Daring to vote right: Why men are more likely than women to vote for the radical right

Harteveld, E.

Citation for published version (APA):
Harteveld, E. (2016). Daring to vote right: Why men are more likely than women to vote for the radical right.
The Radical Right is the most successful party family to have emerged in the last decades. By now, research has painted a coherent picture of the characteristics and motivations of the citizens supporting these parties. In spite of these insights, one of the most consistent and universal characteristics of the Radical Right electorate has remained puzzling: the considerable overrepresentation of men among these parties’ voters in virtually all countries and at all elections. This so-called ‘gender gap’ – which can substantially constrain parties’ electoral success – could only be partially explained by typical models of Radical Right voting. Not only does this leave us puzzled about a structural pattern in the support for the Radical Right, it also suggests that conventional accounts do not fully grasp all aspects of electoral behavior.

Daring to vote right aims to systematically investigate the causes of the overrepresentation of men in the Radical Right electorate, in a range of European countries, from the point of view of various models of voting behavior. The chapters in this book demonstrate that men’s and women’s differing socio-economic conditions play a role in shaping the gap, but mainly so among those Radical Right parties that strongly cater to the needs of economically precarious voters. Furthermore, no evidence was found that suggests that men are more likely to agree with a range of central features of the Radical Right’s ideology. New data collection does show, however, that men are less likely than women to be deterred by both the social stigma and the ongoing association with prejudice that surround many Radical Right parties. Indeed, the last chapter shows that men are systematically more likely to vote for extreme or stigmatized parties of any political color.

Daring to vote right proposes that we can better comprehend gendered voting patterns and further increase our understanding of the Radical Right electorate by combining socio-structural, attitudinal and socio-psychological models. The findings suggest that a key factor constraining the size and nature of the Radical Right’s electoral fortunes is the perceived legitimacy of the messenger, rather than merely the level of public support for its message.
DARING TO VOTE RIGHT

WHY MEN ARE MORE LIKELY THAN WOMEN TO VOTE FOR THE RADICAL RIGHT

Eelco Harteveld

Design: Textcetera, Den Haag.
Gedrukt door CPI-Koninklijke Wöhrmann, Zutphen.
DARING TO VOTE RIGHT
WHY MEN ARE MORE LIKELY THAN WOMEN TO VOTE FOR THE RADICAL RIGHT

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. dr. ir. K.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op vrijdag 23 september 2016, te 10:00 uur
deroor Eelco Harteveld geboren te Groningen
The research for this dissertation was partly funded by a Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare Research Grant.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgments</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part I Socio-structural and attitudinal explanations**

**Chapter 1**
Angry white (wo)men? Socio-economic status, discontent, and policy preferences  
33

**Chapter 2**
Welfare chauvinism, nativist Enlightenment: party programs  
55

**Part II Socio-psychological explanations**

**Chapter 3**
“A party one simply does not vote for…” The role of social cues  
75

**Chapter 4**
Toxic triggers: the role of anti-prejudice motivations  
93

**Chapter 5**
Daring to vote right: Party reputations  
107

Conclusions  
123

Appendices  
135

Nederlandstalige samenvatting  
155

References  
165
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1  Theoretical framework 18
Table 1.2  Overview of chapters 27
Table 1.1  Overview of parties and their gender gap (2009) 42
Table 1.2  Regression models with propensity to vote for the Radical Right as the dependent variable 46
Table 1.3  Separate regressions for men and women 48
Table 1.4  Size of the gender gap in ‘East’ and ‘West’ 51
Table 2.1  Full regression model 68
Table 3.1  Measure 1: subjective sensitivity to others when voting 81
Table 3.2  Measure 2: perceived acceptability of vote choices 81
Table 3.3  Vignettes (in English) 85
Table 3.4  The three conditions for a Radical Right-like party C 86
Table 4.1  Overview of cases 98
Table 4.2  Measures of Motivation to Control Prejudice 100
Table 4.3  Difference between average MCP among men and women (in SD) 103
Table 4.4  Regression models, UK and Sweden 104
Table 4.5  Regression models, Norway 105
Table 5.1  Analysis per party family 119
Table C.1  Categorization of Radical Right parties 128
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.1</td>
<td>Percentage of Radical Right voters among men and women</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.1</td>
<td>Average scores of men and women on socio-structural indicators</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.2</td>
<td>Average scores of men and women on attitudinal indicators</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.3</td>
<td>Percentage of the gender gap that can be explained by each of the models</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.1</td>
<td>Occupations and classes by gender</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.2</td>
<td>Relation between GAL-TAN, Immigration (A) and Social Lifestyle Intolerance (B) position</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.3</td>
<td>Relation between gender gap, GAL-TAN position and Social Lifestyle Intolerance position</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.4</td>
<td>Relation between size of the gender gap and the salience of Social Lifestyle</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.5</td>
<td>Relation between size of the gender gap and Economic position</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.6</td>
<td>Marginal effects of female dummy, over economic positions</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2.7</td>
<td>Gender and explained variance by socio-structural variables</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.1</td>
<td>Mean scores, among men and women, on the measure of vote sensitivity</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.2</td>
<td>Mean scores, among men and women, on the perceived acceptability of a SD vote</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.3</td>
<td>Effects of perceived acceptability on voting for a party, among men and women</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.4</td>
<td>Mean PTV for different conditions</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.5</td>
<td>Average PTV for different conditions, among men and women</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4.1</td>
<td>Gender differences in MCP and restrictive immigration preferences (women’s average score minus men’s average score, in SD)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5.1</td>
<td>Marginal effect of gender for different values of the three party characteristics (all parties)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5.2</td>
<td>Effect size of gender for various models</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I want to thank all those smart, kind and interesting people who made writing this dissertation such a pleasure for me. First of all, I want to show gratitude to my supervisors Wouter van der Brug and Stefan Dahlberg, without whom this project would not have been possible. While they gave me all the space to explore new avenues (dead-ended or not), their thorough feedback kept me on track.

Wouter, your sharp eye for both detail and the bigger picture continually stimulated me to think harder and dig further. You also often prevented me from enthusiastically moving on to the next step before tying up loose ends. Your feedback is often served with humor, which made working with you a true pleasure from the start.

Stefan, your enthusiasm (for all the things I would propose) and commitment (to subsequently helping me making sense of it) have been exceptional. During every discussion we have you are full of ideas and solutions – and they tend to get even better with every beer we drink. (Well, up to a point.) I hope we will get to work out all of these ideas in the future.

These words of gratitude should be extended to Andrej Kokkonen, who has been a truly invaluable part of the project from the start. Those moments you were not busy pulling a trick on Stefan you offered wise remarks and clever insights, always of great use. Together with Wouter and Stefan, you made our project team meetings something to remember.

I also want to thank the members of the Political Science departments in Amsterdam and Gothenburg for their help and friendship. In Gothenburg I’ve learned that taking time for fika (one of those untranslatable words) is not only pleasant but the best way to get and share new ideas. In Amsterdam, a defining culinary experience has been soup, which is a local pars pro toto for lunch. Having been part of two departments that are among the best in the field, I grew to find it only natural that meetings and seminars are so inspiring and entertaining. I want to thank everybody in these departments, and especially in seminars such as CPPC, for their input.

I want to express special thanks to those colleagues who made everyday academic life so much more fun by being my officemates for many years. Those who were part of the ‘feestkamer’ in some of its reincarnations include Daphne, Marc, Elmar, Joep, Sjoerdje, Emmy, Loes, Matthijs, Maria, Mariken, Lars, Remko, Harmen, Hannah, Wouter S., Lisanne, Lea and Michelle. Thanks as well to all those others who raised a glass with me outside (or inside) the office, at the PhDrinks, or at some secret location during the PhD weekend.
I would like to make a special notion of Eefje, Emily and Erika, with whom I share(d) not just a first letter and often a desk, but also countless stories, laughs, drinks, conferences and summer schools, airbnb’s, and emergency bananas. I am very happy Emily will act as my paranymph, together with my old friend and travel companion Eric.

Last but not least I want to thank my other friends, my parents and sisters and their partners, and Robert. After all, life inside academia is even more enjoyable when there is plenty of fun outside of it.