

# Class 5: Parties

voters

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

# Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Overview of voting for far-right parties
- Poll: motivations and tendencies in voting for far-right parties
- Voting explanations: values & attitudes
- far-right parties' electoral performance - discussion
- responses and counter-strategies (lead-in to next week)
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

# Opening notes



# Presentation groups

Topics to me as soon as possible

May

June

July

## Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
15 May:	Idil M., Zeynep P., Liesl W., Selin K., Chiara W.	logistic regression
22 May:	Gabriel W., Lina M., Florian S., Julian B.	discourse analysis
29 May:	NO CLASS MEETING	

# Overview of voting for far-right parties

- demographically
- issue-based
- further explanatory factors
  - place
  - deprivation

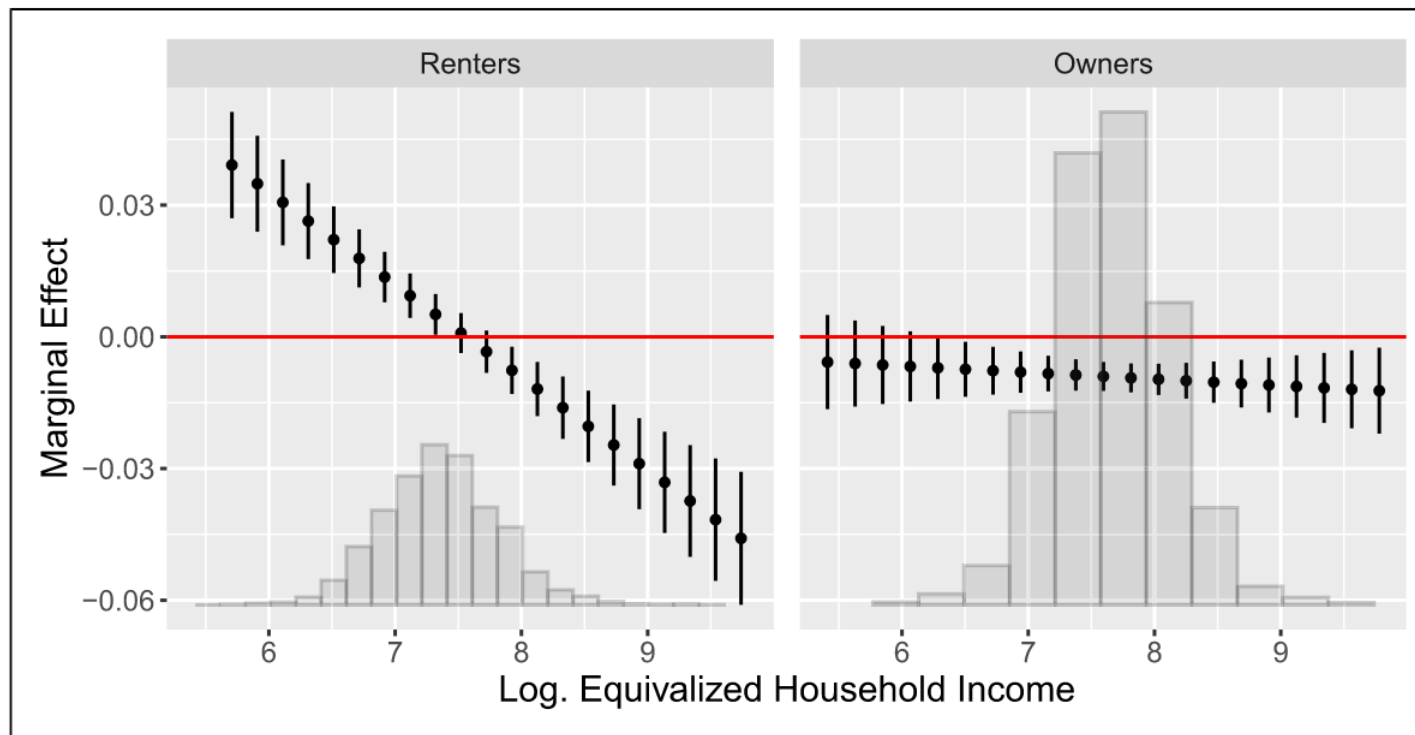
# Voting for far-right parties: demographically

- generally, voting for far-right parties (univariate predictors, e.g., in 11 European countries, [Lucassen and Lubbers 2012](#); also [Bornschieer et al. 2021](#); [Schäfer 2022](#)) ...
  - **gender**: *men* **more** likely than women
  - **age**: *younger* people **more** likely
  - **location**: *rural* residents **more** likely
  - **education**: *less educated* **more** likely
  - **ethnicity**: *migration background* **less** likely
  - **others?**
- **BUT** it is more complicated in bivariate/multivariate perspectives

# Voting for far-right parties: issue-based

# Voting for far-right parties: further explanatory factors

rising local rental prices increase probability of support (*AfD*) among renters with lower household income (Abou-Chadi, Cohen, and Kurer 2024)



**Figure 6.** Conditional marginal effects of local market rents on the probability of AfD support as a function of logged equivalized household incomes for long-term resident renters (left) and homeowners (right). Point estimates with 95% confidence

# Voting for far-right parties: further explanatory factors

- public service deprivation predicts more far-right support (Cremaschi et al. 2024)
- place resentment: spatial clustering perception of one's region as *excluded* produces similar clustering of populist radical right attitudes (Arzheimer and Bernemann 2023)
- immigrant presence predicts more populist radical right support—mediated by education levels (Arzheimer et al. 2024)
- presence of stronger dialect predicts more far-right (*AfD*) voting (Ziblatt, Hilbig, and Bischof 2024)

# Voting for far-right parties: further explanatory factors

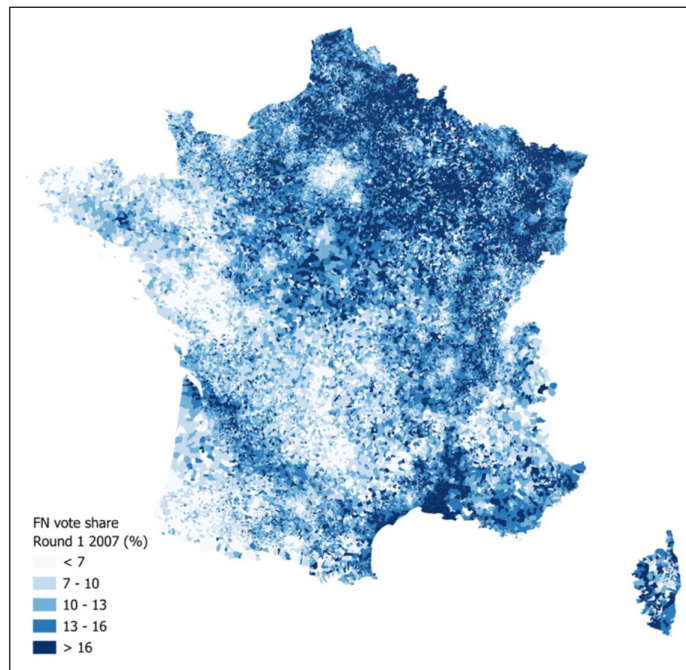


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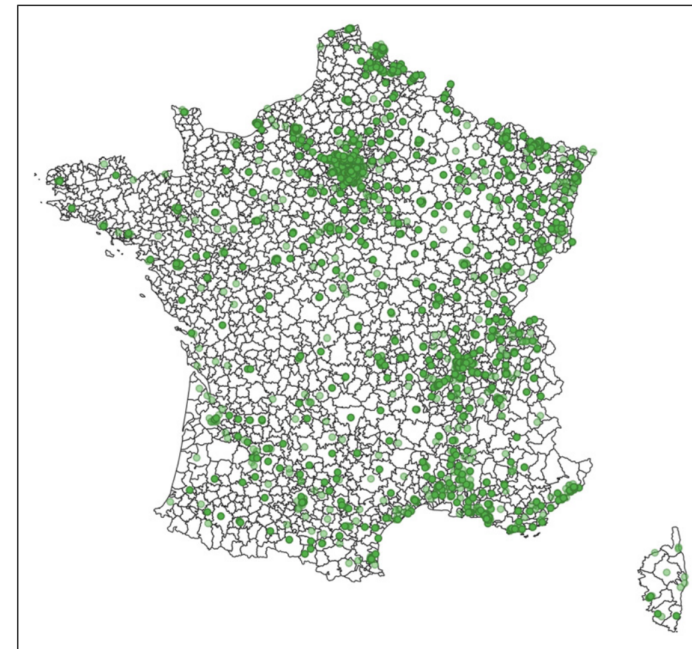
contact & threat hypotheses

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- (intercultural) **contact hypothesis** *versus* **threat hypothesis**
- likelihood of Front National increases in polling stations at intermediate distances from mosques and then decreases (Dazey and Gay 2024) — **halo theory**



**Figure 2.** Front National vote share, Presidential Election 2007 (%). This figure



**Figure 3.** Spatial distribution of mosques. This figure displays in dark green the locations of the 1,053 mosques present in the matched 1997 and 2012 files.

# Far-right voting among the youth

(video from just before 2024 EU elections)



# Far-right voting among the youth

## Observations:

- pluralities of young men voting far right
  - some major young women support too (e.g., AfD)
- youth more left wing in Anglophone countries
- young Europeans more 'right-wing' than US/UK youth on cultural issues like immigration and welfare

## Theses:

- Demographic, attitudinal factors:
  - educational gender gap
  - declining religious salience for women voters
  - polarisation from 'culture war' issues
- two- vs. multi-party systems
- underlying anti-establishment attitudes

# Poll: motivations and tendencies in voting for far-right parties



Take the survey at

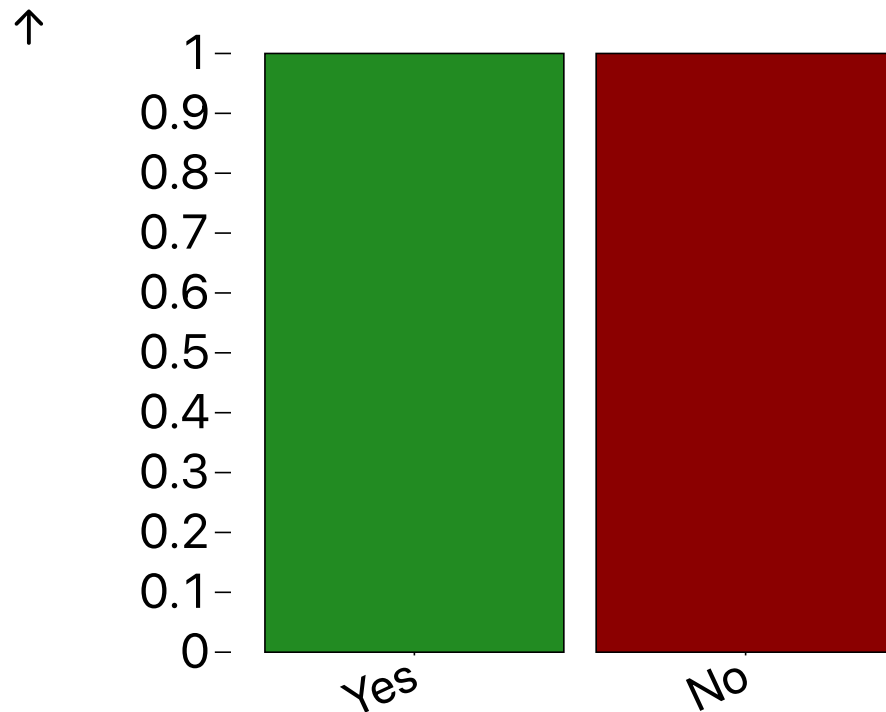
<https://forms.gle/im5PVyqQeGNw8FWg8>

- Rational choice? Misinformed, manipulated?
- protest vote or genuine support?
- economic insecurity or cultural/identity-based concerns?
- actual immigration vs. perception of immigration?

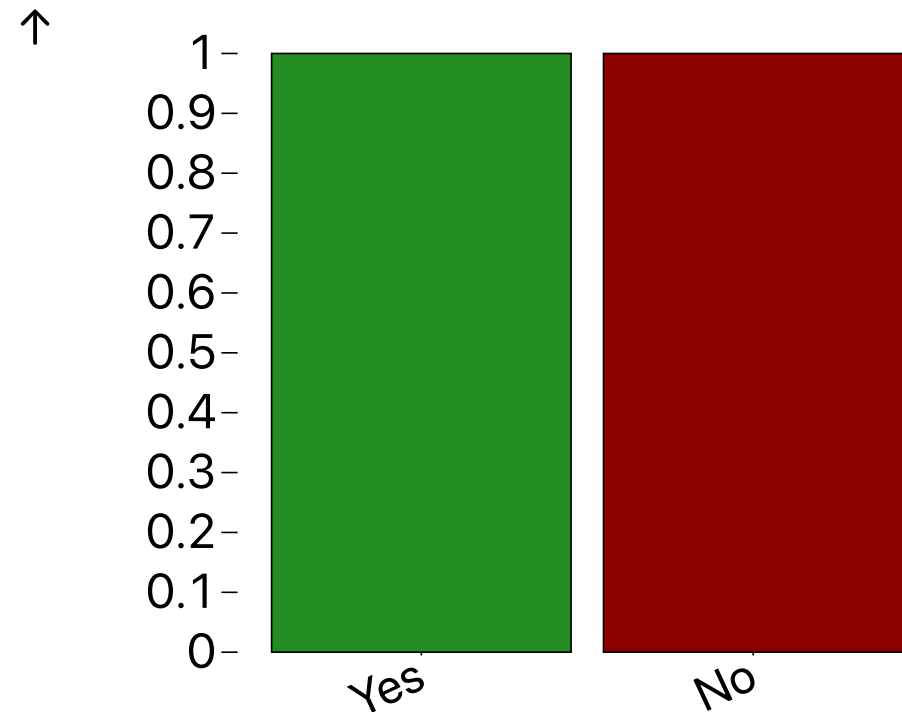
# Voting for far-right parties - hunches

## Poll results (Respondents: 2)

Rational choice?



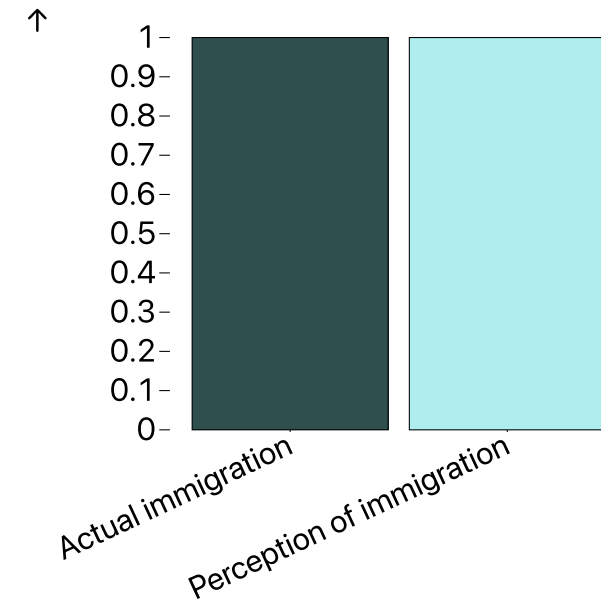
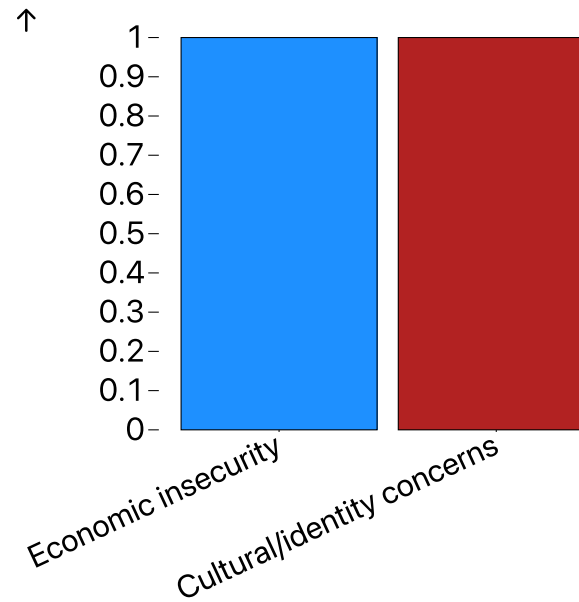
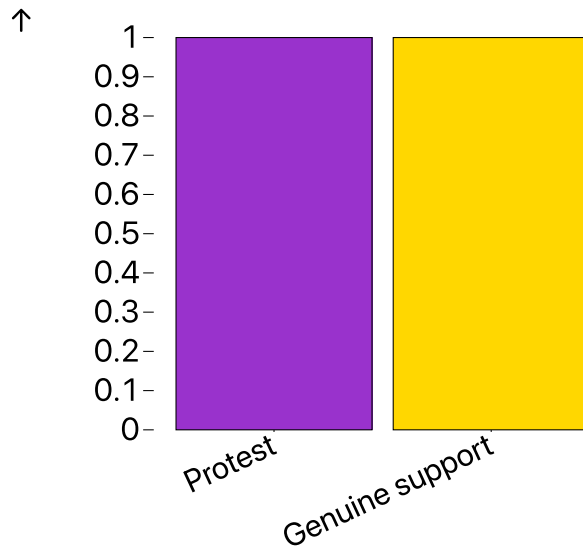
Misinformed, manipulated?





# Voting for far-right parties - hunches

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# Voting for far-right parties - hunches

# Voting explanations: values & attitudes

- institutional contexts
- demand side
- supply side
- silent revolution?
  - cultural backlash theory?



# It's all about...

Values

Attitudes

It's all about...

Attitudes

# Values

- broad, deep-seated beliefs about what is important in life
- stable over time, typically long-term and more abstract
- influenced by socialisation (e.g., family, culture, education)
- e.g., societies of survival vs. self-expression

# It's all about...

Values

Attitudes

It's all about...

Values

# Attitudes

- specific and short-term predispositions or opinions that individuals hold toward specific objects, issues, or policies
- situational, influenced by context (e.g., economic conditions, political events) and personal experiences

# It's all about...

Values

Attitudes

values *shape* attitudes

# Voter choice, electoral behaviour frameworks

- **institutional contexts**
  - especially electoral and party systems
    - how FR parties emerge in two-party vs. multi-party systems
- **demand side**: major values and attitudes among electorate
  - what do voting constituencies want?
  - *who* (groups? from where?) are 'buying' what parties 'supply'
- **supply side**: elite competition and cooperation
  - what do parties offer?
    - ideology and policy (party platform)
    - leaders and representatives

# An opening salvo from Pippa Norris

(a full-length lecture: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Qw8TtztL4>. strongly recommended for those interested in party politics and/or doing their data report on a far-right party)



# values & attitudes in brief (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel)

- Inglehart magnifies Maslow's **hierarchy of needs** to societal (macro-) level of analysis → aligns with groups and their socio-political values and attitudes



- basic material needs satisfied enables seeking non-material needs

# values & attitudes in brief (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel)

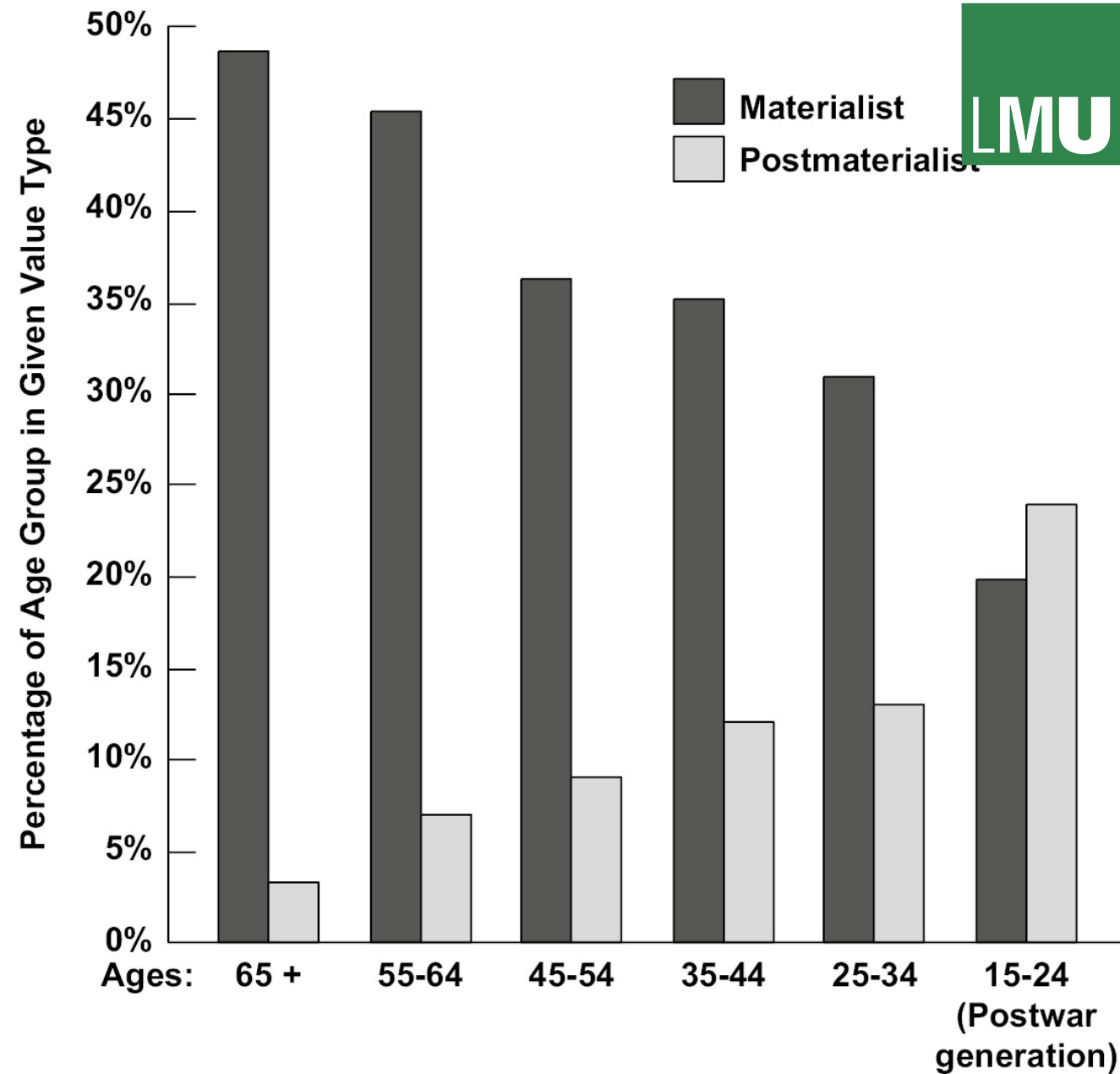


- **materialist values**
  - economic growth (maintaining stability and order)
  - security and material needs safeguarded
  - traditional morality
- **post-materialist values**
  - freedoms, liberties, rights — autonomy and expression
  - gender and racial equality
  - environmental protection
- societal groups (existing **cleavages**) show tendencies towards these values groups: generationally, regionally, class-based, religiously

# values & attitudes in brief (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel)



- **silent revolution:**  
a values shift from  
materialist to  
post-materialist
  - new cleavage  
**silent counter-  
revolution**



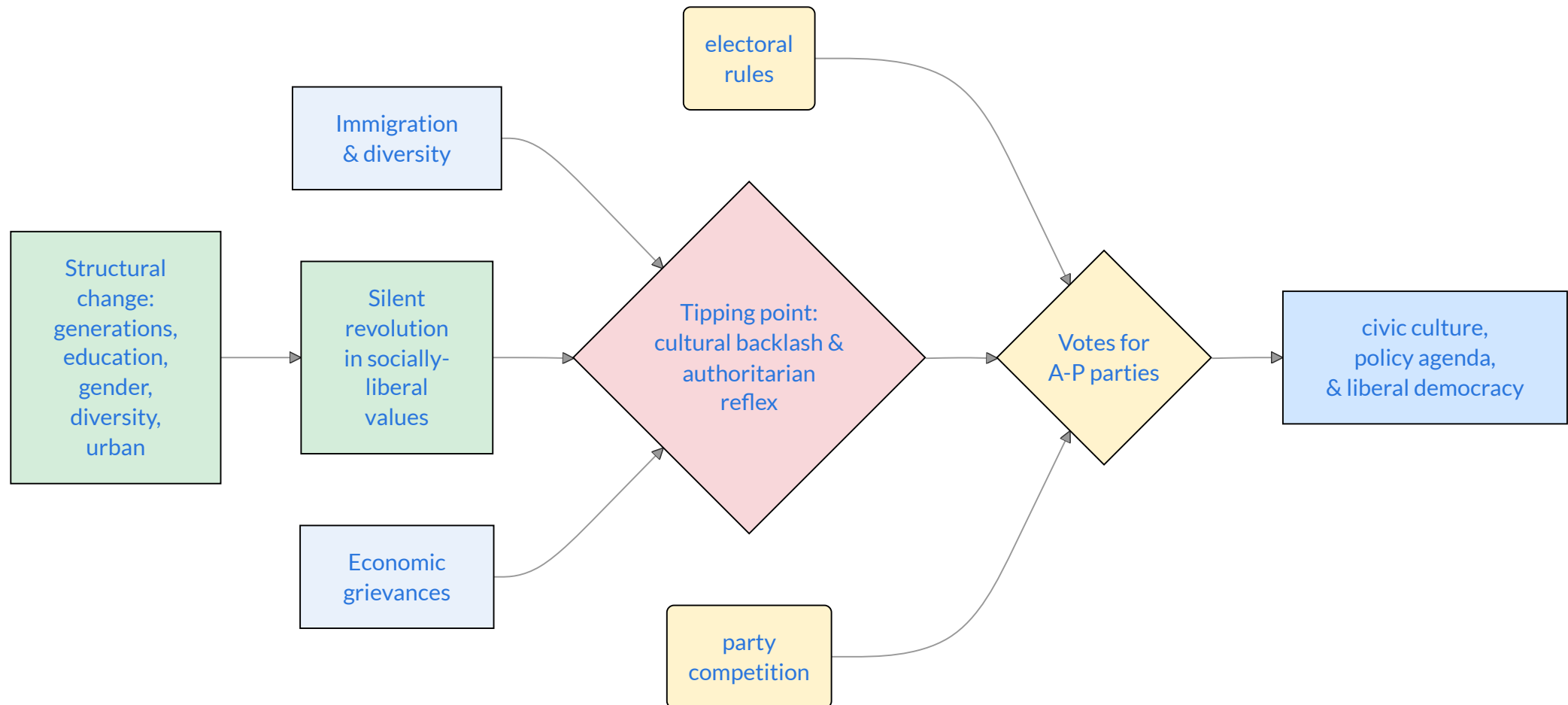
# cultural backlash theory (Inglehart, Norris, Welzel, D

# cultural backlash theory (Inglehart, Norris)

Stage 1: Values

Stage 2: Votes

Stage 3: Impacts



# cultural backlash theory conclusions

1. age, education, urbanisation, cultural values **predict** voting for authoritarian-populist parties in Europe
2. older, non-college educated, rural areas with most authoritarian values drive voting for authoritarian-populist parties
  - *youth votes 'authoritarian-populist parties'* (cleavage forming?)
3. Tipping point thesis: increasing social liberalism threatens socially conservative authoritarian voters (faith, family, nation identities)
4. Effects of economic conditions and social diversity reinforces these threat perceptions

# Critiquing cultural backlash theory - Schäfer (2022)



1. Different age groups have very similar cultural attitudes of polarisation among old and young cohorts

2. On most topics, different cohorts agree in principle, even though they might differ in degree

3. No positive link between authoritarian values and populist attitudes (measured as political trust); if using a populism scale, cohorts hardly differ

4. Older *slightly* more likely to vote for authoritarian parties, less likely to vote for populists

5. Younger more likely to vote for authoritarian-populist parties defined in a more concise way

6. Interwar generation is the cohort least likely to vote for authoritarian-populist parties

# far-right parties' electoral performance

## - discussion

under what conditions  
do far-right parties

- **electoral system**: proportional representation, low thresholds → easier to gain seats
- **party competition dynamics** (e.g., **Carter 2005**): generally, far-right parties can benefit from ...
  - ideological distance from nearest right-wing/centre-right competitor ('political space')
  - being or at least appearing more moderate (contra: AfD, Trump Republicans)
  - ideological convergence between mainstream parties
  - **hotly debated**: accommodation, adopting far-right rhetoric/frames, exclusion of far right

# Natural ceiling of support? Situational opportunities

- far-right parties rely on voters with nativist, perhaps populist attitudes
- ↳ surveys suggest these attitudes hover around 20%
  - is this a **natural ceiling** on far-right party electoral strength?

## Opportunities:

- **crisis** (security/terrorism, economy, immigration) often triggers (*psychological phenomenon*) ‘authoritarian response’
- similarly, high **issue salience** of far-right ‘*owned*’ issues
- **frustration with mainstream** can boost protest votes

**factors/combinations enable far-right parties to surpass 20% ceiling**

# responses and counter-strategies (lead-in to next week)

- responses and counter-strategies
  - what types of responses?
  - by which actors?
  - what possible/likely effects?

# Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: [m.zeller@lmu.de](mailto:m.zeller@lmu.de)

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