

**The Appeal of the Radical-Right:
Authoritarian Attitudes of the “Democratic” Voter**

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By

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Abstract:

As the 21st century progresses, we are experiencing a revival in radical right-wing parties in the western world. Generally, we only refer this term to European politics; however, with the rise of the Tea Party and the election of Donald Trump, America now faces this issue too. The influence of these parties even affect German politics as well since their Alternative for *Deutschland* is now the third largest party in their government. Many factors can cause this phenomenon – including immigration, economy, and political corruption. However, authoritarianism can link all these variables together since they all share universal values. Authoritarianism defines individuals as being fearful of change since they value their traditional social structures. Thus, with the evolving political and economic landscapes of the western world, these voters are afraid of losing their values that have been in place for centuries. Therefore, we predict that if a voter has attitudinal beliefs towards authoritarianism, it will likely predict their vote and their opinions on immigration, economy, and political corruption.

Introduction:

Over the past decade, contemporary western-democracies have experienced a resurgence of radical right-wing parties – attempting to reverse the increasing order of left-wing social parties. This phenomenon has been a reoccurring issue in Europe when regarding the European Union (EU). With the United Kingdom successfully voting to leave the EU, the French National Front gaining momentum, and with the Italian Five-Star party successfully winning a majority coalition, extreme right-wing candidates have been gaining confidence to run for more offices. Germany, arguably the powerhouse of the EU, now even worries about these issues due to their increase of Syrian refugees and increasing support of EU integration. This trend has also crossed the Atlantic and affected the 2016 United States (US) Presidential Election, with Donald Trump defeating Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. With radical right-wing parties rising to power, we must question and determine what attracts voters to these platforms; while also examining the strategies that these parties incorporate into their platforms. Although many states across the western world are experiencing a rise in these parties, this paper will be focusing on the United States and Germany. Both countries are arguably the most influential in policy-making; with the US being an international hegemonic power and Germany being the regional hegemony of Europe. With both the US and Germany sharing influence, economic power, and military strength, focusing on the attitudes of their citizens and political parties can shed light on the appeal towards the radical right. Although many theories examine the popularity of these parties focusing on immigration, economy, and political corruption, we can also investigate the ideological roots of both the voters and parties. The three variables just listed are all essential to the platforms of these parties; however; the ideological concept of authoritarianism can help explain the theoretical framework of both the voters and parties.

In this paper, we are aiming to find an answer to what is causing individuals to vote for right-wing radical parties within the US and Germany. Although there may be many leading factors towards answering this phenomenon, we believe that it is mainly due to voter's attitudes towards authoritarianism. While examining this aspect, we think it can explain for voter's views on immigration, economic ideologies, opinions on political corruption, and other elements that other authors have covered in their research previous to this. Although these aspects of extreme right-wing populism are far spread, they are all intertwined within the ideological field of authoritarianism. My goal is to find support for our claim that an individual's attitude that favors authoritarian views is the critical issue in explaining the mobilization of candidates from right-wing populist parties running for national legislation seats in their countries.

Theory:

The research question examined here is: What causes voters to support radical-right wing parties and policies across the US and Germany? As we already noted, there are currently no empirically backed scholarly consensus that exists on this topic. However, we can agree that an authoritarian attitude can drastically affect the individual when choosing what policy they will prefer; including immigration, economy, and the extent of government power. We agree with previous research that the US and Germany have increasingly become more ethnocentric; concerning each state. Thus immigrants of different cultures are creating more of a heterogeneous environment. Along with this, new economic policies implemented by the government are creating more change to the status-quo. Therefore, authoritarianism and the fear of change can be linked to all these categories – leading us to infer that this will explain why an individual voted the way they did.

With previous research in mind, and with the sense that drastic change is occurring in both countries' societies, we conclude that this must be a crucial factor in our theory. The theory we present is that the more an individual is prone to authoritarian attitudes, the more likely they are to vote for a radical right-wing candidate/party. Especially with the current refugee crisis and changing economic policies, we can see a considerable rise of radical right-wing parties in our current times. We theorize that these voters are not accepting of change, which will not only explain their vote, but also their views on immigration, the economy, and thoughts of government integration and corruption.

Defining Radical Right-Wing Parties:

Radical right-wing parties are those that share the virtues of ethnonationalism – where they describe the nation based on its ethnicity. These party platforms represent a demand for an envisioned future that focuses on an idealized past. For example, Trump's campaign slogan was "Make America Great Again." When questioned on how he would make American great again, Trump's definition of American greatness intertwines with the political and economic climate of post-World War II; a time where the economy was flourishing and American hegemony was at its height. However, this era also included segregation, the rise of the military-industrial complex, and body politics. These concepts tie into a platform that calls for a state that is ethnically homogeneous – using fearmongering tactics that blame immigrants and minorities that do not represent the culture of that state. As the immigration crises continue in Europe – more refugees from Syria will continue to enter Germany since Merkel's platform is the most welcoming towards them. With an influx of immigration, this gives the AfD more resources to use for their campaigns since they have already blamed the current government for accepting too

many refugees. Moreover, radical right-wing parties share the values of populism, accusing the political elites of focusing more on international policies and lacking on solving domestic issues. They continue to attack current administrations for promoting the small narrow views of these elites while ignoring the problems of their citizens – leading to anti-establishment attitudes that can draw in the average citizen. When examining these factors, we can determine that the radical right embeds sociocultural authoritarianism that emphasizes conservative ideas from previous eras – including political, economic, and general values

Defining Radical Right-Wing influence in America:

When we discuss radical right-wing parties and populism, we generally believe that they are only relevant to European Politics. The United States is a country that declared its independence from a monarchy and defeated the fascist forces of Germany, Italy, and Japan during the second world war. However, around 2010 with the arrival of the Tea Party movement, Americans flocked to those politicians who offered more authoritarian rhetoric in their campaigns platforms. During the 2010 midterm elections, the Tea Party claimed significant victories in both the House of Representatives and Senate – defeating both Democrats and moderate Republicans alike. According to data from a 2010 University of Washington study, 27 percent of the adult population, or sixty-three million Americans, heartily approved of the Tea Party.¹ The Tea Party advocated for a reduced federal government, lower taxes, fiscal economic policies, and an increase in state rights. Although these policies can link with normal Republican party values, the Tea Party has extreme views on these subject policies. In addition, they were extremely critical of the Obama Administration since it represented the opposite interest that the

¹Christopher Parker, *Oxford Handbook on the Radical-Right*, (Oxford, Oxford University, 2018, 1-2.)

Tea Party advocates. Although the Tea Party influence grew in both chambers of Congress, it did not reflect the overall view of the American people since former President Barack Obama won a second term, defeating Mitt Romney in the 2012 presidential elections. However, the Tea Party continued to push for change and went from having 185,000 members to 550,000 members in after the election.² The 2016 presidential election demonstrated how this movement was still very much alive as Tea Party members converted to what we now call Trump supporters.

According to the ideological views of the Tea Party and Trump, the US over the presidency of Obama experienced an increasing role of the federal government, economic uncertainty, and an increased globalized role in the world. Islamophobia became more relevant due to the spread of ISIS and their terrorist attacks on the western world. Globalization and mass immigration became critical in economic development; leading Americans to feel ignored by their government since industry preferred cheap immigrant labor and the outsourcing jobs abroad. Tea Party members began to believe the size of the government was expanding to an unprecedented height; with unelected bureaucrats and lobbyists becoming too influential and corrupt. With the political, economic, and ethnic-landscapes rapidly changing, many people began to fear this change since they started to believe America no longer represents their interest. It was these circumstances that led to the rise of President Trump during the 2016 presidential election since his campaign focused on resolving these issues. With Trump concentrating on these policies, he became the voice of the forgotten Tea Party that lost in the 2012 presidential election. For example, 83 percent of Tea Party supporters in the state of Washington also supported Trump; sharing the radical views compared to their mainstream Republican counterparts. In addition to this, 59 percent of Trump backers believed the notion that

² Ibid., 12-13.

immigrants refuse to abide by American laws, versus only 20 percent of their mainstream counterparts in the Republican Party.³ This notion once again further proves the difference between mainstream Republicans and those the far right. Trump also continued to use Obama as a vessel of hate, contributing to the fear, anxiety, and anger felt by his supporters. It did not matter what policy Obama would recommend since the right would criticize it regardless. Although Trump and other Tea Party members state that Obama's policies were leading the American government down the wrong path – if it were not for their authoritarian characteristics and policies, they would not have achieved their victories.

Radical Right-Wing Influence in Germany:

After the second world war and the downfall of Third Reich, right-wing radical parties became less successful electorally in the German legislator. As Europe recovered from the second world war, political scientist distinguishes three waves of right-wing mobilization in the postwar era. During this period, German right-wing radical parties failed to make significant contributions to any of them as they could not gain any electoral success.⁴ Furthermore, in Germany, the stability and intensity of the dynamics of right-wing protest declined over the decades. This finding remained valid even after the German reunification and the destruction of the Berlin Wall, despite the autocratic heritage of Eastern Germany. Fast forward to the Euro crises after the Great Recession occurred, the Alternative for Deutschland (AfD) began to gain popularity. Party popularity began to continually grow after the refugee crisis became an urgent issue for Europe. Not only this, but Germany started to experience Islamic-based terrorist attacks that set the stage of the AfD in September 2016 to gain more popularity. Similar to the Tea Party

³ Ibid. 14-15.

⁴ Uwe Backes, *Oxford Handbook on the Radical-Right*, (Oxford, Oxford University, 2018, 1-2).

movement in the United States, the AfD calls for strict control of immigration. For those who have already migrated, they must learn to adjust to German societal norms or they will be forced to relocate. Similar to most other right-wing parties, the AfD explicitly rejects Islam as a “religion belonging to a different culture.”⁵ But this does not rule out the possibility that “people belonging to the Islamic faith” might be accepted as long as they “live with us peacefully and are integrated.”⁶

Although both the AfD and the Tea Party are radical-right parties, the German radical-right does differ from our American definition. The main difference between the AfD and the Tea Party movement is that the AfD still supports neoliberal economic policies. While they are a bit Eurosceptic, the AfD fully supports EU membership but rejects the continuing bailouts of its fellow members. Increasingly, the AfD’s platform has become a critic of capitalism socially while trying to distinguish itself from the radical anti-capitalism of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD). During the election campaigns of spring 2016, the AfD did not support “tax populism,” but presented itself as the champion of budgetary rigor; supporting extensive tax relief for families and massive investment in security at the local and national level. As of the 2017 elections, the AfD secured representation in 14 of the 16 German state parliaments. Along with this, they also secured 94 seats in the Bundestag, which is a significant breakthrough for the party since it is now the third largest party in Germany.⁷ Led by Jorg Meuthen, the party stands for Euroscepticism, anti-immigration, and are against further bailouts for EU states with fragile economies. In previous elections, the AfD had little momentum, but as of now, they are gaining popularity due to the continuing policies of Angela Merkel’s coalition between her conservative

⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁶ Ibid., 5-6.

⁷ European Commission, *Country Report Germany 2017*. (Brussels, Brussels, 2017).

alliance and the left-leaning Social Democrats. Mainly, the AfD attacks Merkel's views on the refugee crises and continuing bailouts of other EU states. As we know, public opinion of the EU has begun to decrease due to the rise of unelected Eurocrats having too much influence in EU decision making.

Authoritarian Attitudes in Modern Western Democracies:

After discussing the radical right in both the US and Germany, now we can delve into how the authoritarian attitudes are created and develop in our societies. When you think of contemporary western democracies, authoritarianism would not be the first thing to come to your mind. However, demagogic leaders have always been a lingering side effect of democracies since it is their firm rhetoric that can get them elected. Although there is always a leader for these movements, we must question what attracts individuals to join these movements. We can examine the physiological profiles of individuals that desire these particular kinds of radical policies and a strong leader to pursue them. According to Stenner's theory, there is a specific subset of individuals who latent authoritarian tendencies.⁸ Most of the time, we tend to believe we would never hold authoritarian values, but for some, there can be a triggering point that brings these tendencies out. For example, if a citizen of a homogenous majority community begins to feel excluded due to the continuing social change of incoming immigrants, they will feel threatened and under attack. Authoritarians prioritize their social order, especially ones that have been in place for centuries since they bring a sense of control in our chaotic world.⁹ With a more globalized world and the continuing influx of non-white immigrants, the old social order will continue to break down. This phenomenon is relevant in both the US and Germany since

⁸ Amanda Taub. 2016. "Vox Authoritarianism." *Vox*, 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

both are becoming more diverse; leading the white-majority to face race in a new evolving way. Although these changes were slowly developing throughout the years, they are now becoming more visibly evident since it is coinciding with our economy. When a fearful majority of a state believes they are losing their power, they may begin to support policies that offer protection against those fears. These policies are more forceful and take decisive actions against these perceived threats; thus, leading these individuals to vote for political leaders who they believe will deliver this action. Trump is a perfect example of this due to his strong rhetoric against minorities and promising the average White-American policy prioritization.

The Connecting Network – Authoritarianism and Immigration:

According to Inglehart and Norris, we can divide the electoral fortunes of radical right-wing parties into the accounts of the demand side of individuals attitudes, and the supply-side that political parties have to offer.¹⁰ According to this view, radical right-wing parties can prosper due to rising economic insecurity and social deprivation among the political, socioeconomic classes that feel neglected by their government. This situation is believed to have made that those who are:

“low-wage unskilled workers, the long-term unemployed, households dependent on shrinking social benefits, residents of public housing, single-parent families, and poorer white populations living in inner-city areas with concentrations of immigrants-susceptible to the anti-establishment, nativist, and xenophobic scare-mongering

¹⁰ Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash.” *Faculty Research Working Paper Series*, (Harvard, Harvard University, 2016, 1-3).

exploited of populist movements, parties, and leaders, blaming ‘Them’ for stripping prosperity, job opportunities, and public services from ‘Us.’”¹¹

Although political parties play a significant role in drawing in voters, this paper will focus more on the individual attitudes of voters and what causes them to believe the rhetoric of these authoritarian leaders. As we learned, both the US and Germany have had a significant increase in candidates from these parties; there is currently no empirically backed scholarly consensus that exists for the mobilization of extreme right-wing populist parties, or why individual’s attitudes may favor these parties. However, Elizabeth Ivarsflaten’s study presents three models that may explain the mobilization of these parties: immigration, economic changes, political corruption.¹² This study examines these three aspects of mobilization and tests them on cross-sectional survey data by using probit analysis throughout states in Western Europe, including Germany. After analyzing the results, we discover that starting from 2002 to 2008, candidate platforms that mainly revolved around immigration were the most successful well and won office.¹³ To delve further into the immigration argument and fully understand it, we must examine what causes individuals to perceive immigration as a threat to their society.

Delving into the core of the immigration argument, we must examine individual’s attitudes of both the US and Germany and what causes them to have negative opinions on immigration. In particular, we can focus on attitudes regarding nationalism and immigrants that do not represent western cultures – especially those of the Islamic faith. Nationalism is an essential ideological aspect regarding immigration; demanding congruence between the state and

¹¹ Ibid., 2.

¹² Elisabeth Ivarsflaten 2008. "What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe?" *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (1): 6-7.

¹³ Ibid., 8.

the nation. A sense a nationalism derives from being a member and citizen of a state, including a shared language and religion. Therefore, when a wave of immigrants enters a state and do not share these shared values, it can lead to insecurity amongst the population. Populism is a naturalistic, essentialist, and a restrictive depiction of the people as it results in the reaffirmation of a “deeply, the culturally ingrained perception of social belonging... in which the social whole is considered before the individual”.¹⁴ Individuals tend to be more comfortable with a homogeneous society and culture. A survey that taken by various EU states shows that an extreme sense of racism that derives from populist beliefs have entered the core aspects of society. For example, Christian Europe takes discourse and action against fighting “extreme fundamentalist Islam” to protect their women and children.¹⁵ Moreover, this leads to the belief that only non-White and non-Christian men commit violence in society. Candidates efficiently use immigrants as scapegoats, which is a crucial populist strategy. Rather than solving the root of political issues plaguing the country, extreme right-wing parties will instead blame immigrants for stealing jobs. Candidates will use fear mongering tactics by claiming that their culture is under attack by these non-Western immigrants and that their sense of nationalism is withering. This notion leads people to be fearful of crime, terrorism, and a prevailing feeling of insecurity.¹⁶ In Germany, the AfD extends this nationalistic sense to attack the EU as a whole due to being a member of the open-market also means embracing open borders in the Schengen zone. This open border policy allows for immigrants to travel through the EU unhindered. With the Syrian refugee crisis occurring, they can enter the EU from anywhere and travel into Germany. The

¹⁴ Gabriella Lazardis, Giovanna Campani, and Annie Benveniste. 2016. *The Rise of the Far Right in Europe Populist shifts and 'Othering.'* London: Springer Nature.

¹⁵ Ulrike M. Vieten and Scott Poynting. "Contemporary Far-Right Racist Populism in Europe." *Taylor and Francis Online. Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 28.

¹⁶ Agnes Akkerman, Cas Mudde, and Andrej Zaslove. 2014. "How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters." *Comparative Political Studies* 4: 1326.

AfD opposes any further integration towards the EU due to the claims that Germany is losing its sovereignty and national pride. This feeling is capitalized upon by right-wing parties to gain support for their anti-immigrant and anti-EU rhetoric.¹⁷ Citizens of a state can live in a homogenous society and still have this sense of fear towards ethnopluralism. For example, those states in the US with more homogenous societies and have insufficient interaction with immigrants are the ones that support the Muslim-Ban that President Trump has been attempting to implement.¹⁸

Although fearing the loss of nationalism plays an essential factor in the mobilization of the far right, authoritarianism lies beneath the surface of this phenomenon. Individuals that flock to authoritative leaders have the psychological profile that has a desire for order and fear of outsiders. According to Hetherington and Weiler, cultural mixing that occurs in multicultural societies is considered to be “national genocide.”¹⁹ Cultural mixing leads to the fear of the majority population losing their cultural and societal norms that have been in place for centuries. Those that believe that their culture is under attack due to immigration will then have negative attitudes towards the introduction of new cultures and affection towards authoritarianism. As we know, the Trump campaign highlighted these issues during both the primaries and the general election. President Trump would place the economic issues of America on the shoulders of immigrants and globalization – calling for “American First” policies. Trump’s main voter base reflects these values. For example, in South Carolina, a *CBS News* exit poll for the 2016 presidential election found that 75 percent of Republican voters supported banning Muslims

¹⁷ Ulrike M. Vieten and Scott Poynting, 8.

¹⁸ Kai Arzheimer and Elisabeth Carter. 2006. "Political opportunity structures and right-wing extremist." *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 433.

¹⁹ Mark J. Hetherington and Jonathan D Weiler, *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 45).

from the US.²⁰ However, it is not only immigrants that lead to these attitudes on culture. During the same year, a PPP poll found that a third of Trump voters supported banning gays and lesbians. Both the Republican and AfD party share these values in their policy agendas. We can also examine a “large sample of voters, looking for correlations between support for Trump and the views that align with authoritarianism.”²¹ The study concluded that authoritarian attitudes predicted more support for Trump more reliably than any other indicator since he embodies the classic authoritarian leadership style: simple, powerful, and punitive. Along with this, there is evidence that Trump supporters were individuals who are more closeminded, defensive toward their views, extremely frustrated with the direction of the nation, disapproval of and feel like they do not have a voice.²² Although these voters are Republicans, we cannot state that all members of the party share these views on authoritarianism and immigration. Those Republicans who do embody these beliefs have created a schism in the party between traditional Republicans and those who have more extreme views.

To study these factors, we will incorporate the 2016 *American National Election Survey* (ANES) to collect our data. Focusing on the ANES, we can access who the individual voted for in the presidential election, while also examining their views on the authoritarianism, immigration, economy, and government corruption. Regarding Germany, we will be using the *Round 7 European Social Survey* while imitating a similar style to measure the German views towards authoritarianism. For our independent variable, we categorize German parties into two categories: those that are radical right-wing and those that are not. The German government consists of over eight political parties; thus, we only need to focus on those that share right-wing

²⁰ Amanda Taub. 2016. "Vox Authoritarianism." *Vox*.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² Mari Fitzduff. 2017. *Why irrational politics appeals: understanding the allure of Trump*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 4.

views. Beginning with our independent variable, we see if the voter elected either Trump or Clinton. For our dependent variables, gaining information on if a person leans towards authoritarianism is somewhat tricky since the average person would, of course, believe they do not. Thus, we use questions that ask the voter to pick which of the two traits they find more important for a child to have. These include: “respect for elders” versus “independence,” “obedience” versus “self-reliance,” “curiosity” versus “good manners,” and “being considerate” versus “being well-behaved.” These questions emphasize the authoritarian aspects of social order and status quo.

Table 1: Presidential Vote and Authoritarianism Crosstabulation

		Authoritarianism2			Total	
		low	medium	high		
Presidential Vote	Clinton	Count	561	249	453	1263
		% within Authoritarianism2	72.3%	46.0%	42.2%	52.8%
	Trump	Count	215	292	620	1127
		% within Authoritarianism2	27.7%	54.0%	57.8%	47.2%
Total		Count	776	541	1073	2390
		% within Authoritarianism2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: American National Election Study, 2016. V162239 POST: Child trait more important: independence or respect. V162240 POST: Child trait more important: curiosity or good manners. V162241 POST: Child trait more important: obedience or self-reliance. V162242 POST: Child trait more important: considerate or well-behaved.
Somers' d: Presidential Vote = .209, Authoritarianism = .269. P values for both: .000

When examining the results, we can see that those individuals that voted for Trump also believe in the stricter values for their children in all regards when comparing those who voted for Clinton. Although the low and medium categories have lower readings, when looking at the

higher end, 57.8% of Trump supporters believe that their children should construct to the social latter of their parents. In comparison, only 42.2% of Clinton supporters share these views, while 72.9% score in the low category. Although Trump supporters may claim they are voting for a freer America, they actually prefer a leader that will institute a more rigid social structure that is difficult to change. With the social landscape of American changing over time, this makes sense and falls within our prediction and analysis due to the White majority fearing the loss of their country.

Moving on towards American attitudes on immigration and culture, we incorporate the question “Does immigration harm culture?”. The variable is coded initially into four choices; however, we recoded it into two to find a more precise correlation. To test it, we will be using crosstabulation.

Table 2: Presidential Vote * Does Immigration harm Culture Crosstabulation

Count		Does Immigration harm Culture		Total
		No	Yes	
Presidential Vote	Clinton	67% (965)	40% (352)	53% (1317)
	Trump	33% (484)	60% (692)	47% (1176)
Total		100% (1449)	100% (1044)	100% (2493)

Source: American National Election Study, 2016. V162269 POST Does Immigration harm Culture?
 Somer 'd: Presidential Vote = .329, and Immigration Harm Culture = .321. P value for both = .000

As we can see, the data shows that more Trump supporters believe that immigration does, in fact, harm American culture. 60% of those who voted for Trump also believe that immigration is

harming our culture, while only 40% of Clinton supporters believe so. This factor can be easily linked with authoritarianism due to both focusing on an emphasis on a change of social structure.

Table 3: Does Immigration make you state better or worse Crosstab

Count

		Does Immigration make you state better or worse?		Total
		Better	Worse	
What party did you vote for	NRR	47% (923)	53% (1048)	1971
	RR	15% (17)	85% (93)	110
Total		940	1141	2081

Source: Round 7 European Social Survey. Imbgsta.

Somer 'd: Party Vote = .063, Immigration = .314. P values for both =.000

Lastly, we can determine that our German results have significance as well as those who voted the right-wing believe that immigration is ruining their state.

Authoritarianism and Economy:

Although Ivarsflaten states that attitudes towards immigration play an essential role in the mobilization of these parties, individual attitudes towards the economy cannot be ignored due to their significance. In the US, globalization and the push for clean energy reached unprecedented heights under the previous Obama Administration – hurting specific industries and workforces. For example, globalization and the push for clean energy led to the creation of the “Rust Belt” region. As we now know, this region played a vital role in the 2016 presidential election. Under President Obama, the people affected by the Rust Belt felt ignored by the government due to them not creating a real substantive policy to solve their economic grievances. President Trump,

however, promises he will start to make better trade deals, be stricter on China's economic policies, and force American sectors to stop outsourcing and stay in the US. Along with this, Trump also states that we will no longer create trade deals such as the *Trans-Pacific Partnership*, that he and his supporters believe in hurting the American workforce. Although Trump claims that this will restore jobs to this region, many think that it is far too late to repair these positions. Globalization has already become far too intertwined with our economic policies since we rely heavily on countries like China to buy steel as they sell it so cheaply on the international market. Although this is true, white-middle-class workers were drawn to this rhetoric since they are desperate and do not want to lose their jobs. With the evolving market that globalism has created, these workers believe it has created a hostile market that they can no longer be a member.²³ If you view the individual attitudes towards globalization, we can conclude that those of the white working middle class with the view it negatively due to its effect on the economy.

Germany has also felt the waves of globalization through the EU's supranational jurisdiction that now expands over 28 countries. When addressing the success of the European Project, it is hard to determine one aspect since the EU's influence has integrated into multiple dimensions of the member state's governments. One of the main arguments states that EU's market is failing. The process of both the EU and the single market developing has produced multiple crises, difficulties, and conflict of interest between all member states. When the 2008 financial crisis devastated the world's economy, the euro protected the EU for quite some time before the recession spread to Europe. This factor was due to the euro's contributing low

²³ Hira, Ron and Anil Hira with forward by Lou Dobbs, (May 2005). *Outsourcing America: What's Behind Our National Crisis and How We Can Reclaim American Jobs*. (AMACOM) American Management Association. Citing Paul Craig Roberts, Paul Samuelson, and Lou Dobbs, pp. 36–38.

inflation and protection from external economic shock.²⁴ Although the euro aided in fending off the crisis, the Eurozone crisis would soon cripple the European economy. This economic collapse occurred due to Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Spain, and Cyprus not being able to repay or refinance their government debt without being bailed out by another EU member.²⁵ Without having a fiscal union, this contributed to the crisis since there were different tax and public pension rules for the various member states. Although the Eurozone and single market were looking bleak, European leaders were able to address the issues by creating bailout programs through the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism. The AfD attracts a majority of their voters due to these series of events. Although the euro is stronger than the dollar and that the single market has survived, Germany endured the trouble of providing these bailouts to those EU states in danger. Voters that are dissatisfied by the euro and the continuing bailouts are more likely to vote for the AfD and their platform since they are against these policies. However, the single market is still the world's most significant trading bloc with the most considerable GDP accounting for almost 20% of global exports and imports.²⁶ Even with these statistics, individuals fear the market due to its complexity – another aspect that can also relate to authoritarian views. As the EU single market continues to grow, it will only continue to become more complicated. People do not like things that they do not understand, nor do they prefer an organization that is continually changing and cannot promise certainty.²⁷ Being a member of this market also means that a state must embrace the Schengen zone's free movement of people throughout the EU as individuals are aspects of the market. With the market

²⁴ C.J. Mulhearn, (2008) *The Euro: Its Origins, Development and Prospects*. 1st edn. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 56.

²⁵ P. Hall, P (2012) 'The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis' *German Politics*, Vol 21, no. 4, pp. 359.

²⁶ European Commission .

²⁷ Mark J. Hetherington and Jonathan D Weiler. 2009. *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 5).

having such power, many would suggest that these are not real threats. However, populist movements have been rising throughout Europe criticising the single market, with Brexit showing their success.

To determine if these have significance to our research, we see if American voters believe their financial situation is worrisome while we examine if German voters believe the EU is infringing on their country. For both variables, we recode them both to dichotomies variables.

Table 4: Are you worried about current financial situation Crosstab

Count

		Financial Situation		Total
		No	Yes	
Presidential Vote	Clinton	47% (632)	53% (686)	1318
	Trump	50% (564)	50% (619)	1183
Total		1196	1305	2501

Source: American National Election Study, 2016. V162165 POST: Are you currently worried about your financial situation?

Somer 'd: President vote = .003, Financial = .003. Not statically significant

Although I predicted that Americans are dissatisfied with their current financial situation, it did not have statistical significance, nor did it lead them to be more prone to vote for Trump.

However, it would seem that more people who voted Hillary Clinton were dissatisfied with their financial situation; having 53% compared to Trump's 50%.

Table 5: EU becoming too connected Crosstab

Count

		EU becoming too connected		Total
		No	Yes	
What party did you vote for	NRR	51% (1002)	49% (969)	1971
	RR	17% (19)	83% (91)	110
Total		1021	1060	2081

Source: Round 7 European Social Survey. Eufft Is the EU becoming too connected to Germany?

Somers 'd: Party Vote = .067, EU = .336. P values for both = .000

However, our German analysis came out differently. Over 83% of German voters who voted for the radical right believe the EU and its economic policies are infringing on Germany; while only 17% believe otherwise.

Authoritarianism and Government corruption:

Voters attitudes towards political corruption is another significant aspect of studying when analyzing the mobilization of extreme right-wing parties. One of the more prominent promises from President Trump's campaign was to "drain the swamp" in Washington. Just before election day, Trump and his team released a five-point list of proposals to tighten rules for Washington lobbying and the power of the bureaucracy. According to the *Democracy Fund Voter Study Group* data from 2016, over 70 percent of people who stated they would vote for Trump in the election found political corruption to be a critical issue (Fitzduff 2017).²⁸ Populist party platforms promise to erase corruption as they are "parties of the people." By using such

²⁸ Mari Fitzduff. 2017. *Why irrational politics appeals: understanding the allure of Trump*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 4.

tactics, populist ideology splits society into two antagonistic camps, the virtuous people and those who support the corrupt establishment, efficiently pitting one against the other.²⁹ Populism is driven by a robust anti-establishment stance, making it seem as if the government is only out to hurt the people.³⁰ We can see how President Trump has successfully done this in the US; claiming he would put citizen's needs first rather than those who backed his campaign. Not only this, but President Trump differentiated himself from his opponents due to his claims about not being supported by influential lobbying firms. In 2015, the Trump campaign brought in around 19.4 million dollars. From that amount, 13 million was from Trump's own money, with 25.3 percent being from small individual contributions and 8.4 percent coming from large firms. The German government also reflects these issues when discussing political corruption in the EU. According to the *EU Anti-Corruption Report*, the European economy wastes around 120 billion euros due to corruption issues. Along with this, the *Eurobarometer* survey on corruption shows that 76 percent believe that EU corruption is widespread and more than 56% that it is continuing to grow and get worse.³¹ Corruption continues to be a challenge for not only Germany but Europe as a whole; a phenomenon that costs the EU economy around 120 billion euros per year. EU member countries have taken many initiatives in recent years, but the results are uneven and more should be done to prevent and punish corruption. By using this information, the AfD can create Eurosceptic propaganda to gain popularity.

To test this for our American analysis, we view data on if voters believe that the overall US government is corrupt, while viewing if German voters trust their politicians in office. For

²⁹ Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Takis Spyros. Pappas, eds. *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*. Colchester, U.K.: ECPR, 2015. *ECPR Press*. The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), 2015.

³⁰Ulrike M. Vieten and Scott Poynting, 28.

³¹ European Commission

both variables, we recode them into dichotomist variables since that makes the data more accessible to view.

Table 6: Is our government corrupt Crosstab

Count

		Government is corrupt		Total
		.00	1.00	
Presidential Vote	Clinton	42% (554)	58% (752)	1306
	Trump	18% (223)	82% (957)	1180
Total		777	1709	2486

Source: American National Election Survey, 2016. V161218 POST Is our government corrupt
Somers 'd: President Vote = .273, Corruption = .235. P values for both = .000

When examining the data, it is clear that government corruption is a clear indication since 82% of Trump supporters view this to be an issue. Meanwhile, only 52% of Clinton supporters believe government to be an issue.

Table 7: Do you trust the politicians in your government Crosstab

Count

		Do you trust your Politicians		Total
		No	Yes	
What party did you vote for	NRR	26% (523)	74% (1461)	1984
	RR	8% (9)	92% (103)	112
Total		532	1564	2096

Source: Round 7 European Social Survey. Trustplt Do you trust the politicians in your government
Somers 'd: Party Vote = .049, Trust = .183. P values for both = .000

Similar to our American data, German voters believe corruption to be a significant issue as well. Over 92% of German voters that voted for the radical right do not believe in their politicians. Surprisingly, corruption issues seem to be the biggest issue to both American and German voters.

Conclusions:

Overall, we can determine that our hypothesis was correct in all aspects except when it came to the economy in America. While examining our data, we can conclude that the virtues of authoritarian mix the best with the concepts of government corruption since the US has 82% and Germany has 92% of their radical right-wing voters believe this. Secondly, the issue of immigration was undermined by the concept of corruption since the percentage levels were not as high as they were expected to think. However, social structure is fundamental to those with authoritarian beliefs; thus, a corrupt politician or government can infringe on that sense of security. We can also link this with the EU becoming too powerful since 83% of radical right-wing voters believe this to be an issue. Lastly, economic views scored rather low, especially in the American part of the analysis. Barely more than half of those who voted for Trump were worried about their financial situation right before the election.

Although our results provide a reasonable basis for predicted the likelihood of an extreme right voter, it does not control for thing such as party bias and thoughts of voting due to being a member of a group. Also, for countries like Germany, the radical-right vote can be rather small at times. Thus, it does not represent the broad view of the German people as a whole. However, our research does show us what is essential towards a voter that values authoritarianism; including corruption, immigration, economic views, and race. The effects of these variables were as we anticipated: we found that the more extreme aspects of right-wing voters share a strong correlation with the values of authoritarianism. With knowing this, we can understand what

draws voters to these parties, platforms, and even hate-groups such as the KKK. With the landscape of both countries becoming more social-economic diverse, the old majority classes are beginning to realize that they are losing the power they once had. It is hard to determine what can help resolve these issues since they seem to be ingrained in the minds of such voters. Raising educational awareness of these issues would be beneficial, but in an era where we have politicians calling our news outlets “fake news.”

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