

# Class 4: Parties

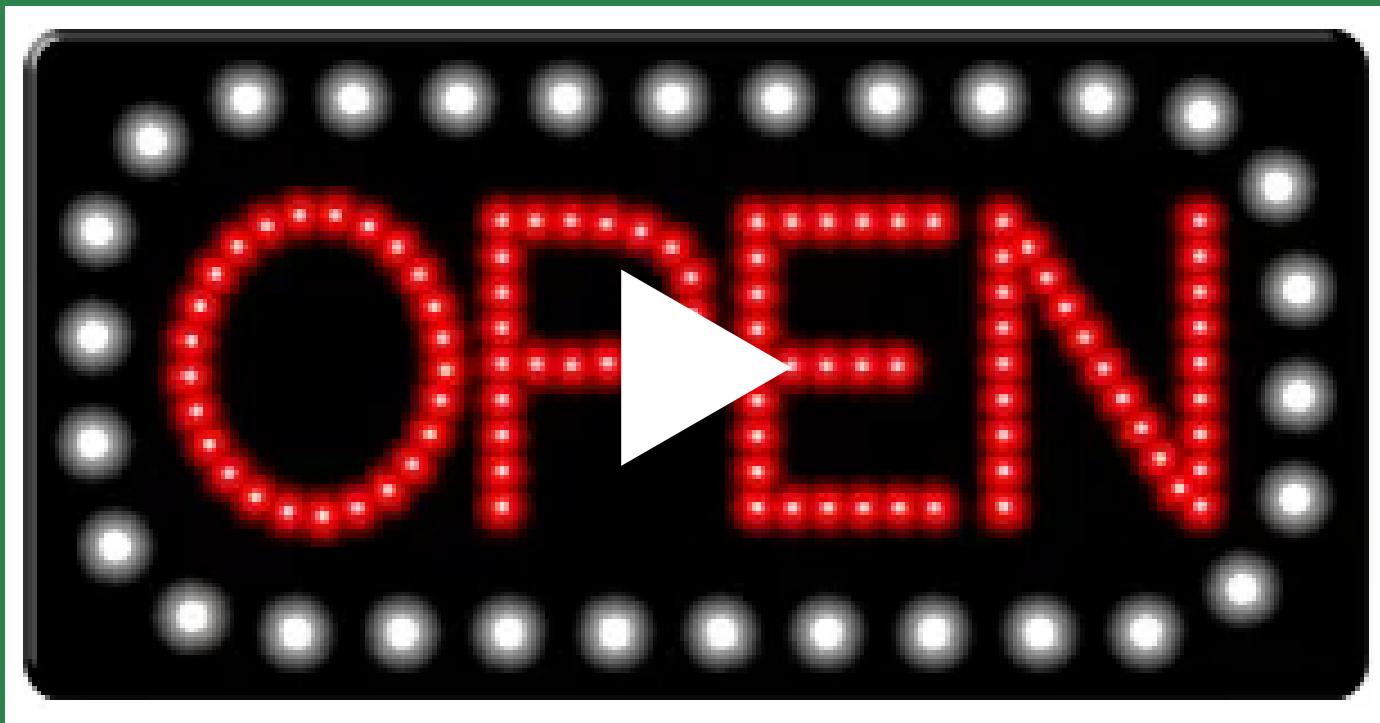
representatives

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

# Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- German parties' demographics
- Party leaders
- Deep-dive: gender in far-right parties
- far-right parties' electoral performance - discussion (lead-in to next week)
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

# Opening notes



# Presentation groups

Remember: topic to me at least by Week 4

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	

# Opening questions

How is the ‘average’ party structured?

What do members, representatives, leaders do?

What about far-right parties’ members, representatives, and leaders might be significantly different from other parties?

# German parties' demographics



Take the survey at

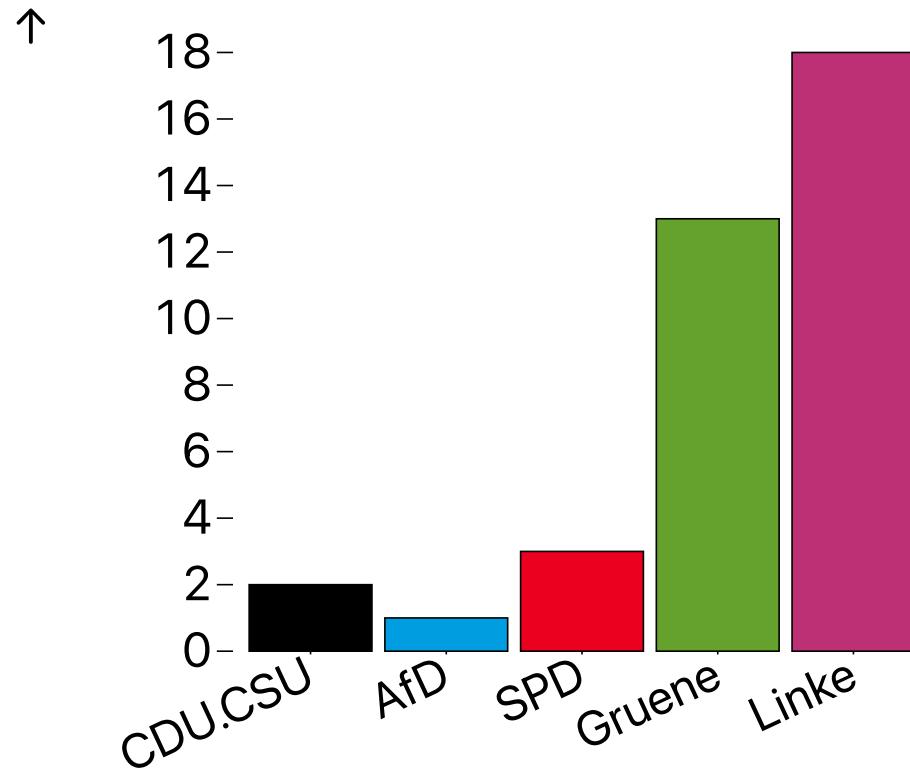
<https://forms.gle/gqu5hQXJMwgc1X6UA>

- youngest/oldest average MPs?  
highest/lowest percentage of women  
and people with migration  
backgrounds?

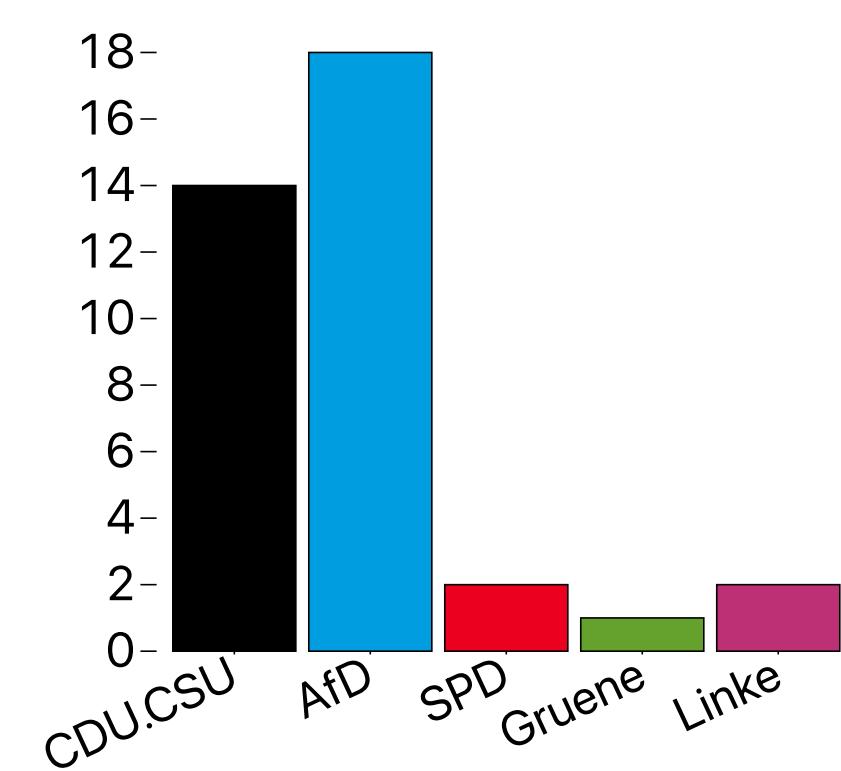
# Percentage of women MPs - hunch

## Poll results (Respondents: 37)

Highest



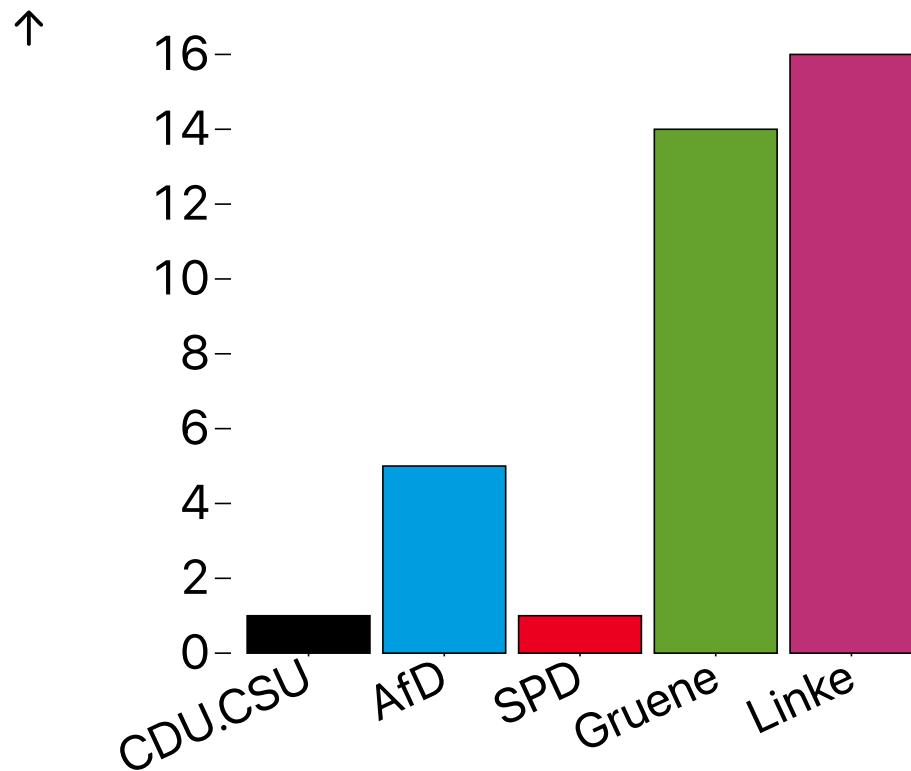
Lowest



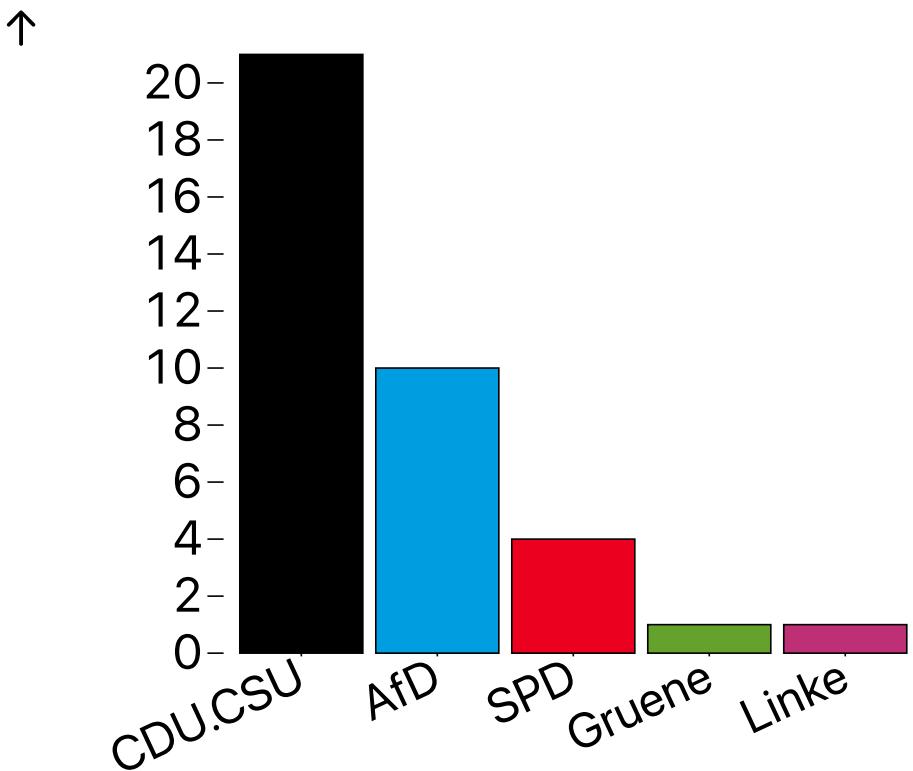


# Oldest/youngest MPs - hunch

Youngest

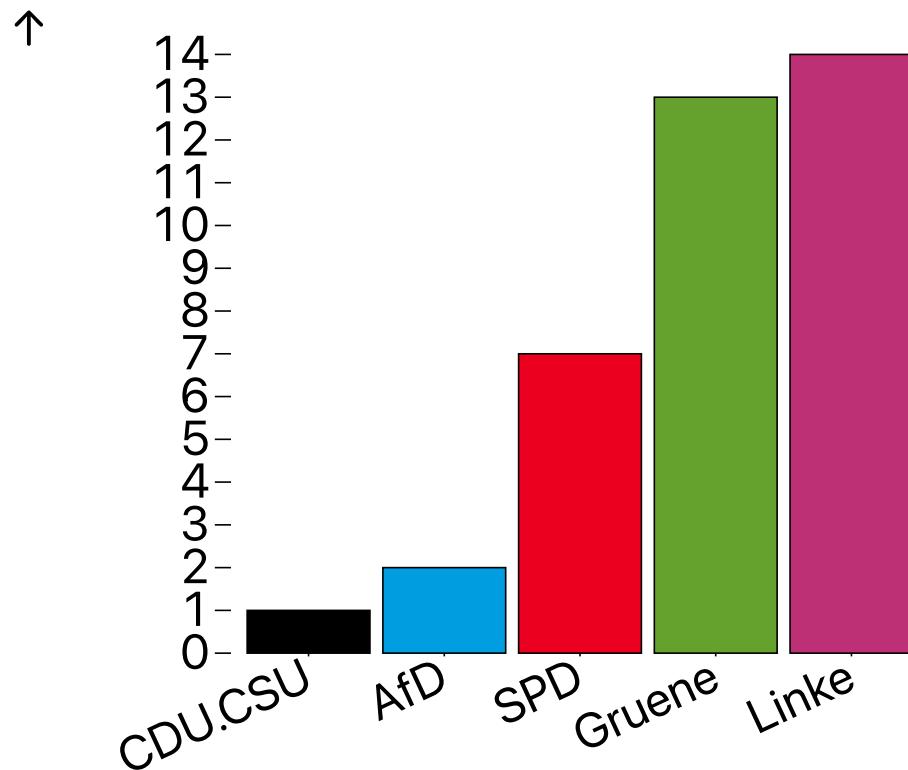


Oldest

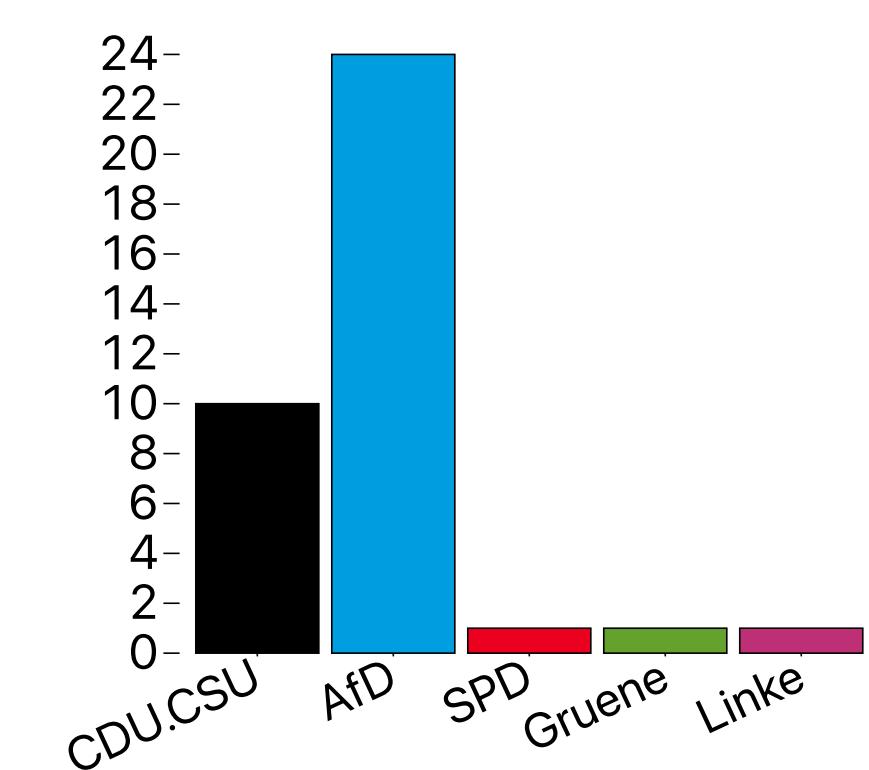


# Percentage of MPs with migration background - hun

Highest



Lowest

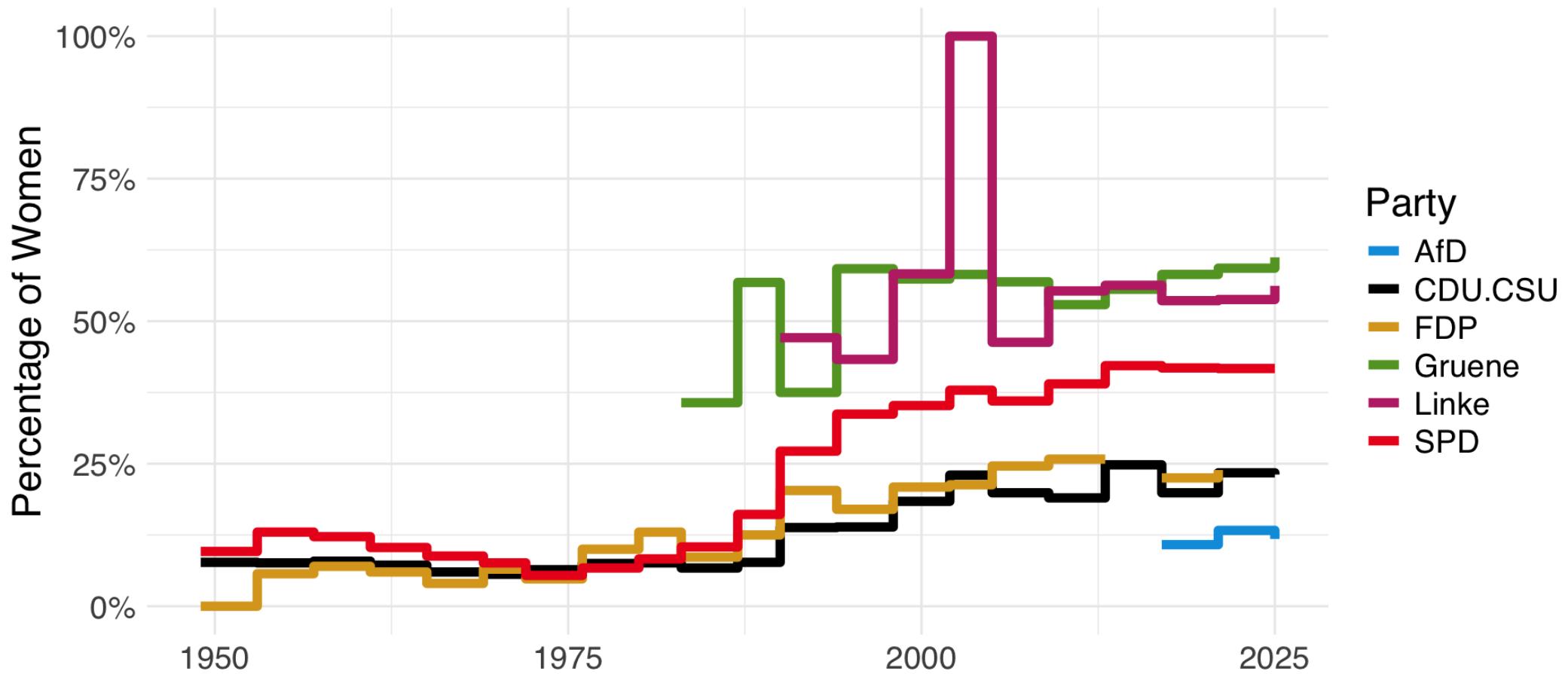


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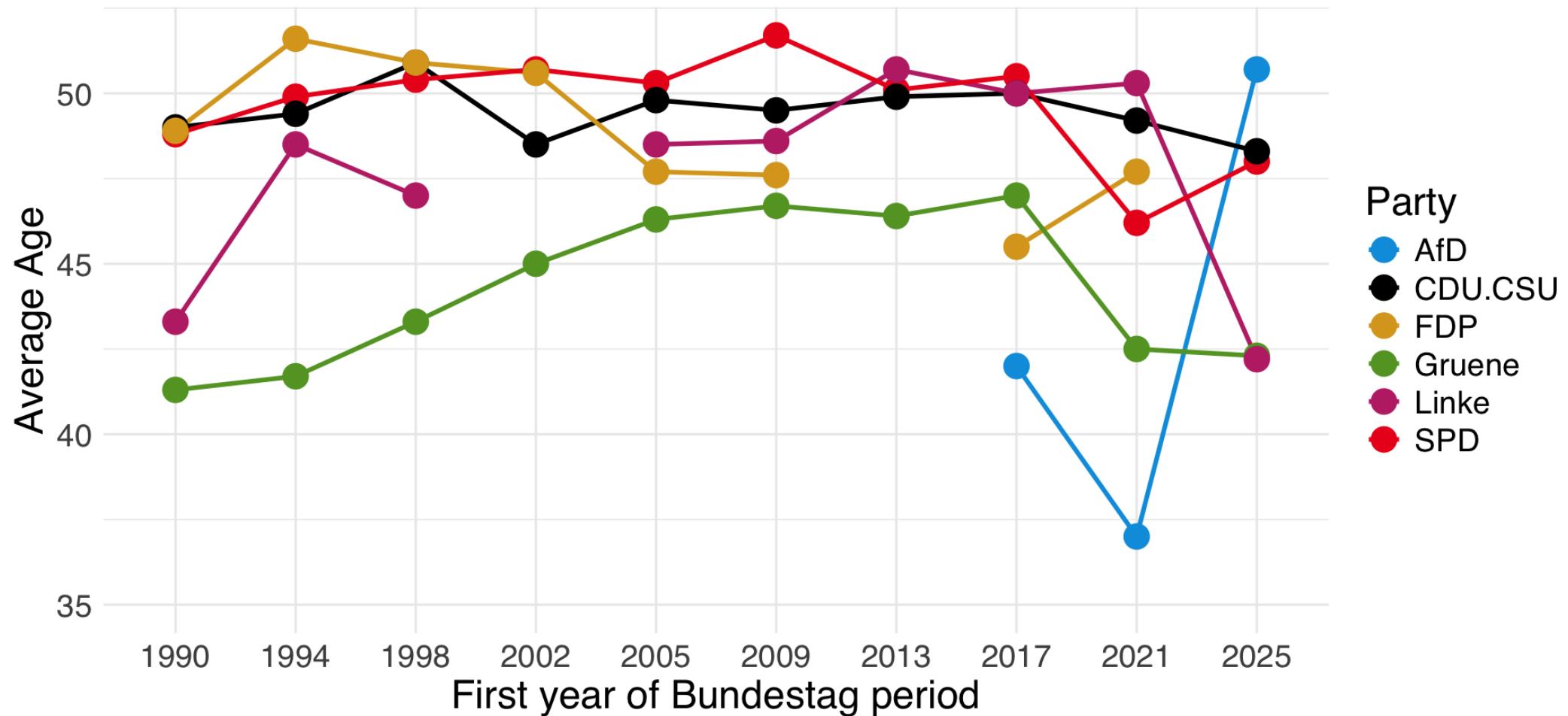
Now, let's see how  
those hunches measure  
up to the facts

# Percentage of women MPs

## Proportion of Women in Bundestag by Party

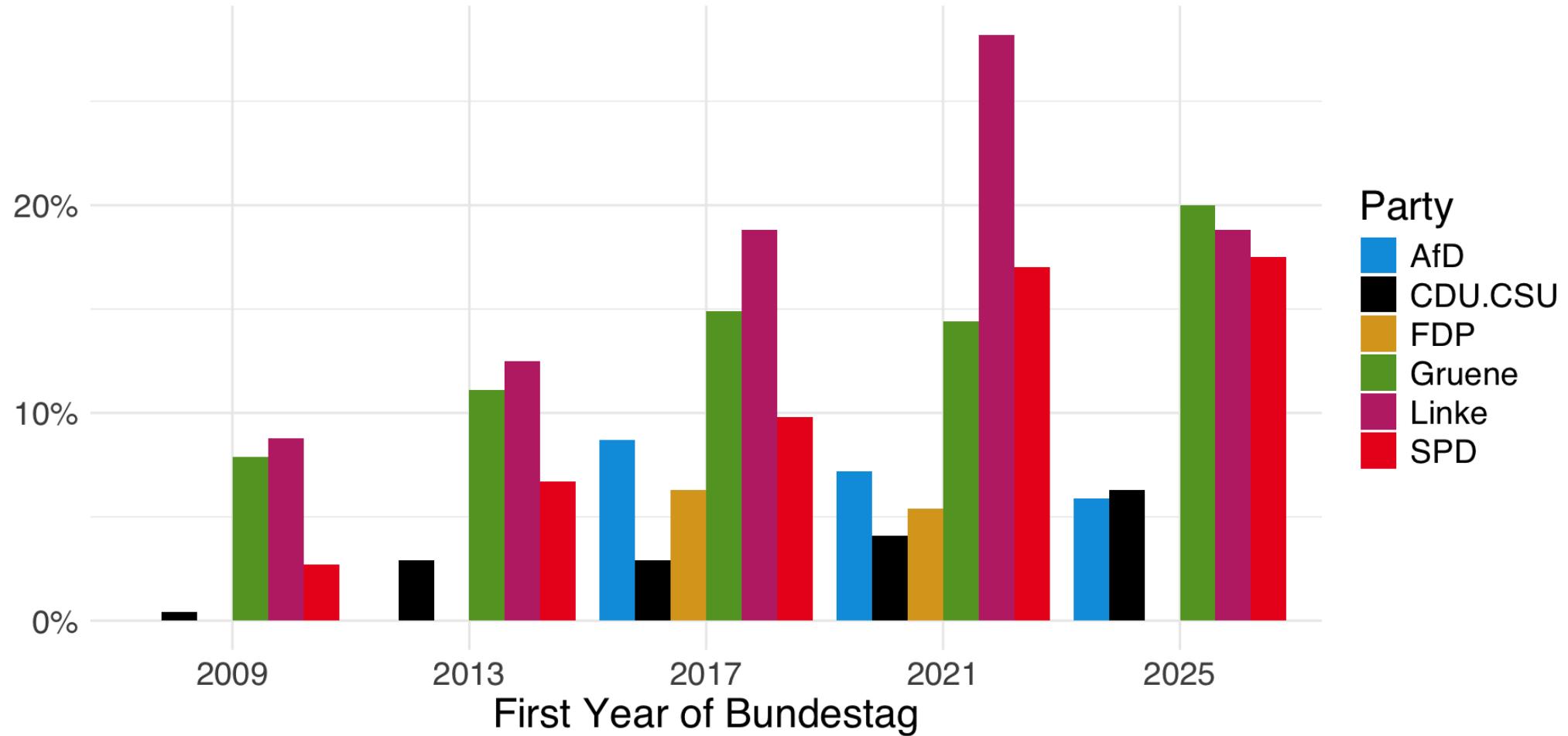


# Oldest/youngest MPs



# Percentage of MPs with migration background

## MPs with migration background by party



# Refresher on party membership concepts

- party activists or members tend to hold more radical views than the average party voter
  - **median voter theorem:** parties should converge toward the centre to win elections, but...
  - activists/members: typically more committed and engaged; typically have stronger ideological
    - impact through party primaries and internal decision-making

# Variation among far-right parties

- Common traits
  - predominantly male activist/member bases
  - typically less (but not 'no') ethnic/racial diversity in membership and representation

# Factionalism within far-right parties

- frequent divisions between national and regional/local level representatives
- open question of whether local representatives more radical or more pragmatic

# Party leaders

- who ‘typically’ leads far-right parties
  - any trend change between historical and contemporary cases?
  - any difference from other parties in how these figures become party leaders?



# Party leaders - functions (Salvini)



# Party leaders - support, symbolism, cooperation



# What (party) leaders do

- ‘leading tasks’ (cf. Earl 2007 on leadership in movements):
  1. articulating **vision** and **ideology**,
  2. engaging the **political environment**,
  3. **framing** the party and its issues,
  4. managing **relations** with other parties and non-party actors,
  5. making **strategic** decisions,
  6. **organizing** specific actions/campaigns,
  7. managing the **internal life of the party**,
  8. **innovating** and entrepreneurial activity, and
  9. providing **social capital** (relationships and networks)

# When things go wrong...

- consequences of malfeasance or mismanagement?
- tacit or explicit complicity in wrongdoing?



# Party leaders - punitive

Le Pen 2025 embezzlement conviction - 5-year ban on holding office



# Party leaders - prohibitive

Golden Dawn leader Nikos Michaloliakos arrested (Greece)



# Deep-dive: gender in far-right parties

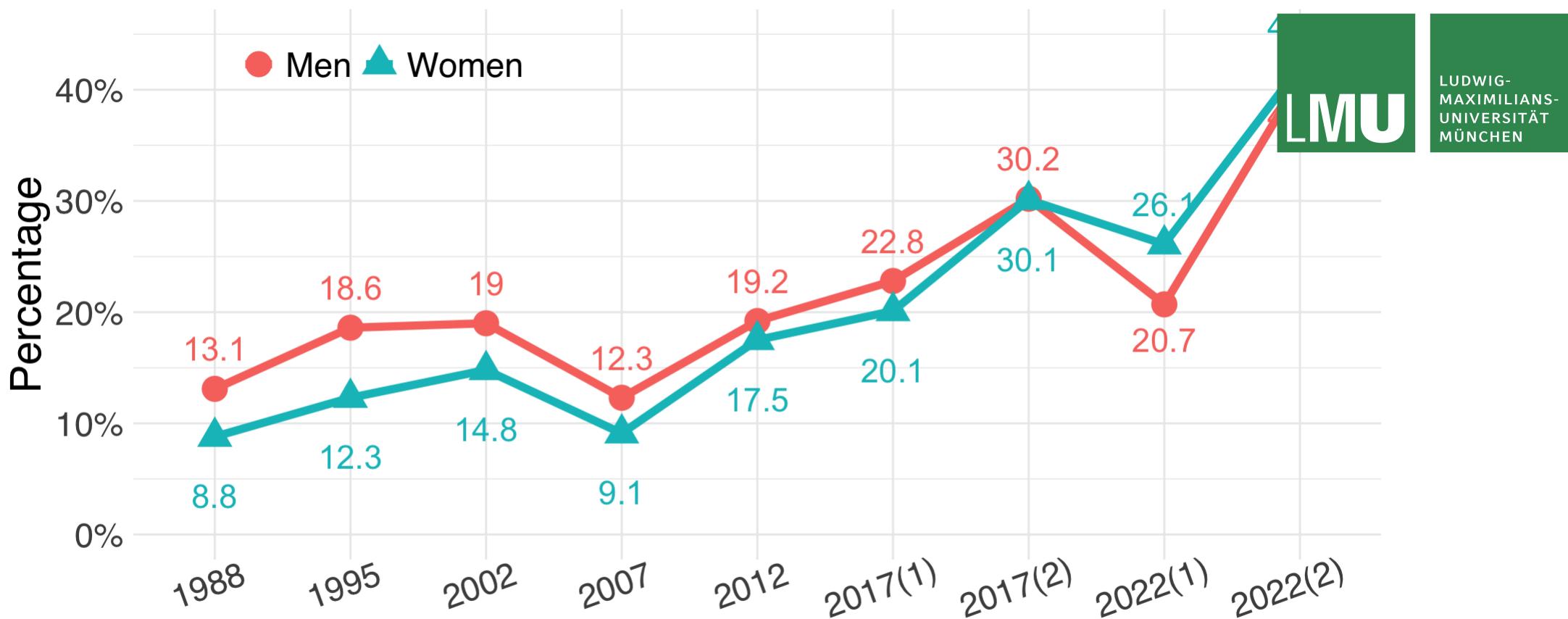
- Far-right party voters are predominantly male. Why?  
**What do these parties offer women voters? Why not vote for the far right?**
- Example of Marine Le Pen
- article: Weeks et al. (2022)
- replication: Guinaudeau and Jankowski (2024)
- reply: Weeks et al. (2024)



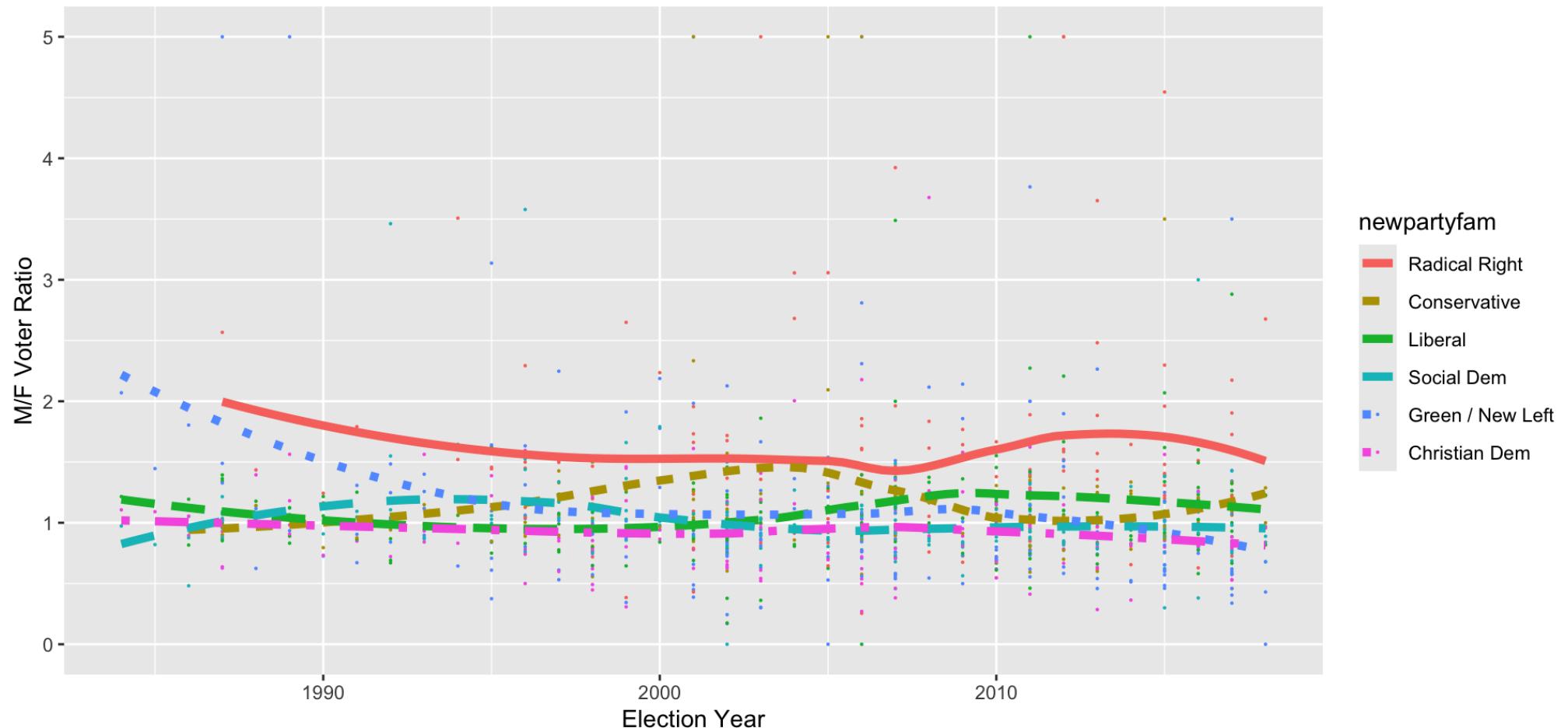
# Marine Le Pen (Front National/Rassemblement National)



- took over party leadership from father (J.M. Le Pen) in 2011
  - FN history of under-performing with women voters
    - ‘radical right gender gap’ → decreasing with Marine as leader



# Radical right voters (Weeks et al. 2022)



do these patterns hold outside Europe? Outside ‘the West’?

# Women far-right representatives (Weeks et al. 2022)

When Do Männerparteien Elect Women?



# Women far-right representatives

- Women often occupy important positions in far-right parties, in terms of visibility or as leaders. Why/why not?
- Jobbik/Mi Hazank (HU): Dóra Dúró →
- Front National (FR): Marine Le Pen
- (NOR) Siv Jensen and Sylvi Listhaug
- AfD (DE): Frauke Petry, then Alice Weidel
- FdI (IT): Giorgia Meloni
- Do other parties act similarly (e.g., strategic use of candidate selection)?

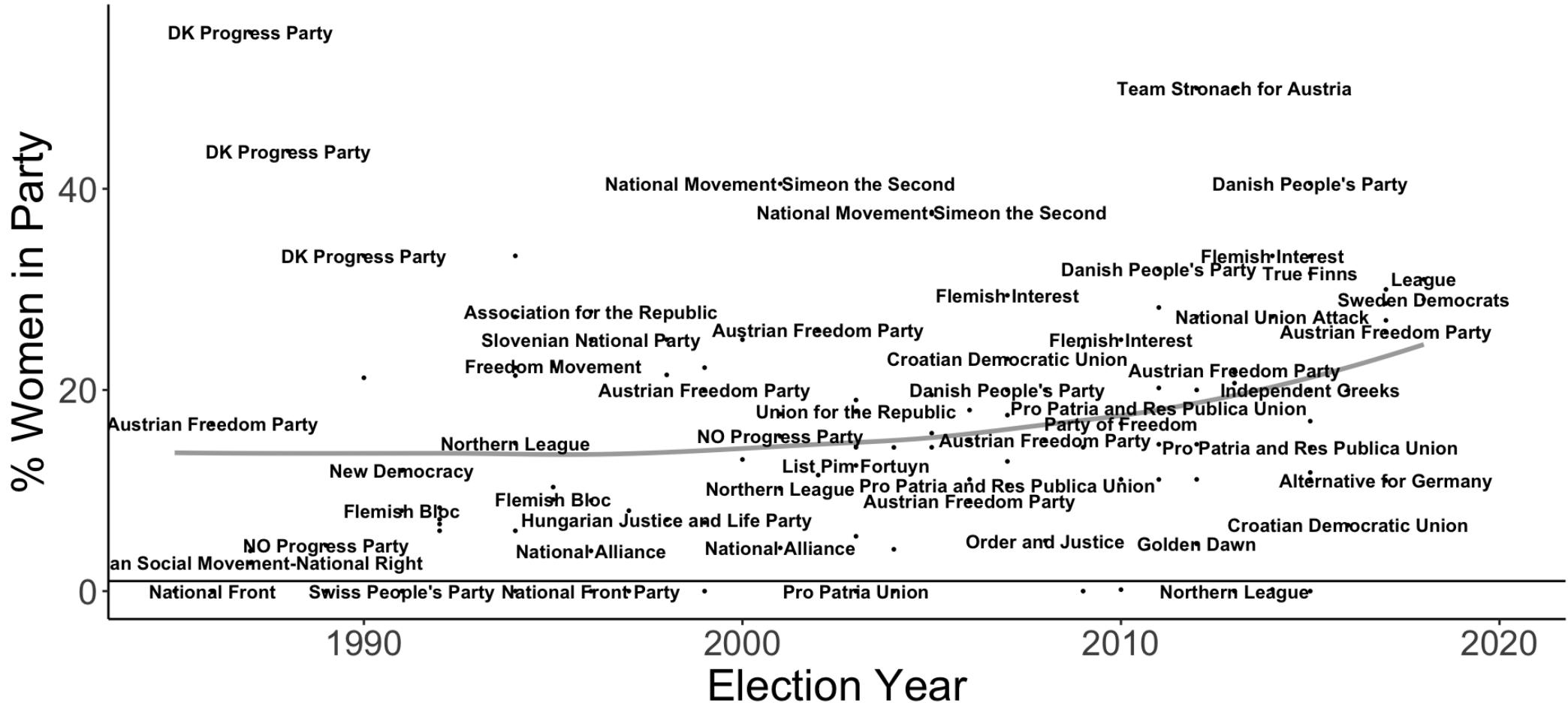




RQ: *Under what conditions do we see an increase in RRP parties' women MPs? Given that RRP parties have traditionally held very conservative views on the role of women in society, what accounts for this increase in women's representation?*

- **Theory:** strategic descriptive representation: “attract new voters without necessarily altering core issue positions” (p2)
- **Data:** European women MPs and voter support: 187 parties, 30 countries, 1985-2018
  - three sets of factors: party ideology, party organizational structures, and women's activism within the party
- **Methods:** Multilevel random intercept models (inferential stats); two typical, “on-the-line” studies: PVV in 2017 and SVP in 2015

# Weeks et al. (2022) - only radical right



	<i>LOW M/F voter ratio</i>	<i>HIGH M/F voter ratio</i>
<i>LOW electoral threat</i>	<p><i>Status quo:</i> Party does well among men and women, and at the polls. No need to include more women in party.</p>	<p><i>Strategic Exclusion (H1b):</i> Party with a men-dominated electorate that gains votes doubles down on exclusion of women in the party.</p>
<i>HIGH electoral threat</i>	<p><i>Status quo:</i> Party already attracts women voters, so will not target women voters as a strategy to improve vote share</p>	<p><i>Strategic Inclusion (H1a):</i> Party with a men-dominated electorate that loses votes elects women to appeal to untapped women voters.</p>

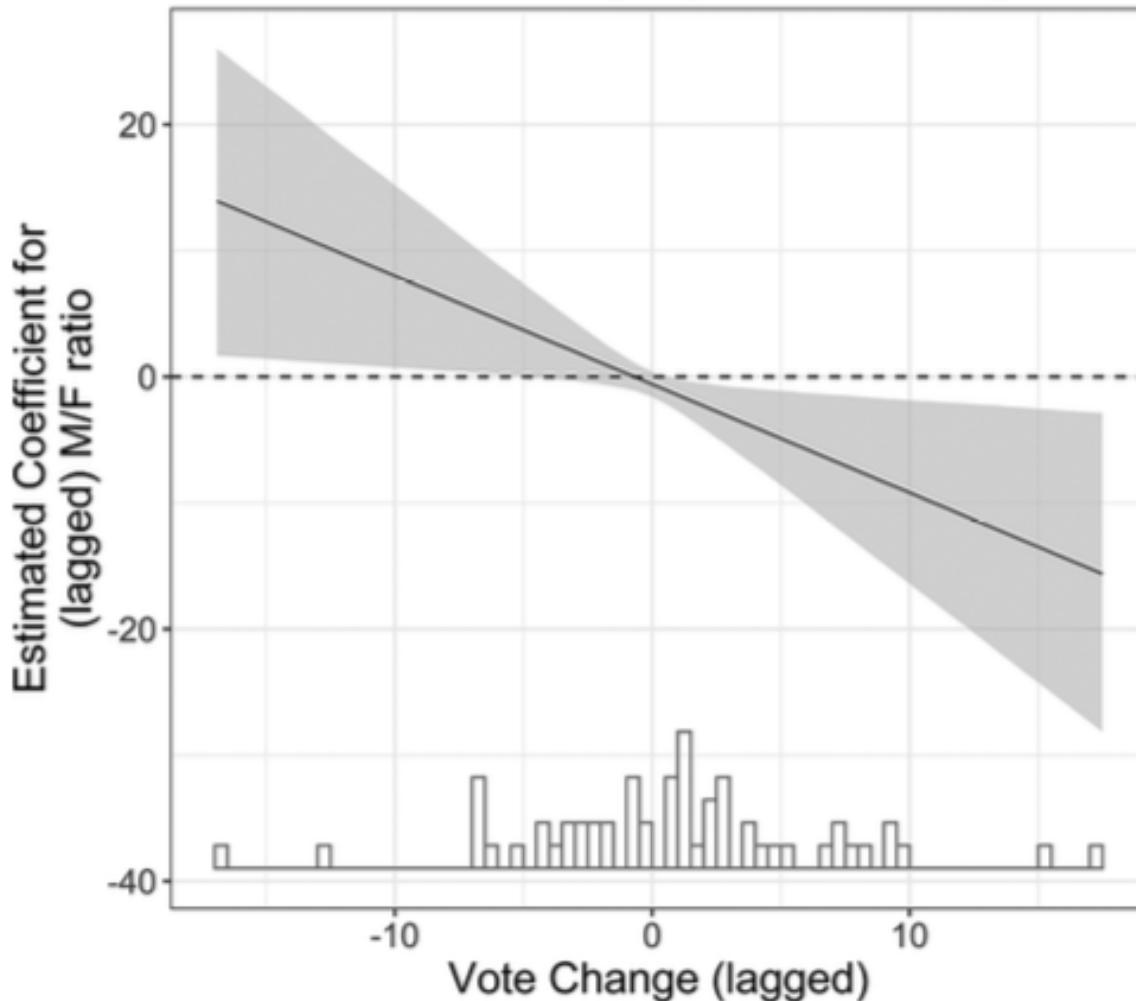
# Reading a regression table

Remember: regression is a tool for understanding a phenomenon as a linear function (generally) →  $(y = mx + b)$

TABLE 1. Determinants of Women's Representation in Radical Right Populist Parties

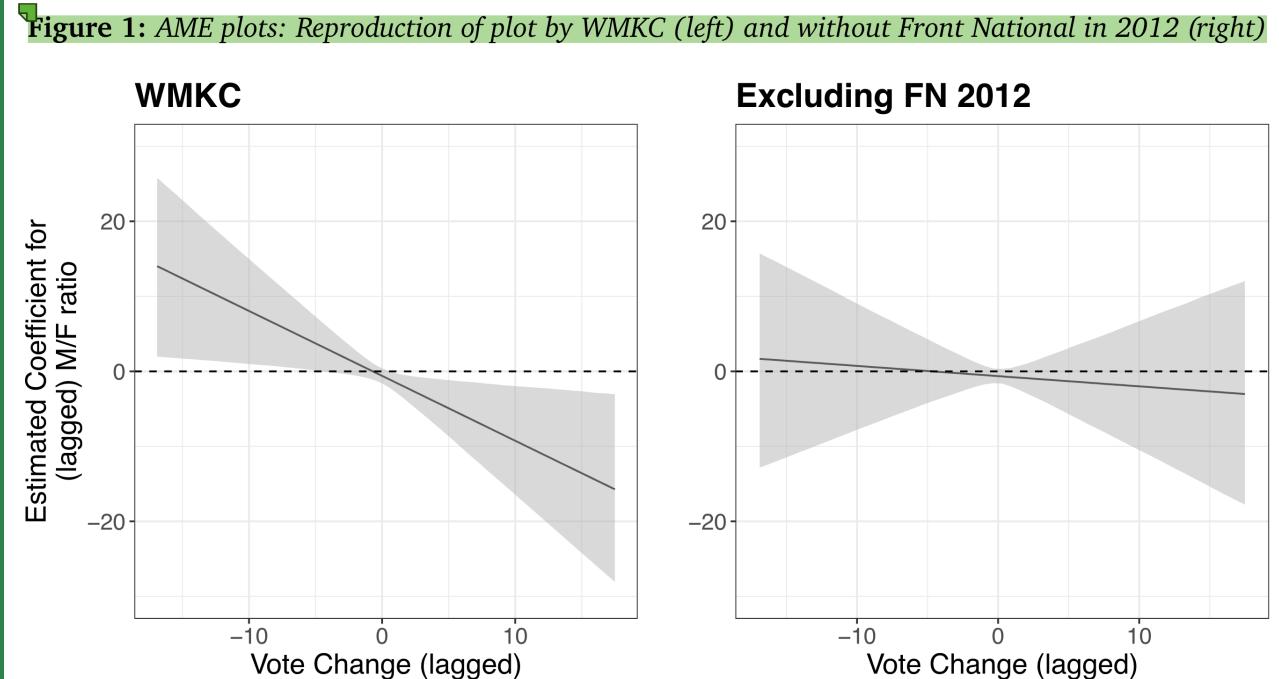
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
M/F ratio <sub>(t-1)</sub>	-0.551 (0.486)	-0.551 (0.478)	-0.630 (0.432)	-0.727 (0.432)	-0.605 (0.431)
Vote change <sub>(t-1)</sub>	-0.166 (0.178)	0.840 (0.538)	0.896 (0.492)	0.988 (0.508)	1.154* (0.506)
Time			0.479** (0.149)	0.480** (0.149)	0.151 (0.177)
Woman leader <sub>(t-1)</sub>				-0.035 (3.785)	1.153 (3.504)
Cabinet party <sub>(t-1)</sub>				-3.980 (2.451)	-3.511 (2.453)
Women in Parliament <sub>(t-1)</sub>					0.461* (0.183)
District magnitude					-0.007 (0.037)
PR electoral system					1.093 (4.287)
Quota law					6.561 (3.444)
Western Europe					-2.215 (0.000)
M/F ratio <sub>(t-1)</sub> × Vote change <sub>(t-1)</sub>		-0.663* (0.338)	-0.668* (0.308)	-0.760* (0.319)	-0.868** (0.317)
Constant	21.318*** (2.360)	20.684*** (2.271)	-941.659** (298.581)	-942.046** (299.696)	204.866 (353.765)
Random-effect party	0	1.144	0	0	0
Random-effect country	65.97	57.154	56.16	49.58	23.91
Random-effect residual	50.33	47.999	39.29	38.64	39.01
N	58	58	58	58	58
Log Likelihood	-210.194	-208.362	-203.640	-202.374	-197.883
AIC	432.387	430.723	423.279	424.748	425.765
BIC	444.750	445.146	439.763	445.352	456.672
N countries	19	19	19	19	19
N parties	22	22	22	22	22

## Estimated Coefficient of M/F ratio on Women in Party by Vote Change



# Replication and rebuttal (Guinaudeau and Jankowsk

- findings of Weeks et al. (2022) driven by single outlier
  - Front Naitonal that elected 2 MPs in 2012 (one woman; **variables as proportions**)
- without outlier, cannot reject null hypothesis (too few observations)



# Reply (Weeks et al. 2024)

- Guinaudeau and Jankowski (2024) misunderstand treatment of outliers
- should not ‘arbitrarily delete one influential case but not another’
  - “When *all* influential cases are removed, and not just the observation of FN in 2012, our key findings do not change.”

Deleting correctly-coded higher influence observations makes the sample an inaccurate representation of the population, and thus can lead to improper inferences about a population, particularly in a small population like the data on radical right populist parties in Europe.

# far-right parties' electoral performance - discussion (lead-in to next week)

under what conditions  
far-right candidates are  
more electable?

# 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)

# References

- Earl, Jennifer. 2007. "Leaderless Movement The Case of Strategic Voting." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50 (10): 1327–49.
- Guinaudeau, Benjamin, and Michael Jankowski. 2024. "Do Radical-Right Parties Use Descriptive Representation Strategically? A Replication of Weeks Et Al. (2023)." *Institute for Replication - Discussion Paper Series*, no. 149.
- Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilde Coffé. 2022. "When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation." *American Political Science Review*, 1–18.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055422000107>.
- . 2024. "Response to "Do Radical-Right Parties Use Descriptive Representation Strategically? A Replication of Weeks Et Al. (2023)"." *Institute for Replication - Discussion Paper Series*, no. 150.