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Extreme-Right Voting in Western Europe: The Role of Social-Cultural and Antiegalitarian Attitudes

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The joint impact of antiegalitarian attitudes and social-cultural attitudes on citizens' tendency to vote for extreme right-wing political parties was investigated. In the first study, we explored these attitudes in representative samples of seven Western European countries. In a follow-up study, we predicted respondents' likelihood of voting for a Dutch right-wing party on the basis of the measures of social-dominance orientation (as an indicator of antiegalitarian attitudes) and right-wing authoritarianism (as an indicator of social-cultural attitudes). Our findings demonstrated that voting for extreme right-wing parties was associated more consistently with antiegalitarian attitudes than with social-cultural attitudes. Moreover, the effect of antiegalitarian attitudes was partly mediated by migration attitudes (Study 1) and ethnic prejudice (Study 2). We discuss the finding that antiegalitarian attitudes are more strongly related to extreme right-wing voting than social-cultural attitudes.

KEY WORDS: extreme right vote, ideology, authoritarianism, antiegalitarian, prejudice, social-cultural attitudes

Introduction

During the last two decades, extreme right-wing parties have been successful in attracting votes in many Western European. According to some authors, voting for extreme right-wing parties with a core anti-immigrant ideology represents a behavioral expression of underlying racist attitudes (Billiet & De Witte, 2008; Rydgren, 2008). However, racist attitudes, as a specific case of prejudiced attitudes, may have their roots in different underlying types of social attitudes (Duckitt, 2001; Eysenck, 1954; Lipset, 1981). An interesting question, therefore, would be to consider which attitudinal underpinnings of prejudice translate into votes for extreme right-wing parties.

Social Attitudinal Bases of Extreme Right-Wing Voting

The study of the social attitudes underlying ideology and ethnic prejudice has a long tradition in social-science research (e.g., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). From this abundant literature, two important conclusions have emerged. First, there is an increasing consensus that there are two broad social attitudes that constitute two relatively independent dimensions

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(Duckitt, 2001; Eysenck, 1954; Lipset, 1981). The first of these dimensions ("social-cultural") is labeled with social-cultural conservatism, authoritarianism, and traditionalism at one pole versus openness, autonomy, and personal freedom at the other pole. The second dimension ("antiegalitarian") is labeled with economic conservatism, social dominance, belief in hierarchy, and inequality at one pole versus egalitarianism, humanitarianism, and concern with social welfare at the other pole. The relationships between these dimensions have been found to be culture dependent. In Western Europe, often strong positive relationships emerge, while in the United States these relationships are curbed (Mirisola, Sibley, Boca, & Duckitt, 2007). Second, prejudice has traditionally been linked to these two social-attitude dimensions (e.g., McFarland, 2010). Indeed, several studies have found that both of these dimensions uniquely contribute to prejudiced attitudes (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland, 2010; Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005).

Social-Cultural and Antiegalitarian Attitudes in Extreme Right-Wing Voting

Studies of broader fundamental social attitudes as bases of extreme right-wing voting have focused on the social-cultural dimension and particularly on right-wing authoritarian beliefs (Billiet & De Witte, 2008; Meloen, Van der Linden, & De Witte, 1996). This emphasis is understandable, given that the origins of the "authoritarian" construct lay in Adorno et al.'s (1950) work, "*The Authoritarian Personality*." This work is best known for the development of the "Fascism scale" (F-scale), which was designed to provide "a valid estimate of anti-democratic tendencies at the personality level" (p. 223). The F-scale defines the ". . . structure in the person that renders him [sic] receptive to antidemocratic propaganda" (p. 157). More recent studies (Meloen et al., 1996; Van Hiel, Cornelis, Roets, & De Clercq, 2007) indeed demonstrated significant correlations between extreme-right party preferences and various authoritarianism scales.

Whereas antiegalitarian attitudes have been associated with prejudiced attitudes, the link between antiegalitarianism and voting behavior is less established. Lubbers and Guveli (2007) found that the likelihood of voting for the Dutch extreme-right Lijst Pim Fortuyn increased when voters opposed government intervention in the economy. Kitschelt (1995) reported that a favorable attitude towards a free-market economy was associated with extreme right-wing voting in several countries, a finding that was replicated among French Front National voters (Lubbers & Scheepers, 2002).

The question remains as to what extent extreme-right voting behaviors are driven by social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes. Importantly, Van Hiel and Mervielde (2002) reported that *preferences* for the extreme-right party platforms in Flanders was better explained by antiegalitarianism compared to social-cultural attitudes. This initial finding presents us with a paradox, as the rhetoric of extreme-right parties often focuses on the threat that immigrants pose to the values and norms of the ingroup (Stolcke, 1999), which should appeal particularly to social-cultural attitudes, according to the Dual Process model (Duckitt, 2001).

The Present Studies

We analyzed the relationships between indicators of both social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes and extreme right-wing voting. Given that social attitudes are assumed to underlie prejudices (see, e.g., Duckitt, 2001; Zick, Wolf, Küpper, Davidov, Schmidt, & Heitmeyer, 2008), we tested the hypothesis that the effect of social-cultural and antiegalitarian proclivities is to some extent mediated through prejudiced attitudes. The first study includes cross-sectional survey data from several countries, and the second study includes data gathered at two time points in the Netherlands.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics in Seven Countries from the 2002 ESS Data

	Total N	N Voted*	% Voters ER	% Female voters	Age of Voters *M* (*SD*)	Education of Voters M (SD)
Austria	2053	1287 (62.7%)	5.5%	54.9%	47.13 (16.02)	12.50 (3.12)
Belgium	1739	1135 (65.3%)	7.0%	47.0%	47.07 (16.85)	12.50 (3.54)
Denmark	1422	1211 (85.2%)	7.6%	48.2%	48.14 (16.71)	13.44 (3.61)
France	1353	747 (55.2%)	5.6%	50.1%	49.59 (17.19)	12.23 (4.15)
Netherlands	2207	1839 (83.3%)	13.9%	55.3%	49.39 (16.08)	13.06 (4.08)
Norway	1903	1504 (79%)	16.0%	46.1%	46.09 (17.22)	13.10 (3.54)
Switzerland	1696	846 (49.9%)	19.4%	45.6%	52.24 (15.77)	11.07 (3.50)

Note. N Voted = those who indicated they had voted, shared who they had voted for, and voted for a party listed as alternative in the ESS questionnaire; % voters ER = percentage of voters for extreme right-wing parties. Education expressed in years of full-time education.

Study 1

Methodology

Participants and Procedure

We analyzed data from the first round of the European Social Survey, which was conducted in 2002 and included several sound indicators for social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes. Countries were included where at least 1.5% of the survey's respondents reported voting for an extreme right-wing party in the past election, resulting in data from seven countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland.[1] Foreign-born respondents were excluded. Descriptive statistics are displayed in Table 1.

Measures

Social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes. Four items were selected as indicators of social-cultural attitudes, corresponding to the various facets of authoritarianism: conformity ("[It is] important to follow traditions and customs"), aggression ("Ban political parties that wish to overthrow democracy"), and submission ("The law should always be obeyed" and "[It is] important to do as instructed and follow the rules"). The first and last item stem from the Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001), and respondents were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale to what extent (1 = *very much like me*; 7 = *not at all like me*) they are similar to a person described by these statements. The two other items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*agree strongly*) to 5 (*disagree strongly*).

Four indicators were selected as measures of antiegalitarianism. One item referred to resistance to equalizing incomes ("[The] government should reduce differences in income levels"), and two items reflected conservatism in the economic domain ("Employees need strong trade unions to protect work conditions/wages" and "The less the government intervenes in the economy, the better for the country"); all rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*agree strongly*) to 5 (*disagree strongly*). One item asked respondents to rate how similar they felt to a person who thinks that it is "important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities" (rated on a 7-point scale from 1 = *very much like me* to 7 = *not at all like me*).

Anti-immigration attitudes. Three items from the ESS dataset were used as indicators of anti-immigration attitudes. Items were "To what extent do you think [country] should allow people

[1] Data from Italy were not included in our analyses because some of the items were not included in the Italian survey.

of the same race or ethnic group as most of [country]'s people to come and live here?"; "How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most of [country]'s people?"; and "How about people from the poorer countries outside Europe?" Possible responses ranged between 1 (*allow many to come and live here*) and 4 (*allow none*). The items were recoded so that higher scores reflect more negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Voting for extreme right-wing parties. Participants indicated which party they had voted for in the previous election. A vote for an extreme right-wing party was scored as 1; votes for other parties were coded as 0. The following extreme right-wing parties were analyzed: Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), Belgium (Vlaams Belang and Front National, VB and FN_B[2]), France (Front National, FN), Switzerland (Schweizerische Volkspartei, SVP), Denmark (Folkeparti, FP), the Netherlands (Lijst Pim Fortuyn, LPF), and Norway (Fremskrittspartiet, FrP).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Initially, Structural Equation Modeling was conducted (using MPlus 6.0 software; Muthén and Muthén, 2010) on a combined dataset of the seven countries to examine the measurement model and to establish a set of factor loadings which were retained and used in the subsequent country-specific analyses to fix the measurement portion of the model.[3] Based on the standard cut-off values of .06 for RMSEA, .09 for SRMR, and .95 or more for CFI (see Hu and Bentler, 1999), the proposed measurement model for social-cultural, antiegalitarian, and anti-immigrant attitudes yielded a good fit (χ^2 (41) = 1270.67; RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .043, CFI = .96), with all indictors loading significantly on their respective latent factors.

Voting: Impact of Social-Cultural and Antiegalitarian Attitudes

We estimated the relationships between the latent attitude variables "social-cultural attitudes" and "antiegalitarian attitudes" and our binary observed variable "voting for extreme right-wing parties" through Structural Equation Modeling in Mplus 6.0, using WLSMV estimation (see Muthén, 1983). Social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes were significantly related to anti-immigration attitudes in all countries.[4] Next, respondents' gender, year of birth, and education (i.e., number of years spent in formal education) were included as additional background characteristics, and these background variables were included as correlates of the latent attitude variables (i.e., social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes and anti-immigration attitudes) as well as predictors of voting. Table 2 reports a significant and positive relationship between the latent factor "antiegalitarian attitudes" and extreme-right voting tendencies in all but one country. Unexpectedly, the social-cultural attitude component was not significantly associated with right-wing voting behavior in any country except Switzerland.[5]

[2] Separate analyses for the two extreme right-wing parties in Belgium were not possible since the proportion of voters for the extreme-right "Front National" (1.2%) in the French-speaking part of Belgium did not reach the threshold of 1.5%. Analyzing the data for the Flemish-speaking part separately yielded nearly identical results to the results presented for the whole of Belgium.

[3] Additional analyses demonstrated that the measurement models with fixed factor loadings yielded a good fit in all samples, $\chi^2(49) \leq 289.51$, RMSEA $\leq .06$, SRMR ≤ 0.071, and CFI ≥ 0.92.

[4] Standardized coefficients for social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes, respectively, in Austria (.35** and .26**), Belgium (.16** and .14*), Denmark (.25** and .25**), France (.13* and .17**), Netherlands (.19** and .24**), Norway (.27* and .23**), and Switzerland (.33** and .33**).

[5] In order to ensure that our findings were not a by-product of the manner in which our component scores were calculated, we cross-validated our findings by using a different operationalization of the two attitude dimensions. Several studies have suggested that the social-cultural dimension is associated with Schwartz's (1992) value dimension of Conventionalism (vs. Openness) whereas antiegalitarianism is associated with the Self-enhancement (vs. Self-transcendence) value dimension (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, & Kielmann, 2005). We calculated the Conventionalism and Self-enhancement latent factors based on the Verkasalo, Lönqvist, Lipsanen, and Helkema (2009) equation from the 21-item version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz et al., 2001) included in the ESS data. Replicating the above analyses,

Table 2. Standardized WLSMV Estimates of the Effect of Authoritarian and Antiegalitarian Attitudes on Extreme-Right Party Voting

	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	France	Netherlands	Norway	Switzerland
Voting	N = 1080	N = 1199	N = 1245	N = 747	N = 1839	N = 1504	N = 846
Gender	–.10	–.08	–.15*	–.05	–.03	–.10*	.02
Age	–.01	–.22*	–.01	–.18*	–.17**	–.13**	–.01
Education	–.07	–.23**	–.31**	–.35**	–.21**	–.34**	–.27*
SC	.01	.05	–.11	–.09	.07	.06	.17*
Ega	.18*	.06	.16*	.18*	.22**	.23**	.34**
SC-Ega	.13**	.34**	.12*	–.12*	.11*	.12*	–.04

Note. Gender: 0 = male; 1 = female. SC = Social-cultural attitudes, Ega = Antiegalitarian attitudes, SC-Ega: Correlation between latent variables social-cultural attitudes and antiegalitarian attitudes. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$,

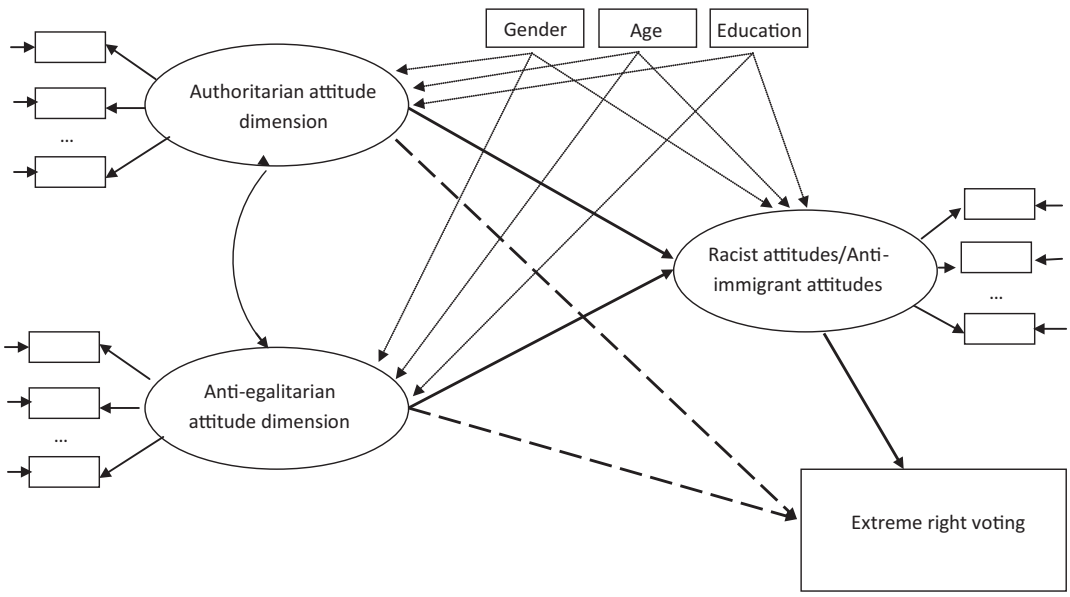

Figure 1. Direct and indirect effects of social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes on extreme-right party voting behavior via prejudice.

Significant positive relationships between social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes were noted, except in the Swiss sample in which a nonsignificant relationship was obtained and in the French sample in which a reverse relationship emerged.

Mediation through Anti-Immigration Attitudes

We performed Structural Equation Modeling with latent variables, and we examined bootstrapped estimates (Hayes & Preacher, 2008) of the indirect effects of the latent social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes on voting via anti-immigration attitudes (see Figure 1). As seen in Table 3, in all seven countries we found a significant and positive indirect effect of antiegalitarianism on extreme-right voting tendencies via anti-immigration attitudes, with complete mediation in four out

we obtained very similar results, with Self-enhancement values significantly associated with voting for extreme right-wing parties in all countries and Conventionalism values significantly associated with right-wing voting only in two countries (Switzerland and France). Hence, our results cannot be accounted for solely by the specific items used to predict voting.

Table 3. Standardized Estimates of Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects

	Total	Direct	Indirect
Austria			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	.01	–.12	**.15**** [.064/.207]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.18****	.08	**.10**** [.047/.155]
Belgium			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	.04	–.03	**.07**** [.019/0.110]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	.06	.01	**.05*** [.012/.101]
Denmark			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	–.09	–.19	**.11**** [.040/.171]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.16***	.04	**.11**** [.052/.161]
France			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	–.09	–.14	**.05*** [.008/.100]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.18***	.12	**.07**** [.028/.110]
Netherlands			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	.07	.01	**.05**** [.027/.078]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.22****	**.15***	**.07**** [.039/.094]
Norway			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	.06	–.03	**.09**** [.051/.133]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.23****	**.16****	**.08**** [.044/.112]
Switzerland			
Social-cultural via Anti-immigration	**.17***	.09	**.07*** [.017/.127]
Antiegalitarian via Anti-immigration	**.34****	**.27****	**.07**** [.019/.124]

Note. 1000 bootstrap samples, 95% confidence interval (reported between straight brackets). Standardized coefficients are based on WLSMV estimation (total and direct effect) and bootstrapping (indirect effects). *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

of seven countries. Interestingly, despite an insignificant total relationship between social-cultural attitudes and extreme-right party voting, all of the samples demonstrated significant and positive indirect effects of social-cultural attitudes on voting through anti-immigration attitudes. This finding suggests that while these attitudes may not directly influence voting behaviors, they are associated with a more negative stance towards immigration, which in turn is associated with voting for extreme right-wing parties.

Discussion

In Study 1, a mixture of several items was used as indicators for the authoritarian and antiegalitarian attitude dimensions. Although the social attitudes measures used in Study 1 seem to have face validity, the items constitute post hoc measures as they have not been developed to explicitly measure social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes. However, Study 2 uses well-validated scales of social attitudes. The social-cultural dimension of social attitudes has also often been measured by the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale, which captures the covarying attributes of conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission (Altemeyer, 1981). The antiegalitarian dimension has typically been represented by Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), which is defined as the "extent to which one desires that one's ingroup dominate and be superior to outgroups" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742). Therefore, in Study 2, we used the well-established RWA and SDO scale items as indicators of social attitudes. Moreover, instead of using anti-immigration attitude items (as in Study 1), we used a validated scale of ethnic prejudice (see Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005). In an European context, ethnic prejudice is expressed toward immigrants (most of them of Turkish and Moroccan descent), and such prejudices thus basically tap in the same dimension as anti-migration attitudes. We collected data in the Netherlands to establish the relationship between these attitudes and extreme right-wing voting.

Study 2

Methodology

Participants and Procedure

We gathered a heterogeneous sample of 588 Dutch adults who were stratified by age, gender, educational level, and province. They were selected from a large panel. A survey company administered the questionnaires online in April and October 2010, while the general elections took place on June 9, 2010. The attitudinal measures were included in the first wave of data collection, whereas self-reported voting was assessed in the second wave.

We analyzed the data from the remaining 510 respondents who could remember and were willing to share which party for whom they had voted. This sample contained a near-equal proportion of men (55.3%) and women, and the average respondent was 50.79 years old (*SD* = 15.29). Approximately one-third of the sample held a university degree (31.6%), one-third (34.9%) had finished secondary education, and one-third (33.5%) reported a lower level of education. In the general election, the extreme right-wing PVV attracted 15.4% of the vote, a proportion that closely mirrors the survey results, in which 16.6% indicated they had voted for PVV.

Measures

All items were rated on a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*) except where otherwise indicated.

Social Dominance Orientation. Participants responded to six items from Pratto et al.'s (1994; translated by Van Hiel & Duriez, 2002) Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO; α = .79; *M* = 2.32; *SD* = .73), which measures a preference for hierarchical relationships and dominance. A sample item is, "We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible."

Authoritarianism. Participants responded to six items from Altemeyer's (1981; translated by Meloen, 1991) Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA; α = .76; *M* = 3.29; *SD* = .74), which captures authoritarian submission, aggression, and conventionalism. A sample item is, "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn."

Ethnic prejudice. Blatant ethnic prejudice was measured on a nine-item scale based on Billiet and De Witte (1991). A sample item is, "All in all, the white race is superior to other races" (α = .89; *M* = 2.37; *SD* = .87). We also included an eight-item measure of subtle ethnic prejudice from the Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) scale (adapted by Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005), which captures the defense of traditional values and a denial of positive emotions towards outgroup members. A sample item is, "Turks and Moroccans living here should not push themselves where they are not wanted" (α = .81; *M* = 3.32; *SD* = .70).

Voting for an extreme right-wing party. Participants indicated which party they had voted for in the previous election. The data were recoded in such a way that voting for the extreme right-wing PVV was scored as 1, and voting for all other parties was scored as 0.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses

First, the measurement portion of the model was examined using Confirmatory Factor Analysis. We created three indicator parcels for each construct in a random fashion. The proposed measurement model for RWA, SDO, and subtle and blatant prejudice yielded an adequate fit (χ^2 (46) = 177.47, RMSEA = .075, SRMR = .043, CFI = .97), with all indictors loading significantly on their respective latent factors. RWA and SDO were positively and significantly correlated ($r = .33$, $p < .01$).

Table 4. Standardized Estimates of a Model Predicting Voting for the Dutch Extreme Right

	The Netherlands N = 510
Gender (0 = female, 1 = male)	–.03
Age	–.02
Education	–.26*
RWA	.17
SDO	.32*

* $p < .01$.

Table 5. Standardized Estimates of Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects

	Total	Direct	Indirect Total	Via Subtle	Via Blatant
RWA via Racism	**.19***	–.08	**.27****	**.14***	**.13***
			[.174/.374]	[.008/.274]	[.012/.253]
SDO via Racism	**.29***	–.06	**.34****	**.17***	**.16.***
			[.242/.446]	[.023/.329]	[.016/.320]

Voting: Impact of Social-Cultural and Antiegalitarian Attitudes

Similar to Study 1, we estimated the relationships between the latent attitude variables (RWA and SDO) and our binary observed variable "voting for an extreme right-wing party." Respondents' gender, age, and education were included as additional background characteristics which were included as correlates of the latent attitude variables as well as predictors of extreme-right voting. The results of this analysis indicated a significant relationship between SDO and extreme-right voting, while the relationship between RWA and voting just fell short ($p = .056$) to be significant (see Table 4).

Mediation through Subtle and Blatant Prejudice

Again, we performed Structural Equation Modeling with latent variables and examined bootstrapped estimates (Hayes & Preacher, 2008) of the indirect effects of the RWA and SDO latent variables on voting via subtle and blatant racism. As can be seen in Table 5, both the significant total effects of RWA and SDO on extreme-right voting were fully mediated through subtle and blatant racism.

General Discussion

The goal of this study was twofold: first, to examine the relative impact of social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes as joint predictors of extreme-right party voting and second, to test the hypothesis that the impact of the social-attitude dimensions on voting is mediated through antimigration attitudes and ethnic prejudice. With respect to our first goal, the results based on the ESS data indicated that the antiegalitarian attitude dimension was a stronger correlate of extreme-right party-voting behavior than the social-cultural dimension in several Western European countries. This finding was replicated in a second sample collected in the Netherlands, where SDO (a typical indicator of the antiegalitarian dimension) more accurately predicted votes for the extreme right two months later than RWA (a typical indicator of the social-cultural dimension).

With respect to our second aim, the effect of antiegalitarianism on extreme-right voting was partly mediated through anti-immigration attitudes (Study 1) and ethnic prejudice (Study 2). The

significant indirect effect of social attitudes through prejudice on voting extends the findings of Billiet and De Witte (2008), who asserted that prejudice was a more important predictor of extreme-right party voting than social attitudes. Indeed, rather than casting these social-attitude dimensions as competing alternative explanations of right-wing voting, social attitudes are better conceptualized as underlying dimensions that drive ethnic prejudice (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001; Zick et al., 2008). Prejudice in turn results in the increased likelihood of a vote for the radical right.

Another noteworthy finding that emerged in all but one sample was the large effect of education on prejudice. It has been argued that education might reduce right-wing attitudes, especially authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1988; Christie, 1954), which in turn might lead to less appetite for the program of extreme right-wing parties. Other authors have stressed the direct effect of "the college experience" on ideology (e.g., Alwin, Cohen, & Newcombe, 1991). Although we do not have available data to explain the result that education has unique effects on voting for extreme right-wing parties that are not accounted for by social attitudes and prejudice, some explanations readily come to mind. For instance, education might have an effect on cognitive style (for instance, need for closure), or students might become conscious learners and critical thinkers, which might diminish the appeal of extreme right-wing parties because these parties often communicate simple messages which are frequently repeated (see Reicher, 1987). Another possibility is that the social network people developed during college years persists for a long time and that extreme right-wing adherents are underrepresented in these networks. Future studies might tackle this interesting issue.

Based on representative samples in West European countries, we have shown that antiegalitarian attitudes are more strongly related to extreme right-wing voting than social-cultural attitudes. Migration attitudes and ethnic prejudice partly mediated these relationships. Our results are noteworthy and somewhat unexpected for at least two reasons. First, given that the concept of authoritarianism—one of the most studied social-cultural attitudes—has developed in the aftermath of World War II with the aim of detecting potential voters and party members of extreme right-wing parties, the result that these attitudes are less strongly related to extreme right-wing voting than antiegalitarian attitudes is noteworthy. Second, because extreme right-wing parties often focus on the threat that immigrants pose to the values and norms of the ingroup, one could expect that social-cultural attitudes constitute the stronger correlate of support for such parties (see, Duckitt, 2001), an expectation that has not been substantiated. However, the present results attune well with research showing that extreme right-wing party members seem to be primarily motivated by social dominance, especially as a basis of their perception of ethnic minorities (Ezekiel, 1995; Van Hiel, 2012).

In the remainder of this article, we elaborate on the relative importance of social-cultural and antiegalitarian attitudes for extreme-right party voting. We also put the present findings in context of classic approaches of the dispositional basis of support for extreme right-wing parties.

Antiegalitarian Attitudes as Predictors of Extreme-Right Party Voting

When contrasting the impact of the two social-attitude dimensions, antiegalitarian attitudes emerged as the stronger predictor of extreme-right party voting. This finding is noteworthy for several reasons. First, according to authoritarianism-of-the-right theory, right-wing extremists, and presumably those who choose to vote for the extreme right, are cognitively inflexible people who tend to feel threatened. On the basis of a meta-analytic integration of studies, Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, and Sulloway (2003) reported moderate-to-strong relationships with right-wing ideology emerging out of "uncertainty avoidance; integrative complexity; needs for order, structure, and closure; and fear of threat in general, dogmatism, intolerance of ambiguity, openness to experience, mortality salience, and system instability" (p. 366). On the basis of these findings, it is suggested that extreme-right parties may channel these feelings of insecurity and threat.

However, the antiegalitarian dimension is strongly related to feelings of inherent superiority towards outgroups who are regarded as holding little power or status (Duckitt, 2001). Thus, rather than supporting Van der Brug and Fennema's (2007) claim that ". . . in all postindustrial societies, there is a substantial group of citizens with so much *fear* of immigrants that they are willing to support a radical right party . . ." (p. 482, italics added), our results suggest that these voters are motivated primarily by concerns over power differentials among societal groups. Within this context, outgroups are often viewed as "inferior" and "socially subordinate" (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007, p. 126). This study's findings mirror work regarding party activists of extreme-right parties. Ezekiel (1995) interviewed neo-Nazis and Klansmen, concluding that for the leader of such movements, "[h]is motive is power. Racism is his tool" (p. 56). Among right-wing extremists, interracial issues are primarily interpreted in terms of a continuing struggle for power, and their prejudice reflects antiegalitarian attitudes (Van Hiel, 2012). The present results thus extend these previous findings to the voters of extreme right-wing parties.

The Attitudinal Basis of Support for Extreme Right-Wing Parties

The seminal work by Adorno et al. (1950) that introduced authoritarianism attempted to capture people's susceptibility to the rhetoric of the extreme right and presumably the likelihood that they would vote for these parties. Therefore, it is surprising to find that this dimension is less predictive of extreme-right party voting than the antiegalitarian dimension. However, two points are important to add here. First, the original F-scale developed by Adorno and his colleagues was broader than the recently developed RWA scales (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996) which also includes content pertaining to the antiegalitarian dimension (for example, the "power/toughness" scale). It is thus possible that if the original F-scale would have been used, authoritarianism would be more strongly related to extreme-right voting. Second, Altemeyer (1998) specifically stated that there are two forms of authoritarianism, one referring to submissive authoritarianism and another referring to dominant authoritarianism, which would be reflected in SDO and related indicators along the antiegalitarian dimension. Therefore, the aggressive or dominant-authoritarianism dimension in particular seems predictive of extreme-right party voting.

This study's findings corroborate earlier studies indicating that social attitudes play an important role in extreme-right party voting and that these votes should not be dismissed as merely protest votes of people who are largely apolitical. Furthermore, in several of the European countries included in Study 1, the impact of antiegalitarian attitudes on extreme right-wing voting was not fully mediated through anti-immigrant attitudes. This finding suggests that beyond its impact on citizens' feelings towards outgroups, antiegalitarianism is directly linked to the appeal of extreme right-wing parties. This result reminds us of social dominance theory (Pratto , Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), which would imply that the program of extreme right-wing parties legitimize social hierarchies in general, and not only along racial or ethnic lines.

Conclusion

Based on representative samples in West European countries, we have shown that antiegalitarian attitudes are more strongly related to extreme right-wing voting than social-cultural attitudes. Migration attitudes and ethnic prejudice partly mediated these relationships. Our results are noteworthy and somewhat unexpected for at least two reasons. First, while authoritarianism—one of the most studied social-cultural attitudes—aimed at detecting potential extreme right-wing adherents, it proved to be less strongly related to extreme right-wing voting than antiegalitarian attitudes. Second, one would expect social-cultural attitudes to strongly relate to support for extreme right-wing parties because these parties focus on the threat that immigrants pose to the values and norms of the ingroup.

Although this expectation has not been substantiated, the present results attune well with research showing that extreme right-wing party members seem to be primarily motivated by social dominance, especially as a basis of their perception of ethnic minorities (Ezekiel, 1995; Van Hiel, 2012).

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