, and they enable a sufficient degree of generalization of their relations to belonging variables (Gorsuch 1983, 2). Unlike the confirmatory factor analysis, the EFA does not require a pre-speculation of a number and nature of factors present in the data. It extracts that information on its own, thus optimizing the selection and number of factors (Fabrigar et al. 1999, 277). Therefore, opting for EFA, the analysis allowed the EVS data to ‘speak for itself’, as well as to ensure the reliability of constructed factors. The following is a short description of the conducted EFA, statistical decisions made and its final output. More information on the detailed procedure and assumption testing can be found in the Appendix.

First, the selection and reduction of variables during the analysis was based on selecting only variables with a potential of being reflective indicators of the unobserved concept (Adamantios and Winklhofer 2011) thus eliminating formative, binary, categorical, or purely demographic indicators. This resulted in the use of 127 exclusively ordinal variables measured on Likert scales. Then, missing observations were imputed with regularly recommended method of multivariate imputation by chained equations (McNeish 2017; Zygmunt and Smith 2014; Nassiri et al. 2018).

Second, due to the normality of residuals, the analytic method of maximum likelihood was preferred and used to fit the factor model followed by direct oblimin rotation allowing correlation between factors (Fabrigar et al. 1999; Howard 2016). Related assumptions required for the EFA were checked, and complied to general academic standards², with the assumption

² Variables were tested for correlation adequacy with Bartlett’s test (significant p-value of chi square), sampling adequacy with KMO test (0.92), outliers (elimination of 2179 observations after Mahalanobis distance test), normality of residuals (skewness < 2, kurtosis < 3), multicollinearity (VIF < 3.7). The problem of heteroscedasticity was noticed with significant Non-constant Variance Score Test. See appendix for more information.

of linearity relaxed due to a use of exclusively ordinal data (Timmerman and Lorenzo-Seva 2011, 211; Baglin 2014, 2).

Finally, the output of the factor analysis produced 14 factors composed of 85 variables with a simple structure achieved, meaning that every variable was attributed to a single factor. Reliability of the variables was checked and resulted in a satisfactory result of Cronbach' alpha over 0.7 for each factor. Validity was confirmed with excellent root mean square of residuals (0.02) and the root square error of approximation (0.04). It is necessary to note that even though the Tucker Lewis Index (0.84) and Comparative fit index (0.89) were under the usual cutoff of 0.90, due to excellent loadings and theoretical judgement of attributed variables, the factors are considered as validated. Thus, the following composite variables were constructed by computing the mean of variables belonging to a single factor: Composite scores are calculated as an average of z-score of variables belonging to a single factor. Calculating the distance from the variable mean for each individual significantly improved ability for later comparison.

Factor Name	Factor description	Nr. of items	Reliability (C. alpha)
Religiousness	Religious behavior practices and beliefs.	7	0.84
Confidence in institutions	Confidence in state and international institutions, major companies and media	17	0.90
Attitude towards primordial identity	Importance of ancestry, ethnicity religion and culture for national and European identity.	8	0.84
Perception of electoral fairness	Perception of fairness and equal competition in country's elections.	6	0.82
Attitude towards equal gender roles	Support of equal gender roles in family, work and politics	8	0.85
Political awareness	Political awareness through interest in politics and following political media content	6	0.71
Social-liberal democracy orientation	Perception of the importance of elements of social and liberal democracy	5	0.71
Attitude towards cheating the system	Justification of practices such as cheating on tax, bribery, avoiding transport fare, and claiming state benefits.	4	0.78
Political activism	Willingness to join political actions	4	0.75
Voting	Regularity to vote at local or national elections	2	0.92
Attitude towards government surveillance	Justification of authoritarian surveillance mechanisms	3	0.73
Social trust	Trust in people	6	0.80
Traditional family orientation	Disapproval of alternative families and related practices	5	0.83
Tolerance towards immigrants	Lack of negative perceptions towards immigrants' impact	4	0.77

Table2: Description and reliability of fourteen created factors

While it is often suggested that at least 3 variables must be assigned to a factor (Fabrigar et al. 1999, 276), factor analysis resulted in a factor of voting consisting only of two variables, namely voting at a local or national level. Since those were the only two variables that considered the act of voting, neither of them had a sufficient factor loading on any other factor, and factor achieved an excellent Cronbach's alpha of 0.92, a composite variable *voting* was included into the analysis.

Limitation of using exclusively exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood method implied the elimination of binary variables. However, all survey questions addressing prejudicial attitudes towards certain social groups were binary, indicating whether an individual minded having a member of such group as a neighbor. These questions were asked concerning six groups: *roma* (41%), *jewish* (14%), *muslim* (29%) *homosexual* (34%), *immigrant* (27%) and *race* (18%). As described above, theoretical discussion on civil society organizations and their participants often assumes that participants of civil society develop tolerance and trust with those of opposing views and characteristics. Hence, these variables were added to the model. A binary variable on prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants was kept despite the existence of a composite variable of tolerance towards immigrants due to limited correlation (0.26) and different nature of questions asked.

As chapter shows, availability of data on the political nature of specific right-wing civil society organizations guided the operationalization of a dependent variable which relies on the assumption that right-wing individuals participate in the right-wing civil society and focuses exclusively on formal organizations. Nevertheless, such analysis can be seen as a first step to a better understanding the (right-wing) civil society, its participants and its sociopolitical impact. Indeed, regression analysis with model based on shown operationalizations and factor analysis, resulted in exciting findings.

Chapter 3 – Analysis and presentation of the results

After inspection of the nature of right-wing participation in different types of civil society organizations, as well as understanding the operationalization of the main variables that will construct the regression model, we can proceed to the analysis. The chapter begins by illustrating the main steps of the process of building the probit regression model with the aim to investigate the characteristics of right-wing civil society participants and apply the results to the theoretical discussion presented. Finally, the results are presented in the following subchapters exploring results for each organization type individually.

3.1 - Building the robust probit model

As described in the previous chapter, all dependent variables are of a binary nature taking the value of ‘1’ if an individual satisfies two criteria: participation in a certain type of civil society organization and right-wing political orientation. Otherwise, the value is ‘0’. In order to inspect the relationships of interest and avoid limitations of such variables, the research used a robust probit regression. Probit regression uses the cumulative normal distribution function in order to estimate the probability of an event of interest (Stock and Watson 2011, 390), i.e. the right-wing participation. Thus, a probit model forces the probability of an event occurrence between 0 and 1 ensuring sensible results.

The coefficient estimates, shown in the regression tables bellow, indicate the significance and direction of relationship between right-wing participation and explored characteristics. However, a reading of these estimates after a probit regression does not allow a straightforward

interpretation but requires additional computation of marginal effects and discrete differences that directly predicted probabilities. Thus, discrete differences were calculated in order to show “the probability of success due to a change in the independent variable of interest” (Hanmer and Kalkan 2013, 264). This is interpreted as percentage points of higher/lower probability of right-wing participation with one-unit change of observed variables. Such interpretation highly assists the comparison of the relationships between right-wing participation and different exploratory characteristics.

In order to ensure the accuracy of the relationship between the right-wing participation and mentioned explanatory variables, several demographic indicators were included into the model in order to control for their potential effect on the inspected relationships:

Variable name	Variable description
Age	Respondent's age
Country	16 countries included in the study
Educational level	8-point scale
Gender	Female or male
Household total net income	Standardized: from 1 st to 10 th decile
Number of children	From '1' to 'more than 5'
Size of town	5 categories

Table3: Description of control variables included in the robust probit model

Finally, before the interpretation of the results, model was inspected for multicollinearity. The correlation matrix displayed highest correlations in the following two categories. Prejudicial attitudes towards different groups based on race and ethnicity achieved higher correlations, the highest being the correlation between *muslim* and *jewish* (0.51) and *immigrant* and *race* (0.52). Second, orientation towards *traditional* family seemed correlated to *religiousness* (0.49), prejudicial attitudes towards *homosexuals* (0.41) and *gender equality* (-0.54), all statistically significant at a 99% confidence level. No stronger correlations were noticed, thus indicating

no significant multicollinearity distorted the results. Similarly, the variance inflation factor test (VIF) recorded scores below 3 for all exploratory variables. Higher scores were recorded for control variables with maximum score of 6.³

The probit regression analysis consisted of 20 models, 10 models investigating the relationship between different types of organizations and 20 exploratory variables, and 10 models introducing the control variables. All conclusions and indicated relationships are significant at the 95% confidence level and are based on models achieving a minimum of 95% of correctly classified cases.

3.2 - Right-wing participants in religious organizations

First robust probit regression was conducted inspecting the characteristics of right-wing participants in religious organizations. Not surprisingly, higher religiousness is associated with a higher probability of participation. Investigating marginal effects, revealed a coefficient of 0.03 indicating that a one standard deviation increase in religiousness is associated with 3 percentage points increase in probability of right-wing participation in religious organization. One standard deviation increase in the perception of electoral fairness, trust and political awareness are, as well, associated with an increase in probability of participation for 1, 0.6 and 1 percentage points. Mentioning individuals of *homosexual* orientation as unwanted neighbors is associated with a 1 percentage point lower probability of being right-wing and active, thus indicating lower prejudicial attitudes.

³ Detailed table can be found in the appendix.

On the other hand, confidence in the institutions seem to be negatively correlated with the right-wing participation as well as the insistence on traditional family. One standard deviation increase in the confidence of institutions is associated with 1 percentage points lower probability of participation while the same for the traditional family attitudes results in 0.9 percentage points lower probability.

These results indicate that right-wing participants of religious organizations can most strongly be characterized by higher religiousness. This is followed by a weaker characterization of trust towards others, perception of electoral fairness, lower prejudicial attitudes towards homosexuals, political awareness, distrust in institutions and lower insistence on traditional family. Regarding demographic indicators, right-wing participation in these organizations is associated with higher income as well as residence in areas with lower number of inhabitants. Interestingly, the characteristic of *trust* significantly lost its strength after the introduction of control variables indicating its prior overestimation.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activerel	(model 2) activerel	VARIABLES	(model 1) activerel	(model 2) activerel
relig	0.382*** (0.028)	0.348*** (0.032)	race	0.110* (0.060)	0.058 (0.066)
institutions	-0.110*** (0.034)	-0.096** (0.038)	immigrant	-0.044 (0.055)	-0.020 (0.060)
identity	0.042 (0.029)	0.044 (0.033)	homosexual	-0.148*** (0.047)	-0.128** (0.052)
fairness	0.109*** (0.031)	0.112*** (0.035)	muslim	0.045 (0.052)	0.043 (0.057)
gen_equality	0.055* (0.031)	0.049 (0.034)	jewish	0.095 (0.065)	0.104 (0.072)
trust	0.123*** (0.028)	0.067** (0.032)	roma	-0.059 (0.042)	-0.066 (0.047)
democracy	-0.030 (0.029)	-0.020 (0.033)	country		-0.000 (0.000)
imm_tolerance	-0.056** (0.026)	-0.033 (0.029)	male		0.015 (0.040)
cheating	-0.042 (0.026)	-0.053* (0.029)	age		0.002* (0.001)
voting	0.021 (0.022)	0.025 (0.025)	edu		-0.013 (0.012)
sureveillance	0.020 (0.022)	0.005 (0.024)	income		0.033*** (0.008)
pol_aware	0.136*** (0.031)	0.125*** (0.035)	urban		-0.039*** (0.014)
activism	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.041 (0.027)	Constant	-1.680*** (0.029)	-1.809*** (0.099)
traditional	-0.122*** (0.033)	-0.109*** (0.036)			
Observations	14,823	12,431	Observations	14,823	12,431

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in religious organizations

3..3 - Right-wing participants in cultural organizations

After calculating marginal effects, parallel relationship with religiousness, perception of electoral fairness and political awareness is visible. One standard deviation increase in these was associated with 0.6, 0.4 and 0.5 percentage points higher probability of participation. Also,

once again was a prejudicial attitude towards *homosexual* associated with 0.1 percentage point lower probability of participation.

On the other hand, several differences from the previous results are apparent. One standard deviation increase in importance of primordial identity elements was associated with 0.9 percentage points higher probability of participation. Possible interpretation of such relationship might be participation in organizations with strong cultural content and values, thus encompassing individuals who see these elements as an important constituent of their national and/or European identity. However, a more detailed inspection would be needed for such conclusion.

Significant change after the introduction of demographic indicators was noticed regarding cheating the system as well as trust in other citizens. Both variables decreased their effect and significance. On the other hand, the relationship with political awareness was initially underestimated strengthening its relationship and significance after the introduction of control variables.

Nevertheless, right-wing participants in educative/cultural organizations seem to be most strongly characterized by primordial perception of identity. This is followed by the political awareness, religiousness, perception of electoral fairness as well as lower prejudicial attitudes towards homosexuals. Furthermore, these participants seem to be of higher education and income and lower age.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activecul	(model 2) activecul	VARIABLES	(model 1) activecul	(model 2) activecul
relig	0.088*** (0.031)	0.107*** (0.036)	race	-0.011 (0.070)	0.014 (0.077)
institutions	-0.059 (0.038)	-0.071 (0.043)	immigrant	0.004 (0.062)	-0.020 (0.068)
identity	0.133*** (0.035)	0.159*** (0.040)	homosexual	-0.182*** (0.055)	-0.218*** (0.061)
fairness	0.051 (0.035)	0.086** (0.039)	muslim	0.050 (0.061)	0.068 (0.069)
gen_equality	-0.002 (0.036)	-0.049 (0.041)	jewish	0.048 (0.077)	0.060 (0.084)
trust	0.088*** (0.032)	0.048 (0.036)	roma	0.086* (0.049)	0.105* (0.055)
democracy	-0.058* (0.033)	-0.056 (0.038)	male		-0.051 (0.047)
imm_tolerance	-0.027 (0.031)	-0.000 (0.035)	age		-0.004*** (0.001)
cheating	-0.079*** (0.030)	-0.046 (0.034)	edu		0.050*** (0.014)
voting	-0.002 (0.025)	0.000 (0.029)	income		0.031*** (0.009)
sureveillance	0.012 (0.026)	-0.049* (0.029)	urban		-0.020 (0.017)
pol_aware	0.058 (0.036)	0.093** (0.042)	country		-0.000*** (0.000)
activism	-0.009 (0.028)	-0.025 (0.033)	Constant	-1.896*** (0.032)	-1.882*** (0.116)
traditional	-0.068* (0.033)	-0.042 (0.036)			
Observations	14,822	12,429	Observations	14,822	12,429

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in cultural organizations

3.4 - Right-wing participants in trade unions

Once again, right-wing members of trade unions seem to be characterized by higher confidence in institutions, higher perception of electoral fairness and higher political awareness. Inspection of marginal effects showed that one standard deviation increase in these characteristics is associated with 0.9, 0.5 and 0.9 percentage points higher probability of participation. Political

activism has a significant relationship of 0.5 percentage points higher probability of participation with one standard deviation increase in readiness for political action.

Regarding to attitude towards others, right-wing participation in trade unions is associated with higher prejudicial attitudes towards *roma* and *immigrant* indicating that mentioning either groups as ‘unwanted neighbors’ is associated with 0.7 and 0.9 percentage points higher probability of right-wing participation. Interestingly, tolerance towards immigrants regarding their immigration impact and culture is positively associated right-wing participation in trade unions giving perplexing results and testifying the previously discussed different nature of these two variables. One standard deviation increase in tolerant attitudes towards immigrants is associated with 0.4 percentage points higher probability of right-wing participation. Furthermore, opposite relationship can be seen in regard to prejudicial attitude towards *muslim* with 0.9 percentage points lower probability of right-wing participation associated with indicating Muslim neighbors as unwanted.

Thus, right-wing participation in trade unions seems to be most strongly characterized by confidence in institutions, political awareness, higher prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants as well as lower prejudicial attitudes towards Muslim groups. Then, higher perception of electoral fairness, readiness for political action, tolerance towards immigrants’ impact, as well as prejudicial attitude towards Roma seem to be significant characteristics. Furthermore, these participants tend to be male, younger, of higher education and income as well as from more rural areas. Introduction of controlling variables strengthened the relationship with all variables, thus indicating their underestimation when not accounting for demographic elements.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activetra	(model 2) activetra	VARIABLES	(model 1) activetra	(model 2) activetra
relig	-0.034 (0.031)	-0.030 (0.035)	race	0.043 (0.068)	0.091 (0.074)
institutions	0.129*** (0.038)	0.146*** (0.042)	immigrant	0.118* (0.061)	0.140** (0.066)
identity	0.041 (0.036)	0.051 (0.039)	homosexual	0.040 (0.054)	0.045 (0.058)
fairness	0.049 (0.035)	0.090** (0.040)	muslim	-0.116* (0.063)	-0.164*** (0.070)
gen_equality	-0.014 (0.038)	-0.031 (0.042)	jewish	-0.104 (0.077)	-0.065 (0.084)
trust	-0.010 (0.032)	-0.015 (0.036)	roma	0.122*** (0.046)	0.123** (0.051)
democracy	-0.012 (0.032)	-0.004 (0.037)	male		0.092** (0.046)
imm_tolerance	0.053* (0.030)	0.065** (0.033)	age		-0.007*** (0.001)
cheating	0.013 (0.029)	0.047 (0.032)	edu		0.034** (0.014)
voting	0.023 (0.026)	0.021 (0.030)	income		0.059*** (0.009)
sureveillance	0.011 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.027)	urban		-0.035** (0.016)
pol_aware	0.144*** (0.037)	0.149*** (0.041)	country		-0.000*** (0.000)
activism	0.064** (0.030)	0.084** (0.035)	Constant	-1.978*** (0.035)	-1.951*** (0.114)
traditional	-0.070* (0.038)	-0.044 (0.042)			
Observations	14,821	12,430	Observations	14,821	12,430

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in trade unions

3.5 - Right-wing participants in political parties and groups

As seen through the inspection of the dependent variables and their comparison, right-wing participants in political organizations constitute the largest part with 39% of participants being of right-wing political ideology. If we would expect that political ideology does not influence

the decision to participate in these organizations, we would expect the proportion of the participants being equal to the proportion of right-wing individuals in the sample i.e. 28%. Thus, higher proportion of right-wing individuals bring us to the assumption that they are more motivated to join the political organizations than individuals of other political orientations. However, such claim demands further statistical testing.

Nevertheless, right-wing participation in political organizations, as in religious organizations, seems to be positively associated with religiousness, trust and political awareness. With one standard deviation increase, probability of right-wing participation is connected to increase in 0.4 for religiousness, 0.4 for trust and 1 percentage point for political awareness. Interestingly, characteristic of political awareness of right-wing participants is not stronger in the cases of political organizations than in organizations inspected above. In the contrary to one might expect. Still, political awareness remains one of the strongest attributes.

In regard to tolerance and prejudice towards underprivileged social groups, right wing participation in political organizations is positively associated with prejudicial attitudes towards *roma*. Indicating a member of Roma community as an ‘unwanted neighbor’, relates to the probability of right-wing participation for 0.9 percentage points. Different association is noted in regard to *immigrants* with a decrease in probability of participation for 0.6 percentage points. Similarly, tolerance towards immigrants characterizes right-wing participation with 0.5 percentage points increase in probability of participation associated with one deviation increase in tolerance towards immigrants and perception of their impact in the country of residence.

Introduction of control indicators meaningfully impacted statistical significance of several variables. At first glance political activism, perception of electoral fairness and well as negative attitude towards cheating the system seemed positively associated with right-wing participation in political organizations. However, after the introduction of controls, these relationships lost

their significance thus meaningfully depending on demographic characteristics of the participants.

In the end, strongest inspected attribute of right-wing participants in political parties and groups seem to be higher political awareness. Then, higher tolerance towards immigrants, higher prejudicial attitudes towards Roma, religiousness, trust and perception of electoral fairness seem to characterize these participants. Regarding demographic indicators, participation is correlated with being male, of higher education and income as well as from rural areas.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activepol	(model 2) activepol	VARIABLES	(model 1) activepol	(model 2) activepol
relig	0.088** (0.038)	0.097** (0.042)	race	0.095 (0.082)	0.095 (0.087)
institutions	-0.025 (0.044)	-0.022 (0.048)	immigrant	-0.153** (0.077)	-0.166** (0.081)
identity	0.043 (0.042)	0.047 (0.045)	homosexual	0.137** (0.064)	0.111 (0.068)
fairness	0.084** (0.040)	0.082* (0.044)	muslim	0.071 (0.071)	0.095 (0.075)
gen_equality	0.001 (0.042)	0.029 (0.046)	jewish	-0.084 (0.088)	-0.071 (0.092)
trust	0.098** (0.040)	0.092** (0.044)	roma	0.188*** (0.058)	0.217*** (0.063)
democracy	-0.063 (0.039)	-0.075* (0.044)	male		0.148*** (0.053)
imm_tolerance	0.104*** (0.035)	0.114*** (0.038)	age		0.002 (0.002)
cheating	-0.103*** (0.036)	-0.075* (0.039)	edu		0.052*** (0.015)
voting	0.006 (0.033)	-0.018 (0.035)	income		0.026** (0.011)
sureveillance	0.002 (0.030)	-0.002 (0.034)	urban		-0.077*** (0.019)
pol_aware	0.280*** (0.045)	0.250*** (0.050)	country		-0.000*** (0.000)
activism	0.092** (0.043)	0.068 (0.046)	Constant	-2.273*** (0.045)	-2.473*** (0.136)
traditional	0.055 (0.047)	0.027 (0.052)			
Observations	14,813	12,421	Observations	14,813	12,421

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in political parties and groups

3.6 - Right-wing participants in conservation, environmental, ecology and animal rights organizations

When compared to right-wing participation in other organizations, individuals of right-wing political ideology constitute the lowest proportion in conservation, environmental, ecology and animal rights (environmental) organizations constituting 22% with 219 participants. As in educative/cultural organizations, right-wing participants are characterized by the importance of primordial identity thus identifying language, culture, religious and ancestry as crucial parts of national and European identity. One standard deviation increase in *identity* reflects 0.3 percentage points higher probability of right-wing participation.

For the first time, *voting* and *cheating* are in relationship with right-wing participation. While one standard deviation increase in regularity of voting is associated with 0.3 percentage points higher probability in right-wing participation, such increase in justification of cheating the system is negatively associated with our depended variable with 0.3 percentage points less probability of participation.

Right-wing participation in environmental organizations is negatively associated with identifying homosexuals as undesired neighbors with 0.4 percentage points lower probability of participation. In contrast, another characteristic made its appearance with prejudicial attitudes towards race being positively correlated with right-wing participation in environmental organizations. Identifying members of different race as unwanted neighbors is associated with 0.6 percentage points higher probability of right-wing participation.

Therefore, it seems the right-wing participants of environmental organizations can be characterized by negative attitudes towards cheating the system, higher readiness to vote, as well as higher prejudicial attitudes towards members of different race and lower prejudicial attitudes towards homosexuals. Only significant demographic indicator of right-wing participation in these organizations is higher level of income. Introduction of controlling indicators into the model resulted in higher strength and significance of relationship to identity, cheating, voting and race, while weakening the significance of trust, and attitude towards *homosexual* and *muslim*.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activeenv	(model 2) activeenv	VARIABLES	(model 1) activeenv	(model 2) activeenv
relig	0.036 (0.041)	-0.015 (0.048)	race	0.137 (0.095)	0.212** (0.102)
institutions	-0.050 (0.054)	-0.066 (0.060)	immigrant	0.029 (0.087)	0.032 (0.100)
identity	0.084* (0.049)	0.134** (0.062)	homosexual	-0.241*** (0.078)	-0.204** (0.088)
fairness	0.071 (0.047)	0.102* (0.054)	muslim	0.174** (0.079)	0.099 (0.095)
gen_equality	-0.056 (0.049)	-0.102* (0.059)	jewish	0.078 (0.099)	0.152 (0.109)
trust	0.111** (0.046)	0.014 (0.054)	roma	0.041 (0.070)	-0.013 (0.084)
democracy	-0.049 (0.043)	-0.025 (0.053)	male		-0.090 (0.066)
imm_tolerance	0.017 (0.041)	0.070 (0.051)	age		-0.001 (0.002)
cheating	-0.093** (0.039)	-0.122*** (0.043)	edu		-0.017 (0.020)
voting	0.070* (0.037)	0.108** (0.048)	income		0.029** (0.014)
sureveillance	0.044 (0.036)	-0.049 (0.042)	urban		0.023 (0.024)
pol_aware	0.018 (0.050)	0.035 (0.058)	country		-0.000 (0.000)
activism	0.010 (0.042)	-0.030 (0.051)	Constant	-2.323*** (0.046)	-2.407*** (0.167)
traditional	-0.060 (0.052)	0.016 (0.061)	race	0.137	0.212**
Observations	14,818	12,430	Observations	14,818	12,430

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in conservation, environmental, ecology and animal rights organizations

3.7 - Right-wing participants in professional organizations

Right-wing oriented individuals constitute 28% of professional organizations. Inspection of regression results shows their participation can be characterized by higher political awareness.

One standard deviation increase in political awareness is associated with 0.6 percentage points higher probability of right-wing participation in professional organizations. Thus, once again we can observe the characteristic of interest in politics and following political events as a relatively strong characteristic of right-wing participation. Same direction and marginal effect can be observed for the increase in perception of electoral fairness.

For the first time, indicator of the importance of social and liberal elements for democracy has been recognized as a characteristic, however with the negative relationship. Results show that one standard deviation increase in such attitude towards democracy is connected to 0.3 percentage points lower probability of participation. Potential explanation for such observation might be a libertarian economic orientation that is mostly associated with conservative values and right-wing political ideology. Here, the use of simple unidimensional left – right scale of political self-identification as a sole indicator of political orientation shows its limitations. Motivation of the respondent to identify as right-wing choosing a higher number on a 10-point scale might have been motivated by conservative political values as well as neoliberal economic values, thus describing two, often, but not exclusively, connected, dimensions. Similar limitation of the scale interpretation has been recognized in numerous other research, often offering a solution of two-dimensional scale with socialist versus laissez-faire and liberal versus authoritarian dimensions (Evans, Heath, and Lalljee 1996). Therefore, neoliberal explanation remains a credible assumption but asks for further analysis and a more detailed inspection.

In regard to attitudes towards underprivileged social groups, right-wing participants of professional organizations show higher prejudicial attitudes towards Roma and racial minorities. Increase of the probability of participation is associated with identifying *roma* and

race as unwanted neighbors for 0.7 and 0.9 percentage points. Both relationships significantly increased in magnitude after introducing demographic indicators to the model.

In conclusion, right-wing participants of professional organizations can be characterized by higher political awareness and perception of electoral fairness, as well as lower support to socio-liberal democratic values and higher prejudicial attitudes towards Roma and racial minorities. Furthermore, participation is correlated to being male, and of higher education and income.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activepro	(model 2) activepro	VARIABLES	(model 1) activepro	(model 2) activepro
relig	0.021 (0.036)	0.040 (0.041)	race	0.127 (0.082)	0.193** (0.089)
institutions	0.019 (0.043)	0.036 (0.047)	immigrant	-0.069 (0.075)	-0.088 (0.085)
identity	0.009 (0.040)	0.018 (0.047)	homosexual	-0.066 (0.065)	-0.068 (0.071)
fairness	0.135*** (0.041)	0.139*** (0.045)	muslim	0.061 (0.067)	0.028 (0.078)
gen_equality	-0.072* (0.043)	-0.091* (0.048)	jewish	-0.153 (0.097)	-0.092 (0.104)
trust	0.073* (0.039)	0.047 (0.045)	roma	0.129** (0.057)	0.171*** (0.065)
democracy	-0.088** (0.035)	-0.081** (0.041)	male		0.113** (0.054)
imm_tolerance	-0.001 (0.034)	0.018 (0.039)	age		0.000 (0.002)
cheating	-0.070** (0.034)	-0.045 (0.040)	edu		0.070*** (0.016)
voting	-0.031 (0.030)	-0.034 (0.035)	income		0.047*** (0.011)
sureveillance	0.038 (0.029)	0.020 (0.034)	urban		-0.035* (0.020)
pol_aware	0.155*** (0.042)	0.154*** (0.050)	country		-0.000 (0.000)
activism	0.050 (0.034)	0.051 (0.041)	Constant	-2.132*** (0.040)	-2.671*** (0.146)
traditional	-0.098** (0.045)	-0.086* (0.051)			
Observations	14,819	12,426	Observations	14,819	12,426

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 9: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in professional organizations

3.8 - Right-wing participants in sport and recreation organizations

Together with religious organizations, sports and recreation organizations are places of highest right-wing participation with 841 participants, thus reflecting the general participation. The analysis of these participants recognized 5 characteristics of right-wing participation in sports

and recreation organizations. Again, one of the strongest characteristics is political awareness with 1 percentage point higher probability of right-wing participation associated with an increase of one standard deviation in political interest. Another usual characteristic is a perception of electoral fairness where same increase is connected to 1 percentage point higher probability of right-wing participation.

However, as seen in the inspection of right-wing participation in professional organizations, support for socio-liberal democratic values is negatively correlated with participation in sports organizations. Standard deviation increase in support for such values reflects 0.7 percentage point lower probability of right-wing participation. While professional organizations offer potential economic interpretation of such result, this characteristic of right-wing participants in sports and recreation organizations does not seem to have an apparent explanation.

Finally, right-wing participation in these organizations is associated with lower prejudicial attitude towards *homosexuals* and lower insistence on traditional family. 2% percentage points lower probability of participation if is connected to indicating individuals of homosexual orientation as undesired neighbors. At the same time, one standard deviation increase in insistence on traditional family is connected to 0.8 percentage point lower probability of participation.

Introduction of demographic indicators significantly changed the initial impressions on the characteristics of these participants with deflating the strength of relationship with characteristics of higher trust and prejudicial attitudes towards Roma, as well as lower religiousness, tolerance of immigrants, and justification of cheating the system.

Finally, results show right-wing participants in sports and recreation organizations can be characterized by higher political awareness, perception of electoral fairness and support for individuals of homosexual orientation, as slightly by lower support for traditional family. On

the other hand, such individuals show lower perception of the importance of social and liberal democratic elements for their country's democracy.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activespo	(model 2) activespo	VARIABLES	(model 1) activespo	(model 2) activespo
relig	-0.044* (0.026)	-0.023 (0.031)	race	0.042 (0.063)	0.061 (0.070)
institutions	0.036 (0.033)	0.035 (0.037)	immigrant	0.073 (0.054)	0.063 (0.060)
identity	-0.015 (0.030)	0.036 (0.035)	homosexual	-0.249*** (0.049)	-0.270*** (0.055)
fairness	0.106*** (0.030)	0.125*** (0.035)	muslim	0.083 (0.052)	0.091 (0.059)
gen_equality	0.010 (0.032)	-0.004 (0.037)	jewish	0.006 (0.068)	0.050 (0.075)
trust	0.075*** (0.028)	0.023 (0.032)	roma	0.092** (0.042)	0.076 (0.049)
democracy	-0.107*** (0.028)	-0.093*** (0.033)	male		0.262*** (0.041)
imm_tolerance	-0.070*** (0.026)	-0.031 (0.030)	age		-0.009*** (0.001)
cheating	-0.066*** (0.025)	-0.039 (0.029)	edu		-0.004 (0.012)
voting	-0.022 (0.022)	-0.024 (0.025)	income		0.062*** (0.008)
sureveillance	0.022 (0.022)	-0.010 (0.027)	urban		-0.058*** (0.014)
pol_aware	0.135*** (0.032)	0.141*** (0.037)	country		-0.000*** (0.000)
activism	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.015 (0.029)	Constant	-1.714*** (0.028)	-1.506*** (0.103)
traditional	-0.131*** (0.033)	-0.096** (0.038)			
Observations	14,831	12,436	Observations	14,831	12,436

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 10: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in sports and recreation organizations

3.9 - Right-wing participants in humanitarian and charitable organizations

Most characteristics were identified when running the model for humanitarian and charitable organizations. Analysis recognized 9 characteristics of right-wing participation. Positive relationship can be seen in regard to religiousness (0.6 percentage points), identity (0.7), perception of electoral fairness (0.6), social trust (0.5) and political awareness (0.6) associated with higher probability of right-wing participation after one standard deviation increase. However, negative relationship can be observed with probability of participation decreasing with an increase in confidence in institutions, support of socio-liberal democratic elements and justification of cheating the system for 0.6, 0.5 and 0.4 percentage points.

For the first time, prejudicial attitudes towards Jewish individuals have a positive correlation with higher right-wing participation. Mentioning them as unwanted neighbors is associated with 0.9 percentage points higher probability of participation.

Thus, right-wing participation in humanitarian and charitable organizations can be characterized by higher religiousness, importance of primordial identity, perception of electoral fairness, social trust, political awareness and prejudicial attitudes towards Jews, as well as lower confidence in institutions, support of socio-liberal democracy elements and justification of cheating the system. Furthermore, participation seems to be correlated to higher income. Introduction of controlling variables did not significantly change the results indicating its strong connection and limited influence of these demographic indicators on the characteristics of the participants.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activehum	(model 2) activehum	VARIABLES	(model 1) activehum	(model 2) activehum
relig	0.159*** (0.036)	0.132*** (0.040)	race	0.070 (0.083)	0.044 (0.090)
institutions	-0.156*** (0.044)	-0.143*** (0.048)	immigrant	-0.009 (0.073)	-0.023 (0.080)
identity	0.155*** (0.040)	0.159*** (0.047)	homosexual	-0.125* (0.065)	-0.099 (0.070)
fairness	0.114*** (0.040)	0.130*** (0.043)	muslim	-0.003 (0.067)	-0.027 (0.074)
gen_equality	0.032 (0.039)	-0.023 (0.044)	jewish	0.152* (0.085)	0.185** (0.094)
trust	0.162*** (0.040)	0.118*** (0.045)	roma	0.043 (0.057)	0.050 (0.062)
democracy	-0.102*** (0.034)	-0.116*** (0.040)	male		-0.056 (0.052)
imm_tolerance	-0.005 (0.034)	0.015 (0.039)	age		-0.000 (0.002)
cheating	-0.105*** (0.032)	-0.088** (0.036)	edu		0.013 (0.015)
voting	0.034 (0.029)	0.042 (0.033)	income		0.048*** (0.011)
sureveillance	0.003 (0.029)	-0.036 (0.032)	urban		-0.030 (0.018)
pol_aware	0.135*** (0.043)	0.137*** (0.048)	country		0.000 (0.000)
activism	0.044 (0.035)	0.064 (0.043)	Constant	-2.108*** (0.040)	-2.324*** (0.137)
traditional	-0.107** (0.043)	-0.084* (0.048)			
Observations	14,821	12,428	Observations	14,821	12,428

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in humanitarian and charitable organizations

3.10 - Right-wing participants in consumer organizations

Smallest number of participants of right-wing political orientation was recorded in consumer organizations. Even with such a small number, they constitute 26% of such organizations,

proportional to their overall presence. However, only three significant relationships were recorded after probit analysis.

Yet again, perception of electoral fairness is positively correlated to right-wing participation. One standard deviation increase in the perception of electoral fairness is associated with 0.2 percentage points increase in the probability of right-wing participation. As seen until now, the perception of electoral fairness seems to be regular attribute of right-wing participation.

Second, results show another negative correlation between the importance of socio-liberal democratic elements and right-wing participation. Decrease of 0.2 percentage points in the probability of such participation in consumer organizations is connected to one standard deviation increase in the perception of importance of socio-liberal democracy.

Third, participation is connected to prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants. Indicating immigrants as undesired neighbors relates to 0.5 percentage points increase in the probability of right-wing participation.

Therefore, right-wing participants in consumer organizations seem to be characterized by higher perception of electoral fairness, lower support of socio-liberal democratic elements, prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants. Introduction of control variables in the second model did not significantly change inspected relationships and indicated connection to higher income.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activecon	(model 2) activecon	VARIABLES	(model 1) activecon	(model 2) activecon
relig	0.024 (0.056)	0.091 (0.069)	race	-0.075 (0.119)	-0.061 (0.130)
institutions	0.027 (0.072)	-0.019 (0.082)	immigrant	0.355*** (0.103)	0.334*** (0.112)
identity	0.035 (0.061)	0.115 (0.076)	homosexual	-0.179* (0.109)	-0.178 (0.116)
fairness	0.129** (0.063)	0.168** (0.074)	muslim	0.122 (0.100)	0.132 (0.119)
gen_equality	0.058 (0.068)	0.012 (0.078)	jewish	0.115 (0.128)	0.074 (0.142)
trust	0.071 (0.060)	0.053 (0.071)	roma	-0.009 (0.094)	-0.015 (0.110)
democracy	-0.176*** (0.051)	-0.191*** (0.061)	male		-0.088 (0.089)
imm_tolerance	0.014 (0.056)	0.090 (0.066)	age		-0.002 (0.003)
cheating	-0.080 (0.055)	-0.051 (0.064)	edu		-0.009 (0.027)
voting	-0.023 (0.047)	-0.014 (0.058)	income		0.039** (0.018)
sureveillance	0.025 (0.048)	-0.041 (0.054)	urban		0.033 (0.030)
pol_aware	0.107 (0.066)	0.101 (0.076)	country		-0.000 (0.000)
activism	0.001 (0.052)	0.003 (0.067)	Constant	-2.681*** (0.065)	-2.773*** (0.221)
traditional	-0.049 (0.075)	-0.031 (0.087)			
Observations	14,816	12,422	Observations	14,816	12,422

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 12: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in consumer organizations

3.11 - Right-wing participants in help and aid groups

Running the probit model identified four attributes of right-wing participation in self-help and mutual aid groups. Results indicate religiousness and a perception of electoral fairness are positively correlated with participation with one standard deviation increase in either of them

being associated with 0.3 percentage points increase in probability of right-wing participation. The analysis also indicated positive relationship with voting behavior. Same increase in a readiness to vote is connected to 0.2 percentage points increase in probability of right-wing participation. On the other hand, negative relationship can be seen regarding the perception of importance of socio-liberal democratic elements. One standard deviation decline in such perception is connected to 0.2 percentage point increase in probability of right-wing participation.

Finally, right-wing participants in self-help and mutual aid groups seem to be characterized by higher religiousness, perception of electoral fairness and readiness to vote, as well as with a lower recognition of importance of social and liberal elements of democracies. Introduction of controls increased the relationship with *religiousness* as well as with *democracy* and decreased the initially significant connection to *cheating*.

VARIABLES	(model 1) activehel	(model 2) activehel	VARIABLES	(model 1) activehel	(model 2) activehel
relig	0.082* (0.050)	0.121** (0.056)	race	0.111 (0.100)	0.134 (0.107)
institutions	0.004 (0.058)	0.005 (0.063)	immigrant	0.064 (0.096)	0.019 (0.104)
identity	0.063 (0.053)	0.100 (0.061)	homosexual	-0.159* (0.082)	-0.156* (0.085)
fairness	0.073 (0.052)	0.135** (0.056)	muslim	0.052 (0.086)	0.030 (0.096)
gen_equality	0.006 (0.054)	-0.007 (0.060)	jewish	0.092 (0.098)	0.046 (0.111)
trust	-0.010 (0.051)	0.008 (0.056)	roma	0.017 (0.081)	0.073 (0.089)
democracy	-0.068 (0.045)	-0.111** (0.052)	male		-0.006 (0.069)
imm_tolerance	-0.026 (0.047)	-0.011 (0.053)	age		0.003 (0.002)
cheating	-0.100** (0.045)	-0.092* (0.050)	edu		0.022 (0.019)
voting	0.084** (0.040)	0.100** (0.048)	income		0.022 (0.014)
sureveillance	-0.013 (0.038)	-0.013 (0.040)	urban		-0.004 (0.024)
pol_aware	0.093* (0.054)	0.092 (0.060)	country		-0.000 (0.000)
activism	-0.005 (0.038)	0.009 (0.046)	Constant	-2.414*** (0.049)	-2.737*** (0.156)
traditional	0.010 (0.059)	0.043 (0.065)			
Observations	14,964	12,543	Observations	14,964	12,543

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13: Regression results of robust probit model on right-wing participation in self-help and mutual aid groups

Presented results show similarities and differences between right-wing participants of different voluntary organizations. Higher political awareness, perception of electoral fairness, religiousness, and dismissal of socio-liberal democratic elements pose as often characteristics of right-wing participation. At the same time, there are substantial differences between prejudicial attitudes towards different social groups included in the model. For a clearer

overview of the results and an attempt of a more general conclusion on the characteristics of the contemporary right-wing participation in Europe, the following is a short comparative analysis of participants in different organization types as well as a discussion of interesting findings and their application to theoretical assumptions presented in the first chapter.

Chapter 4 – Comparative analysis of the results and the application to theory

After the operationalization of right-wing participation and the analysis with the robust probit model, the findings related to right-wing participants of each type of voluntary organization has been shown in detail. However, high number of significant results asks for their simplified presentation in order compare the differences in observed characteristics in different organizations and make general conclusions on the right-wing participation in civil society. Then, the findings are applied to the theoretical discussion and its different assumptions regarding the right-wing participation, followed by the discussion on the interesting results and research limitations.

4.1 - Comparative analysis

In order to assist a systematic overview of the results, the following table is showing the direct comparison of the characteristics related to the right-wing participation in different types of organizations included in the research. As the table shows, significant similarities can be observed, specifically regarding the attitude towards electoral fairness and political awareness that seem to be the strongest associated characteristics. On the other hand, only differences are observed in regard to the confidence in institutions and prejudicial attitude towards immigrants.

Reflecting on the contested theoretical assumptions of the democratic theory on the nature of civil society participation, the significant relationships can be categorized into 3 main

categories: democratic political culture, social capital and identity. As traditional democratic theory assumes, general attributes of civil society participants are related to higher democratic support and political participation as well as stronger social trust and readiness to cooperated with groups and individuals of different beliefs. On the other hand, contemporary literature on civil society challenges these assumptions indicating examples of illiberal values of certain and differences between the organizations.

INSPECTED ATTRIBUTES	ORGANIZATION TYPE ⁴									
	Rel	Cult	Union	Pol	Env	Prof	Sport	Hum	Cons	Help
RELIGIOUS	3	0.6		0.4				0.6		0.3
INSTITUTIONS	-1		0.9					-0.6		
IDENTITY		0.9			0.3			0.7		
ELECTORAL FAIRNESS	1	0.4	0.5			0.6	1	0.6	0.2	0.3
GENDER ROLES										
TRUST	0.6			0.4				0.5		
DEMOCRACY						-0.3	-0.7	-0.5	-0.2	
TOLERANCE - IMMIGRANTS			0.4	0.5						
CHEATING					-0.3			-0.4		
VOTING					0.3					0.2
SURVEILLANCE										
POLITICAL AWARENESS	1	0.5	0.9	1		0.6	1	0.6		
ACTIVISM			0.5							
TRADITIONAL	-0.9						-0.8			
RACE					0.6	0.9				
IMMIGRANT			0.9	-0.6					0.5	
HOMO-SEXUAL	-1	-0.1			-0.4		-2			
MUSLIM			-0.9							
JEWISH								0.9		
ROMA			0.7	0.9		0.7				

Table 13: Comparison of robust probit regressions results and percentage points associated with probability of right-wing participation in different organization types in regard to different attributes

⁴ Abbreviations of organization type: religious or church organizations (rel), education, arts, music or cultural activities (cult), trade unions (union), political parties or groups (pol), conservation, environment, ecology, animal rights (env), professional associations (prof), sports or recreation (sport), humanitarian or charitable organizations (hum), consumer organizations (cons) and self-help and mutual aid groups (help).

4.2 - Democratic political culture

Tested characteristics related to the democratic political culture include political awareness, political participation (voting and political action), as well as acceptance and support for democratic institutions and processes. One of the two strongest and most reoccurring identified characteristic associated with the right-wing participation is political awareness. All, but consumer, environmental and help organizations, show strong relationship. These results strongly indicate a close connection between the motivation for participation in civil society organizations and interest in political developments.

On the other hand, the results did not indicate a strong association between right-wing participation in civil society and other forms of political participation. Voting has been positively associated with only environmental and help organizations, interestingly same organizations where association with political awareness was not recognized. Furthermore, only right-wing participation in trade unions indicated a relationship with other forms of political participation, as signing a petition or participating a lawful demonstration. Perhaps, such relationship could be described with the nature of trade unions historically close to the alternative methods of participation.

Regarding the recognition of the importance of democratic institutions and processes, all but political and environmental organizations showed a relatively strong relationship with the perception of electoral fairness, significantly varying in its strength in regard to different organization types. Therefore, belief in the functionality of the elementary democratic element (open and fair elections), essential to a functioning democracy, appears to be regularly associated with right-wing participation.

Yet, lower support of socio-economical democratic elements was associated with right-wing participation in professional, sports, consumer and humanitarian organizations. The application of this finding to theoretical assumptions is hindered by the limitation of the associated variables. While democratic theory suggests participants are characterized by a support to liberal democratic values, such as free elections, equal rights between different social groups, and protection of government's abuse of power, the economic characteristics and support for welfare or neoliberal economy are not presented as inherent of participants' characteristics. Therefore, we can only conclude the analysis failed to support the theoretical claims of association between the right-wing participation and support for liberal democracy. The lack of significant relationship with recognizing the importance of the limitation of authoritarian methods of government surveillance contribute to such conclusion.

In conclusion, right-wing participation in contemporary Europe seems to correspond to the assumptions on a political nature of civil society and its support of democratic institutions in a limited extent. While strong relationship is identified with political awareness and assumption of functional electoral democracy, no association with political participation nor with advanced democratic institutions and protection of rights was found. However, while these conclusions can be drawn for formal organizations, limited operationalization of civil society prevents us to apply them to the participants of other forms of associations and groups, especially spontaneous groups and initiatives which more commonly use the tactics of alternative political action.

4.3 - Social capital

Social capital is another common element of the participants of civil society organizations in democratic theory. Related characteristics included in the model consist of indicators of social trust, confidence in institutions, and attitudes towards different, often discriminated social groups.

Findings suggest a relatively strong relationship between trust and right-wing members in only three types of organizations: religious, political and humanitarian, thus indicating the right-wing participation in these groups as associated with trust in other citizens of similar, as well as of different characteristics. In regard to confidence in institutions, conflicting results can be seen with right-wing participation in religious and humanitarian organizations being associated with lower trust while trade unions show a positive relationship.

On the other hand, variables indicating minimal acceptance of cohabitation with members of different social groups, by not indicating them as undesirable neighbors, showed diverse results. Prejudicial attitudes are especially apparent towards Roma community, thus reaffirming its status as one of the most discriminated social groups in Europe. Probability of right-wing participation in professional organizations, trade unions and political groups increases when showing such prejudice towards Roma. Interestingly, all three organizations are, by their nature, related to topics of employment and labor rights, thus indicating a potential explanation regarding general stereotypes towards Roma in the economic sector. Additionally, relatively strong association with prejudicial attitudes towards members of different race are noted in environmental and professional organizations.

On a more positive note lower prejudicial attitude towards homosexuals has been connected to the characteristic of right-wing participation in four organization types: religious, cultural,

environmental and sport organizations with especially strong association in sports organizations. Furthermore, a more positive attitude towards immigrants' impact on the country's economy, crime rate and development has been noted as well as lower insistence on traditional family, both apparent in two organizations.

Nevertheless, traditional theoretical assumptions on the social capital of civil society participants have not been affirmed. While social trust is associated with participation in religious, political and humanitarian organizations, these and other participants too often show association to deep prejudicial attitudes towards different social groups. Furthermore,

Showed critical theorists were right saying it can be a source/hub of undemocratic and intolerant attitudes. However, no generalization on this question can be made since there are examples of both.

4.4 - Limitations

Before making the final conclusions on the findings presented, one must take into a consideration limitation of the employed methodology. Indeed, methodology had several such limitations, influencing the strength of the presented conclusions and suggesting further steps for under a deeper and better understanding of right-wing participation in civil society organizations.

Several crucial limitations are connected to the measurement of right-wing participation. First, internal bias of the model might be present due to a high number of missing observations concerning the question of political self-identification forming the dependent variable of right-wing participation. This question was one of the least answered questions with 20% of

observations missing. Question on the favored party, as well, had a high number of missing variables (33%). Such number of missing observations does not pose a constrain on the conclusions if the underlying reason of missing data is random. However, if respondents with certain characteristics systematically refused to answer these questions, the regression output might be distorted (Byung-Joo and Marsh 2000).

Second, there is a potential measurement error of right-wing ideology using the left-right self-identification scale. It is frequently contested whether respondent fully understands the abstract concepts measured by this scale (thus often opting for the middle of the scale), as well as whether such unidimensional scale can encompass the complexity of political specter and different topics (Lambert 1983; Bauer et al. 2017). Correct estimation of right-wing ideology is crucial for a reliable interpretation of the findings presented on right-wing participation. Furthermore, limitation for the interpretation of the results the scale poses was directly observed in the attempt of However, regardless of its limitations, left-right scale of political self-identification is, until today, a regular and acceptably reliable indicator of political orientation (Kroh 2007).

Third, as theoretical discussion showed, sphere of private life and participation in social networks and informal groups have a substantial importance for understanding the nature of civil society. Operationalization of the dependent variable to the right-wing participation in formal organizations, limited the generalization of the results on other types places of engagement.

Four, the model does not interrogate the differences in right-wing participation among sixteen countries included in the survey. While they are introduced as a control variable, it is possible to imagine significant differences among them. Thus, the model generalizes the finding to the European level and calls for further exploration of country differences.

Finally, possibly the strongest limitation of the methodology are results based on the comparison between active right-wing participants and three other groups, inactive right-wing, inactive left-wing, as well as active left-wing participants. It is unclear how the characteristics of left-wing participation influenced the inspected relationships. For instance, if there is no difference between the right and the left-wing participation, the results would be underestimated since the individuals with same characteristics but of left-wing ideology still received a value of '0'. On the other hand, if the model had been based on the subset of individuals of exclusively right-wing political orientation, a clearer interpretation would be possible through comparison of active and inactive right-wing individuals. However, such non-random separation based on political ideology would have introduced a new limitation of omitted variable bias. It would be interesting to see the comparison of the findings with other two models: one on the subset of right-wing individuals, and the other investigating left-wing participation. Nevertheless, the analysis undertook first explorative steps in the investigation of right-wing participation, thus improving our understanding right-wing civil society and its tendencies.

Conclusion

At the beginning, the complex and often contested term of the civil society was presented, with special attention to its close relations to state and political culture. Due to its roles such as monitoring the government, amplifying the voices in the public and encouraging political discussion and regular interactions, the democratic theory describes the civil society as a fundamental guardian of democracy where presence of as many different values and interests only benefits the democracy.

However, emergence of radical right-wing organizations in the past decades highly contested the simplicity of such relationship. While never doubting the importance of the civil society, critics provide numerous examples of discriminatory and exclusivist, even violent, participation.

Recognizing the importance of better understanding of the nature of the civil society and the characteristics of its participants, the thesis aimed to contribute to the discussion with exploratory empirical analysis of right-wing participants in 10 different types of organizations. As the results showed, basic premises of the democratic theory are confirmed. Indeed, rightwing participation in Europe today in most inspected organizations is associated with higher political awareness and perception of electoral fairness, a minimal democratic requirement, and, less often, trust in others.

However, analysis did not manage to show a positive association to more advance characteristics such as voting, political activism or support to democratic institutions. Even more, the results contested the assumption of tolerance being associated with the right-wing participation showing the membership of these organizations is often associated with high level

of prejudicial attitude towards different social groups as much as with lower prejudicial attitudes towards other groups.

The main conclusion of the thesis is the need for further investigations in order to better understand the results and the nature of the right-wing participation. The presented analysis, hindered by significant limitations, was just a first step, thus opening more question than answering. Influence and comparison to left-wing participants, comparison of participation in different countries, or analysis of different, more precise, attributes would significantly improve our understanding of right-wing participation. Furthermore, qualitative research is needed in order to understand the meaning and unpack the narratives behind the numbers observed.

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Appendices

A - Exploratory factor analysis: detailed statistical results

Exploratory factor analysis started with the imputation of missing variables using the method of multivariate imputation by chained equations (MICE). The relationship between selected 127 variables was checked for additivity inspecting the correlation matrix. The outliers were assessed with the Mahalanobis distance test which resulted in removal of 2179 observations of an unusual pattern. While KMO test assured of the sampling adequacy ($MSA = 0.92$), Bartlett's test ($p\text{-value} < 0.001$) guaranteed there were sufficient correlations to proceed with the analysis.

Since the maximum likelihood method runs on a basis of linear regression, related assumptions were checked. A dataset of random predicted scores was created, on the basis of which standardized residuals and fitted values were computed. Normality of residuals was confirmed with an assessment of residuals' distribution as well as a mean of 0 and appropriate skewness (1.08) and kurtosis (1.72). Multicollinearity was inspected with the variance inflation factors with highest recorded score of 3.89. Two nonconformities with linear regression assumptions were noted. The inspection of residual variance indicated a slight heteroscedasticity (Figure 1). Furthermore, due to the use of exclusively ordinal variables, a deviation from the linearity assumption was recorded (Figure 2) without a possibility to meaningfully transform the data.

After the new Kaiser criterion identified 16 potential factors with eigen values above 0.7, the analysis was conducted with maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation chosen since the factors were allowed to be correlated. After 6 rounds of analysis, 14 factors were identified and resulted in a restrained model fit with excellent factor reliability (min alpha of 0.71), RMSR (0.02) and RMSEA (0.04), and TFI and CFI just below the cut-off line (0.84 and 0.98).

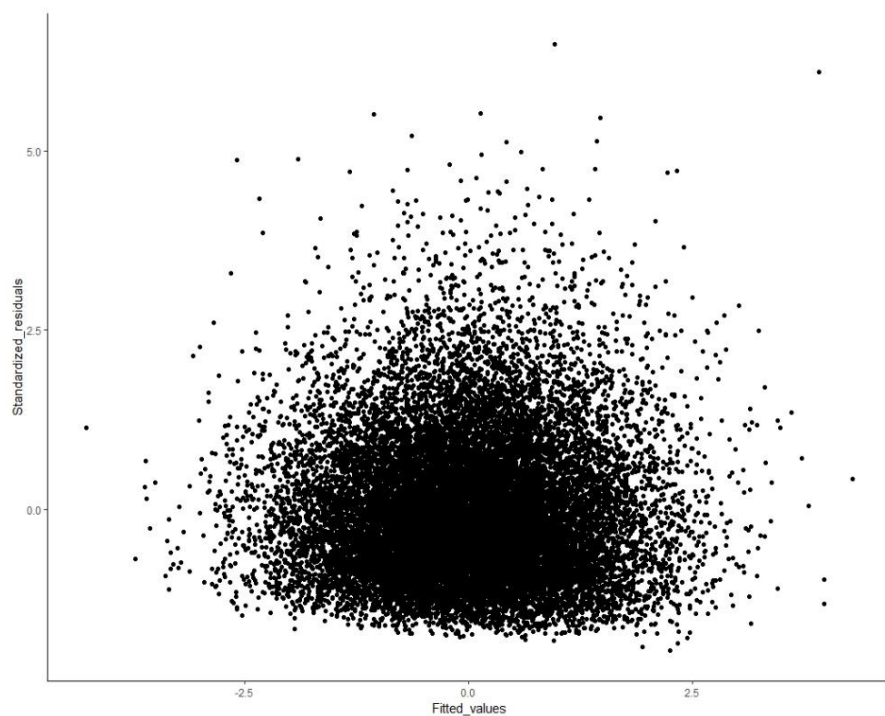


Figure 1: Scatter plot assessing the linearity assumption

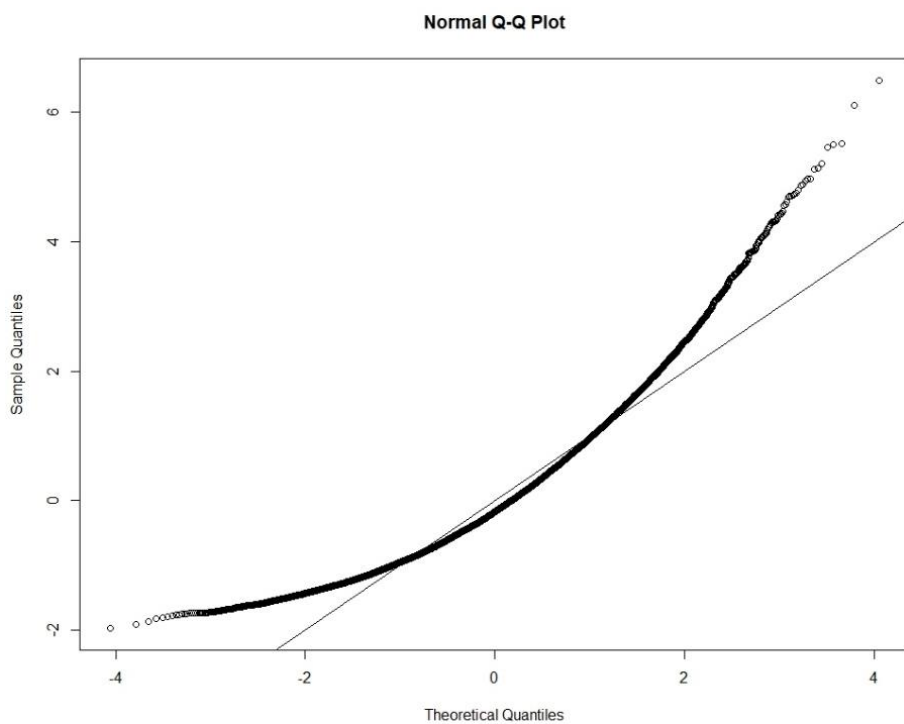


Figure2: Normal Q – Q plot assessing the normality assumption

B - Factors: Definition and summary statistics

Factor 1 – Social trust People can be trusted Trust in people in your neighborhood Trust in people you know personally Trust in people you meet for the first time Trust in people of another religion Trust in people of another nationality	Factor 2 – Political awareness Importance of politics Interest in politics Frequency of following politics on television Frequency of following politics on the radio Frequency of following politics in the daily papers Frequency of following politics on social media
Factor 3 – Attitude towards government surveillance Government has the right to keep public areas under video surveillance Government has the right to monitor all information exchanged on the internet Government has the right to collect information about anyone without their knowledge	Factor 5 - Religiousness Importance of religion Frequency of religious services attendance Frequency of religious services attendance when 12 years old Nature of belief (atheism - personal God) Importance of God in life Frequency of praying outside religious services Confidence in the church
Factor 4 - Voting Frequency of voting at a local level Frequency of voting at a national level	Factor 7 – Political activism Readiness to sign a petition Readiness to join in boycotts Readiness to attend lawful demonstrations Readiness to join unofficial strikes
Factor 6 – Attitude towards cheating the system Justifying: claiming state benefits Justifying: cheating on tax Justifying accepting a bribe Justifying avoiding a fare on public transport	Factor 9 – Social-liberal democracy orientation Governments taxing the rich and subsidizing the poor is essential for democracy People choosing their leaders in free elections is essential for democracy People receiving state aid for unemployment is essential for democracy Civil rights protecting people from state oppression is essential for democracy Women having the same rights as men is essential for democracy
Factor 8 – Traditional family orientation Homosexual couples are as good parents as other couples Justifying homosexuality Justifying abortion Justifying divorce Justifying artificial insemination or in-vitro fertilization	

Factor 10 – Attitude towards equal gender roles	Factor 11 – Confidence in institutions
Child suffers with working mother	Confidence in armed forces
Women really want home and children	Confidence in education system
Family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	Confidence in the press
Man's job is to earn money; woman's job is to look after home and family	Confidence in trade unions
Men make better political leaders than women	Confidence in the police
University education is more important for a boy than for a girl	Confidence in parliament
Men make better business executives than women	Confidence in civil service
When jobs are scarce, men should have priority	Confidence in social security system
	Confidence in European Union
Factor 12 – Tolerance towards immigrants	Confidence in United Nations Organization
Immigrants' impact on the development of [country]	Confidence in health care system
Immigrants take away jobs from [nationality]	Confidence in justice system
Immigrants increase crime problems	Confidence in major companies
Immigrants are a strain on welfare system	Confidence in environmental organizations
	Confidence in political parties
Factor 13 – Attitude towards primordial identity	Confidence in government
Importance of being born in [country]	Confidence in social media
Importance of having [country]'s ancestry	
Importance of being able to speak [national language]	Factor 14 – Perception of electoral fairness
Importance of sharing [national] culture	Votes are counted fairly in [country]
Importance of being Christian	Rich people buy elections in [country]
Importance of being born in Europe	Opposition candidates are prevented from running in [country's] elections
Importance of having European ancestry	Voters are bribed in [country's] elections
Importance of sharing European culture	Election officials are fair in [country]
	Voters are threatened with violence at the polls in [country's] elections

Table1: Factors and composing variables

Summary statistics of exploratory variables

Factor nr.	Factor codename	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Cronbach's alpha	N
1	trust	0.03	0.70	-1.60	1.78	0.80	16,122
2	pol_aware	0.06	0.65	-1.31	1.44	0.71	16,122
3	sureveillance	0.01	0.81	-1.02	2.13	0.73	16,122
4	voting	0.04	0.94	-2.21	0.74	0.92	16,122
5	relig	-0.01	0.77	-1.45	1.42	0.84	16,122
6	cheating	-0.06	0.78	-2.06	0.89	0.78	16,122
7	activism	0.01	0.75	-3.99	0.60	0.75	16,122
8	traditional	-0.04	0.79	-1.40	1.43	0.83	16,122
9	democracy	0.01	0.68	-3.17	0.87	0.71	16,122
10	gen_equality	0.03	0.71	-2.04	1.39	0.85	16,122
11	institutions	0.01	0.62	-1.69	2.06	0.90	16,122
12	imm_tolerance	0.03	0.79	-1.55	1.92	0.77	16,122
13	identity	-0.02	0.68	-2.40	1.23	0.86	16,122
14	electoral_fairness	0.03	0.72	-2.27	1.03	0.82	16,122

Table 2: Summary statistics of composite variables

Multicollinearity assessment

Variable	VIF	Variable	VIF
relig	1.45	gen_equality	1.65
cheating	1.38	fairness	1.54
pol_aware	1.33	imm_tolerance	1.28
identity	1.29	trust	1.27
institutions	1.28	voting	1.24
muslim	2.27	democracy	1.2
roma	2.22	activism	1.18
homosexual	2.22	sureveillane	1.07
traditional	2.22	edu	6.17
immigrant	2.11	age	5.68
race	1.86	income	4.96
male	1.86	urban	4.29
jewish	1.82	country	2.86

Table 3: Variance inflation factor of independent and control variables included in the probit model