

Religious Alignment and the Radical Right: Evidence from Spain

Quantitative Portion of Seminar Paper for PS 804: Capitalism
and Religion

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1. Background and Research Question

- ▶ Motivating Observation: Religious Dealignment
- ▶ Question: Do Radical Right parties realign the electorate?
- ▶ Explanation: If so, what are the consequences, if not, why invoke religion?



Figure 1: Abascal's Reaction to April 2019 Notre Dame Fire

2. Hypotheses and Methods

- ▶ Religion and Political Alignment (Regression)
 - ▶ $H_0: \beta_{religiosity} \leq 0$
 - ▶ $H_A: \beta_{religiosity} > 0$
- ▶ Religion and Party ID (observational)
 - ▶ If Vox is realigning the electorate, then religious voters should support the party at greater rates than other parties
- ▶ The Issues Driving Vox's Success (Logistic Regression)
 - ▶ Testing multiple issues, below is the general form hypothesis
 - ▶ $H_0: \beta_{issue} = 0$
 - ▶ $H_A: \beta_{issue} \neq 0$

3. Data

- ▶ Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, December 2019 barometer
- ▶ Survey data accessed online
- ▶ In-person interviews, age and gender quotas

4. Descriptive Statistics of the Data

	N	mean	SD	Min	Max
Religious Attendance	3407.00	2.43	1.40	1.00	6.00
Practicing Catholic	3759.00	0.28	0.45	0.00	1.00
Voter Ideology	4041.00	4.76	2.00	1.00	10.00
Immigration	4804.00	0.10	0.30	0.00	1.00
Economy	4804.00	0.30	0.46	0.00	1.00
Corruption	4804.00	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00
Crisis of Values	4804.00	0.02	0.13	0.00	1.00
Catalan Independence	4804.00	0.12	0.32	0.00	1.00
Sex	4804.00	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age	4804.00	50.93	17.84	18.00	98.00

5.1 Results (Religiosity and Alignment)

Table 2: Effect of Religion on Voter Ideology

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Attendance			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Religious Attendance Level	0.309*** (0.026)		0.334*** (0.027)	
Practicing Catholic		1.070*** (0.076)		1.143*** (0.081)
Age			-0.003 (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)
Sex			-0.185** (0.072)	-0.152** (0.068)
Constant	4.452*** (0.071)	4.785*** (0.039)	4.674*** (0.121)	5.039*** (0.113)
Observations	2,823	3,150	2,823	3,150
R ²	0.049	0.059	0.052	0.062
Adjusted R ²	0.049	0.059	0.051	0.061

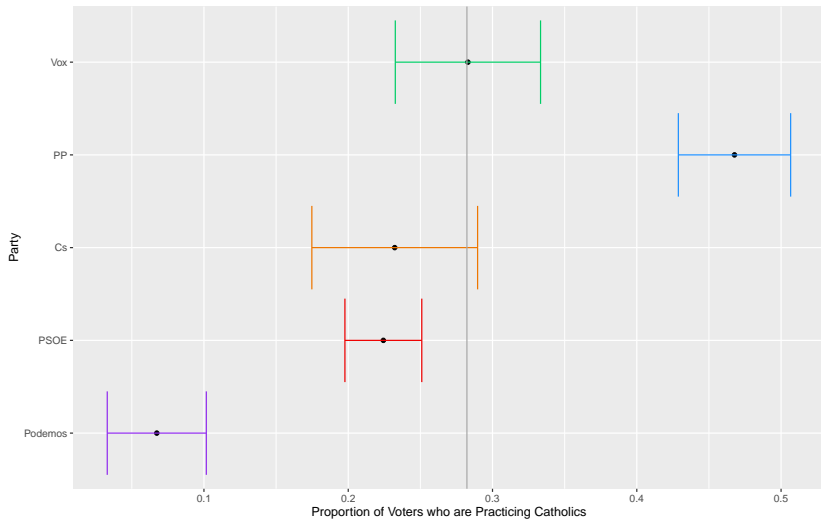
Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

5.2 Results (Party Constituencies)

Proportion Practicing Catholics by Party

95% confidence intervals, line is overall proportion practicing



Data from CIS Barometer, December 2019

5.3 Results (Relevant Issues)

- What issues matter in explaining the party's success?

Table 3: Odds Ratios: Issue perception and Vox Support

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	All Parties (1)	Right Party Voters (2)	PP, Vox Voters (3)
Immigration	3.542*** (0.633)	3.463*** (0.643)	3.056*** (0.603)
Economy	0.896 (0.142)	0.837 (0.135)	0.837 (0.144)
Corruption	1.489** (0.251)	1.449** (0.253)	1.531** (0.289)
Crisis of Values	1.287 (0.665)	1.614 (0.860)	1.543 (0.895)
Catalan Independence	1.106 (0.210)	1.045 (0.199)	1.052 (0.213)
Sex	0.477*** (0.069)	0.439*** (0.065)	0.439*** (0.069)
Age	0.962*** (0.004)	0.962*** (0.004)	0.954*** (0.004)
Ideology	2.057*** (0.084)	1.405*** (0.071)	1.199*** (0.065)
Constant	0.013*** (0.004)	0.295*** (0.117)	1.869 (0.821)
Observations	2,684	1,178	943

Note:

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

6. Discussion and Conclusion

- ▶ Key Takeaway: Vox is not winning religious voters, though it boasts Catholic ties
- ▶ Theoretical Argument: Religion provides a shield to talk about immigration. Religion also helps Vox claim frame ownership
- ▶ Experimental testing of frame argument, case expansion