

Online Appendix:

Party Activism in the Populist Radical Right: The Case of the UK Independence Party

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A. Question Wording and Construction of Scales

A.1 Activism Questions

Concept	Question wording	Answers
Contact Local Party	Over the last 12 months, how often have you had contact with people active in your local UKIP branch?	Not At All Rarely (once or twice) Occasionally (three to five times) Frequently (more than five times)
Attend Local Party Meetings	Over the last 12 months, how often have you attended a local (e.g., ward or constituency) UKIP meeting?	Not At All Rarely (once or twice) Occasionally (three to five times) Frequently (more than five times)
Overall activity	Overall, how active are you in UKIP?	Not at all active Not very active Fairly active Very active
Attend UKIP local conference	Have you ever attended a local UKIP party conference?	Have attended a local conference Have never attended a local conference
Attend UKIP national/regional Conferences	Have you ever attended a UKIP party conference? [Please tick all that apply]	Have attended a national conference Have attended a regional conference Have never attended a UKIP conference
Hold Office in Party	Do you at present hold any offices in UKIP? (e.g., Branch chairman, treasurer, secretary)	Yes, Branch Chairman Yes, Branch Treasurer, Secretary or Agent Yes, Regional or Local Organizer Yes, Other Office - Please Specify No
Delivered Literature	Have you delivered UKIP literature during an election?	Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently
Helped at Meetings	Have you helped at party functions?	Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently
Canvassed	Have you canvassed voters on behalf of UKIP?	Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently

Displayed Poster	Have you displayed a UKIP poster in a window?	Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently
Donated Money	Have you donated money to UKIP?	Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently
Hours Active between Elections	On average, how many hours a week do you devote to UKIP activities when there is not an election going on?	None 1-4 5-8 9-12 13-16 17 or more
Stood for Office	Please indicate if you have done any of the following (tick all that apply)	Stood for office in UKIP (e.g., for the NEC) Stood as a UKIP candidate in a local election Stood as a UKIP candidate in an election for the European Parliament Stood as a UKIP candidate in a general election None of the above
Hours Active during Elections	If you were a member of UKIP at the time of the European Parliament elections in 2014, how many hours a week did you devote to UKIP activities during the EU election campaign?	None 1-4 5-8 9-12 13-16 17 or more

A.2 The General Incentives Model

Concept	Question wording	Answers
Weighted Collective Benefits	<p>Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 10 means strongly like, and 0 means strongly dislike, how do you feel about the following political parties:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conservatives - Labour - Liberal Democrats - UKIP 	From 'Strongly dislike' (0) to 'Strongly like' (10)
	Thinking about yourself, on a scale from 0 to 10, how much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?	From 'No influence' (0) to 'Great deal of influence' (10)
Perceptions of Costs	<p>Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attending party meetings can be tiring - Party activity takes a lot of time away from one's family - It takes too much time and effort to be really active in politics and public affairs 	
Civic Duty	<p>Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Every citizen should get involved in politics if democracy is work properly - I would be seriously neglecting my duty as a citizen if I didn't vote - If someone is dissatisfied with government policies, he or she has a duty to get active in politics - If UKIP is going to be successful, every party member must contribute as much as they can. 	<p>Strongly Agree Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree</p>

Political Ambitions	<p>Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A person like me could do a good job of being a local UKIP councillor - I would like to run for parliament some day. 	<p>Strongly Agree Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree</p>
	<p>How interested are you in having a career in politics?</p>	<p>Very interested Somewhat interested Not very interested Not at all interested</p>
Social Norms	<p>Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of my family and friends think that working for a party is a waste of time 	<p>Strongly Agree Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree</p>
Ideology	<p>In politics, people sometimes talk about 'left' and 'right' when describing parties, leaders, or political ideas. Using the scale below, where would you put yourself?</p>	<p>From “Left” (0) to “Right” (10)</p>
Social Network Motivation	<p>Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being an active party member is a good way to meet interesting people - Getting involved in party activities can be fun - Being a party member is a good way to learn about politics - Being a UKIP party member can help people like me in their business careers - If UKIP members work together they can really change Britain 	<p>Strongly Agree Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree</p>

A.3 The Mobilisation Model

Concept	Question wording	Answers
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Evaluations of Farage		Using the 0-10 scale, where 10 means strongly like and 0 means strongly dislike, how do you feel about Nigel Farage	From "Strongly dislike" (0) to "Strongly like" (10)
Social Recruitment	Network	Thinking back to when you joined UKIP, how did you join?	I joined after a friend or family member introduced me to the party I joined some other way
Attention to Politics		On a scale from 0 to 10, how much attention do you pay to politics and public affairs?	From "Pay no attention to politics" (0) to "Pay great deal of attention" (10)
Parents Active	Politically	Were either your father or mother actively involved in politics? (please tick all that apply)	Father was active Mother was active Neither parent was active in politics
Past Membership	Party	Before becoming a member of UKIP, were you ever a member of another party or parties?	No Yes
Social Motivation	Network	Here are some statements about political activity in Britain. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of them: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being an active party member is a good way to meet interesting people - Getting involved in party activities can be fun - Being a party member is a good way to learn about politics - Being a UKIP party member can help people like me in their business careers - If UKIP members work together they can really change Britain 	Strongly Agree Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

A.4 The Micro Relative Deprivation Model

Concept	Question wording	Answers
Left Behind	Perceptions of household financial situation minus perceptions of national economic performance over the last 12 months	
Micro Relative Deprivation	<p>Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is often a big gap between what people like yourself expect out of life and what you actually get. - The Government generally treats people like yourself fairly. 	<p>Strongly agree</p> <p>Agree</p> <p>Neither Agree nor Disagree</p> <p>Disagree</p> <p>Strongly Disagree</p>

A.5 The Revised Relative Deprivation Model

Concept	Question wording	Answers
Democratic Dissatisfaction	Thinking about how well democracy works in this country, on the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?	<p>Very satisfied</p> <p>Fairly satisfied</p> <p>A little dissatisfied</p> <p>Very dissatisfied</p>
Anti-Elitist Perceptions	<p>Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic inequality is a major problem in Britain - Social injustice is a major problem in Britain - Corporate greed is a major problem in Britain - British banks are making excessive profits at the expense of ordinary people 	<p>Strongly agree</p> <p>Agree</p> <p>Neither agree nor disagree</p> <p>Disagree</p> <p>Strongly disagree</p>

Economic Evaluations	How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months?	Get a lot better Get a little better Stay the same Get a little worse Get a lot worse
	How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months?	Got a lot better Got a little better Stay the same Got a little worse Got a lot worse
	How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months?	Get a lot better Get a little better Stay the same Get a little worse Get a lot worse
	How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it:	Got a lot better Got a little better Stay the same Got a little worse Got a lot worse
Dissatisfaction with the EU	Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of Britain's membership in the European Union?	Strongly approve Approve Disapprove Strongly disapprove

Dissatisfaction with Immigration	<p>Respondents who think immigration is the most important issue facing the country.</p> <p>Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain these days is:</p> <p>Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?</p> <p>How well do you think the present government has handled the number of immigrants coming to Britain?</p> <p>Respondents who say that immigration into Britain makes them feel angry, disgusted or uneasy.</p> <p>Using the 0-10 scale, how important a problem is the number of immigrants coming to Britain these days?</p>	<p>A lot better A little better The same A little worse A lot worse</p> <p>Britain should increase the number of immigrants coming to the country The current number of immigrants coming to Britain is about right. Britain should reduce the number of immigrants coming to the country Britain should stop all immigration to the country</p> <p>Very well Fairly well Neither well nor badly Fairly badly Very badly</p> <p>From “Not at all important” (0) to “Very important” (10)</p>
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A.6 Demographics

Concept	Question wording	Answers
Age	What is your age group?	25 or younger 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 or older
Male	What is your gender?	Man Woman

Education	What is your highest educational qualification?	No formal qualifications Youth training certificate/skillseekers Recognised trade apprenticeship completed Clerical and commercial City and Guild certificate City and Guild certificate - advanced ONC CSE grades 2-5 CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School Certificate Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate GCE A level or Higher Certificate Scottish Higher Certificate Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN, SCM, RGN) Teaching qualification (not degree) University diploma University or CNAA first degree (eg BA, B.Sc, B.Ed) University or CNAA higher degree (eg M.Sc, Ph.D) Other technical, professional or higher qualification
Income	What is your annual household income?	Less than £19,999 £20,000 to £29,999 £30,000 to £39,999 £40,000 to £49,999 £50,000 to £69,999 £70,000 to £99,999 £100,000 to £149,999 £150,000 or more

Summary statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
Activism Scale	12,114	-0.00	1.81	-1.93	-1.42	-0.70	1.06	5.34
Political Support	12,114	-0.00	0.43	-0.65	-0.36	-0.09	0.28	1.08
Political Activism	12,114	-0.00	0.70	-0.69	-0.60	-0.27	0.53	1.47
High Intensity Activism	12,114	0.00	0.77	-0.59	-0.55	-0.34	0.29	2.79
Male	12,114	0.84	0.37	0	1	1	1	1
Age	12,114	4.88	1.33	1	4	5	6	6
Income	12,114	3.14	1.78	1	2	3	4	8
Education	12,114	0.50	0.50	0	0	1	1	1
Economic Evaluations	12,114	-0.001	1.00	-2.34	-0.75	0.05	0.77	3.28
Left Behind	12,114	-0.01	1.84	-7	-1	0	1	8
Democracy Dissatisfaction	12,114	3.28	0.82	1	3	3	4	4

Dissatisfaction with the EU	12,114	3.86	0.41	1	4	4	4	5
Dissatisfaction with Immigration	12,114	0.02	0.97	-7.83	-0.13	0.39	0.58	1.25
Micro Relative Deprivation	12,114	7.26	1.64	2	6	7	8	10
Anti-Elitist Perceptions	12,114	0.01	1.00	-3.30	-0.67	0.14	0.74	1.29
Social Network Recruitment	12,114	0.07	0.26	0	0	0	0	1
Attention to Politics	12,114	8.57	1.56	0	8	9	10	10
Social Network Motivations	12,114	-0.03	0.99	-5.65	-0.61	0.005	0.58	3.98
Parents Politically Active	12,114	0.39	0.87	0	0	0	0	4
Party Member in Past	12,114	0.31	0.46	0	0	0	1	1
Weighted Collective Benefits	12,114	137.44	178.33	0	0	75	198	1,000
Perception of Costs	12,114	0.01	1.01	-3.65	-0.62	0.02	0.71	3.57
Civic Duty	12,114	0.003	0.99	-5.32	-0.52	0.15	0.69	2.81
Political Ambitions	12,114	0.06	0.98	-2.08	-0.75	-0.04	0.84	2.57
Social Norms	12,114	3.05	0.92	1	2	3	4	5
Left-Right Ideology	12,114	7.18	1.82	0	6	7	8	10
Evaluations of Farage	12,114	-7.61	2.20	-10.00	-9.33	-8.00	-6.67	10.00

Table B.1: Rival Models of the Combined Party Activism Scale in UKIP, Context Controls

	Micro Relative Deprivation	Revised Relative Deprivation	Mobilization	General Incentives
Age	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	0.16*** (0.01)
Male	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.07** (0.04)
Education	0.08*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)
Income	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
Left Behind	0.09*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)		
Micro Relative Deprivation	0.08*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)		
Democracy Dissatisfaction		-0.01 (0.02)		
Anti-Elitist Perceptions		0.05*** (0.02)		
Economic Evaluations		-0.14*** (0.02)		
Dissatisfaction with the EU		0.24*** (0.04)		
Dissatisfaction with Immigration		0.07*** (0.02)		
Social Network Recruitment			0.83*** (0.06)	
Attention to Politics			0.18*** (0.01)	
Parents Politically Active			0.04** (0.02)	
Party Member in Past			0.23*** (0.03)	
Evaluations of Farage			0.05*** (0.01)	
Evaluations of Farage Squared			0.01*** (0.001)	
Weighted Collective Benefits				0.002*** (0.0001)
Perception of Costs				-0.23*** (0.01)
Civic Duty				0.07*** (0.01)
Political Ambitions				0.63*** (0.02)
Social Norms				0.05*** (0.02)
Left-Right Ideology				0.14*** (0.04)
Ideology Squared				-0.02*** (0.003)
Social Network Motivations			0.40*** (0.02)	0.38*** (0.01)
Member: 2013-2014	0.71*** (0.05)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.67*** (0.05)	0.67*** (0.04)
Member: 2010-2013	1.05*** (0.04)	1.02*** (0.04)	0.99*** (0.04)	1.03*** (0.04)
Member: 2005-2010	1.45*** (0.06)	1.42*** (0.06)	1.35*** (0.06)	1.43*** (0.05)
Member: 2001-2004	1.72*** (0.07)	1.69*** (0.07)	1.62*** (0.07)	1.70*** (0.06)
Member: Before 2001	2.01*** (0.08)	1.98*** (0.08)	1.87*** (0.07)	2.00*** (0.07)

Constant	-0.87*** (0.12)	-1.34*** (0.19)	-2.14*** (0.12)	-2.11*** (0.15)
AIC	47348.23	47200.39	46075.29	43185.36
Observations	12,114	12,114	12,114	12,114
R ²	0.11	0.12	0.20	0.37

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The baseline category for membership is since the European Parliament elections in May 2014.

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

Table B.2: Composite Models of the Latent Activism Measures, Context Controls

	Overall Activism	Political Support	Political Activism	High Intensity Activism
Age	0.14*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.003)	0.06*** (0.005)	0.04*** (0.01)
Male	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.06** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Income	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01*** (0.002)	-0.02*** (0.003)	-0.02*** (0.004)
Left Behind	0.03*** (0.01)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)
Micro Relative Deprivation	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.01*** (0.002)	-0.02*** (0.004)	-0.01*** (0.004)
Democracy Dissatisfaction	0.002 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.004)	0.01 (0.01)	0.001 (0.01)
Anti-Elitist Perceptions	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.01* (0.004)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Economic Evaluations	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.02*** (0.004)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
Dissatisfaction with the EU	0.16*** (0.03)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Dissatisfaction with Immigration	0.03* (0.01)	0.01** (0.003)	0.004 (0.01)	0.01** (0.01)
Social Network Recruitment	0.73*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.01)	0.31*** (0.02)	0.26*** (0.02)
Attention to Politics	0.05*** (0.01)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)
Parents Politically Active	0.003 (0.02)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)
Party Member in Past	0.11*** (0.03)	0.02** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Evaluations of Farage	0.02 (0.01)	0.002 (0.003)	0.01* (0.005)	0.01* (0.01)
Evaluations of Farage Squared	0.001 (0.001)	0.0004* (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0004)	0.0004 (0.0004)
Weighted Collective Benefits	0.002*** (0.0001)	0.0004*** (0.0000)	0.001*** (0.0000)	0.001*** (0.0000)
Perception of Costs	-0.22*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.003)	-0.10*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)
Civic Duty	0.07*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Political Ambitions	0.61*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.004)	0.23*** (0.01)	0.26*** (0.01)
Social Norms	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Left-Right Ideology	0.15*** (0.04)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.02)
Ideology Squared	-0.02*** (0.003)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.01*** (0.001)	-0.01*** (0.001)
Social Network Motivations	0.38*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.003)	0.14*** (0.01)	0.15*** (0.01)
Member: 2013-2014	0.64*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.01)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)
Member: 2010-2013	0.98*** (0.04)	0.28*** (0.01)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.35*** (0.02)
Member: 2005-2010	1.35*** (0.05)	0.40*** (0.01)	0.48*** (0.02)	0.47*** (0.02)
Member: 2001-2004	1.61*** (0.06)	0.46*** (0.01)	0.60*** (0.02)	0.55*** (0.03)
Member: Before 2001	1.85*** (0.07)	0.53*** (0.02)	0.68*** (0.03)	0.64*** (0.03)
Constant	-2.78*** (0.22)	-0.76*** (0.05)	-0.99*** (0.09)	-1.03*** (0.10)
AIC	42828.82	8365.19	20507.46	22840.15
Observations	12,114	12,114	12,114	12,114
R ²	0.39	0.37	0.35	0.36

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The baseline category for membership is since the European Parliament elections in May 2014.

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.